A Conference on Some Living Religions Within the Empire

At The Imperial Institute, London

September 22nd to October 3rd, 1924

Religions of the Empire

A Conference on Some Living Religions within the Empire

Held at the Imperial Institute, London, September 22nd to October 3rd, 1924, under the Auspices of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London) and The Sociological Society

Edited by

WILLIAM LOFTUS HARE

Joint Honorary Secretary to the Conference

With an Introduction by

SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., Ph.D.

DUCKWORTH

3 HENRIETTA STREET, LONDON, W.C

First Published 1925
(*All Rights Reserved*)

Made and Printed in Great Britain by
The Camelot Press, Limited,
Southampton.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE

CHAIRMAN :

SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., PH.D.

VICE-CHAIRMEN :

SIR THOMAS W. ARNOLD, C.I.E., D.LITT.

MR. VICTOR BRANFORD

MR. F. C. CHANNING

MRS. C. RHYS DAVIDS, D.LITT.

REV. J. TYSSUL DAVIS

REV. A. S. GEDEN, D.D.

PROF. MARGOLIOUTH, D.LITT.

PROF. ALICE WERNER, L.L.A.

REV. W. SUTTON PAGE. B.D., O.B.E.

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Hon. Treasurer :

MR. LEONARD C. SOPER.

Hon. Secretaries :

MISS M. M. SHARPLES

MR. W. LOFTUS HARE

17 Mecklenburgh Square,
London, W.C.1.

CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME

CHAPTER		PAGE
	GENERAL ASPECTS	
I.	INTRODUCTION. By Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., PH.D.	3
II.	A SKETCH OF MODERN RELIGIOUS CONGRESSES. By The Editor	8
III.	OPENING ADDRESS. By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.	15
	HINDUISM	
IV.	HISTORICAL NOTE ON THE RELIGION OF HINDUS. By Dr. A. S. Geden	29
V.	ORTHODOX HINDUISM OR SANÂTANA DHARMA. By Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A. (Benares)	32
VI.	THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY. By Pandit D. K. Laddu, PH.D., etc. (Poona City)	49
	ISLAM	
VII.	AN HISTORICAL NOTE ON ISLAM. By Professor Margoliouth, D.LITT.	59
VIII.	THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ISLAM. By Al-Haj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din (Woking)	65
IX.	THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM. By Mustafa Khan (Lahore)	86
X.	THE SHI'AH BRANCH OF ISLAM. By Sheikh Kadhim El Dojaily (Baghdad)	94
XI.	THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT IN ISLAM. By Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din, Mahmud Ahmad, Khalifat-ul-Masih (Qadian)	106
XII.	AN HISTORICAL NOTE ON SUFISM. By Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	133
XIII.	SUFISM. By Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali (Ranmal)	135

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	BUDDHISM	
XIV.	AN HISTORICAL NOTE ON BUDDHISM. By Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A.	151
XV.	STATUS & INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON. By Dr. W. A. de Silva (Colombo)	154
XVI.	INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON EDUCATION IN CEYLON. By Mr. G. P. Malalasekera, Colombo	160
XVII.	MAHÂYÂNA BUDDHISM. By Mr. Shoson Miyamoto (Tokyo)	176
	LESSER INDIAN RELIGIONS	
XVIII.	HISTORICAL NOTES. By Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	201
XIX.	ZOROASTRIANISM: THE RELIGION OF THE PARSIS. By Shams-ul-ulema Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad Noshirvan, Ph.D. (Poona)	207
XX.	JAINISM. By Rai Bahadur Jagmander Lal Jaini, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Indore)	217
XXI.	SIKH RELIGION. By Sardar Kahan Singh (Nabha)	231
	CHINESE RELIGION	
XXII.	AN HISTORICAL NOTE ON TAOISM. By Mr. G. R. S. Mead, B.A.	243
XXIII.	TAOISM. By Mr. Hsü Ti-Shan (Peking)	245
	MODERN MOVEMENTS	
XXIV.	HISTORICAL NOTES. By Rev. W. Sutton Page, O.B.E.	275
XXV.	BRÂHMA SAMÂJ. By Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E.	278
XXVI.	ÂRYA SAMÂJ. By Professor S. N. Pherwani (Shikarpur)	293
XXVII.	THE BAHÂ'Î CAUSE. By The Bahâ'î Assembly. (Read by Mr. Mountford Mills, Canada)	304
XXVIII.	THE BAHÂ'Î INFLUENCE ON LIFE. By Mr. Ruhi Afnan (Haifa)	320
	PRIMITIVE RELIGION	
XXIX.	AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON PRIMITIVE RELIGION. By Professor Alice Werner, L.L.A.	329

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXX.	SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MAORI BELIEFS. By THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON WILLIAMS (New Zealand)	332
XXXI.	BELIEFS OF SOME EAST AFRICAN TRIBES. By MR. RICHARD ST. BARBE BAKER (late of Kenya Colony)	347
XXXII.	THE BANTU RELIGIOUS IDEAS. By MR. ALBERT THOKA (Pietersburg, S. Africa)	356
XXXIII.	SOME ASPECTS OF THE RELIGION OF THE WEST AFRICAN NEGRO. By MR. L. W. G. MALCOLM, F.R.S.E. (late Captain of Nigeria Regt.)	368
	PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGIONS.	
XXXIV.	INTRODUCTORY NOTE. By THE EDITOR.	401
XXXV.	MAN AND NATURE. By SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.	404
XXXVI.	THE NATURALIST'S APPROACH TO RELIGION. By PROFESSOR J. ARTHUR THOMSON, LL.D.	411
XXXVII.	PRIMITIVE OCCUPATIONS: THEIR IDEALS AND TEMPTATIONS. By MR. VICTOR BRANFORD, M.A.	418
XXXVIII.	HOLY WAYS AND HOLY PLACES. By PROFESSOR H. J. FLEURE, D.SC.	426
XXXIX.	THE IDEA OF THE SACRED CITY. By MRS. RACHEL ANNAND TAYLOR	436
XL.	RELIGION AND THE LIFE OF CIVILIZATION. By MR. CHRISTOPHER DAWSON	455
XLI.	THE IDEAL MAN. By MR. WILLIAM LOFTUS HARE	470
XLII.	RELIGION ON THE CHART OF LIFE. By PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES	486
	CLOSING CEREMONY	
XLIII.	GENERAL SURVEY. By MR. VICTOR BRANFORD, M.A.	511
XLIV.	SUMMING UP. By REV. TYSSUL DAVIS, B.A.	515

GENERAL ASPECTS

Introduction

By Sir E. Denison Ross

THE Conference on Some Living Religions within the Empir actually owes its inception (so far as I am concerned) to a letter I received from Mr. Loftus Hare at the beginning of 1923, suggesting the possibility of organizing something in the nature of a Congress on Religions in connection with the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, at which Conferences on a number of diverse matters were then being planned. I replied expressing my sympathy with the idea provided, firstly, that the Congress should not take a controversial form, and secondly that the spokesman of each religion should be one who professed such religion. Mr. Hare and some of his friends next entered into communication with the Exhibition authorities and finally it was arranged that accommodation would be placed at our disposal by those authorities for ten days at the end of September and beginning of October, 1924. Before proceeding further with our plans we were more than fortunate in securing the services of the lady who contributed, as Joint Secretary, so much to the success of our organization, namely Miss Mabel Sharples. Her devoted labours sensibly reduced the burden of responsibility which rested upon myself and my colleagues.

We next addressed notices of our intention to a number of well-known persons whom we thought would be interested in such a Conference, and on the answers received to these notices the Executive Committee was formed. The first meeting of the Committee was held at the School of Oriental Studies on October 12th, 1923, and there the name of the Conference was agreed upon and the dates were fixed. It was also decided at this meeting to approach certain eminent men with a view to their undertaking the Presidency of the Conference. At the second meeting, held on November 26th, it was reported that the persons whom we had addressed in connection with the Presidency had all, for various reasons, declined participation, and it was then decided to invite the co-operation of the Sociological Society. This Society agreed to the proposal, and, strengthened by the accession to our ranks of Sir Francis Younghusband, Mr. Victor Branford, and Mr. F. C. Channing, we were able at the meeting held on December 13th to form an Executive Committee of the Conference representative of

the School of Oriental Studies and the Sociological Society. The Committee was formed as follows:

Chairman:
Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D.

Vice-Chairmen:
Sir Thomas W. Arnold, C.I.E., D.Litt., and Mr. Victor Branford.

Mr. F. C. Channing,
Mrs. C. Rhys Davids, D.Litt.,
Rev. J. Tyssul Davis,
Rev. A. S. Geden, D.D.,
Prof. Margoliouth, D.Litt.,
Prof. Alice Werner, L.L.A.,
Rev. W. Sutton Page, B.D., O.B.E.,
Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Leonard C. Soper.

Hon Secretaries:
Mr. W. Loftus Hare, Miss M. M. Sharples.

Regular meetings of the Committee were held at the School of Oriental Studies down to the time of the opening of the Conference on September 22nd, 1924.

The Conference consisted of two parts. The first was devoted mainly to a series of papers on the Oriental Religions of the Empire, and various Modern Movements arising out of them. Each of these papers was contributed by a scholarly adherent of the particular religion, who touched lightly upon creed and dogma, and gave his chief attention to a matter-of-fact description of his religion as it worked in personal and social life. The second part of the Conference was devoted to the Psychology and Sociology of Religion, and a series of papers was read by specialists who expounded the religious process and its mode and purpose as it operated in their sphere of observation. All speakers from the platform were accorded an equal status, and no controversy, either religious or political, was introduced into the meetings. The chief aim of the Conference made it unnecessary to include in the programme any lectures on Judaism or Christianity, as the organizers considered that their function was chiefly to familiarize those attending the lectures with the religions of the Empire relatively little known in this country.

In the course of the summer of 1924 it was reported that Conferences held at Wembley were apt to command poor attendances, and after much consideration it was decided to hold our Conference, if possible, in London itself, and finally we were able, thanks to the favourable conditions imposed by the Secretary to the Imperial Institute, to engage the large hall known as the "Upper West Gallery" in the Imperial Institute at South Kensington, which offered ample accommodation.

As we had foreseen, it was not always possible to secure the attendance in London of all whom we had invited to read papers; but the response was from the outset most encouraging, and we were especially gratified that the Khalifat-ul-Masih, the head of the Ahmadiyya Movement, immediately signified his intention to come to London with a number of his followers for the express purpose of attending the Conference. This remarkable enterprise led to great publicity in the Press and secured considerable interest for our Conference.

It is unnecessary for me to say anything further here of the speakers and their papers. The attendance at the Conference was from the outset most gratifying and in excess of anything we had been led to expect, seeing that nothing had been spent on advertisement: for it must be remembered that the Committee had no funds behind them, and were relying solely on voluntary help. A certain amount was spent on stationery and on the printing and posting of circulars, and against this and the hire of the hall, a small charge of 1*s.* per day or 2*s.* 6*d.* for the whole course was made for admission. The secretarial work, which was so efficiently and enthusiastically carried out by Miss Sharples and Mr. Loftus Hare, was given voluntarily, as were the services of our excellent Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Leonard C. Soper. I cannot refrain from mentioning that the total expenses of the Conference that fell upon the Executive Committee, were £150 and the total receipts were £150 0*s.* 5*d.* Certain expenses in connection with the Sociological Section of the Conference were borne by the Sociological Society. In addition to the lectures themselves, the hall placed at our disposal was decorated with unique oriental banners, while the vestibule was used for the display of a number of interesting charts prepared by the Sociological Society, and for bookstalls where handbooks on the various religions were sold. This last feature was much appreciated by the general public, who were able to obtain information and advice regarding specialist works. Great thanks are due to those who kindly undertook the heavy labour of this department.

Although in every sense unofficial, our Conference was favoured by high patronage. In reply to a loyal greeting sent by vote of the Conference to His Majesty the King on the occasion of the opening session on September 22nd, the following telegram was received:

Balmoral Castle, O.H.M.S., *September 22nd*, 1924.

Chairman of Conference on Some Living Religions within the Empire, Imperial Institute, S.W.

I am commanded to express the thanks of the King to you and members of Conference for your kind message of loyal greetings to His Majesty.

STAMFORDHAM.

The same day Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister at the time, was good enough to forward a friendly message in the following terms:

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.1.

I am glad to have this opportunity to send a word of greeting to the Conference on Some Living Religions within the Empire.

Many religions and many creeds live in amity within our Empire, each by their different way leading our peoples onwards towards some ultimate light. I welcome cordially the objects of the Conference and the knowledge which it spreads amongst us that our peoples, in the aspirations of the Spirit, " walk not back to back but with an unity of track."

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

22nd September, 1924.

The special thanks of the Committee, I may be permitted as their Chairman to express, are due to those who so kindly presided at the lectures. In each case someone was invited to preside who possessed a first-hand knowledge of the subject under discussion, such as: Professor Rapson of Cambridge, Dr. Margoliouth, Sir Theodore Morison, Sir Patrick Fagan, Sir Edward Gait, Mr. G. R. S. Mead, Dr. Walter Walsh, Dr. Charles Singer, Professor L. Myres, Professor Alice Werner, Mr. Channing and Mr. D. N. Dunlop.

During the course of the Conference several receptions were held. One was kindly given by Lady Blomfield at Claridge's, and another was held at the Ritz Hotel at the invitation of Mr. A. R. Dard to meet the leader of the Ahmadiyya Movement. The photographic groups taken bear objective witness to the unique character of these cosmopolitan assemblies.

At the concluding session of the Conference a number of those who had addressed us were invited to the platform; a few short addresses, including a brilliant one in Hindustani by His Holiness the Khalifat-ul-Masih, were given, expressing satisfaction at the success of the Conference; a short recitation from the *Qur'an* was given by the Mufti of the Mosque at Woking, and another by our visiting Sufi, Raushan Ali of Ranmal.

A certain section of the Press, notably *The Times*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Manchester Guardian*, gave due prominence to this Conference, but it may be claimed that it did not command quite the attention of the reading public which the subject deserved. I think, however, that the experiment was justified by the results, and that its full significance is by no means confined to the actual holding of the meetings. Indeed—if I may borrow a thought from Dante—having gone in search of silver we found gold. Visitors from all the continents, and from nearly every country in them, found their way to our sessions. Our normally drab assemblies

were brightened by the beauty of oriental costumes and enriched by a singularly happy blend of personalities. If on the negative side we had set our faces against controversy, we were rewarded positively by a show of friendliness and mutual toleration which will not easily be forgotten. And although we had no political aim I am sure we reached, in the finest sense, a level of feeling which helps to bind the peoples of the Empire into amity.

The present volume will, it is hoped, be welcomed by many who heard nothing of the Conference, and should make a special appeal to all students of religion. Many volumes have been published containing a succinct account of various religions of the world, but, so far as I am aware, this is the first volume in which such accounts are all written by adherents to the particular religion in question.

I must add here a grateful word on behalf of the Committee to Messrs. Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., for undertaking the sole responsibility of publishing this Report. Their kindly enterprise has enabled us to fulfil the promise we made to the members of the Conference that we would certainly issue at least one volume, and a second one if adequate support was secured. The publishers have enabled us to see a complete record in one substantial book.

E. DENISON ROSS,

Chairman of the Executive Committee.

A Sketch of Modern Religious Congresses

By The Editor

AS one among several members organizing the Conference, it is my pleasant duty to supply a brief account of the principal Conferences and Congresses held of late years in various countries, on the subject of Religion.

Religious organizations all over the world have, in the present age, been remarkably active in public propaganda of their respective faiths. They have adopted the publicity methods of the Press and the Platform to increase and intensify the ardour of their adherents. Such endeavours have led, without any special intention, rather to maintain religious differences than to diminish them.

Many influences led to the attempt to hold a Congress in which, not the votaries of one faith or sect alone should assemble, but the representatives of many.

The hopes fostered by the Great Exhibition of 1851 had been largely disappointed. The world of humanity had not been brought into a haven of peace by the process of buying and selling of merchandise; it had, it is true, learned more about its own psychological structure, its diverse political and commercial aims. Science, more than commerce, was uniting men who by many forces were otherwise kept apart, and Religion was already fully under the speculative eyes of Science, one of which was critical and the other, perhaps, friendly.

A Parliament of Religions

The 'seventies and the 'eighties witnessed the most notable attempt to bring before the peoples the contents of the Sacred Books of the East and the Science of Comparative Religion attained to its second birth. But there was in the 'nineties a popular and a moral movement towards a greater understanding among peoples —or at least a wish for mutual understanding—which was more influential than either Commerce or Science; the amateur and the idealist as well as the specialist claimed the right to know, to admire and to be heard. It was at this moment that "The World's Fair," as it was popularly called, was opened at Chicago in 1893.

It had to be, of course, greater than anything else of its kind; and one of its marks of greatness, as of novelty, was "The World's Parliament of Religions."

The objects proposed were 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.
2. To show to men, 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 conference 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, Parsi, Muhammadan, 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 enquire 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 to throw on the great problems of the present age, especially the important questions connected with Temperance, Labour, 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.

The credit for the idea of this Parliament of Religions must be given to a band of American ministers of Religion who, in 1891, issued the proposal to the world and gained a notable response, as part of which Mr. Gladstone sent a post-card. The Congress lasted seventeen days and over 170 papers were presented. The list is too long to attempt a summary here, but there are three features of the programme to which attention may be called.

A Triumph of Sympathy

Over the whole of the proceedings there was a frank and persistent endeavour to sustain a universalist feeling, and the Christian promoters of the Congress affirmed to themselves and their colleagues that this wider catholic outlook was, in itself, part of a Christian's morality, if not of his creed. It was a triumph of sympathy over intellectual differentiation and was perhaps at the moment possible only in the idealistic, non-discriminating atmosphere of America. Secondly, the remarkable attempt to introduce some philosophic basis for the work of the Congress, may be seen in the opening papers: "Rational Demonstration of the Being of God"; "Philosophic and Moral Evidence of the Existence of God"; "The Supreme End and Office of Religion," etc.

Thirdly, we may note the admixture of papers of a confessional character with those read by learned scholars whose view-point was historical and scientific. To the "Parliament" came not only representatives, but also specialists and experts. There were blended together, in the daily programmes, views sufficiently varied to suit all tastes. Controversy, though not invited, was, in the circumstances, inevitable.

Perhaps the weakness of the Chicago method was already perceived from the fact that a "Scientific Section" presented papers—to the number of seventeen—while a large number of Denominational Congresses were simultaneously held. The former may be regarded as the germ from which grew the very important International Congress of the History of Religions.

A Change in Method

Historical events fall naturally into two classes: those which can never be repeated and those which can. The World's Parliament of Religions belongs to the first class and its greatness rests partly upon its uniqueness. Looking back over thirty years at its programme we may marvel at the temerity of its promoters and congratulate them upon its results. But imitation is impossible. Chief among the results, I venture to think, was the impulse to religious study among the busy laity, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries. The late Dr. Paul Carus, of the Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, must be mentioned here with gratitude.

Are, then, those historical events which *can* be repeated of less value than the other class? It is hard to answer one's own question. It is noteworthy that the International Congress of the History of Religions has been repeated five times. It was founded in 1900 at Paris and was designed to perpetuate itself by Congresses held every four years. At Basel in 1904, at Oxford in 1908, at Leiden in 1912, its members forgathered, and but for the tragedy of the war the fifth meeting would, I believe, have been held in Germany.

After some years of interruption the Congress resumed at Paris last year.

This continuity of existence, as contrasted with the rather ecstatic outburst at Chicago in 1893, indicates that the "International" had discovered a method. Religion had at last, by common consent among the learned, become one of the many topics of Science. "La Science," as the French lecturers speak of her, is a cold and impartial goddess at whose shrine all may worship, or at least, bow the head in respect. She asks no confession but imposes her method, which indeed is her very essence. Henceforth Religion is studied, like everything else, methodically. The data are collected with utmost care from observer and from book; history, psychology, art, institution and dogma—with anthropology and archæology—lend their aid. Learned men, rightly enthusiastic in regard to their discoveries, concentrate and specialize more and more, and so an instrument of international learning is placed in the hands of students by which, every four years, or perhaps more often, the richest product of Comparative Religion may be displayed. To the confessor his religion is left as a personal possession of which the scientist does not rob him; all he asks is to be allowed to study it and to gain his own reward. Having attended some of these Congresses I can testify to the tenderness of "La Science" in the handling of Religion.

The results of reflection, change of venue and the passage of time may be seen in the records of *Les Actes du Premier Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions* held in Paris in September, 1900, on the occasion of the Universal Exhibition of that year.

The names of the famous *savants* constituting the Commission d'Organisation were sufficiently authoritative to ensure success. The President was M. Albert Réville and the Secretaries MM. Leon Marillier and Jean Réville. The circular published in May, 1899, was short and significant. It contained the following words:

> Le Congrès projeté est exclusivement de nature historique. L'histoire des religions, qui a pris au XIXê siècle son plein développement, a sa place marquée dans la grande revue des conquêtes de l'esprit humain, où sera dressé pour le XXê siècle le bilan du siècle finissant. Elle est appelée à fournir des contributions chaque jour plus importantes à notre connaissance du passé de l'humanité et à jeter une lumière toujours plus vive sur les problèmes moraux et sociaux.

This is the new manner which the Congresses for twenty years or more have followed. The motives of adding to our knowledge and of casting a light on moral and social problems has been found all embracing and sufficient.

Of the ten articles ruling the Congress the fourth and the seventh were important. By the former rule the studies were divided

into eight Sections which may be briefly described as Primitive, American, Mongolian, Egyptian, Semitic, Aryan, Græco-Roman, Primitive European and Christian. By the latter rule " all polemics of a confessional or dogmatic nature are prohibited."

The Sections represent the framework into which all faiths are now placed by the hands of students of Comparative Religion, in addition to which there are a number of subsidiary sciences which are, as it were, the handmaids of the central object. With these auxiliaries, M. Goblet d'Alviella, for instance, would deal with his customary learning and charm, while M. de Gobernatis would discourse on the Future of the History of Religions. Thereafter follow the usual set of specialist papers on all sorts of subjects, some in the General Sessions and others in the Sectional Sessions. It only remains to be said that the documents were carefully edited and published by M. Ernest Leroux in 1901.

Basel and Oxford

The Basel Congress of 1904 followed on the same lines, and at length Oxford gave a welcome to the international Scholars in 1908. It was a memorable and pleasant occasion. The old city, both municipally and academically, supplied the social element which goes to make a Congress a success. The meetings of the Sessions were in the Examination Halls and are recorded in two fine volumes. Here the President was Sir A. C. Lyall and the Local Committee a company of brilliant Oxford men. Foreign visitors came from all parts of the world and the gardens of the colleges were used for social gatherings. I remember the Buddhist monk Ânanda Mettêyya, with shaven head and yellow robe, sandalled and carrying a large bouquet of flowers, parading " the High " in earnest conversation. Japanese scholars discoursed on Mahâyâna Buddhism and a band of Arabic experts charmed us with their lectures. I remember the diminutive figure of that great Sanskrit scholar, Dr. Paul Deussen, presenting to the Congress his newly published volumes on the History of Philosophy and Professor J. J. M. de Groot reading in English a masterly account of the Taoist Church. The discussions in the Indian Section were sometimes very keen. In the Græco-Roman Sections the outstanding features were Professor Lewis Campbell's " The Religious Element in Plato," and Professor Franz Cumont's lecture on " L'Influence Religieuse de l'Astrologie dans le monde Romain "—a notable onslaught on a still popular cult.

Before leaving the atmosphere of Oxford and closing the two excellent volumes of Transactions of the Congress of 1908, it is worth while to attempt an estimate of the changes that have come over the public discussion of Comparative Religion since 1893. This can be done by the simple experiment of imagining

almost any half-dozen of the Chicago papers to have been presented at Oxford, or even proposed for presentation. "The World's Salvation"; "How to Achieve Religious Unity"; "The Future of Religion"; "The Religion of the Future"; "The Ultimate Religion"; and lastly, "Christ the Unifier of Mankind." Such titles would be "*interdites*" as the French rule had declared; while even the broad, loosely defined topics like Swami Vivekananda's "Hinduism" and Dr. Ashitzu's "Buddha" would be rigidly confined to some precise and manageable proportions.

The changes in attitude and method must be judged in a favourable light. Intellectual controversy could not be eliminated, and rightly so; but a great body of conflict was removed from the study of a subject which was becoming universal. Moreover the experience of the new method has shown that respect and mutual sympathy have grown rather than otherwise by handling Religion as the subject-matter of Science. This was illustrated, to take an example, by the beautiful lecture by Dr. R. H. Charles on "Man's Forgiveness of his Neighbour—a Study in Religious Development," wherein the fervour of the old method was combined with the historical criticism of the new. We have learned that the enemy of religion is not criticism or science, but simply irreligion.

Leiden

I must conclude with a brief reference to the last of the pre-war Congresses, that held at Leiden in 1912, since when all is changed, perhaps for a generation. The small Dutch University town, so famous for its military valour and the reward earned by it, was very favourably chosen. The Congress was not so well attended as the earlier occasions, but was notable for the friendliness of its official welcome. At the Radhuis, at the Stadszaal, at the Cercle Minerva, at Noordwijk on Sea, in the garden of Zomerzorg and on excursions to Rotterdam and the Hague, the delegates were treated in royal fashion by their Dutch hosts; and when at the closing festivities the aged President, Dr. Chantepie de la Saussaye, broke out, for the first time, into rollicking Dutch, the Hollanders had their reward.

It was surprising to notice the exuberant patronage given to the Congress by the Governments, Universities and learned Institutions of other countries, in which, by the way, Great Britain was not specially to the fore. The academic work at Leiden was distinguished by a band of German professors who by their ability in lecture and debate sustained the reputation of their countrymen. Those who might have thought there was nothing new to say regarding Christianity would have been surprisingly enlightened in

listening to the discussions in the tenth section. If any one figure should be specially mentioned it would be that of Dr. von Dobschuetz of Breslau.

The Heidelberg Congress did not take place in 1916. Even that of 1924 in Paris must have lost some of its international character. The report has not yet come into my hands.

Our Own Conference

So much of the above is distantly retrospective and brings us down to the point in time at which our Conference on Some Living Religions within the Empire was held. It, too, now belongs to the past and might well be included in my historical survey. But it must speak for itself in the fine array of papers which follow in this volume, and in the memories cherished by those who had the privilege of attending it.

The task of an Editor of such a collection is in some respects a pleasant one, but it entails a responsibility which is heavy. In the beginning of our work we could not estimate the extent to which we should be able, by funds or by fortune, to print a record of the Conference. The Committee imposed upon readers of papers a maximum limit of words in order to conform to our time programme, but in dealing with the text of the papers as written it was found that it would be necessary to abridge some of those which had overrun this limit and even some others that were within it. A kind of pledge had been given to the members of the Conference and the public that the printed transactions would be issued at a price announced at our sessions. In order, therefore, to fulfil this qualified undertaking it was found imperative to use the remorseless editorial pencil. The principles that have guided us in this task are several, but may be joined into one, namely to secure without repetition and overlapping a well-proportioned presentation of the Empire religions, and to add, by the help of authoritative writers, a few historical notes of value in place of more or less ephemeral remarks of the chairmen.

The longest papers, by this process, have been most abridged. I have done my best to leave all that seemed essential, and I crave the pardon of the authors for this necessary course.

Finally, I wish to thank the several members of the Committee for the help I have received from them in the preparation of this volume.

WILLIAM LOFTUS HARE.

The Opening Address

By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

BEFORE I commence the few observations I have to make may I assure you of the deep diffidence I feel in speaking to such an audience as this on so sacred a subject as that which is now to engage our attention? Only in humblest reverence can we speak of these holy things. And only with reverence and devotion do I now address you.

The material development of the British Empire is evident enough. Wembley and these buildings give witness that vast lands have been opened up, food and raw materials produced, manufactures increased, communications extended and quickened. And this is a great and necessary work of which we may be proud. But while visitors from all over the Empire are drawn to London, we who live here are anxious that they should know that it is not only in the material development of the Empire that we are interested. We take count also of its spiritual development. And we wish to take advantage of your presence in London to invite you to describe to us the views on religion which you severally hold.

We are aware that included in the Empire are more Muhammadans than Christians, and at least twice as many Hindus as Muhammadans; and that there are also many millions of Buddhists, and in addition to these followers of the great main religions; very many millions of adherents of primitive religions of every grade. And we note, too, that in even the oldest of these religions there are signs of vigorous life. They are "living religions," re-examining fundamental dogmas, fighting for fuller freedom, and throwing out new sects which may or may not be recognized by the parent body but which, in any case, shew that religion is alive. And we are anxious to hear at first-hand what men in the distant parts of the Empire are thinking on religion.

Neutrality of Political Power in Religion

History often shews that when people of one religion obtain political power over people professing another religion they use that power to convert the other by force of arms. Sometimes in their persecution the stronger are merely retaliating on the weaker for past offences. But often the stronger genuinely believe that in

forcing the weaker to adopt their own religion they are carrying out the will of God. They are convinced that their own religion is the true one, and they conceive it to be their duty towards God to make that religion prevail—if need be by the sword.

In the British Empire, political power is not so used. The aim of Government is to be strictly impartial in its dealings with all. This may seem to imply lack of faith in its own religion. And it has been argued that if the British Government had any burning conviction of the value of Christianity, it ought to impose it at all costs. Nevertheless, the fact remains that impartiality is the adopted policy of the British Government.

But neutrality and impartiality as between different religions need not mean indifference to religion as such. Government may have to be impartial but the heart of the British people may be deeply stirred to religion. Politics, business, sport, may occupy a great deal of our attention—far too much in the opinion of some. But religion may be more in men's minds than would be evident to a casual visitor to our country. And now the first rush of industrial development is over, and now that the excitement of great scientific discoveries has mellowed into reverent wonder, we may surmise that in the present and future centuries religion will occupy an increasing portion of our lives.

Spiritual Power and the World

That, at all events, is my own impression. Faith that the world is actuated by a spiritual Power ever working in it for good, and a conviction that we must ourselves work to fulfil the central purpose of that Power, will sink deeper into us. It will give to our lives the spring and verve, the delight and exultation, the equanimity and iron self-control which they need. And, being the foundation and crown of our lives, it will be to us more than all else in the world.

I would go further. I would say that the ultimate basis upon which the British Empire should stand must be religion: not political constitutions nor economic agreements. These are only the bones and anatomy, not the spirit which makes and is the man, and which should make and be the Empire. Not bone but spirit must be the basis. Bone has its place in the scheme of things; but it is not the life. The motive power must be spirit—and the most exalted spirit. "Not even patriotism is enough." A man may love his country even above his own life; but a finer spirit still is called for. Above and at the base of patriotism, and suffusing it through and through, must be religion—love of the whole great world, in which every nation and all creation are included. Religion should be the centre of all interests—the essential element in the Empire's life.

And I say this, not as a result of abstruse study in the library, but of years of work in the field—work among Hindus, Muhammadans and Buddhists, as well as among my own countrymen. Unless we component nations of the British Empire can feel about each other that we are convinced of the realness of the spiritual world, and value above all else the things of the spirit, we shall not be able to pull together in the rough and tumble of the world. But if we can be sure that with all our differences we are at heart working for the best things in life, then we shall be able to hold firmly together, even in the laxative times of peace.

Religion the Basis of Imperial Unity

The grounds for this belief are, I trust, intelligible enough. The nations of the Empire, like the members of any other society, hold together as long as they are pursuing a common object. They will hold together all the more firmly if the object they are pursuing is the one they value above all else. And they will hold together most firmly of all when what they most prize is what is truly of most value—what best satisfies the deepest needs of the soul. They are more likely to work together in harmony if they see that each sets store by such things of the spirit as good fellowship, love of beauty and love of truth than they would be if they thought that each cared only for more luxurious food, clothing, houses and motor-cars. We more readily attach ourselves to those who set their hearts on spiritual things than we do to those whose ideas do not rise above material comfort. It was not through the display of luxury that Queen Victoria exercised the influence she did over the people of India. It was because they knew she cared for religion and took thought for them. As one of the great Chiefs of India expressed it, "To be in her presence was like being in a temple: she was divine."

Nothing short of religion can furnish the spirit in which alone the high affairs of great nations should be conducted. And nothing short of religion should, therefore, form the basis of the British Empire.

And if the Empire, comprising as it does nearly a quarter of the population of the world and peoples of every variety and degree of culture, can maintain itself in ordered unity, then it will afford an example in practical life before the eyes of all the world of what can be done to achieve at least orderliness of living. It will be a powerful instrument for effecting the same orderliness in the whole community of nations throughout the world. And, thinking and working together as one connected whole, it will be a mighty agent for carrying out the great purposes of the world and encouraging the nations of the earth along the paths which lead to that fellowship in which the principal rivalry will be, not of trade or territorial

expansion, but of spiritual achievement—of perfection in religion and in art, and in scientific and philosophic thought inspired by religion.

Religious Disunion

But, it may be argued, I am advocating religion as a bond of union when all history shews that it has been a perpetual source of dissension. The most bitter wars and the fiercest persecutions have been due to religion. And in many parts of the Empire to-day we can see that religious animosities are still alive. How, then, can I expect that an activity with such antagonizing tendencies should be of any use as a bond of union?

My reply would be that an instrument which, if carelessly used, is exceedingly dangerous, may, if properly employed, be superlatively effective. Religion may be a dangerous power when not kept under due control, but in the hands of men who have sternly disciplined themselves, who have a due sense of the prportion of things and an understanding love of their fellow-men, it may work undreamed-of good.

Religion is concerned with the very foundation of men's lives. It furnishes the main motive which drives them, the basic principle upon which they build them up. Men are therefore in most deadly earnest about their religion. They are highly sensitive to any tampering with it. And they are so convinced of its good they want everyone else in the world to hold as they hold. If others do not see eye to eye with them, they have a dreadful fear they may come to irretrievable disaster. If others can experience what they have felt, they know the joy ineffable which may be theirs.

And when men are thus consumed with white-hot zeal, they may do incalculable harm or everlasting good. They may cause a conflagration which may burn everything before it. Or they may kindle beneficent light and heat. And where the harm has been done is where the followers of one religion have believed that they are wholly and exclusively right, that theirs is the full, final and perfect religion, that they in especial are charged with truths of overwhelming importance to mankind, that tremendous issues hang on the promulgation of these truths, and that all who do not hold as they do will be utterly and eternally damned. Such an attitude, admirable as it may be as testifying to the intensity of conviction and earnestness of purpose of those who maintain it, arouses the highest animosity in those who, with equal tenacity, hold that their own religion is the one true and only perfect way of life—the one and universal revelation.

Rejection of Exclusiveness

This exclusive attitude is not the attitude we would wish to see adopted at this Conference. We may each of us hold that our own

religion is more completely perfect than any other. But even then we may recognize that God reveals himself in many ways, and that to the followers of other religions than our own may have been revealed much that may be of value to us. And we may hope to seize from each some of that Divine Spirit which inspires every religion in diverse ways.

Diversity in point of view must inevitably exist. "One star differeth from another"; and no two men are constituted precisely alike. Every man has his own particular way of responding to the world about him. There must therefore be differences in the followers even of the same religion. Differences must always exist. Yet with the diversity there may also be unity. We cannot, indeed, have difference without unity. The two cannot exist apart. The one requires and presupposes the other. And unity suffuses each of us, however much we differ. Our business must clearly be then to consolidate the unity.

We may have to battle stoutly for our differences. But we need never lose our faith that all the time there may be an underlying and overarching harmony which may reconcile them all, if only we could reach it. The very battling may force us to discipline our tempers, and put forth the utmost best of ourselves. And we may then achieve a fellowship in which the chief rivalry between its members will be in height of spiritual achievement.

Chivalry of Spiritual Contest

Such rivalry, conducted with the grace and finish of an artist and the serenity of a saint, will be a delight to the rivals themselves, will fire others to spiritual achievement too, and will thus fulfil the object which the rivals in their rivalry have all along had in view.

So, differ as we may, there may yet be found a common basis on which all may unite, and a common goal towards which all may press forward. And this Conference may be the means of enabling us to realize more fully that fundamental unity—a unity, as we shall find, both of inspiration and aspiration.

For, as the papers to be read here will shew, there is evidence of movement in that direction within each of the great religions. There is an intense ferment in the minds and souls of men, a determined effort to probe deeper, to aspire higher and to look further all round. Instances will be given us at the Conference of men who have devoted their lives to piercing down to the deepest essentials of all religions and to reaching up to the highest heights. And it will be noticeable that these men do not spurn the belief of others and scorn the leaders who instilled them. They admire and draw inspiration from those leaders. The reverent admiration which Carlyle showed for Muhammad is only equalled by the

adoration with which Keshub Chunder Sen regarded Christ. The basic principles and great personalities of each religion are studied and admired with increasing reverence. And men of religion are obviously feeling their way towards one common object which all may worship.

And it is, of course, not only among men of religion that these efforts to know the world of which we are part, and the conditions under which we live, are being made. Men of science and philosophers have also been penetrating into the secrets of existence. And what is going on in these various directions we may understand better through the following illustration.

The Cellular Analogy: A Dialogue

The body, so we are told, is made up of many millions of what scientific men call cells. There are cells of the bone, of the tissue, of the blood, of the nerves, of the brain and so on. And each, though microscopically minute, is a highly complex system. Each has its psychical as well as its physical side. And each acts of its own accord. Each acts, that is, under its own steam, and is not at the mercy of any wind that blows, like the down from a thistle. Now let us suppose that the cells of which a man, say a poet, is composed were to discuss among themselves what the poet really was, what was his true nature, how they were related to him, and what part they took in his life; then something like this debate might take place.

A group of scientific-minded cells would say: "Our poet is a marvellous piece of mechanism. Each part fits the other part in the most intricate and delicate way. All works with unfailing regularity. And the more we see of the working the more wonderful does it appear."

But a little group of philosopher-cells would say: "This is perfectly true, and it was not your province to go further. But we have to view our man as a whole. And we see that behind all this intricate mechanism is mind. It is mind that is actuating the whole. Our man is really mind, not mechanism."

Lastly would come a little group of poet-cells, and they would say to the philosopher-cells: "You have spoken truly in describing our man as mind and not mechanism. But even you have not gone deep enough. For inspiring the mind is spirit. Our man is really spirit. He is at bottom a beautiful song. He has to sing through his mind and the mechanism of his body. But what he really is is music."

Some of the more extreme of the group of scientific-minded cells would aver that the poems the poet sang were merely an exudation from his body, like the sweat on his brow, only of more subtle substance. But the group of poet-cells would maintain, on the

contrary, that the body of the poet was only the instrument and agency through which the poet's spirit expressed itself in the poems. The poems were not a mere excretion of the body, but the expression of the spirit. The spirit was the real and important thing about the man.

Then the scientific-minded cells would urge: "It is absurd to judge of our whole man, from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet and the tips of his fingers, by just a few vibrations in a tiny part of him. The vibrations in a part of his throat make a noise and you estimate the whole of him by that noise. It is ridiculous. And why do you select those vibrations in particular to judge him by, any more than the activities of any other part of his body?

"Because we believe," the poet-cells would reply, "that those sounds express the essential thing about our man—his essence—what he really is. And by the essence or spirit we judge the whole. Perhaps we poet-cells understand the matter better than you scientific-minded cells because we were the cells which were vibrating. It was we who made the sounds which you call noise, but which we call music. That little sparkle in the centre of each of us kindled vehemently as we felt the spirit of our man entering deeply into us. And we could not resist vibrating eagerly to try and express what was working so strongly within us. So we sang that song. We believe it represents the real man. We believe it does express in some measure, though not fully and completely, the essence and spirit of the poet. And we believe the essence to be good and to be worthy of our admiration and worship."

The scientific cells would say: "Whether it is good or not is your affair, not ours. We take an impartial view. We are not affected by goodness or badness. We only examine how the man works."

"In that case," reply the poet-cells, "your knowledge can only be a portion of the truth about the man. If you want fully to understand him you must know what he values, what he values little and what he values much, and what he treasures most of all. For what he most values that he will work for. Our man is working for these beautiful songs that he sings through us. And therefore we call him good, and put our trust in him and sing his songs to our best."

Philosophy, Science and Art

This is very much what is going on among us men in our search for truth about our world. Science is revealing to us the wondrous mechanism of the world. And it is noticeable that the further back it presses the deeper mystery does it find—more to wonder at, more to admire, more to revere. The biologist who has worked his way back to the very simplest forms of life finds something behind

even them in the presence of which he can only fold his hands in wonder. He passes on the search to the chemist and physicist, and they penetrate further still into nature's deepest recesses. But from the furthest they have reached they do not report any sense of lessening wonder. Rather does all seem more wonderful still.

And when philosophers take up the tale they too marvel at the exquisite mechanism of the world. But, as is their business, viewing the world as a whole, they infer that behind all, and actuating the whole, must be mind, creative activity and conscious purpose, an active power correlating, controlling and directing the whole.

And when we want to arrive at the true nature of this creative activity and the purpose which controls it, we turn from philosophers to men of religion, and we find there are a few of the very elect who are endowed with an intuitive power to penetrate to the very heart of things. These are men of inborn fineness of nature and genius for religion. Men of fire and intense vitality. Men with a sense of realness as clear as the sense of colour or light in others ; and with a passion for the things that really matter. Men habituated to realness and to putting themselves in touch with reality, with what is truly real, with the ultimate essence of things. Men of the most delicate sensitiveness of spirit and of an infinitely impressionable temperament, who, at the top of their powers and in their best moments, are able to catch the finest intimations from that spirit of which mind and body alike are manifestations, and which is the enduring and everlasting ground of the whole and the firm support of every individual. Men who, when they give utterance, speak in words which spring from their whole being and from the very bottom of their nature, and who, in expressing the impressions they have received from their intercourse with reality, have a power of charm and grace which can only arise from direct, intimate and constant touch with the Divine.

These men of religious genius reveal and are the very embodiment of the living spirit of the world. And it is on them especially that we rely to acquaint us with the inmost springs of the world, to put us in closest touch with the essential spirit of the world—with the very heart of that Power which dominates, controls and guides it.

More Great Men

We are prone to look to the past for such divine men and to assume that those who have already appeared have been a full revelation of the Power that governs the world. But men of the highest religious genius are as likely to appear in the future as in the past. For the past of the human race extends to only half a million years, whereas the future stretches to an indefinite period ahead. Even in the present one may appear. At this actual

moment there may be such a genius living in the world. But, whether in the past, present or future, these divine men, however full their revelation and however many there may be, will never, either simply or together, be a *complete* manifestation of the Spirit, and this for one indisputable reason; the Spirit is infinite. Like this world which is its manifestation it is without beginning and without end; from everlasting to everlasting. The manifestation could never be finally completed. Always there would be more to come.

Thus we see men of thought and men of religion piercing further into the mystery of the world which gave us birth and in which we live and move and have our being. And the pioneering leaders seem to be finding their way to religion of greater depth and wider scope than man has hitherto known—to a fuller religion which, springing from Hinduism, will include more than existing Hinduism; which, proceeding from Christianity, will include more than existing Christianity; which, arising from Islam, will include more than existing Islam. In that process of regenerating and developing religion which is continually at work in mankind there is, there always has been, and there always will be clash and conflict of opinion. And always each will have his own way of worship. Nevertheless, all will feel actuated by a common impulse, and all will have a common Object of their worship.

The Genius of the World

And the Impulse will spring from that Object. And the Object will be that flaming Presence, within, around, above us—that sublime Genius of the world, infinite and enduring through all change, whose power grows more mighty and loveliness more exquisite, whose majesty seems more awful and graciousness more gentle, whose glory appears more radiant and purity more clear, whose severity frowns more sternly and loving-kindness smiles more sweetly, the more nigh we draw unto Him and try to do His will.

And as men are drawn into fuller, closer communion with that Holy Spirit and feel Its Impulse burning in them, their souls will go out in trembling adoration. Every faculty will be exalted, every emotion stirred to a higher pitch of intensity. Their minds will be enlightened; their feelings quickened; their wills toughened. A flood of exultation will brim over in them. They will be radiant with an ecstacy of rapture, suffused with ineffable bliss, endued with untellable power. Their speech will be unloosened. And they will make audible to men the still, small voice of the God within them—the God who governs the world.

The Spirit of Emulation

But this is only my own foreshadowing of what it seems to me we may expect. And all may not agree with my prognostication.

And, indeed, in this Conference we do not anticipate agreement. We have not at its conclusion to sit down and subscribe our names to any definite articles of agreement. Conferences such as this are not held for agreement but for stimulation. And as science is advanced by conferences of scientific men, so we hope that religion may be given an impetus by this Conference of Living Religions. We hope that it may stir in men and in nations a spirit of emulation—of emulation in capturing more and more successfully that Divine Spirit which animates the world, and of emulation in achieving a purer holiness and sweeter saintliness of life. And we hope that our Conference will testify to our faith that religion is no waning force in human affairs, but that more than ever before it should be the vital and determining factor in human progress, the inspiring motive of all morality and all art, as well as of science and philosophy, and should compact that solidarity which welds men into nations and binds nations to mankind as a whole, and mankind to that great world from which it arose.

Perhaps the holding of this Conference may also be taken to indicate our conviction that the man most worthy of esteem is not the man of intellect alone, nor of efficiency alone, not the poet nor the philosopher nor the statesman—not any of these as such—but, as of old, the man of God, the holy man—the man who with the whole of himself, heart and head and will, body and mind and spirit, together whole and healthy, is in vital touch with the world as a whole. The man who loves not beauty alone, nor truth alone, nor goodness alone, but the three in their wholeness, grace, wisdom and truth combined—the man who through suffering, sacrifice and sorrow has been disciplined to work out his own salvation and embody in his life the spirit he has caught, and so beget a like spirit in others.

Deeply imbued with the spirit of the world, such a man would be vividly conscious of its main purpose. And as God-inspired parent, poet, soldier, statesman he would apply the spirit in every circumstance of daily life, infuse his home with its holy influence, fire the soul of his country and through his country mankind at large.

And such a man we would count most worthy of our admiration because he of all others would be best able to reach the depth of our souls, put us in closest touch with the central Spirit of things and show us how and where we can best satisfy our most urgent yearnings and promptings.

Our Conference is but one Step

Thus this Conference will vivify interest in religion and declare its value. But later Conferences may perhaps go further. Men of different faiths are still unaccustomed to discussing between them each other's religious beliefs. But as we become more used

to meeting together and hearing candid statements of each other's point of view, may not future Conferences frankly discuss religious truth? May we not have confidence that discussion conducted with good-will and unfailing self-control can evoke latent powers and so reach deeper truth? And may we not, therefore, with unwavering faith that truth leads only to good and that good is only strengthened by truth, discuss between us the great ultimate problems of life—the nature of the world we live in, our relation to it, the aims we ought to have in view and the way to reach our ends? These are problems for science and philosophy, as well as for religion. But they are primarily and elementally religious problems. And religion supplies the driving force by which those ends may be attained. These fundamental problems are therefore eminently suitable subjects for discussion in Conferences of religion. And our Conference will be a potent means of advancing that sacred cause of religion which all here hold so dear at heart and mean to see proclaimed.

HINDUISM

Historical Note on the Religion of the Hindus

By Dr. A. S. Geden

OF Living Religions within the British Empire, Hinduism, the great faith or profession of India, is certainly not the least important. It is fortunate that there exist in English most competent expositions of Hindu belief in all its chief forms, and adequate translations, as far as a translation can be adequate, of most of its religious literature. Among the treatises which set forth more or less fully the tenets of Hinduism the best and most sufficing are probably A. Barth's *Religions of India* and Monier-Williams' *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, fourth edition, 1891. Of the broad-minded and painstaking character of the latter work too much can hardly be said. There are many others, of varying degrees of competence and reliability. The most scholarly translations of the religious books are to be found in the "Sacred Books of the East," published at Oxford, a series of fifty volumes, the suggestion and inspiration of which were due to the late Prof. Max Müller, who himself rendered some of the most important into English. The hymns of the Rig-Veda are contained in vols. xxxii. and xlv., and the Upanishads and Bhagavad-Gîtâ, the most important treatises for Hindu religious thought, in vols. i. and xv. and in vol. viii.

For Hindu philosophy notice should also be taken of Dr. Paul Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, of which an English translation was published at Edinburgh in 1906; and of the works of A. Berriedale Keith, whose knowledge of the literature and insight into the mind and thought of the Hindu is hardly excelled outside of India. Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, in twelve volumes, is an inexhaustible source of information and trustworthy exposition. These and similar volumes and translations, however, all labour under a certain disadvantage in that the interpretation is that of an outsider, that the system under review is seen and contemplated from the external point of view of men of an alien faith.

At the Conference at the Imperial Institute, as at the Chicago Parliament of Religions some years ago, Hinduism was expounded from within by one or more of her own sons, to whom the faith is

not a distant or external creed and ritual but a "living religion," the natural and native expression of the religious thought and aspiration, in which they and their fathers have been nurtured and have found satisfaction. The address of Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A., at the Imperial Institute, on the afternoon of September 22nd, 1924, was of the greatest interest to all who recognize in the many and varied forms of religious faith a real search for truth.

It will hardly be questioned, also, that within the British Empire the most vital and influential faiths, apart from Christianity, are those of the Hindu and the Muhammadan. It is true that the influence of Islam has been and is much wider in extent and has reached a greater variety of peoples than that of Hinduism. The latter has not at any time been a proselytizing faith, and, in recent centuries at least, has not made any endeavour to win converts among other nations. Even its accessions in India itself have been the result of movements from beneath rather than of conscious and directed endeavour from above; communities and tribes outside of the pale learning to recognize Hindu gods and to practise Hindu rites, until gradually and almost unconsciously they found themselves Hindus and made their way upwards in the social scale. There is evidence, also, that in the early centuries of the Christian era, and perhaps at a period long antecedent to this, Indian gods were known and Hindu worship practised far beyond the borders of the Peninsula. In its own home Hinduism has not been lacking in adaptability and the power of accommodation to changing conditions, and she regards both Islam and Christianity as youthful rivals, whose vigorous strength has been and is a menace to her own stability, and whom she endeavours to combat with weapons borrowed from their own armoury. In recent years her emigrant sons have carried their faith with them to many lands within the Empire, to South Africa, Fiji, British Guiana and elsewhere, and have built temples in their new homes and maintained their ancestral rites. The similar overflow of population and creed in former years was directed rather eastward to Burma and Siam, to Java and Sumatra and the islands of the eastern seas. Except for these emigrant peoples her influence and power are now practically confined to India. As illustrating moreover the importance of a sympathetic study of Hinduism, it should not be forgotten that of every four children born into the brotherhood of the Empire three are cradled and nurtured in India, and, except for the Muhammadan minority, learn the responsibilities and ways of Hinduism from their mother's lips. Hindu religious literature also, in the sacred Sanskrit tongue, is unique in its variety and extent.

The judgment has often been expressed that Hinduism is not in reality a religion at all, but an assortment of rules for the conduct of society, a formal system or an external order which shackles the

outward man in an intricate net of caste proprieties, but is indifferent to creed or moral habits. And it is no doubt true that a man may be accepted as an orthodox Hindu whose life will not bear scrutiny in regard to any ethical code that would be accepted in the West. It is equally true that a Hindu is born, not made. He is what he is by virtue of birth and descent, and not by conviction or change of heart. Dangerous, however, as generalizations always are, they carry with them a peculiar peril when applied to so comprehensive and widely diversified a system as Hinduism. Within its fold extremes meet. There are undoubtedly many Hindus to whom religion is little else than regard for caste rules, with more or less observance of the customs of ritual and sacrifice, and attendance at the Temple feasts and Melas, the latter the counterpart of English bank holidays. May not the same assertion, however, be made as regards slackness and apathy to spiritual appeal of a proportion of the adherents of most religions to-day? It is by no means proven that the proportion is larger in Hinduism than elsewhere. On the other hand, some of the forms of worship and belief which have ranged themselves in the past or exist at the present day under the broad covering of the Hindu name, will contest the palm for spirituality of thought and simplicity of devotion with anything that can be found in other religions outside of Christianity. There are many Indians, imbued with these convictions and love of the truth, as sincere theists as any Jewish rabbi or Christian professor. Many also who have made a real study of the Christian faith and of the life of its Founder maintain that the Indian interpretation of Christ is more true to His mind and thought than that which they regard as the perverted forms and creed of Western Christendom. Between these men and the other extreme of worldliness and indifference there is little or no sympathy. One of these higher forms the Pandit expounded at our Conference. Sanâtana signifies "eternal," and in the religious texts is a well-known epithet of Vishnu as the Supreme God. *Sanâtana Dharma*, the theme of his profoundly interesting exposition, is the eternal religious law or right. A. S. G.

Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A., was General Secretary of the Sanâtan Dharma Palini Sabha, Benares, 1894–7, a professor of the Central Hindu College, 1898, and Secretary of Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, 1903–4. He also occupied the political position of Foreign Minister of Jhalawar Native State.

Pandit Laddu is a learned scholar of Poona, and although he was not able to be present his short paper presents an interesting point of view and will be read with appreciation.—[EDITOR.]

Orthodox Hinduism or Sanâtana Dharma

By Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A.

PART I

I DEEM it a great honour to be asked to address this historic Conference on such an important subject as the Religion handed down to us by our ancient Indo-Aryan forefathers. It was a splendid idea of the organizers of the Conference to convene it during this year of the Imperial Exhibition.

I admire the noble spirit underlying the rule of limiting the discourses to the promulgation of religious principles without an attempt to assert their superiority by comparisons. The age of religious disputes or controversies is happily drawing to its close in the civilized world, and I am sure the spirit engendered by this Conference will stimulate friendly religious discussions and hasten the end of religious arrogance and heat, generated by bigotry and fanaticism.

The grand lesson of religious toleration given by the Imperial Government deserves the appreciation of the whole world and the warmest tribute of this Conference.

INTRODUCTION

If Hinduism, for which I stand to speak to-day, has no other outstanding feature to attract your special notice, it can at least boast of its broad toleration shewn by the following facts :

1. It never attempted to convert the followers of other religions or to force its doctrines on them.

2. It seldom persecuted anybody for religious faith (from which social laws must be differentiated), and for ages we see the non-fighting and non-slaying Jainas and Buddhists (the " heretic " sects arising out of Hinduism) living side by side and in peace with or under the protection of the Kshatriya Warriors who belonged to the sect of Shâktas, offering animal sacrifices to the Supreme Goddess of Nature.

3. Then we see all these sects giving a friendly home to our Parsi brothers, who, to avoid religious persecution, sought shelter in India.

This toleration is often regarded by some young enthusiasts as a weak point in Hinduism, but it is none the less true that it is the keystone of the strong foundation on which the most ancient religion in the world has rested and survived so long.

The most remarkable fact about Hindusim, to which this toleration may be traced, is that it is not the outcome of the preachings of *one* self-assertive prophet, or *one* gospel giving *one* rigid conception of Godhead or Divinity.

The Seers or Sages (Rishis), through whom the Revelation or the Sacred Institutes are believed to have been received, do not claim or pretend to have a thorough knowledge of the Mysterious Being underlying the evolution or creation of the Universe. From one of the earliest Vedic Hymns (*Rig-Veda, Mandala* x. 129) we can hear this note in the Seers' modest confession of their ignorance of the Grand Mystery enveloping this Universe and Life, beyond the assumption of the existence of the Self-Existent One:

. . . The first subtle bond connecting Entity with Nullity—
This Ray that kindled dormant Life, where was it then?
Before? or 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 formed 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.

Rig-Veda, Mandala x. 129.

Of this Highest Omniscient Lord or Self-Existent Spirit the epithets "Undefinable," "Unknowable," "Indescribable," are freely used in all Hindu Sacred Books. So strongly is this difficulty of comprehending the Mysterious Source of the Universe felt that complete latitude is given in Hinduism for its conception. It may be contemplated as an All-Pervading Spirit, or worshipped as the Supreme Lord, or as manifested in a God, incarnation, or a natural object, or an image.

This perfect freedom to contemplate or worship the Divine Being is the special feature of Hinduism.

The keynote of Hinduism is that the Mystery, the solution of which is really the task of all religions, is too great for the average man to comprehend, although it should be gradually appreciated on the progressive paths of Yoga or Jnâna in the Esoteric region. So it is quite immaterial to the ordinary Hindu, outside the Esoteric realm, how he views the Mystery, hence there is little dispute about it among the Hindus.

Hinduism Undefined

No " ism " is so unmeaning as Hinduism ; for the word " Hindu " was originally used for a member of a people inhabiting a country, and not in the sense of a follower of a particular religion. Nowhere in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature do we come across the term *Hindu*. The Persians called the people living in India (beyond the river Sindhu, Indus) " Hindus," as vaguely as the Sanskrit writers called the people living north-west of India " Yavanas."

Thus, if Hinduism means anything it should logically indicate typical characteristics of the people who lived in India before the Muhammadan conquest. But if we take *Hinduism* in the sense of a religion, as it is done arbitrarily now, we are confronted with the extreme difficulty of defining it, for it obviously includes innumerable sects or systems of religious doctrine.

How can we differentiate it from other religions? In vain do we look for a special feature in connection with the Godhead. As we have already noted, the Hindus have many conceptions of Divinity, and are free to adopt any form of worship.

Neither can we point to a social custom such as the Caste System for this purpose of a religious differentiation, for caste is not observed by many sects and orders of the Hindus. Then we have to find a definition which distinguishes Hinduism from Buddhism, which are generally spoken of as two distinct religions ; yet Buddhism is as much an offshoot of the Indo-Aryan parental stock of religions as " Vaishnavism." Buddha is as much an *Avatâra* (incarnation) of Vishnu as Rama and Krishna. Why should the worshippers of Rama and Krishna be called Hindus and not those of Buddha? Buddha was as much a Prophet as Chaitanya, Shankara, Ramânuja and Vallabha. Utterances attributed to Krishna are as much against the abuses of the Vedic religion as those attributed to the Buddha. The Vaishnavas and Shaivas are as much opposed to animal sacrifices as the Buddhists.

The Buddha's agnosticism could be derived from the Vedic texts as well as the pantheistic, theistic and polytheistic doctrines of the Hindus.

Karma

The only central doctrine which governs the whole region of religious systems ordinarily placed under the category of Hinduism is the doctrine of *Karma*, which regulates the reincarnation or transmigration of the soul, and includes the processes of Yoga (concentration), called Dhyâna (contemplation) and Samâdhi (absorption), for the final *Moksha* (freedom) or *Nirvâna* (cessation) from the bondage of Karma and Birth and Rebirth.

Here we find a distinctive feature, which is *religious*, being concerned with a spiritual process, which is common to all

the Hindu systems of religion, and which differentiates Hinduism from all the non-Indo-Aryan religions. And this one central doctrine is also the central doctrine of Buddhism and Jainism.

Sometimes the term "Brahmanism" is adopted in place of "Hinduism," by way of differentiating "Buddhism"; but it is forgotten that Brahmanism specially indicates in modern times the religion of those who worship Rama and Krishna, who were Kshatriyas like Buddha and Mahavira (the Jina). Besides, the highest authorities of Brahmanism, Manu and Vyâsa, were more Kshatriyas than Brahmans. The legal Institutes of Manu equally governed the Brahmans and Kshatriyas, Vaishnavas and Bauddhas, etc. Buddha speaks very reverently of the real Brahmans, and Asoka's Edicts recommended charity towards them.

All the above considerations force us to one conclusion, that Hinduism is a miscellany of many systems of religion, including Vaidic Ritualism, Vedântism, Smârtism, Vaishnavism, Shâktism, Shaivism, and Buddhism, Jainism, also the modern sects of Sikh Panthas, Ârya Samâj, Brâhma Samâj, etc. The central doctrine which constitutes the criterion of Hinduism is the doctrine of Karma.

We now proceed to the subject of Orthodox Hinduism or Sanâtana Dharma, which has many peculiar features with which the public of the West are not much acquainted.

Orthodox Hinduism is a Living Religion all over India claiming adherents more than 217 millions in number. Many modern settlements in America and Africa now have colonies of Orthodox Hindus who occasionally send for priests from India. There was an old settlement of Hindus in Java, which now seeks to establish relations with the Hindus in India.

Orthodox Hinduism

In the Sacred Books in Sanskrit we do not find a distinctive term for Orthodox Hinduism—"Dharma"[1] is the only term used for it; and Buddhism or Jainism are spoken of as *Matam* (opinion), representing a school of thought or sect.

"Sanâtana Dharma" or "Sâswat Dharma" (Ancient or Eternal Religion) or "Ârya Dharma" (Religion of the Aryans) do not literally signify what the words are now conventionally taken to indicate, i.e. Orthodox Hinduism.

In practice it is not at all necessary for a member of the living religion of Sanâtana Dharma to profess a faith of any kind. He is a Sanâtana Dharmi so long as he does not openly defy and counteract some social rules on which his own community insists, and he may remain a Sanâtana Dharmi, even though outcast by his own community, so long as he does not openly embrace some non-Hindu

[1] *Dharma* (from root *dhri* = to hold) literally means all laws that uphold humanity, hence includes social, moral, political, juristic laws, and also individua and household duties with reference to hygienic and astrological rules. Dharma extends its jurisdiction over all departments of human activities.

religion or refuse to call himself a Sanâtana Dharmi by joining a reformed society.

Scriptural Authority

In theory at least the religious leaders of the community to which such a Sanâtana Dharmi belongs must *acknowledge the authority* of all the following Sacred Books, although for practice or observances they may choose any of the many courses prescribed by any of them :

I. *The Vedas*, called *Sruti* or Revelation, are paramount in authority —the parental source of all the Indo-Aryan systems of religion.

Preachers of Sanâtana Dharma maintain that those who recite only the *Prânava*, i.e. the mystic symbolic sound for the Eternal and Infinite Divine Essence, " OM," should be regarded as the adherents of the Vedic Religion (See *Manu* ii. 81 to 84,[1] also 85 to 87). This simple religious qualification is fulfilled by not only Sanâtana Dharma but by almost all the sects of Hinduism.

The Vedas are four : The Rig-Veda, the Sâma-Veda, Yajur-Veda (two in number) and the Atharva-Veda ; and each of them has three parts :

(1) The *Sanhitâ* or Mantra Portion—mostly Hymns.

(2) The *Brâhmana* Portion, giving a body of ritualistic precepts under the heads of *Vidhi* (rules) and *Arthavâda* (explanatory remarks). These explanatory remarks often give the esoteric significance of the symbols or emblems used for ritualistic religion, such as the sacred fire, the different oblations, the initiation with sacred thread, etc., etc.

(3) The *Upanishads* or the Vedânta (from *Veda anta*, the end of the Vedas). They are also called *Rahasya* (Mystical Science)—generally to be concealed from those who have not finished worldly duties and are not mature for *Jnâna* (Spiritual Wisdom).

II. *The Sûtras*—the Srauta, Kalpa, Dharma, and Grihya Sûtras. These compendiums preserve the Vedic precepts on sacrifices, sacraments and duties, giving the *Mantras* in condensed form. The Sûtras are very important with regard to Sanâtana Dharma, as they definitely lay down the rules of :

(1) *Varnâsrama* (Castes and Orders).

(2) *Sanskâras* (Sacraments including Initiation and Marriage).

These are followed even to this day and stand out as the distinctive characteristic of the Orthodox Hindus.

III. *The Dharma Shastras.* (*Smriti*, or traditional remembered laws.) These are also important, as they constitute the laws of

[1] 83. " The monosyllable (OM) is the highest Brahman."

84. " All rites ordained in the Veda, burnt oblations, and other sacrifices pass away, but know that the syllable ' OM ' is imperishable."

the Dharma Sûtras on Varnâsrama and proper rules of conduct and add legal or juristic institutes.

IV. The Epics—*The Mahâbhârata* and *The Râmâyana*—the most popular works in India, which impart religious instruction through legendary history, including the biographies of the greatest *Avatâras* of Vishnu.

These are placed on the same rank of authority as *Smriti* so far as religious injunctions given in them are concerned. The most revered Sacred Book—the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*—is only a small part of the *Mahâbhârata*.

I would attach the greatest importance to this Book, which is universally revered by the Orthodox Hindus; for if *one* Gospel is looked for, which all the Hindus would accept as their own in preference to all the other Sacred Books that command their nominal homage, it is the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*.

The Epics lay down the foundation of *Avatâra* worship and the Gîtâ reconstructs in a definite and consistent way the progressive Religion of *Karma*, *Bhakti*, and *Jnâna* (Action, Devotion, and Wisdom)—with a connective process of Yoga, which is another outstanding feature of Sanâtana Dharma.

V. *The Purânas* and *Tantras*, which among other things confirm the sectarian worships.

We get from the Purânas and Tantras the five main sects of the Sanâtana Dharma:

1. *The Vaishnavas*—the worshippers of Vishnu and the avatâras; Rama and Krishna especially.
2. *The Shaivas*—the worshippers of Shiva.
3. *The Shaktas*—the worshippers of Shakti (the Power of Nature deified).
4. *The Gânapatyas*—the worshippers of Gânapati, the God of Fortune.
5. *The Sauryas*—the worshippers of Surya (Sun).

But the epithets used by the devotees of each of the Gods are the same as are used for the Almighty.

The *Purânas* are of special importance to the Vaishnavas (worshippers of Vishnu and his *avatâras*); and the Tantras to the worshippers of Shakti (the Supreme Goddess and all her manifestations) and Shiva (or Rudra and all his manifestations). The *Purânas* also introduce Shântis (propitiatory ceremonies, connected with Vinayaka-Ganesha, giver of success, or Grahas—planets having astrological effects) and also *Vratas* for popular observances.

The Diversity in Orthodox Hinduism

Sacred books mentioned under II., III., IV., and V. cover a stupendous mass of literature (the major Law Books, Dharma Shastras, number twenty-four, exclusive of the minor, and the

condensed Manu alone presents 2,695 verses; the Mahâbhârata alone gives 100,000 verses; the eighteen major Purânas give 400,000 verses) supplemented by another stupendous mass of commentaries and digests.

All these derive their authority from the Vedas (under I.) which again speak volumes. The Hymns of Rig-Veda alone number one thousand and seven. So it is not difficult to imagine that any shade or grade of religious principle or practice existing in the world will find its counterpart, equivalent or coinciding element in the huge gospel of the Orthodox Hindus.

The Seven Systems of Indian Philosophy (I include here Chârvâka's Atheism) quote Vedic texts as authority. The two great divisions of Hinduism, one based on *Ahimsâ* (abstinence from slaughter of any animal life) and the other based on animal sacrifice, are both derived from Vedic authority. Religious systems ranging from the subtlest to the grossest principles, from the most stoic to the most sensuous, from the most philosophical to the most arbitrary, from the most enlightened to the most ignorant, from one extreme of pantheism to the other extreme of polytheism, covering the intermediate ground of Theism and semi-Theism of the Sânkhya,[1] find a place in Sanâtana Dharma; and the strangest feature is that they do so on principle.

The Principle of Diversity Explained

The principle giving sanction to this diversity is a full consciousness of inequalities of human mentalities which cannot have a uniform religion, just as human bodies cannot have clothes cut to one uniform size. Hence the necessity of a graduated religion based on *Adhikâra* (title or right created by virtue of *Karma* and *Guna*).

In this connection *Guna* is a word of special significance both in Hindu religion and philosophy. No English word can properly translate it, but *natural quality* or *temperament* is the nearest approach. The most prominent *gunas* are:

(1) *Sattva* (purity, good or divine temperament).

(2) *Rajas* (sanguine nature, a quality attached to *active* blood, creating attachment for sensuous objects and enjoyments, vanity, glory, etc).

(3) *Tamas* (darkness and inertia, creating delusions and laziness, etc.).

Manu says in xii. 24 and 25: "Know *attva*, *rajas* and *tamas* to be the three qualities of the self with which the Great One always

[1] A system of Philosophy in which God and Nature are both co-existent.

completely pervades all existences. When one of these qualities wholly predominates in a body, then it makes the embodied soul eminently distinguished for that quality."

All the Hindu sacred books take notice of the *gunas* and graduate religious duties accordingly. The Caste system is based on *Guna* and *Karma*, so, too, are the Orders, the grades of Karma, Upâsana and Jnâna, the stages of Yoga and the transitions of the self or the individual soul.[1]

I conclude my remarks on the effect of *gunas* on minds by giving an illustration: Take a piece of glass, coated with three paints, (1) a quicksilver paint (representing *sattva*), (2) on it a red paint (representing *rajas*), (3) and on it a dark paint (representing *tamas*). This painted glass is supposed to stand for an undeveloped mind in which the *tamasic* guna or darkness predominates. Religious progress should take the following course: (1) Wash off the dark paint and you attain the *rajastic* stage of the mind—one stage higher than the *tamasic*. (2) Wash off the red paint; then you attain the *sattvic* stage and you may "know yourself" by looking through the Mirror of your pure mind. (3) When the quicksilver paint also is removed your duality also vanishes, i.e. there is no longer the Mirror—you transcend all *gunas* (the glass becomes transparent). Your personality is immersed in the Grand Reality. This, in a nutshell, is the principle of the process of a graduated religion of the Hindus.

Sanâtana Dharma Simplified

But the Rishis or the Sacred Law-givers have not been unconscious of the undue overgrowth of diverse systems and have shown eagerness to prescribe shorter roads through the wilderness of the Sanâtana Dharma.

Sacred books of the greatest authority have recommended simplified dharmas and we notice only a few:

(1) We have noticed in *Manu* the authority for the simple religion consisting of (i) moral virtues, and (ii.) simple prayer (the muttering of Sâvitri only).

(2) Krishna in the *Gîtâ* says: (i) "When the mind is flooded by light no Vedic practices are necessary—they being like wells to a flooded country." (ii) To those whose minds are not enlightened, "Give up all religions and come to ME."

(3) Vyâsa's religious instructions in the eighteen Purânas are summed up in two sentences: "To do good to others is righteousness. To cause pain to others is sin."

Manu (vi. 91–92) recommends the *Tenfold Law* of Virtues as follows:

(1) Contentment, (2) Forgiveness, (3) Self-Control (physical), (4) Self-Control (mental), (5) Abstention from anger, (6) Abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything, (7) Purification,

[1] *Manu* xii. 81: "With whatever disposition of mind one performs one act, one reaps its results in a body, endowed with the same quality."

(8) Acquisition of Knowledge, (9) Acquisition of Spiritual Wisdom, (10) Truthfulness.

Every *Dvija* (Hindu of the three higher castes) is expected to repeat this *Mantra* at least ten times in his daily prayers thrice a day. It occurs in *Rig-Veda* iii. 62.10, and is literally translated as follows :

OM—Let us meditate on the excellent glory of the Divine Vivifier. May He illumine our intellects with divine light !—OM.

Mark the striking characteristic of the Hindu prayer. It is neither for a worldly object or gain nor for any favour, mercy, or grace from a Personal God. It is for more and more light—the food for the intellect—the light of knowledge or truth, that dispels ignorance or illusion, the root cause of our bondage, limitations and consequent sufferings.

PART II

VARNÂSHRAMA DHARMA

I. VARNA (Caste)

The four original castes (viz. Brâhmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shûdra) were first instituted according to the division of *guna* and *karma*, as it is said in the *Gitâ :*

The four Castes were created by ME on the basis of *Guna* and *Karma* division.

We note that *birth* is not mentioned in connection with caste. The explanation is as follows :

(*a*) The *Guna* division. The Brâhmanas to represent the *Sattva* guna ; the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas to represent the *Rajas* guna ; the Shûdras to represent the *Tamas* guna.

(*b*) According to the *Karma* division, i.e. works or functions :

Dvijas (Twice born)
- Brâhmanas undertake study, professorship, priesthood and spiritual duties.
- Kshatriyas undertake warlike duties for protection and rule.
- Vaishyas undertake money-making concerns through trade, etc.

Shûdras undertake labour and service.

Although the growth of many subcastes multiplied the number of *Varnas* and their avocation, we really have only two divisions among them for religious purposes, namely : Dvijas (or twice born) and Shûdras.

The *Dvijas* are the first three castes, who were originally Aryans and were entitled to initiation (investment with sacred thread, which marked their second birth)[1] and to the recitation of Vedic Mantras.

The Shûdras were really the non-Aryan aborigines, who were believed to be morally and intellectually so inferior to the Aryans that the latter drew a sharp line between them in order to save their progeny from degeneration through intercourse.

The strongly-felt inequality accounts for the apparent inequity of the Indo-Aryans' exclusion of the Shûdras from the Mysteries of the Vedic religion, which they apprehended would be misunderstood and abused by the aborigines.

The Sanâtana Dharmis still retain a social system, mixed up with religion, as was observed by all the Aryan races coming in contact with the inferior races of the countries in which they settled.

We may compare the oldest Roman social system with that of the Hindus:

However obscure may be the history of early Rome we cannot doubt that Roman citizens were, from a very early period, composed of two distinct bodies: the *populus* and the *plebs*, of which the first alone originally possessed all political power, and the members of which were bound together by peculiar religious ties. . . . Whatever may have been their origin, it consisted of three tribes. . . . A pure unspotted pedigree was claimed by every member of a *gens*.[2] . . . The mere fact of birth in one of the *familiæ* forming part of a *gens* gave admittance to a sacred circle which was closed to all besides. Those in this circle were surrounded by religious ceremonies from their cradle to their grave. Every important act of their life was sanctioned by solemn rites. The individual, the family, the *gens* were all under the guardianship of their respective tutelary deities. Every locality with which they were familiar was sacred to some patron god. The Calendar was marked out by the services of religion. . . . The *plebs* were as much excluded from the pale of the peculiar divine law as from that of the peculiar public law of the ruling body. (See Sandars' *Justinian*.)

The above extract would read like a description of the society in which *I* was bred and brought up—of a society of to-day or yesterday in India, rather than of what lived in Europe thousands of years ago—if only we put *dvijas* in the place of the three tribes of the *populus*, and *shûdras* for *plebs*.

An undercurrent change has been going on in the caste system

[1] *Manu* ii.
147. "Let him consider that an existence when his parents begat him through mutual affection and when he was born from the Womb."
148. "But that birth which his spiritual teacher, acquainted with Sacred laws, procures for him through the Sâvitri, is real, exempt from age and death."
The *Satapatha Brâhmana* describes the initiation as born of spiritual impregnation.

[2] Cf. Sans. *gotra* and the Latin *agnates* with the *gyâtis* (*jnâtis*).

of the Hindus for ages. The rules of exclusion became, until recently, more and more rigid, so much so that Brâhmanas, even of the same *gens* (gotra), being placed in different localities formed distinct circles who refrained from dining or intermarrying with each other. A reaction set in, thanks to the new conditions under the British Government. Religious toleration and improved communications of these days have helped intercourse, which, aided by the study of the original sacred books, is demolishing the many barriers raised during the dark ages round the local circles of caste-groups ; and the rigidity of the caste rules is now gradually relaxing.

Untouchability

Untouchability was carried to extreme limits, much beyond the rules of the earlier religious books. But in the West it is not generally known that untouchability did not strictly apply to the lower castes as such, but to uncleanliness of any person of high or low castes. Anyone, be he of a lower caste or the same caste or even of the same family, is untouchable under certain conditions of impurity or uncleanliness. A son may not touch a father while the latter is praying or having his meal, unless the son has had his bath and a change of clean clothes. He cannot help his father in his *pûjâ* if he has not been initiated.

Perhaps this is enough to convey that the question of untouchability is purely one of cleanliness and is not exclusively attached to lower castes. Those castes are untouchable whose profession or daily occupation is connected with unclean things. Educated and refined members of the lower castes are, however, now freely admitted into the society of the higher castes. Spiritual merits wipe out caste-disqualifications. Some great Bhaktas and Sâdhus arose from lower castes and commanded reverence from members of all other castes.

II. ÂSHRAMAS (Orders of Life)

The four stages of life which a twice-born is expected to pass through are : (1) Brahmachârya : the life of studentship and celibacy ; (2) Gârhasthya : the life of a householder ; (3) Vânaprastha : the life of retirement in the forest ; (4) Sannyâsa : the life of renunciation and mendicancy.

The rules regarding these orders are not systematically observed, although we find the members of all these orders throughout India. Many scholars of the classical institutions of the Hindus observe Brahmachârya, and you may see many *Sannyâsis* at sacred places who have renounced the world. There are many orders among the *Sannyâsis* themselves of the present day, and the most cultured order is that of the followers of Shankarâcharya. The *Sannyâsis*

are above *Varna* or caste-rules, which claim adherence only from the householders.

III. THE MÂRGAS (Paths)

The three Mârgas or Paths of Sanâtana Dharma are : (i) Karma (Action—Practice and Observance) ; (ii) Bhakti (Devotion to God) ; (iii) Jnâna (Spiritual Knowledge and Wisdom).

In relation to the Âshramas (Orders) : the Householder follows *Karma* principally, but also *Bhakti* and *Jnâna ;* the Vânaprasthi follows *Bhakti* principally and also *Jnâna ;* the Sannyâsi follows *Jnâna.* We will consider these paths in detail.

i. The Path of Karma

Karma is of two kinds : *Nitya* and *Naimittika. Nitya Karmas* are for daily observance. *Naimittika Karmas* are for observance on special occasions for special *nimittas* (objects).

(1) Nitya (daily) Karma consists mainly of : (*a*) *Sandhyâ*—Prayer (which is *Vedic*); (*b*) *Vandanâ* or pûjâ—Worship (*Paurânic*) ; (*c*) *Panchmahâyajna*—Sacrifices (*Smârtic*).

(1 *a*) The *Sandhyâ* prayer is to be performed thrice a day, i.e. at sunrise, noon and sunset, after baths or washing.

It has three parts, two consisting of Vedic mantras : 1st, the purifying part, and 2nd, the illumining part (i.e. the Gâyatri or Sâvitri mantra). The third part is a Yogic process, the *prânâyâma* (deep breathing with concentration), a stepping-stone to higher progress in *Yoga.*

(1 *b*) The daily *pûjâ* is offered to the *Navagrahas* (the guardian deities of the nine planets, who, according to astrology, influence destinies here on earth) and also to the Dasadikpâlas (i.e. the guardians of the ten directions) ; then to Ganesha, the God of Success ; then to Shiva ; then to Vishnu.

After this one special god of the family or sect (*Upâsya devata*)[1] is prayed to. The five principal sects are called after the following five deities : Surya (sun) ; Ganapati or Ganesha ; Vishnu ; Shiva and Shakti.

[1] *Upâsanâ* (worship) is distinct from the Prayers and Pûjâs mentioned above. It is open to those who are initiated to it by *dîkshâ* (second initiation) opening the *spiritual sight.*

I must point out that no Hindu worships the Sun or Fire or an Image. It is always the deity residing in it, which again is a manifestation of the Supreme Being.

Before an image is worshipped a rite—called *prâna pratisthâ*—is performed, which consists in invoking the deity to impregnate the image with its spirit.

The principle of image worship is that an untrained mind cannot concentrate except on some tangible object.

Besides, the Hindu mind is specially tender in acknowledging favours or any good turn done. It sanctifies a cow, because it gives milk ; a banyan tree, because it gives shade in the scorching sun ; a river (e.g. the Ganges), because it washes awa impurity ; the earth, because it yields food-stuffs ; a king, because he protects his people—and so on.

The Hindu Trinity consists of three Gods: Brahmâ (the Creator); Vishna (the Protector) and Shiva (the Destroyer) who emanated from the Supreme God (Ishwarah). The Hindu Mythology is given in the Purânas, in some of which SHAKTI is described the Primordial Source producing the above three gods. She of her own will is reborn to marry Shiva, the Supreme Yogi.

In the prayers addressed to these deities, each, except the last, is spoken of as Supreme Lord and the last as the Supreme Power and Force of Nature.

There are sub-sects among the Vaishnavas, the devotees of Vishnu, who worship not only different *avatâras*, of Vishnu, but different characters of the same *avatâra* as Krishna the child, Krishna the cowherd (Gopâla), Krishna the King of Dwâraka (Dwarakâdhisha), etc.

Similarly there are so many manifestations of Shiva and Shakti. Shiva has Bhairava, Rudra, Mahâvira, etc. Shakti has Chandi, Kâli, Durgâ, Târâ, etc. The non-Aryan animists offer sacrifices to Bhairava (Shiva) and Mâtâji (Shakti). The Tantras divide the Shâktas (devotees of Shakti) into two Mârgas or paths; viz. *Dakshina* (right) and *Vâma* (left).

The Vâma-Mârga is for those who are steeped in sensuous life, but who are to look upon the worst thing in the light of divine rays coming from the Supreme Goddess Nature. There are secret circles of Tantrikas of deep mystical character. The Tantras give several methods of spiritualism *siddhis* (processes to attain power over spiritual beings), and also charms of various kinds (mostly borrowed from the Atharva-Veda).

Pûjâs are also offered to Lakshmi (the Goddess of Wealth), Sarasvatî (the Goddess of Learning) and many other goddesses and gods on special occasions. In *Pûjâ* the offerings should consist of: *argha*: grass-blades and washed rice and oblations of water and milk, etc.; *naividya*: offerings of sweet fruit, etc.; *madhuparka*: offering of honey, etc.; *dhupa*: incense burning; *dipa*: light (burning clarified ghee); *gandha*: perfumes (sandal paste, etc.) and flowers; *tulasi* leaves for Vishnu and *bilva* leaves for Shiva.

(1 *c*) *The Pancha-mahâ-yajnas*

These are the five great sacrifices for daily performances: (1) *Brahma Yâjna*: study of the Vedas; (2) *Pitri Yâjna*: oblations offered to the Manes; (3) *Dêva Yâjna*: sacrifices to gods (through the fire); (4) *Bhûta Yâjna*: sacrifices to spirits or departed souls; (5) *Atithi Yâjna*: hospitality to guests.

A Brâhmana should not have any food before he has performed his second *Sandhyâ* at noon and performed the above *Yâjnas*. Some Brâhmanas keep up sacred fires on *Vedis* and offer oblations of *ghee*, etc., and perform what are called *Havanas*. There are mystical and emblematic designs for the construction of the Vedis (platforms for the sacred fire).

(2) Naimittika (Occasional) Karmas are : (*a*) *The Samskâras* (Sacraments) ; (*b*) *Shântis* (Propitiatory ceremonies) ; (*c*) *Vratâs* (Fasts with gifts and recitation of sacred legends) ; (*d*) *Prayâschittas* (Penances for purification of the soul from sins).

(2 *a*) *The Samskâras* (*Sacraments*)

There are forty-six Sacraments, but the following are the more important (1) *Garbhâdhana* : the ceremony of conception ; (2) *Jâta Karma* : ceremony after birth ; (3) *Nâmadheya* : rite of naming the child ; (4) *Annaprâsana* : first feeding with rice ; (5) *Chudâ Karana* : tonsure ; (6) *Upanayana* : initiation ; (7) *Vivâha* : marriage ceremony ; (8) *Shrâddha* : the funeral ceremony.

(2 *c*) *The Vrâtas and Kathâs*

Those who are not entitled to Vedic mantras may perform the *Vrâtas* (fast and gifts or feasts), begun with a *Sankalpa* (vow) and ending with *Phalasruti* (the hearing of the great merit to be acquired from the *Vrâta*), generally after the recitation from a *Purâna* of the *Kathâ* or a legend in connection with the *Vrâta*.

Women mostly observe *Vrâtas*, the most important of which is the *Sâvitrî Vrâta*. Men and women of all castes observe the common *Vrâta* of *Satya-Nârâyana*.

The common fast is *Ekadashi*, i.e. on the day of the eleventh moon (now recommended on medical grounds, for people suffering from rheumatism or gout).

The *Kathâs*, i.e. recitations in vernaculars (translated from Sanskrit) of the Râmâyana, Mahâbhârata and the Purânas before public audiences without regard to caste and creeds, are often arranged by private persons or by public subscriptions.

Before I leave the *Karma Mârga* I must observe that the *Gitâ* takes a broader view of *Karma* (i.e. action). According to all views the object of Karma is to purify the body and the mind in order to make the mind fit for Bhakti or Jnâna. The three baths, the fragrance of the sandal paste and flowers must have a cheering effect on the mind, and the fire its disinfecting effect on the atmosphere. There are many hygienic and sanitary features in the Karmas of the Hindus which would require a scientific discourse for a proper understanding. Astrology plays a great part in the daily works of the Orthodox Hindus.

ii. The Path of Bhakti

Bhakti is devotion to the Supreme God.

(1) The *Purânas* identify the *Upâsya Devatâs* of the different sects with the Paramâtma or Para Brahman, i.e. Supreme Soul.

(2) The *Tantras* give to Shakti the attributes of the All-Pervading Supreme Power—the Great First, etc.

(3) Patanjali's *Yoga Shâstra* deals with contemplation on or communion with the Supreme God, i.e. a pure Theistic doctrine which is not mixed up with any demi-god or demi-goddess. This Shâstra is at the same time religious and philosophical, like the Vedânta. The Science of concentration and contemplation incidentally deals with the powers attainable through the concentration of mental energies, i.e. power over atomic forces, of telepathy, far sight, moving in space like ether, etc.

There is a *Bhakti Shâstra* (or the Science of Bhakti) by Shândilya which gives the three following acts contributive to devotion, namely: *Shravana*: hearing (the praises of God's glory); *Manana*: contemplation (on God's glory); and *Kîrtana*: singing (of God's glory).

Intense Bhakti means complete devotion and entire resignation as enjoined in the *Gîtâ*.

The Love cult of Bhakti, called *Prema*, has its origin in the legends of the Gopinis' love for Krishna. Krishna is the Spirit and Gopinis are individual souls. The flute of Krishna sounds the call of God, playing the sweet celestial music which fills every soul with the exquisite joy and intoxicating ambrosia of Divine Love. The *Bhâgavat* and the *Gîtâ Govindas* are the principal Sanskrit books on this subject.

iii. The Path of Jnâna

Bhakti is devotion of the individual soul to the Supreme Soul; it presupposes duality. Jnâna begins where this Oneness in the place of duality is perceived. The Jnâna-Mârga is the Path which prepares the mind for this great Realization.

Many Bhaktas (devotees) refuse to be Jnânis (wise or enlightened) on the ground that there is no pleasure in becoming the One you love. An appropriate illustration given is: "You cannot enjoy sweet by becoming sweet."

The doctrine of Jnâna: When the veils of Mâyâ (illusory power of Nature) enveloping individual souls and maintaining the apparition of the dual world or relativity are gradually pierced through by the light of true spiritual knowledge (Jnâna) the individual self loses its egoism and identifies itself as a part of the Universal Divine Self, the *Brahman*; who is the One Self Existent beyond all other existences, who is the One Consciousness underlying the whole conscious universe, and who is the source of eternal bliss —who is *Sat, Chit, Ânanda.*[1] This is what the *ânta* or end of the Vedas leads us to, i.e. the Vedanta.

[1] *Sat* = Existence; *Chit* = Consciousness; *Ânanda* = Bliss.
These three attributes constitute the Primary State of Brahman, who expands

No one is a fit candidate for Jnâna whose mind has not been fully purified by Karmas of the *Samsâra* (this world of relative duality, which is a passing show) and who is not thoroughly convinced of the impermanence of the world, and in whose heart a real desire to seek after the permanent existence or the eternal truth has not been kindled. Through the practice of higher Yoga this earnest student comes in touch with that being *Brahman* who pervades the whole universe as its innermost soul; who is in and out; from whom, of whom and in whom is every being and thing; who through self-will, prompted by Ânanda,[1] emanates and evolves into the Supreme Divine Lord (Ishwara) and Virâta (the Upholder of the Cosmos), passing through four stages, and after a cycle (manvântara) absorbs into itself the one Self-existent.

Our egos grope in darkness and groan under limitations imposed on their power so long as they do not perceive this *Brahman* through the light of Jnâna, and then through Samâdhi of Yoga becomes absorbed in this Being.

IV. CONCLUSION

I have led you through the great pantheon and panorama of Hinduism, just as a guide would drive you through the Wembley Exhibition, in fifty minutes.

A religion, whose store-house has been accumulating materials of all kinds, precious or trivial, from time immemorial, must present you with an amazing collection, arranged like the bewildering mazes of a museum.

(root *brih* = to expand) of his own will, for his own *Ânanda* (pleasure), into the gross world through several stages of development (four of which cover the rise of the Cosmic Personal God), and then after a cycle contracts into the state of Pure Spirit.

Rig-Veda (*Mandala* x. 129):

"... The One lay void, shrouded in nothingness,
Then, turning inwards, he, by self-developed force
Of inner fervour and intense abstraction, grew.
And now in him desire, the primal germs of mind,
Arose, which knowing sages, profoundly searching, say
Is the first subtle bond connecting Entity
With Nonentity. ..."

The *Ishâ Upanishad*:

"There is only One Being who exists
Unmoved, yet moving swifter than the mind
... who, Himself at rest,
Transcends the fleetest flights of all beings;
Who, like the air, supports all vital action.
He moves, yet moves not; He is far, yet near;
He is within this universe, and yet
Outside this universe. Whoe'er beholds
All living creatures as in Him, and Him—
The Universal Spirit—as in all,
Henceforth regards no creature with contempt.
The man who understands that every creature
Exists in God alone, and thus perceives
The unity of being, has no grief
And no illusion."

Religious and philosophic efforts have apparently been made all through the past epochs to bring out a pure form of religion, devoid of complexities, but as has been the fate of all religions, originally pure, these forms have been abused or overgrown by the popular religions of past prejudices and superstitions.

A popular religion is never the religion as the prophet preaches it, but as the people make it by superimposing their own faiths or prejudices; and so long as these continue, or ignorance continues, the pure religion always becomes adulterated.

But what stands out in the religion called Hinduism can be summed up thus: (1) Freedom to accept any faith in divinity. (2) A graduated process of spiritual progress through Yoga; (3) The Doctrine of Karma; (4) The Doctrine of Bhakti and Prema (Love); (5) The Doctrine of Jnâna of the Vedânta; and the simplified popular religion is, as we have already quoted, Humanity or Philanthropy. No one is entitled to be called wise who does not regard all beings as equals, and feel friendly to all alike. A wise man is above caste and creed, and regards the whole of humanity as one family.

"He who sacrifices to the Self, equally recognizing the Self in all created beings and all created beings in the Self, attains *Swarâjya* (the power of ruling matters with regard to self) and becomes self-luminous."—*Manu* xii. 91.

"He who recognizes the Self through the self in all created beings becomes equal-minded towards all and enters the highest state."—*Manu* xii. 125.

The Religious Aspect of Hindu Philosophy

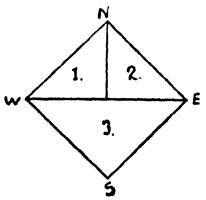
By Pandit D. K. Laddu, Ph.D., etc.
(Poona City)

(This paper was not read at the Conference.)

IN India the Hindus do not separate religion and philosophy, as is customary in western countries. We regard religion and philosophy as but two aspects of one thing, which must equally be grounded in reason and scientific truth. To trace the origin and development of Hinduism is, therefore, to trace the origin and development of Hindu Philosophy.

Three Periods

Hindu Philosophy falls into three periods, which are strongly marked in the general history of Hindu Civilization and are dependent upon the geography of India. India, as Sir William Jones has remarked, has the form of a square whose four angles are turned to the four cardinal points, and marked by the Hindu Kush



in the north, Cape Comorin in the south, and the mouths of the Ganges and the Indus in the east and west. This square is again divided into two triangles—Hindustan in the north, and the Deccan in the south. The northern triangle is again divided into the valley of the Indus and the plain of the Ganges. Thus India falls into three parts, (1) the Punjab, (2) the plain of the Ganges, and (3) the Deccan plateau. The first of the historical periods is the time when the domain of the Indo-Aryans was limited to the valley of the Indus with its five tributaries. This period has been fixed by great scholars of the East and the West as falling

between 2000 and 1000 B.C. The only literary monuments of this period that we know of are the Hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, which number 1017. They are chiefly religious, and give a lively and picturesque delineation of that primitive manner of life in which there were no castes, no âshramas, or life-stages, and no Brahmanical or priestly order. They display not only the ancient polytheism but contain also the first germs of philosophy.

The second period may roughly be said to extend from 1000 to 500 B.C. This second period supplies us with the collections of the *Yajur, Sama* and *Atharva-Veda*, together with the *Brâhmanas* and their culmination in the *Upanishads*. After these two periods, which might be distinguished as "old Vedic" and "new Vedic," follows a third period of Hindu history—the "post-Vedic," beginning about 500 B.C. with the rise of the heretical tendencies of Buddhism and Jainism, and producing a large number of literary works on Grammar, Law, Medicine and Astronomy, together with a rich collection of philosophical works in Sanskrit which enables us to trace the development of the Hindu philosophical mind down to the present time.

Monotheism in the Rig-Veda

In ancient India the gods were personifications of natural phenomena. These personified powers were regarded as the origin of the moral Law. In the later Hymns of the *Rig-Veda* we see emerging the thought by which begins the conception of the unity of the world. We find in the *Rig-Veda* a remarkable seeking and enquiring after that one from which all gods, worlds and creatures originate as an eternal unity. The Hindus arrive at this monism in a highly characteristic way. Monotheism was attained in Egypt by an almost mechanical unification, or at least identification, of the various local gods. In Palestine there was proscription of other gods and persecution of their worshippers for the exaltation of the national god, Jehovah. In India Hindus reached monism, though not monotheism, but along what would seem to be a more consciously philosophical path, deliberately seeing through the veil of the manifold the unity which underlies it. Thus the hymn II. 64, after mentioning various deities such as Agni, Indra and Vâyu, comes to the conclusion that there is one Being of whom the poets of the hymns speak under various names.

The same idea of the unity of the Universe is expressed in hymn I. 29. After the great thought of the unity had been conceived, an attempt was made to find out what that unity was: "Who is that god that we may worship him?" is the underlying query; and in the 9th hymn that god is called Prajâpati, who thenceforth occupies a higher position in the pantheon, until he is displaced by two other philosophical conceptions—Brahman and Âtman.

These three names, then, Prajâpati, Brahman and Âtman, dominate the philosophical development of the most ancient Hindu thought.

Pantheism

Just as the Old Testament of the Hebrews is superseded by the New, so in the Hindu system the more external ritual performances were replaced by a higher view of things, which forms the subject of the concluding chapters of the *Vedas*, which are called "Vedânta" or *Upanishads*. These Upanishads treat of Brahman or Âtman, which two terms are treated as synonyms. In a certain Upanishad, we find the doctrine of Brahman summed up as:

(1) The only reality is the Âtman.
(2) The Âtman is the subject of all philosophical enquiry.
(3) The Âtman itself is unknowable.

There is a well-defined body of tradition which denies the existence of the world. But the reality of the world forced itself on the beholder, and this led to a second stage of development, pantheism, according to which the world is real and yet the Âtman is the only reality, for the world *is* the Âtman. Hence arises the poetic conception of the *Chandogya Upanishad:*

> The Âtman is my soul in the inner heart, smaller than a barley-corn, smaller than a mustard-seed, smaller than a grain of millet; and he again is my soul in the heart, larger than the earth, larger than the atmosphere, larger than the heavens and all these worlds.

The Âtman is conceived as an absolute unity, while the world is a plurality. In order to resolve their incomprehensible identity, causality was taken as a connecting link between the two. The identity of the Supreme Soul and the Individual Soul is distinguished from a plurality of souls different from each other and from the highest Âtman. This distinction between the highest soul (*paramâtman*) and the individual soul (*jivâtman*) is a special feature of the later Upanishads. For instance, in *Katha-Upanishad iii.* 14, God and the soul are contrasted as light and shadow, showing the latter as having no reality of its own. But this contrast was sharpened by the growing realistic tendencies, and at last, in the *Svetashvetara Upanishad*, the highest soul, almighty and all-pervading as it is, is represented as different from the individual soul, which lives in the heart, smaller than the point of a needle, smaller than a ten-thousandth part of a hair, and becomes infinity.

Thus *Theism* distinguishes three entities, viz. (1) A real world, (2) a creative Âtman, and (3) the individual Âtman dependent upon him. Thus the highest Âtman who had already drawn his vital force from the soul living in us became superfluous, since the

active powers could be transferred without difficulty to Prakriti (Nature). Thus, God having disappeared, there remained only Prakriti and a plurality of individual souls (Purusha). This is exactly the standpoint of the Sânkhya Philosophy. We see its beginning in the later Upanishads, especially in *Maitrâyaniya*; but its development is attained in the post-Vedic period.

Deeds and Rebirth

In the oldest hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, the hope is frequently expressed that after death a good man will go to the gods to share their happy life. As for the wicked, it is their destiny to fall into a deep abyss and disappear. Yama was the first who found the way to the luminous heights of the happy world for succeeding generations. Different stages of happiness for pious worshippers seem not to have been a part of the oldest creed. In course of time this was modified and the belief arose that good and evil deeds find their corresponding rewards and punishments in a future life. A striking passage of a Brâhmana says: "Whatever food a man eats in this world, by that food he is eaten in the next world." Thus among the evils which await a bad man in the world to come is a definite fear of dying again and again even in that other world. This notion of a repeated death leads to the idea that it must be preceded by a repeated life, and, in transferring this repeated living and dying from the world beyond to the earth, the Hindus came finally to that dogma which has been in all subsequent ages perhaps more characteristic of India than anything else—the doctrine of "reincarnation." The first passage appearing in the *Brihadâranyaka-Upanishad* discloses to us the real motives of this dogma. Yâjnavalkya, when asked what remains of man after death, takes the interrogator by the hand, leads him from the assembly to a solitary place, and reveals to him there the great secret: "And what they spoke of was deeds, and what they praised was deeds; verily a man becomes holy by holy deeds, and wicked by wicked deeds." From this passage and others it may be inferred that the practical motive of the dogma of reincarnation was to explain the different destinies of men as the fruits of merit and demerit in a preceding life.

The Five Fires and the Two Ways

The Upanishads, having developed the creed of reincarnation, adapted it to the old Vedic creed of rewards and punishments in the other world. The two views combined led to a complicated system which taught a twofold reward and punishment, the first in the world beyond and the second in a succeeding life on earth. This theory is contained in the "doctrine of the five fires," an important text found in *Chandogya* v. and *Brihadâranyaka* vi.

This combined theory of compensation distinguishes three ways after death—(1) The Way of the Fathers, (2) The Way of the Gods, and (3) the " third place."

The first is destined for the performer of pious works, leading him through several stations to the placid realm of the moon, where the soul enjoys the fruit of his good works until they are consumed. Then he passes through various intermediate stations of ether, wind, fog, rain, plant, semen and womb, to a new human existence in which again the good and evil deeds of the previous life find their reward.

The second, or Way of the Gods, is meant for those who have spent their life in worshipping Brahman. They pass through the flame of the funeral pyre and a series of luminous stations, first to the sun, thence " to the moon, and afterwards to the lightning ; there is a spirit, not like a human being ; he leads them to Brahman. For them there is no return."

The " third place " is destined for those who have neither worshipped Brahman nor performed good works. This third place leads to a new life in the bodies of the lower animals, such as worms, insects, etc. This punishment is not found in the Upanishads, and appears first in the system of the Vedânta.

Transmigration is believed to be just as real as the empirical world. But, from another point of view, this empirical reality, together with creation and transmigration, is viewed as only an illusion. It is declared that there is no manifold ; no world, but only one being—the Brahman, the Âtman. The attainment of this knowledge is the highest aim of man, and in its possession lies the final liberation. The knowledge is not the means of liberation, it is liberation itself. He who has attained the conviction, " I am Brahman," has reached with it the knowledge that he in himself is the totality of all that is, and consequently he will not fear anything, because there is nothing beyond him ; he will not injure anybody, for nobody injures himself by himself. There are no means by which to attain this knowledge. It must come and does come of itself. He who has obtained this knowledge continues to live, for he must consume the fruits of his previous life ; but life with all its temptations can no longer delude him. By the fire of knowledge his former works are burnt up, and no new works can arise. He knows that his body is not his body and that his works are not his works, for he is the totality of the Âtman, and when he dies his spirit does not wander any more, for Brahman he is, and into Brahman he is resolved.

Post-Vedic Philosophy

In the third period, or that of post-Vedic philosophy, the two great religions of Buddhism and Jainism appeared, and the six

schools of Hindu philosophy sprang up. The six orthodox schools or Darsanas are: (1) The Mimamsa of Jaimini, (2) The Yoga of Patanjali, (3) The Nyâya of Gautama, (4) The Vaisheshika of Kanada, (5) The Sânkhya of Kapila and (6) The Vedânta of Bâdarâyana.

The important heterodox systems are Buddhism, Jainism and the materialistic system of Chârvâkas. But the six orthodox schools are not strictly philosophical, inasmuch as the Mimamsa of Jaimini is simply a methodical work treating of the various questions arising out of the complicated Vedic ritual. The Yoga of Patanjali is an exposition of the method of attaining union with the Âtman by means of mental concentration. The Nyâya is a work on logic and treats of all kinds of philosophy incidentally. The Nyâya system is attributed to Gautama, and the Vaisheshika school to Kanada, who follows the same method as that followed by Gautama with some difference by the introduction of the theory of atoms. His atom is a little different from our modern atom, it being the sixth part of a mote in a sunbeam! The cause of the concurrence of these atoms is either the will of the creator or time or any other competent thing. The only systems of metaphysical importance are the Sânkhya and the Vedânta; but even these are not to be considered as original creations of the philosophical mind, for the admittedly common basis of both (and with them, of Buddhism and Jainism) is to be found in the Upanishads. It is the ideas of the Upanishads which have developed into Buddhism on one side and the Sânkhya system on the other. Unlike both, the later Vedânta of Bâdarâyana and Shankarâcharya goes back to the Upanishads, and founds on them that great system of the Vedânta which is admittedly the ripest fruit of Hindu wisdom.

The Vedânta System

The pure idealism of Yâjnavalkya and its later modifications, such as Pantheism, Cosmogonism and Theism, presented a great difficulty to Shankara, which he has met with much philosophical acuteness. He distinguishes throughout an esoteric system (*Para-Vidya* = higher knowledge) containing a sublime philosophy, and an exoteric system (*Apara-Vidya* = lower knowledge) embracing "under the wide mantle of a theological creed," all the imaginings which spring, in course of time, from the original idealism. The exoteric system gives a description of Brahman, treating it partly as the pantheistic soul of the world and partly as a personal God; with a full account of the periodical creation and reabsorption of the world and of the never-ending cycle of transmigration; while the esoteric system maintains that Brahman is absolutely unknowable, and attainable only by concentration in Yoga, that there is neither creation nor world, neither transmigration nor plurality of souls,

and lastly that complete liberation is attained by Brahman and him alone.

All the three systems of Upanishads, Sânkhya and Yoga are agreed as to the ultimate aim, which principally is to arrive at that supreme state of consciousness where the notion of individuality is merged in the realization of the true nature of Self. As long as the individual soul does not realize its real nature, it exists in the world of non-reality and has, therefore, to submit to the working of the law of Karma (deeds and their consequences), which gives out pleasure and pain as the result of action. After the body is dissolved, the soul has to spend hundreds of years in the worlds of bliss for good works done or suffering for sins committed; but as soon as the Karma is exhausted, the soul is again born on earth, and is subjected to births and deaths, with their necessary concomitants of pleasure and pain. It is only the Karma, the law of cause and effect in our deeds, that prevents the soul from arriving at the goal.

For every thought and every act sets in motion the forces that must work themselves out on the generator for good or evil, and so long as man creates recurrent Karma, he cannot attain Liberation. Of course, to reach this, the Upanishads lay down certain qualifications, such as knowledge, purity of life, restraint of desires and senses and a calm mind. For the *Katha-Upanishad* says that when all the desires lingering in the heart of man are driven out, the mortal becomes immortal and becomes Brahman. Again, it says that so long as man has not ceased from evil-doing, or controlled his senses, or has no calm mind, he cannot gain that Self by knowledge. Contemplation is necessary, but the wise should sink sense into mind.

Thus, in the Upanishads there are many qualifications. The Sânkhyans emphasize one side of this teaching of the Upanishads, declaring that man has only to realize that he is not a part of the material world with all its fantasies. The way of knowledge, according to Sânkhyans, is the only way to salvation.

The Yoga system lays stress on the other side of the same teaching of the Upanishads. It admits a divine consciousness, declaring that man must strive for union with Ishwara. The Yoga does not insist on knowledge, like the Sânkhyas, but on contemplation, which has to be practised according to certain methods, such as the regulation and suppression of breath in certain postures of the body for the development of faculties. The way of contemplation is therefore, according to it, the only way to salvation.

A Synthetic View

Such in brief were the three paths laid down by Hindu Philosophies before the time of the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*. But the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* unites these paths in the light of the new doctrine of Bhakti-love, and shews them as not different paths, but only one path. It

points out for the first time that the act done as an offering to God without any thought of reward here or hereafter leads to salvation. Knowledge by itself is not sufficient for its attainment. Renunciation is only a means, and not an end. Ecstatic contemplation and ascetic practices lead man to the goal, but not without knowledge. The *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* proclaims the way of sacrifice as the only way, for it is the only act that makes no Karma and hence conducts us to the goal.

ISLAM

An Historical Note on Islam

By Professor Margoliouth, D.Litt.

ISLAM is a religious system which, having been started by the Prophet Muhammad of Mecca in the Hijaz, a province of Arabia, in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., has spread till it has become the national religion of large portions of Asia and Africa. Twice indeed it seemed likely to dominate Europe as well; in the eighth century, when, having occupied Spain, its adherents advanced into France, where they were checked at the Battle of Poitiers in 732; and when the Ottomans, after the storming of Constantinople, steadily advanced into the European continent, until in 1699 the turn of the tide was marked by the Peace of Carlowicz, since which date it has receded with increasing velocity, so that only a few isolated communities remain. Outside Europe, however, the number of its adherents is very great, perhaps, 300,000,000, though exact statistics cannot be obtained.

The original meaning of the name *Islam* as the title of this system is obscure; but its official interpretation is *devoting the face* (i.e. the person) *in its entirety to Allah*, the Arabic for "God," *Iddio*. The word thus signifies *monotheism*. In the Muslim creed the proposition *There is no god but Allah* is regularly associated with a second, *and Muhammad is His messenger*. This may be interpreted to mean that Muhammad is the conveyer of the Creator's orders to mankind. These orders are contained in the first place in the Sacred Book called *Qur'an*, i.e. "Lesson," containing utterances delivered at various periods of the Prophet's career. His sayings and doings, though not embodied in the Lesson, are also authoritative, so far as they can be ascertained. These, therefore, constitute a second, though minor, source of law.

Now, that a person who has access to the commands of God becomes thereby the natural dictator of the community is an obvious inference, yet one which was not often drawn in antiquity; the prophet is indeed a familiar figure in the history of more than one ancient community, but though he is often consulted by the sovereign, or gives his opinion without being consulted, he rarely grasps the sovereignty. Muhammad, however, became a ruler, and owed his success to his finding a community, that of Yathrib, afterwards known as *al-Medinah*, "the City," i.e. of the Prophet,

willing to accept his dictatorship. Once installed in that office, he, by exercising his abilities as a soldier and statesman, was able to found an empire. This is a matter of history, independent of theological opinion; thus whether we believe that he won his battles by the aid of angels, or that he won them by natural causes, it is historical fact that he won them. By the time of his death he was sovereign of the Arabian peninsula.

Muhammad's Successors

He left no son, and though none of his relatives or followers claimed prophetic gifts, i.e. he could have no prophetic successor, the succession to his political power was disputed, and there came about a split in the community which has never been repaired. Naturally this successor would be one of his relatives; and between these there were serious animosities. His surviving daughter, Fatimah, who appears herself to have had no taste for politics, was the wife of one of his most devoted and meritorious adherents, 'Ali, son of the Prophet's uncle Abu Talib, who, though himself never an adherent, had been a loyal guardian and protector; 'Ali, however, had incurred the bitter resentment of the Prophet's favourite wife, 'A'ishah, a woman of great political ability, whose father, Abu Bakr, was the Prophet's *alter ego*, and had assisted the Prophet chiefly by his counsel, whereas 'Ali had assisted with his sword, thereby incurring the enmity of persons related to those whom he had slain in battle, in spite of the endeavours of the Prophet to get rid of blood-feuds. Whatever may have been the actual proceedings, the father-in-law became successor to the exclusion of the son-in-law. Hence there came into existence the *Shi'ah*, the "party" or partisans of Fatimah and her husband 'Ali.

The Prophet's first three successors had no time to found dynasties; the second and the third were murdered. 'Ali then accepted the sovereignty but he was at once involved in two civil wars, one fomented by 'A'ishah, wherein he was successful; another started by a brother-in-law of the Prophet, who claimed that he was the natural avenger of the third successor, and in consequence sovereign, by virtue of a text of the *Qur'an*; there was a drawn battle; but 'Ali was murdered shortly after, and his eldest son made over his claims to his father's rival, who reigned long enough to found a hereditary dynasty, which 'Ali's second son, shortly after the death of the former, endeavoured to upset, losing his life in the process. Meanwhile, under this dynasty, endeavours were made to base a code on the two sources of law that have been mentioned, and whereas the Shi'ah held that the supplement to the *Qur'an* was to be found in esoteric information which the

Prophet had communicated to his son-in-law, 'Ali, another party collected such information as was supposed to live in people's memories about the Prophet's actual sayings and doings.

The Two Chief Sects

To the results of these labours the name *Sunnah*, "practice," was ultimately given, and the name *Sunni* properly belongs to those who accept this second source of law, which became ultimately recorded in literary works in the middle of the second Islamic century, to be superseded, to some extent, by collections made in the second half of the third century, which are not all equally authoritative. Whereas, then, the name *Shi'ah* originally refers to a political theory, the name *Sunnah* is connected with a theory about the sources of law.

Besides these two main sections of the Islamic world there were communities which belonged to neither, yet were sufficiently numerous to count as important sects, and to continue throughout the centuries. We may, however, neglect them, and say a few words about the subdivisions of the two chief sects.

Those of the *Sunnah* differ chiefly on details of ritual or legislation, and are ordinarily mutually tolerant. The three which divide the bulk of the Sunnites are named respectively after the jurists Abu Hanifah, Malik son of Anas, and Shafi'i, who flourished in the second half of the second and the first half of the third Islamic centuries. These "schools," with one other, attained the rank of orthodoxy by about A.H. 400, though they had several competitors, which are for the most part obsolete. There was besides a cross-division based on theological opinions, but this, though for many centuries it led to fierce struggles, and even the institution of an Inquisition, scarcely exists any longer.

The partisans of 'Ali fall into numerous divisions, one of which is based on the question whether 'Ali was successor to the Prophet by appointment, or whether he should have inherited as the husband of Fatimah. On the whole, the latter is the prevailing opinion, and the question between the Shi'ah and the Sunnah is sometimes regarded as one about the law of inheritance; failing a son, does a daughter inherit, or does an uncle on the father's side inherit? The Abbasids of Baghdad, from whom the Ottomans were supposed to inherit the Caliphate (by gift from the latest Abbasid), maintained the latter view; the Prophet's believing uncle Abbas was his heir, and these Caliphs claimed descent from him. The Shi'ah claim the inheritance for Fatimah and her descendants, who, however, for some generations had little success in asserting the claim. Disputes therefore arose as to the branch of the family which had the best right to the inheritance, and some groups which still exist owe their origin to this difference of opinion.

One of the most interesting of these is the Zaidi sect, established in Yemen, which is named after a descendant of 'Ali, named Zaid, who made an unsuccessful rising in A.H. 122. This sect holds the doctrine that though 'Ali was the proper successor of the Prophet, there were sound political reasons for passing him over. Unlike the bulk of the Shi'ah, therefore, they do not revile the first three successors of the Prophet.

Those in whose estimation 'Ali himself rather than Fatimah takes the first place at times go to lengths which exclude them from the pale of Islam. Some supposed him to have been the real Messenger of God, who was betrayed by Muhammad; others identify him with God. This view was formulated in his own time, possibly because his name (meaning *Sublime*) is in the *Qur'an* applied to the Deity. He is said to have punished those who held it with the utmost severity, but it has survived to our own day; the Nusairis of Syria have for their deity 'Ali, son of Abu Talib. These, too, are divided into four sects—so endless apparently are sectarian divisions and subdivisions in Islam as in other systems. The Druses of Mount Lebanon and the Hauran are also adherents of a member of the family, the Egyptian Caliph Hakim, notorious as the monarch whose fanaticism led to the Crusades.

The Characteristics of Shi'ism

Shi'ism and its literature have been far less studied in Europe than Sunnism, hence it was of great interest to hear an account of the sect from a member of it, who put it before the Conference in much the same way as he would have put it before an audience of his own community. It will be a useful task for anyone who pursues the matter to compare his statement with an authoritative account translated by Professor Browne in the fourth volume of his *History of Persian Literature*, which has appeared since the Conference. The points which the present writer, who was Chairman when the paper was read, endeavoured to put before the audience as characteristic of Shi'ism, though found in other systems, were three.

1. The expectation of some person's return. As will be seen, the Shi'ah of Persia await the reappearance of one Muhammad, son of Hasan al-Askari, who is said to have gone into hiding near the end of the third Islamic century. The famous Mahdi of the Sudan claimed to be this personage. Numerous Shi'i sects have held similar views about other members of the family. The Kaisani sect in the first century of Islam held it of one Muhammad, son of 'Ali, and of a woman of the tribe Hanifah. Such a personage, when he returns, " will fill the world with justice, just as it is now full of injustice," and so will discharge the function which the Sunnah associate with the Mahdi whom they await, whose name indeed

they know, but who is not identical with any deceased (or apparently deceased) person.

2. The glorification of failure. The personages who excite the devotion of the Shi'ah are for the most part persons who led forlorn hopes; 'Ali himself, as has been seen, after repeatedly being rejected for the succession, when he succeeded at last in obtaining it, was involved in civil wars, had to fight the very party which had raised him to the throne, and after a brief reign fell a victim to an assassin. His two sons, who occupy a prominent place in the affections of the sect, were both absolute failures politically; and there are whole books devoted to "the massacres of the family of 'Ali," who at times were slaughtered in bands. There is something moving about this constancy towards the unsuccessful, which is not an unpleasing side of the religious sentiment.

3. The endeavour to atone for misdeeds of the past by self-torture. The scenes in Shi'ah countries which take place at the time when the death of 'Ali's second son is commemorated take us back almost into prehistoric times. Men walk the streets beating their breasts with iron weights; others slash their faces with knives. The philosophic antiquarian, al-Beruni, makes the interesting observation that the day of mourning for Husain is the same day as that whereon very different communities practise expiation of this kind. D. S. M.

The writers of the papers on Islam, which here follow, may now be introduced to the reader. Al Haj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din is the Imam of the Mosque at Woking, He graduated, at the University of the Punjab, in Arts in 1893, and in Law in 1897. He was the Professor of History and Economics of the University of the Punjab, and joined the Bar in 1898. In 1912 he came to England. In 1913 he founded the Muslim Mission at Woking, Surrey, to propagate the Faith in the British Isles. Among many other works, he has written *The Sources of Christianity, Towards Islam, The Threshold of Truth, Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, etc.* His absence from the country at the time of the Conference led the Committee to entrust the task of reading the paper to Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, formerly a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service.

Mustapha Khan resides in Lahore, and kindly sent a short contribution, now printed; time did not permit of its being read at the sessions. The Shi'ah branch of Islam is less known to the Western world, and the Conference was fortunate in securing the service of Sheikh Khadhim Dojaily, of Baghdad, an Arab scholar of great learning. His command of English, however, was not sufficient to permit him, personally, to read the paper, which was communicated to the Conference by Sir Thomas Arnold.

Sheikh Kadhim El Dojaily was born in Baghdad in 1884, and is a teacher. At first he held an appointment in the religious Madrasahs in Baghdad, after which he taught modern sciences in the Government schools during the Turkish régime. Later he taught Law in the Law School at Baghdad. Before the war he was editor of several Arabic papers in Baghdad; then, in 1911, in conjunction with Père Anastase Marie the Carmelite, he published a monthly journal with the title *Lughat al-Arab*.

In 1921 the English Government appointed the Sheikh as editor of the *Review of Justice* in the Iraq, which is a legal review appearing monthly. In 1923 the Iraqian Government issued a Government Gazette under the title of *el-Waqa i el-Iraqiyya*, which replaced the *Review of Justice*, and he was appointed the editor, a position which he held until January 1st, 1924, when he left Baghdad to come to London as a Lecturer of Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies at the invitation of that Institution and by the choice of the Iraqian Government.

Those who attended the Conference must well remember the distinguished figure of His Holiness the Khalifat-ul-Masih, the centre of a group of twelve green-turbaned followers who, from day to day, attended the sessions and mixed in friendly intercourse with the members. As head of the Ahmadiyya Community, the Khalifat-ul-Masih resides at Qadian in the Punjab, and was able to call to his side several well-known Moslem theologians and scholars of high standing. The lecture composed by His Holiness was read by Ch. Zafar Allah Khan, LL.B. (London), barrister-at-law. Zulfigar Ali Khan should also be mentioned, as one who, by his manly and gracious demeanour, made friends on all sides. Dr. Muhammad Din came specially from Chicago, M. Mubarak Ali from Berlin, and F. R. Hakeem from the Gold Coast, making no less than twenty members of the Ahmadiyya Movement.

The Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali, about whom some words will be found in Sir Patrick Fagan's Historical Note, was also one of the band of the Ahmadiyya delegation.—[EDITOR.]

The Basic Principles of Islam

By Al-Haj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din,
Imam of the Mosque, Woking, Surrey

(This paper was read by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali.)

The Moslem Theory of Religion

ISLAM came with a new conception of religion. The Qur'an drew our attention to the universe, there to find the clue to the Religion of God. It disclosed a theory of life on lines compatible with things in Nature. The Book unravelled the human heart. It laid down a code whereby to work out our nature. It admitted certain modes of worship, emphasizing, the while, the all-essential fact that the Glory of God lay in the edification of man. " It is not righteousness (it says) that you turn your faces towards the East and West ; but righteousness is this, that one should believe in Allah, and the Last Day, and the angels and the Book and the Prophets ; and give away wealth out of love for Him, to the near of kin and orphans and the needy and the wayfarers and the beggars and for the captives ; and keep up prayer and give alms ; and the performers of their promises . . . . and the patient in distress and in affliction and in time of conflict." [1]

The verse distinguishes between a formal and a practical piety ; it sets forth the essence of religion, which is faith in God and good-will towards man. Islam saw man's true religion in human nature and its development.

" Set up your face upright for religion in the right state—the nature made by Allah, in which He has made man—that is the right religion." [2]

" Is it then other than Allah's religion they seek, and to Him submit whoever is in the heavens and the earth ? " [3]

The Book revealed that, like everything in Nature, man enters into this world with a pure and untainted nature, possessing the highest capacities with unlimited progress before him ; capable also of sinking to be " the lowest of the low." [4] He can reach the goal, and avoid the abyss, if he receives proper guidance.

Our physical nature, like all organisms, grows unconsciously on

[1] *Qur'an* ii. 171. [2] *Qur'an* xxx. 30. [3] *Qur'an* iii. 82. [4] *Qur'an* xcv. 4–6.

prescribed lines, assimilating the useful and rejecting the baneful; a process impossible in the sphere of consciousness. We have freedom of choice, but we lack the constructive ability, to direct our judgment to the right path, which we possess on the physical plane. In the human frame material growth reaches its consummation; and we are born to build up the moral and spiritual structure on the right lines. This we can do only if our discretion becomes trained to walk aright, as is our physical nature in its frame of the body. For this we need laws of right and wrong, and a disciplinary course, the pursuit of which may evolve in us a capacity to follow those laws, i.e. the disposition of Islam, that means submission to laws.

Doctrinal Beliefs

The laws must come from our Creator—the Source of all the laws that move the universe, as Islam says, through agencies called angels. The law should come to us through personages themselves capable of observing it strictly, and of guiding us thereto. It[1] must affect this life and the hereafter, where we shall reap the fruits of our actions. These principles furnish a base for the doctrinal beliefs in Islam, which are seven—belief in Allah, His Angels, His Books, His Prophets, the Hereafter, the Divine Measure of good and evil, i.e. the Law, and the Resurrection.

The Qur'an also recognizes Divine revelations to other peoples[2] and enjoins belief in them: "Say: We believe in Allah and that revealed to us and to . . . Ibrahim, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes, and that given to Moses and to Jesus and to the prophets . . .; we do not distinguish between any of them and to Him we submit."[3] We must observe their teachings; but for them we look only to the Qur'an; as God's other Books, so it says, became adulterated and the Qur'an came to reproduce their teachings.

Man, as I said before, possesses capabilities for sublimation and degradation. On one side he clings[4] to earth, seeing that he comes out of clay.[5] He is an animal—nay, sometimes worse than that[6]; on the other he is the vicegerent of God on this earth[7]; he receives obeisance from angels[8] and rises to the very borders of Divinity. If the former is his beginning, the latter is his goal. The Qur'an came to uplift man from animality to Divinity. It first refers to our physical growth in the womb, which in its seventh stage of evolution engenders "another creation."[9] This new creation is the human consciousness—the bed-rock of subsequent development. Islam does not take the soul as a different entity that descends from somewhere and mixes with the body. The soul, at its

[1] *Qur'an* ii. 129.
[2] *Qur'an* xxxv. 24.
[3] *Qur'an* iii. 83.
[4] *Qur'an* vii. 176.
[5] *Qur'an* vii. 179.
[6] *Qur'an* xxiii. 12.
[7] *Qur'an* ii. 30.
[8] *Qur'an* ii. 34.
[9] *Qur'an* xxiii. 12–14.

inception, lies concealed in the animal consciousness of man; it comes to the surface at a later stage; after which further developments make it perfect. Seven, too, are its evolutionary stages, as the Qur'an describes:

Ammarah[1]	. .	The Commanding.
Lawwama[2]	. .	The Self-accusing.
Mulhima[3]	. .	Inspired
Mutmainna[4]	. .	At rest.
Radiah[5]	. .	Pleased with God.
Mardiah[6]	. .	Pleasing to God.
Kamilah[7]	. .	Perfected.

Islam uplifts *Ammarah* to *Kamilah*. Ammarah is the nascent condition of the soul, in the garb of bestial passions, when natural impulses predominate. These are uncontrollable, and tend to iniquity. The spirit makes its full exhibition in a baby, who seeks everything he sees, and claims it as his own, but remains always unsatisfied, like a brute that mouths upon everything when its appetite is excited. Millions of men stand on the border of animality. The property of others excites their cupidity, and darkens their minds. "They have hearts," the Qur'an says, "but they understand not,—have eyes and they see not,—have ears and they hear not; they are as cattle, nay, they are in worse error,"[8] "they cling to the earth and follow low desires."[9] They may claim civilization, but the animal in them is still unbridled. It pounces upon others' property, whether it be in the guise of a robber or of a conqueror. The dictates of the spirit at this stage are very exacting, hence its name Ammarah—the Commanding. It often inclines to evil, as the Qur'an says: "Most surely (man's) self is wont to command evil."[10]

This is the hardest stage to reform, so much so that many have become hopeless of human redemption. They say that sin is in man's nature. They are mistaken. They take the nature for the capacity that ought to remain suppressed. The first step of uplifting is everywhere the most difficult. But if everything beautiful in Nature grows usually out of something ugly, where then lies the impossibility in our case? To encourage such pessimists in religion, the Qur'an gave the gospel that man was well equipped to find the right path,[11] and capable of every moral progress.[12] Do we not observe within us certain signs of the before-mentioned stages of the soul? A callous soul sometimes repents; becomes inspired to do good. There are certain duties which all men discharge willingly;

[1] *Qur'an* xii. 53. [2] *Qur'an* lxxv. 2. [3] *Qur'an* xci. 8. [4] *Qur'an* lxxxix. 27. [5] *Qur'an* lxxxix. 27. [6] *Qur'an* lxxxix. 27. [7] *Qur'an* xci. 7. [8] *Qur'an* vii. 179. [9] *Qur'an* vii. 176. [10] *Qur'an* xii. 53. [11] *Qur'an* xc. 7–10. [12] *Qur'an* xcv. 4, 6.

we face hardships where we are interested. We could, therefore, if we would, soar higher in moral and spiritual realms.

Islam teaches that man is not the slave of evil. He can show the best of virtues, if he will but strive. We cannot put our burden on others,[1] as we have to evolve something out of ourselves. If an operation on a surgeon's body, or his taking some medicine himself, cannot cure his patient, then others' action cannot raise us to our goal. Like other entities in Nature, we need some systematic course suitable to each stage of progress; some disciplinary measures to create in us a disposition to pursue it. Islam brings us both.

Five Pillars of Islam

We have divers appetites, and need many things to satisfy them. Cupidity suggests evil, and consequent violation of the Law. But Islam subjectively is a disposition to obey Laws. It respects social order. To strengthen this disposition, the Qur'an prescribes a course of disciplinary measures, rightly called the FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM: The Formula of Faith—there is no object of adoration but Allah, and Muhammad is His Messenger; Prayer, Fasting, Poor Rate and Pilgrimage to Mecca. Their observance lies in our partially parting with that which we rightly possess. The Book says: "By no means shall you attain to righteousness until you spend out what you love,"[2] such as time, occupation, food, drink, connubial companionship, wealth, family, business, friends, clothes, personal comforts and, above all, our various objects of adoration. These are our chief concerns, and cause the whole struggle in life. They move our criminal tendencies if we are not scrupulously honest. But could we commit wrong in order to have them, if we learn to give them up willingly? The Formula demands from us that we give up every object of adoration before Allah. In Prayer we part with our occupations; in Fasting with food, drink, and connubial relations, in Poor Rate with a portion of our wealth. Then comes the Pilgrimage. We leave our family, friends, business, and country; we part with our clothes and comfort, covering ourselves only with two sheets; and when we enter Hijaz, we must abstain from disputes, quarrels and evil language[3]; we observe strict fraternal relations with strangers, always proclaiming aloud our readiness to offer all that we possess to God. In the end we kill an animal. Till then we had practically forsaken everything pertaining to the cravings of the passions, and the demands of the animal within. That we crushed. If, therefore, the last ceremony of the pilgrimage consists in killing a brute, it rightly symbolizes the killing of the flesh. The Prophet remarked that the pilgrimage is the top of the disciplinary measures in Islam. It washes out

[1] *Qur'an* xxxv. 18. [2] *Qur'an* iii. 91. [3] *Qur'an* ii. 197.

man's sins if performed in the right spirit. He discarded the flesh and freed the soul. He made himself a true Moslem.

Rudimentary Reforms

Till now I have outlined Islam in general terms. The Qur'an came for universal reform. It takes every shade of humanity within its purview. First I will sketch briefly its primary reforms.

Food plays a great part in moulding the human character. A sound mind creates sound morality, but only in a sound body. The Qur'an therefore forbids all such foods as injure the body, the mind and the soul. It forbids blood, and the flesh of the animal not bled to death, such as that, for example, which dies of itself, or by a fall or a blow, or is killed or eaten by beasts of prey ; the flesh of swine or of any animal sacrificed to idols, or killed in a name other than that of God, is also forbidden.[1] " Eat and drink that which is good and clean,[2] but be not extravagant."[3] Clean your clothes and every other thing[4] and purify yourself when unclean."[5] As to general manners, the Book says : Make room for others when you assemble and rise from your places when so asked.[6] Speak rightly[7] and gently, and lower your voices ; look not upon others contemptuously ; walk not exultingly, and pursue the right path.[8] Enter houses by their doors[9] ; enter not into others' houses without permission ; salute the inmates, but enter not if they are not in.[10] When saluted, salute the person with a better salutation, or return the same.[11] Avoid wine, gambling, and idols.[12] Commit not suicide[13] ; nor kill your children,[14] nor commit murder.[15] Do not fornicate, nor live with women in secret intimacy.[16] Marry virtuous women[17] and give them their dowries.[18] Your mothers are forbidden to you in marriage, so are your daughters, sisters, aunts, nieces, foster-mothers, foster-sisters, step-daughters and daughters-in-law.[19]

Ordinances like these—and there are many more in the Qur'an, were given to raise man from his animal condition in which, indeed, Arabia stood at the appearance of the Holy Prophet.

Second Stage

But the most difficult task of man's reform begins when the initial stage is over. It consists in raising, in the human breast, *Law-wamah*—the upbraiding spirit—generally called conscience, then bringing it to perfection, a stage which the most part of mankind has yet to reach.

We are sociable by nature ; the health of society compels us to respect its bounds. Knowledge, experience and wisdom ripened with the

[1] *Qur'an* v. 3.
[2] *Qur'an* v. 4.
[3] *Qur'an* vi. 142, vii. 31.
[4] *Qur'an* lxxiv. 415.
[5] *Qur'an* v. 6.
[6] *Qur'an* lviii. 11.
[7] *Qur'an* xxxiii. 70.
[8] *Qur'an* xxxi. 18, 19.
[9] *Qur'an* ii. 189.
[10] *Qur'an* xxiv. 27, 28.
[11] *Qur'an* iv. 86.
[12] *Qur'an* v. 90.
[13] *Qur'an* iv. 29.
[14] *Qur'an* vi. 152.
[15] *Qur'an* xxv. 6.
[16] *Qur'an* iv. 25.
[17] *Qur'an* v. 5.
[18] *Qur'an* v. 5.
[19] *Qur'an* iv. 25.

sufferings that accrue, as the penalty for breaking social laws, create remorse in us. This means the rise of conscience. Our breasts become an arena of struggle. Temptations allure; conscience chides; we stumble. But if we listen to the latter it strengtheus us gradually to withstand the dictates of *Ammarah*—the animal within. We are anxious to know of right and wrong, and strive to avoid evil.

The passion of adoring the Deity is very strong in man. Whatever may be our conception of God, all our notions of good and righteousness become focused in Him. His pleasure and displeasure provide our moral basis. Whatever we think He loves, becomes good, and whatever He hates is wickedness. We must do the former, and the latter we should avoid. Such ideas chiefly mould our conscience. Hence the Qur'an mentions certain things that God loves and things He abhors: Allah does not love exceeding limits,[1] mischief-making,[2] ungratefulness,[3] injustice,[4] pride,[5] boasting,[6] treachery,[7] utterances of hurtful language,[8] extravagance,[9] unfaithfulness,[10] exulting,[11] etc. God loves those who do good,[12] judge equitably,[13] purify themselves,[14] repent and return to God, trust in Him,[15] act righteously[16] and speak truthfully. The Divine curse, that in Islam means remoteness from God, comes on man for unbelief,[17] belief in enchantment, magic and superstition,[18] polytheism,[19] hypocrisy,[20] turning from the right path,[21] breaking covenant and promises,[22] concealing truth,[23] disputing truth,[24] falsehood,[25] speaking evil of God and His apostles,[26] and murder.[27]

These various virtues and vices have not been jumbled together in a page or a chapter, nor has the Qur'an given them as a set homily, with accents of blessing and cursing; they have been spoken of in many different ways—sometimes in connection with human nature, when the Qur'an speaks of its beauties and ulcers, sometimes when narrating some events of the life of the people of old, who were successful, or failed, in consequence of these virtues and vices.

The Qur'an explains them fully, giving their characteristics. It creates in us the spirit that reproves evil and approves righteousness. The self-accusing soul thus becomes strong and establishes itself. The Qur'an warns us also against certain mentalities that harden men's mind up to the stage of callousness when "Allah sets His seal upon the hearts and upon their hearing and there is a covering over their eyes."[28] In them, conscience dies; progress terminates, and we become the lowest of the low. They are seven in number.

[1] *Qur'an* ii. 185. [2] *Qur'an* ii. 250. [3] *Qur'an* ii. 276. [4] *Qur'an* iii. 56. [5] *Qur'an* xvi. 23. [6] *Qur'an* iv. 36. [7] *Qur'an* iv. 107. [8] *Qur'an* iv. 148. [9] *Qur'an* vi. 140. [10] *Qur'an* xxii. 38. [11] *Qur'an* xxviii. 76. [12] *Qur'an* ii. 195. [13] *Qur'an* v. 142. [14] *Qur'an* ii. 22. [15] *Qur'an* iii. 158. [16] *Qur'an* iii. 75. [17] *Qur'an* xxxiii. 64. [18] *Qur'an* iv. 52, 51. [19] *Qur'an* xlviii. 5. [20] *Qur'an* ix. 68. [21] *Qur'an* xlvii. 23. [22] *Qur'an* v. 13. [23] *Qur'an* ii. 69. [24] *Qur'an* iii. 60. [25] *Qur'an* xxiv. 7. [26] *Qur'an* xxxiii. 57. [27] *Qur'an* iv. 93, xvii. 33. [28] *Qur'an* ii. 7.

(1) Indifference—" Surely those who disbelieve —it being alike to them whether you warn them or not—they will not believe."[1]
(2) Hypocrisy—" And there are those who say: We believe; and they are not at all believers."[2]
(3) Two-sidedness—" When it is said to them, Do not make mischief . . . they say: We are but peacemakers."[3]
(4) Conceit—" When it is said to them, Believe as others believe, they say: Shall we believe as the fools believe? "[4]
(5) Fear—" When they meet believers, they say: We believe; and when they are alone with their devils, they say: Surely we are with you, we are only mocking."[5]
(6) Indecisiveness—" Wavering between that (and this), (belonging) neither to these nor to those."[6]
(7) Attachment to hereditary wrong beliefs—" That on which we find our fathers is sufficient for us."[7]

Conscience becomes strong under these positive and negative directions if we follow them, and so we enter into the sphere of moral order.

Marriage and the Status of Woman

The concluding portion of the Qur'anic quotations dealing with rudimentary reforms, spoke of marriage—an institution so necessary for the uplifting of humanity.

We cannot reach the goal without cultivating the habit of doing for others as we do for ourselves.

It demands enlargement of consciousness. The animal consciousness, though very limited in its scope—so much so that its first development into Mother-consciousness at the birth of offspring dies very soon after the young become capable of looking after themselves—can expand widely when it appears in the human frame. Moslem Divines speak of seven stages of its growth: Animal, Individual, Parental, Tribal, Racial, of the Species, and Cosmic. In fact, the evolution of the soul follows the development of consciousness. Animal consciousness in us takes little time to sublimate into individual consciousness. We are sociable; society cannot proceed unless individual rights are respected, which means the cultivation of individual consciousness. If I feel for my rights, I must feel also for others' rights. This mentality springs from necessity. But to go further is very hard. There we have to leave our cherished possessions for others. It means sacrifice. It is uphill work.[8] People speak of love. But love is sacrifice. Higher morality springs out of selflessness, which comes into practice in its natural course in marriage. Marriage joins the two souls; they soon begin to live and feel for each other; children are born

[1] *Qur'an* ii. 6. [2] *Qur'an* ii. 11. [3] *Qur'an* ii. 14. [4] *Qur'an* ii. 8. [5] *Qur'an* ii. 13. [6] *Qur'an* iv. 143. [7] *Qur'an* v. 104, vii. 27. [8] *Qur'an* xc. 12.

and intensify the sacrificial spirit. We work hard and let our savings go to them. Self-seeking tendencies become weakened. Marriage brings also other relatives and friends in touch with us; we begin to feel for them. Our consciousness now crosses the walls of family, and we find the fourth stage—that of Tribal-consciousness. It, in its turn, engenders Race-consciousness, which, if cultivated on broader charitable lines, creates consciousness of the Species and Cosmic-consciousness. Then we feel for every man and for every other creature as we do for ourselves. Our consciousness reaches its sublimity, and our soul is soon fully fledged. Love and compassion are at the root of all. Their seed is in our nature, but its nursery is the married life; as the Qur'an says: "God created mates for you, and puts between you love and compassion."[1] This is the object of marriage in Islam.

True love and compassion grow naturally under the family roof. The Qur'an refers to it in another verse—a verse that is read from the pulpit to the whole Moslem world on each Friday: "God enjoins upon you justice, beneficence, and that which you do to your family folk."[2]

Justice brings social order to perfection and moves individual consciousness in the right way, but further progress depends upon doing to others as we do to our families. How laconically the verse goes through the whole of morality. Do the same to all creatures of God that you do to your kindred, and you will raise Mother-consciousness to Divine-consciousness. For this reason, the Prophet declared: "Marriage is of my ways; he who goes against my ways is not from me." But marriage cannot serve its purpose unless the position of woman is raised and domestic ethics improved.

History is too eloquent on the subject for there to be any need for me to show the degraded condition in which Islam found women. The Qur'an really raised her up to man's level when it said: "O people, fear your Lord, who created you from a single being, created its mate of the same essence."[3] "They are your garments and you are their garments[4]; to them is due what is due from them."[5] The Prophet said: "Women are men's twin-halves; the most valuable thing . . . is a virtuous woman; God enjoins to treat women well, for they are their mothers, daughters and aunts; female rights are sacred; see that women are maintained in their rights."

Before Islam, some thought that woman was without a human soul and too unclean to enter into sacred places. The Qur'an gave the lie to such a conception, and declared that woman was equal to man, both in moral and in spiritual advancement. The Qur'an

[1] *Qur'an* xxx. 21. [2] *Qur'an* xvi. 90. [3] *Qur'an* xiv. 1.
[4] *Qur'an* ii. 187. [5] *Qur'an* ii. 228.

acknowledged her admission to paradise—the final abode for the soul; and in the following speaks equally of both: "Surely the men who submit and the women who submit, the believing men and the believing women, the obeying men and the obeying women, the truthful men and the truthful women, the patient men and the patient women, the humble men and the humble women, the almsgiving men and the almsgiving women, the fasting men and the fasting women, the chaste men and the chaste women, the men who remember Allah and the women who remember Allah; He has prepared for them forgiveness and mighty reward."[1]

Domestic Morality

As to domestic morals, which alone can improve ethics in general, Muhammad says:

He is the most perfect Moslem whose disposition is most liked by his own family. The best of you are those who are best to their wives; the thing which is lawful but disliked by God, is divorce. A virtuous wife is man's best treasure. Do not prevent your women from coming to the mosque. Admonish your wife with kindness. A Moslem must not hate his wife; if he be displeased with one bad quality in her, let him be pleased with another one which is good. Give your wife to eat when you eat, clothe her when you clothe yourself; abuse her not; nor separate yourself from her in displeasure. Do not beat her. If a woman undertakes more than one day's journey, her male relative should accompany her.

Islam gives ample teachings to carry us further up to Cosmic-consciousness, but here I can only give a very brief extract from the Qur'an and quote but a few of the sayings of the Prophet.

We are commanded goodness to parents, in gratitude for all they did for us when we were small,[2] especially to the mother who bore us "with fainting upon fainting,"[3] and gave us milk for "two years"[4]; we should be compassionate and gentle to them; when they reach old age, speak to them generously, never chide them nor say to them even "Ugh," and leave them gently when going in pursuit of our calling.[5]

The Prophet says: "It is pity that young persons may lose paradise by not serving old parents; paradise lies at a mother's feet. Allah's pleasure is in a father's pleasure; His displeasure in a father's displeasure."

After our parents, we should do good to our kinsmen, the orphans, the needy, the kindred-neighbour, the alien-neighbour, the fellow-passenger, the wayfarers, servants, political prisoners[6]; and liberate the slaves,[7] and feed the poor, the orphans, the captive[8] and those "in hunger" or "lying in the dust."[9] All this out of

[1] *Qur'an* xxxiii. 35. [2] *Qur'an* xxxi. 14. [3] *Qur'an* iv. 36. [4] *Qur'an* lxxvi. 87.
[5] *Qur'an* xvii. 23. [6] *Qur'an* xvii. 28. [7] *Qur'an* xc. 13. [8] *Qur'an* xc. 15, 16

love for Allah, neither desiring reward nor thanks, nor taking pride nor boasting.

The Prophet says:

Do you love your Creator? Love your fellow-beings first. One who takes charge of the orphans will be with me on the day of requital. Look after widows; he is not of us who is not affectionate to his children and reveres not the old. To cheer up the weary, to remove the sufferings of the afflicted, will have their rewards. He who helps his fellow-creatures in need, and helps the oppressed, him will God help in difficulty. He is the most favoured of God from whom the greatest good cometh to His creatures. He who removes his brother's want, God will forgive his sin. All God's creatures are a family; he who does most good to God's creatures is His most beloved. Seek for God's goodwill in that of the poor and indigent. Avert Allah's wrath with charity. They will enter paradise who have a true, pure and merciful heart. O Aiysha, do not turn away the poor without giving something, be it but half a date.

The Two Groups of Moralities

Islam laid great stress on charity, because charity cultivates the sacrificial spirit. Sacrifice is the mainspring of all moral qualities. The Qur'an divides them under two headings. First, those that prevent us from injuring others' life, property, and honour; and chief among these are Chastity, Honesty, Meekness and Politeness. Secondly, those that prompt us to do good to others. Among these are Forgiveness, Goodness, Courage, Truthfulness, Patience, Sympathy, and Kindness.

The Qur'an does not read any vague sermon on them. It defines them and shows the right occasions for their use. Sentiments and deeds in themselves are neither good nor bad. It is the propriety of the occasion that gives them the dignity of morality. Again, circumstances change their character. Forgiveness to incorrigible offenders is tyranny. Charity misplaced is extravagance. Man needed some enlightenment on this aspect of charity, which the Qur'an supplied.

I quote here some verses that help to cultivate these moralities.

(1) *Chastity.*

"Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks when they see strange women, and observe continence. Say to the believing women that they refrain from casting their looks upon strange men, and display not the decorated parts of their body except those external. Let them wear head-covers over their bosoms; and let them not strike their feet . . . and turn to Allah for protection from stumbling.[1] Draw not into or near fornication

[1] *Qur'an* lxxvi. 7, 9. [2] *Qur'an* xxiv. 33.

(keep aloof even from its occasions), for it is indecency and it is an evil. Let those who cannot find means to marry keep chaste (and employ other means to preserve continence).[1] As for monkery, they invented it—we did not prescribe it to them—only to seek Allah's pleasure; but they did not observe it with its due observances."[2]

(2) *Honesty.*

" Control the property of those among you who are intellectually weak ; do not give away what God has placed with you, but maintain them out of profit of it . . . and speak to them words of honest advice."

" Test the orphans until they attain puberty ; if you find them matured in intellect, give them their property, and consume it not extravagantly . . . ; whoever is rich let them abstain altogether, and whoever is poor let him eat reasonably, then when you make over to them their property, call witnesses in their presence."[3]

" Those who swallow the property of the orphans . . . they only swallow fire into their belly, and they shall enter burning fire.[4] Do not consume each other's wealth unjustly, nor offer it to judges as a bribe so that you may seize others' property dishonestly[5] ; verily God orders you to give back your trusts to their owners.[6] He does not love the treacherous.[7] Measure rightly, weigh with exact balance ; defraud not men in their substance ; nor tread the earth with criminal intention.[8] Do not give worthless things for good ones."[9]

(3) *Meekness.*

" Live peacefully.[10] . . . There is much good in peace[11] ; if they incline to peace, do thou also incline to it.[12] Servants of the Merciful are those who walk meekly upon earth.[13] . . . When they hear frivolous discourse they pass on with dignity.[14] Do not pick quarrels on trifling matters. Turn (away vain, vexatious words and deeds) with something better ; the person between whom and thyself there was enmity shall become as it were thy warmest friend."[15]

(4) *Politeness.*

" Speak to men good words.[16] Let not men laugh other men to scorn, who perchance may be better than themselves ; neither let women laugh other women to scorn ; defame not others, nor call one another by nicknames. Avoid especially suspicion ; suspicion

[1] *Qur'an* xxiv. 33.
[2] *Qur'an* lii. 27.
[3] *Qur'an* iv. 6.
[4] *Qur'an* iv. 10.
[5] *Qur'an* ii. 188.
[6] *Qur'an* iv. 61.
[7] *Qur'an* vi. 60.
[8] *Qur'an* xxvi. 182.
[9] *Qur'an* iv. 2.
[10] *Qur'an* viii. 1.
[11] *Qur'an* iv. 127.
[12] *Qur'an* viii. 61.
[13] *Qur'an* xxv. 63.
[14] *Qur'an* xxv. 72.
[15] *Qur'an* xli. 34.
[16] *Qur'an* ii. 71.

sometimes is a sin ; neither backbite others.[1]. Accuse not others unknowingly ; verily the hearing, the sight and the heart shall be called to account for this."[2]

(5) *Forgiveness.*

Forgiveness is first among those qualities which we exercise for doing good to others. Instead of seeing offenders punished we forgive them. Islam does not recommend unconditional pardon, or non-resistance to evil on each occasion. Reclamation and mending are its chief aim. If they cannot be attained without harsh measures, it allows them. "The recompense of evil is evil proportionate thereto, but if a person forgives and amends thereby, he shall have his reward from Allah."[3]

But in the case of evil coming from our inferiors, the Book not only recommends forgiveness, but the showing of liberality to them, provided it may bring reclamation. "They are the doers of good," it says, "who master their anger and do good to them."[4] The Qur'an does not recognize every manifestation of pardon as a high morality. Harmlessness or inability to revenge a wrong is not forgiveness. If only non-recompense of evil meant forgiveness, many of the lower animals show it. The cow, the lamb and other animals may be described as meek. But that quality can properly be claimed only by those who show mercy when others stand at their mercy. They suppress anger and vengeance when they have power to wreak it. The Qur'an does not allow forgiveness if it leads to evil consequences.

(6) *Goodness.*

"God commands to do good for good, and to do good without recompense and in the way we do good to our kindred ; God forbids exceeding the limit of justice and doing good on wrong occasions."[5] Though the Qur'an speaks highly of charity, it nevertheless places some restraints on its exercise. It disallows charity to the extent that it may improverish its doers, nor does it allow charity proceeding from evil sources : "And when they spend, they are neither extravagant nor niggard and keep the mean.[6] Bestow alms from the good things you have already acquired ; do not aim at what is bad that you may spend it (in alms).[7] Make not your charity worthless by laying obligations upon those you have relieved, or by injury and reproach.[8] The servants of God feed the poor, the orphans, the bondsmen, and say, We do so to please God ; we seek not recompense nor thanks.[9] They give alms in prosperity and in straitness,[10] secretly and openly.[11] The Qur'an names also the

[1] *Qur'an* xlix. 11, 12. [2] *Qur'an* xvii. 38. [3] *Qur'an* lii. 40. [4] *Qur'an* iii 133. [5] *Qur'an* xvi. 90. [6] *Qur'an* xv. 67. [7] *Qur'an* ii. 67. [8] *Qur'an* ii. 263. [9] *Qur'an* lxxvi. 8, 9. [10] *Qur'an* iii. 138. [11] *Qur'an* xiii. 22

persons to whom alms should go: "The poor, the needy, the collectors or distributors of alms, the newcomers in faith when in need, the captives, those in debt or in trouble, those furthering God's cause, the wayfarer."[1]

(7) *Courage.*

Courage should not be confused with the fearlessness of a soldier or of a hunter who is habituated to danger. True courage can be displayed only in redress of wrong. "The truly brave are those who stand firm and behave patiently under ills and hardships[2]; their patience is only for God, and not to display bravery.[3] When men gather against them and frighten them, this increases their faith; they say, Allah is sufficient for us, and is the excellent Protector.[4] Be not like those who march from their houses insolently, and to be seen of others, and turn away from God's way."[5]

True courage does not lie in the insolent ostentation of bravery, but in patience and steadfastness in resisting passions, and standing fearlessly to support good and avert evil. It is not the daring dash of a savage, but the unbreakable courage of a virtuous man.

(8) *Truthfulness.*

Abstaining from falsehood is good, but it is not a moral quality if it incurs no risk. It becomes high morality if we stick to truth when life, property and honour are in danger.

"Shun ye the pollution of idols, and shun ye falsehood."[6] "They shall not refuse to present themselves when summoned; and conceal not true testimony, for he who conceals it has a wicked heart.[7] When you speak, be true and just, though the person concerned be your kinsman. Stand fast to truth and justice for Allah's sake though it may be against your self or parents or near relative, be he rich or poor.[8] Be upright for Allah; let not hatred of a nation incite you to act inequitably.[9] The men of truth and women of truth have a rich reward.[10] They enjoin truth and steadfastness upon each other.[11]

(9) *Patience.*

None of us is without troubles; we have to taste sorrows and sufferings and submit to misfortunes. But it is only when the loss is suffered with total resignation to God, that patience becomes a moral virtue. "O you who believe! seek assistance through patience and prayer;[12] surely Allah is with the patient. We will certainly try you with somewhat of fear, hunger, loss of property,

[1] *Qur'an* ix. 6.
[2] *Qur'an* ii. 172.
[3] *Qur'an* xiii. 22.
[4] *Qur'an* iii. 172.
[5] *Qur'an* viii. 47.
[6] *Qur'an* xxii. 31.
[7] *Qur'an* ii. 283.
[8] *Qur'an* iv. 135.
[9] *Qur'an* v. 8.
[10] *Qur'an* xxxiii. 35.
[11] *Qur'an* ciii. 3.
[12] *Qur'an* ii. 153.

lives and fruits. Give good news to the patient ones who, when misfortune comes, say, Surely we are for Allah; to Him we shall return.[1]"

(10) *Sympathy.*

We labour under a wrong notion of sympathy. Race and colour prejudices prompt us to wrong others in the interests of our own people. We exercise our patriotic spirit in the same way. This psychology arises from natural impulses, witnessed even among the lower animals. A raven's call brings thousands of other ravens together against their foes. The Qur'anic injunctions on the subject are very useful. "Sympathize and co-operate in good and pious matters, and do not co-operate for evil and malice.[2] Slacken not in your zeal for the sympathy of your people. Do not advocate the fraudulent nor plead for those who defraud one another."[3]

Mulhima, Divine Revelation

Virtue for virtue's sake is undoubtedly a great consolation, a strong incentive for leading a moral life; but strength to face hardships in the cause of righteousness comes only to those whose belief in God's existence reaches the stage of certainty, i.e. to whom God appears and speaks as He did to those in olden days. Islam promises this: "Those who strive for Us, we will certainly guide them to our ways."[4]

These moralities, when observed properly, enable us to receive the Divine Revelation. First, angels begin to invite us to good actions and take us under their care. Do we not feel sometimes inclined to do good voluntarily and shun evils, as if inspired by some unseen agencies? The inspiration comes from angels. "God sends down angels with inspiration on whom He pleases.[5] . . . The angels become encouraged if we follow them. They become our guardians; we receive Divine Revelations through them from time to time. "As for those who say, Our Lord is Allah, then continue in the right way, the angels descend upon them, saying: Fear not, nor be grieved; receive good news of the garden you were promised. We are your guardians in this life and the hereafter; you shall have therein what your soul desires."[6]

This is the third stage of our uplifting, called *Mulhima*—the Inspired. This brings the soul on its road to perfection.[7] The Divine flame from within kindles and consumes all dross. We walk in its light; Allah listens to our cries and answers our prayers by the words of His own mouth. "Call upon Me," God says, "and I will answer your prayers.[8]" "If My servants ask thee

[1] *Qur'an* ii. 153, 155, 156, 157. [2] *Qur'an* iv. 104, 105, 107. [3] *Qur'an* [4] *Qur'an* xci. 7, 9.
[5] *Qur'an* v. 2. [6] *Qur'an* vi. 163. [7] *Qur'an* [8] *Qur'an* xl. 60.

concerning Me, tell them that I am very near to them ; I listen to the supplications of the supplicator ; seek Me with prayers, and believe in Me, so that they may proceed rightly."[1] The assurance coming in some tangible form, we feel in God's company and become steadfast in the hardest ordeals. Temptations die and cravings for virtue increase ; struggles are passed and won, and the soul begins to rule the flesh.

At Rest

Mutmainna is the fourth stage of the spiritual progress ; carnal desires come within proper bounds ; evil disappears, and virtue becomes man's food. " O believers ! God endeared the faith to you and impressed its beauty and excellence upon your hearts. He made unbelief and wickedness and disobedience hateful to you and made your heart averse to evil."[2] " Truth came and falsehood fled ; verily falsehood had to flee."[3] Man forgets himself in God's love ; his life is solely for the Master.[4] He steps automatically on the right path. " Yes, whoever submits entirely to Allah and is the doer of good, he has his reward from his Lord ; he shall have no fear nor shall he grieve."[5]

Radiah and Mardiah

Here we pass from the moral into the spiritual order. The passion of Mine and Thine dies ; we hold our acquisitions as a trust for others.[6] With no race or colour or family distinction, we live for God and His creatures. " The lover of God sacrifices his life in His way and receives His pleasure as his price."[7] In the hardest afflictions they look to God, saying : " O Lord ! Give us in this affliction contentment of mind that may give us patience, and our death be upon Islam (i.e. total resignation to God)."[8] And God says : " For them are good tidings in this world and in the hereafter."[9]

These are the fifth and sixth evolutionary stages of our soul. We reach the door of heaven on this very earth : " Thou soul at rest, return to thy Lord, pleased with Him and He pleased with thee ; enter among My servants and enter into My paradise."[10] Ponder over these words. They explain Moslem paradise ; service of God is paradise.

Kamilah

At this stage man becomes a willing instrument in God's hands. He merges in Him and subordinates his judgment to His will, and says, as Muhammad said : " My prayers and my sacrifices, my life and my death are for Allah, the Lord of the Worlds."[11]

[1] *Qur'an* ii. 186.
[2] *Qur'an* xlix. 7, 8.
[3] *Qur'an* xvii. 83.
[4] *Qur'an* ix. 24.
[5] *Qur'an* vi. 163.
[6] *Qur'an* xxxiii. 72.
[7] *Qur'an* ii. 203.
[8] *Qur'an* ii. 203.
[9] *Qur'an* x. 65.
[10] *Qur'an* vi. 163.
[11] *Qur'an* vi. 162.

Here God becomes his limbs and joints, as the Qur'an speaks of Muhammad: "The hand of the Prophet which is above their hands is the hand of God."[1] "Whatever thou castest, not thou, but God, has cast."[2] God becomes closer to us than our neck-vein.[3] "He engraves faith on our heart with His own hands and strengthens us with His Holy Spirit."[4] Man's soul reaches its zenith. The spirits of Allah breathed in man, as the perfection of his physical frame,[5] comes to prominence. We reach the final stage, and the angels of God—the movers of the forces of Nature—fall prostrate to our will.[6]

People of the present day speculate about occult powers and hanker after abnormal achievements. Should these things be worthy of the notice of a Moslem who reaches this stage? He becomes equipped with Divine morals and reproduces God's attributes within human walls. Could we go farther if God becomes our limbs and joints? The world has produced such men, but some of them were mistaken for God. They were iron in the fire exuding heat and light, but resuming a normal condition when out of it. They showed Divine colours, but exhibited human infirmities. They did not possess two natures—Divine and human—but only one human nature, sometimes at its highest and sometimes normal.

Paradise begins Here

Imagine the condition when all struggles are over; all low passions —avarice, envy, rivalry, vanity, vengeance—vanished; every desire of the soul achieved; life a perennial spring flowing with high moralities—chastity, honesty, meekness, patience, constancy, truthfulness, forgiveness, politeness, benevolence, sympathy and kindness to all creatures; man standing in full beatitude as if in the presence of Allah.

Could there be a better conception of a blissful life? This is the Moslem paradise that opens in this life, while these very moral and spiritual conditions will become, after death, materialized in a form known only to God[7] to make us a heaven there. The paradise will be an embodiment of the spiritual blessings which advanced souls begin to enjoy here. The Qur'an says (to those lost in His love): "The Lord has given a drink that purified their hearts: They drink of a fountain which they opened with their own hands."[8] Their own good deeds will in that life assume the form of trees that will give unceasing fruits. To such a life men and women will have equal entry. "The dwellers of the gardens shall be on that day in happy occupation; they and their wives reclining in shade on raised couches; they shall have fruits and

[1] *Qur'an* xlviii. 10. [2] *Qur'an* l. 15. [3] *Qur'an* xv. 29. [4] *Qur'an* xxxii. 17.
[5] *Qur'an* viii. 17. [6] *Qur'an* lviii. 22. [7] *Qur'an* ii. 38, 72. [8] *Qur'an* lv. 46.

whatever they desire; Peace—a word from the merciful Lord,[1] . . . The angels will enter in upon them, from every gate; peace be upon you because you were constant[2] . . . And we will remove whatever of ill-feeling is in their breasts.[3] . . . Their cry therein shall be, Glory to Thee, O Allah; and their greetings in it shall be Peace, and their last cry shall be, Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds."[4] *Other verses similarly show that perfect peace shall be the ruling order in the Moslem paradise, and its blessings purely of a spiritual nature.* "And they shall say: *All praise to Allah, who made grief to depart from us . . . who made us alight in a house abiding for ever . . . toil shall not touch us therein nor shall fatigue afflict us.*[5] . . . *Well pleased because of their own striving, in lofty gardens wherein you shall not hear vain talk.*[6]

Freedom from grief, fear, toil and anxiety is the chief characteristic of the Qur'anic paradise—a truth repeated again and again in the Qur'an. Could the idea of the spiritual paradise be better expressed? Undoubtedly the Qur'an speaks of gardens, trees, milk, honey, fruits and numerous other things; but these are not of this life; they are metaphorical expressions. The Qur'an is too eloquent on the point to leave any doubt: "A parable of the garden, which the righteous are promised; therein are rivers of water that do not alter . . . and rivers of milk . . . the rivers of honey . . . fruits. . . ."[7] Other verses say the same;[8] that this all is an allegory; and for obvious reasons. If heavenly blessings are such, as the Prophet says, "as no eyes have seen, nor has ear heard, nor has it entered into man's heart to conceive them," they can only be conveyed by parables and examples.

The Houris

The Houris, upon whom so much stress is laid by our adverse critics, are no other than our own female folks, with hearts pure and eyes restrained from evil. The Qur'an says: "The garden of perpetual abode which they will enter along with those who do good from among their parents, their spouses and their offsprings."[9]

The root of the word *Houri* means white, pure, unsullied. We read undoubtedly of the beauty of their eyes, but their very description[10]—"Those who restrain the eyes"—refers more to their spiritual beauty than to anything of the flesh. The eyes restrained from evil means purity of heart. It is our heart under Qur'anic teachings that creates heaven and hell: "The day on which property will not avail, nor sons, except who comes to Allah with a ***heart*** free from evil."[11] Speaking of hell, the Qur'an says: "It is the fire kindled by Allah which rises above *the hearts*."[12]

[1] *Qur'an* lxxvi. 5. [2] *Qur'an* xxxvi. 38. [3] *Qur'an* xiii. 23, 24. [4] *Qur'an* vii. 43. [5] *Qur'an* lxxxviii. 9–11. [6] *Qur'an* xlvii. 15. [7] *Qur'an* xlvii. 15. [8] *Qur'an* xiii. 15. [9] *Qur'an* xiii. 23. [10] *Qur'an* xxxvii. 78. [11] *Qur'an* xxvi. 89. [12] *Qur'an* civ. 5–7.

Besides, only those born here will be admitted to that life with no further procreation therein. Heavenly life is simply a starting-point for further progress of a different character. "Their light shall run before them and on their right hand; they shall say: Our Lord make perfect for us our light."[1] The prayer is really a desire for perfection. "Every stage of excellence to which man shall attain shall seem to be imperfect when compared with the next stage of progress." The seven heavens of the Qur'an are seven evolutionary stages, but that is not the termination. The last heaven will be another starting-point for advancement till we merge into the Divine Essence. Here we also make great progress; but it is a life of preparation for us, to traverse immeasurably wider realms opening at our death, when the soul will become freed from physical limitations. "They shall have high places, above them higher places. They shall have reward never to be cut."[2] The Qur'anic paradise is not within certain frontiers. "Hasten to a garden the extensiveness of which is as the extensiveness of heaven and earth."[3] The Prophet, when asked, "If paradise be so extensive, where will be the hell?" remarked: "Allah be glorified, where is the night when the day comes?"

This explains conclusively that the Moslem Heaven and Hell are two conditions of life after death, and not two places. Here we utilize mostly terrestrial things for our growth, but there our material will be something from the whole universe, but much finer than earth. A heart free from evil will move freely in heaven and on earth, but the wicked will become crippled. He will be subjected to a course of treatment to remove the spiritual poison he himself created in his system,[4] that stunted his faculties; but when it shall have become counteracted and he be fit to start on the onward journey to the goal, he will be no more in hell. Islam does not speak of any eternal condemnation, nor does it close the door of paradise on any human being. Hell is meant to cleanse men of the dross that hindered their spiritual progress; and when that object is gained, its necessity finishes. If fire is a good cleansing factor, the Qur'an is only consistent with its claimed explicitness, if it uses the metaphor of fire when describing hell. It will automatically become cold, when every soul shall have become purged of its impurities; and the day will come on hell, as the noble Prophet said, when cool breezes will blow in its avenues. This is the Moslem conception of hell which, even in this life, burns in an evil heart.

Material Progress

As to our material progress I have as yet said nothing. The conditions obtaining chiefly in the West led me to dwell mostly on the moral and spiritual beauties of Islam. The Qur'an, however,

[1] *Qur'an* lxvi. 8. [2] *Qur'an* xcv. 6. [3] *Qur'an* xlvii. 21, iii. 132. [4] *Qur'an* xci. 10.

promulgated the best of ethics for producing material civilization. The short space at my disposal compels me to be brief.

To begin with, the Qur'an declared that man was not only God's Image but His Vicegerent on the earth who, through acquiring the necessary knowledge, can receive homage from angels[1]; those sentient beings who, as the Book says, move forces of Nature and actualize her potentialities. The Book then defines man's relations with the rest of the universe. It preaches the equality of man in every human attainment.[2] It declares that everyone could do what his superiors do. It demolishes all man-made barriers such as descent, race, colour and wealth. It makes righteousness the only criterion of greatness.[3] Thus Islam brought to man for the first time the best form of democracy in all its ramifications. As to the government, Umar, the second Caliph, remarked that it was no government if the voice of the governed was not heard. State property was made public property by him, in every sense of the word. Every child received its stipend up to a certain age. Islam also introduced Socialism on workable lines. Every Moslem is ordered to contribute annually 2½ per cent. of what he owns, to help the poor. For the rest, man's charitable nature has been moved to part voluntarily with that which Western Socialism demands that the State shall exact from the rich to benefit the poor, and it has proved more efficacious than the other is likely to prove. Islam honoured labour. It sanctified honest living, however humble, and denounced mendicancy. It abolished usury and encouraged trade.[4] It denounced sedition[5] and secret societies.[6] It preached the maintenance of the *status quo*, if just and equitable.

The Patronage of Learning

But the greatest boon that Islam conferred on humanity was the unique stimulus it gave to learning. Soon after Islam, the world saw an upheaval, as it were, of material sciences unknown before. They did not, for obvious reasons, appeal much to pre-Islamic people, to whom Nature and her elements were the chief gods. Such, then, it would be sacrilege to reduce to service; nevertheless Islam came, and brought them to the dust when it declared that everything in heaven and earth—the sun, the moon, the stars, the rivers, the ships, the ocean, the trees and so forth, were made subservient to man.[7] Man soon realized that his gods were his servants. He began to think of utilizing them, and brought material sciences into existence. In order, however, to draw his attention to scientific research, the Qur'an said: "Men of understanding . . . reflect on the creation of (that in) heaven

[1] *Qur'an* ii. 34. [2] *Qur'an* xviii. 110. [3] *Qur'an* xlix. 13. [4] *Qur'an* ii. 275.
[5] *Qur'an* xvi. 99. [6] *Qur'an* lviii. 10. [7] *Qur'an* xiv. 32, 33.

and earth . . . (and say): Our Lord, Thou hast not created this in vain. Glory be to Thee."[1] Thus the Book revealed that everything in Nature had its use for man, who must ponder over it and realize that to glorify God was not mere lip-gratitude, but rather consisted firstly in discovering the properties of things, and then in giving thanks to Him, on finding our needs supplied by them. Science cannot reach the height suggested by Islam unless the whole solar system is reduced to our service. Is it, then, a matter of wonderment if the early Moslems became the forerunners of the workers in modern sciences, that brought forth modern civilization?

Equality and Subservience

In short, the equality of man and subservience of Nature are the two motor levers of Civilization. The Qur'an taught them to man clearly for the first time. In fact, they are the natural sequel of our belief in the Oneness of God. But if Islam preached monotheism in the purest form, it was rather to create in us self-reliance and independence of character than for anything in the way of extolling the Divine Majesty.[2] Allah does not lose anything if man becomes polytheist, nor is He a jealous God. Man is himself the loser in worshipping other than God, for in doing so, he kills all his high-soaring faculties. But for this, he could have done the same things which have, in his estimation, deified some evolved personality. The Qur'an first bids us look only to Allah for help. It also declares that no intermediary stands between Him and man,[3] nor shall any intercession prevail before the Majesty of Allah; and then as to Allah Himself we are told: "Allah does not change the condition of the people until they change their own condition.[4] . . ." Of our own exertions we are told, "For (every soul) is what it has earned[5] and upon it is (the evil of what) it has wrought."[6] "He who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and he who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it."[7] We, however, are assured that our good actions will be rewarded tenfold or more,[1] but that the first move must come from us. Could there be a better lesson for self-help, a better encouragement for self-exertion and a sterner warning against doing wrong?

Asceticism Discouraged

There was another drawback which retarded civilization, and which Islam removed. Man's view of life, and of worldly things, was too narrow to allow of their enjoyment. The dark side of humanity was preached, and its bright side totally ignored. Philosophy and religion both taught the same. They were, however, not altogether wrong. The selfish aggression of those making

[1] *Qur'an* iii. 190. [2] *Qur'an* xxxi. 12. [3] *Qur'an* lxxiv. 48. [4] *Qur'an* xiii. 11. [5] *Qur'an* ii. 286. [6] *Qur'an* xcix. 78. [7] *Qur'an* xi. 16.

material progress in those days, and especially their self-indulgence, gave birth to such notions; and so austere ascetic exercises and the monastic life became the best religion. Salvation lay in total renunciation, and mendicancy arose in consequence. Could material progress thrive under these conditions? Islam came in time, and changed the trend of things. Monasticism was denounced and mendicancy prohibited. Enjoyment of worldly things was recommended, but on guarded lines: "Say: Who has prohibited the embellishment of Allah which He has brought forth for His servants, and the good provision?[1] These are for the believers . . . in this life."[2] What sound logic! For to depreciate God's good provision is to find fault with His work. The earth and its contents must have some use, but they could not be created to pamper self-indulgence or further aggressiveness. Tyranny and autocracy rule the world, no doubt, from time to time, but only for a short time. The rule and the people must go, under Qur'anic Decree,[3] to those who rule for the benefit of the governed, and who do not weaken the subject[4] races, while strengthening their own people for their own ends. "The good provisions" of the world are for the servants of the Beneficent God, who, as the Qur'an describes them, "walk on the earth humbly and keep in their wealth a fixed portion for him who begs or is deprived (like the dumb animal). And when they spend they are neither extravagant nor parsimonious, but keep the just mean; they do not call upon another God with Allah; and slay not the soul forbidden by Him. They observe continence and commit no fornication; they bear not false witness, and are upright in their testimony. They are faithful to their trust and their covenants," whether in national affairs or in private life. "When they pass by what is vain, they pass by nobly. They are constant at their prayers and pass their nights prostrating themselves before their Lord. They keep a guard on their prayers" (i.e. they work it out in their daily life). "They accept the truth of the Judgment Day, and are fearful of the chastisement of the Lord. When they are reminded of their Lord's communications, they do not fall down thereat, deaf and blind, but say, 'Our Lord, grant us in our wives and offspring the joy of our eyes, and make us guides to those who seek righteousness. Our Lord, grant us good in the hereafter. Lord, do not punish us if we forget or make a mistake. . . . Our Lord, do not impose upon us that which we cannot bear; pardon us and grant us protection, forgive our fault and cover our evil deeds and make us die with the righteous people." "These shall be rewarded with high places because they were patient, and shall be in gardens honoured."[5]

[1] *Qur'an* vii. 32. [2] *Qur'an* vii. 32. [3] *Qur'an* lxvii. 1, 2, 3. [4] *Qur'an* xxviii. 4. [5] *Qur'an* xx. 23, 35; xxv. 75; 23201–286; iii. 192, 193.

The Spirit of Islam

By Mustafa Khan
(Lahore)

IT is a healthy sign that the West has begun to realize the importance of Religion and has commenced to take interest in its study. So far, it has been the privilege of the East to champion the religious movements. It is the East that has always been the source of light and guidance to the West in matters religious.

Mr. Lloyd George once remarked that Asia was the true nursery of religious faith, that Asia alone had the repose and tranquil solitudes for the great and enduring religious enthusiasm that possessed whole nations. But things are changing fast, and it is no wonder if the bustling materialism of the West may be saturated with the softening atmosphere of the religious East. The present Conference is a good omen. Let us hope that it will lead to a better understanding among the apparently conflicting religions of the British Empire ; and will thus bring about a permanent peace and tranquillity in humanity.

Peace with God and Man

I believe that Islam has come to establish real peace in the whole world. In every Islamic institution, whether it is associated with the private life or public, the chief object aimed at is to bring about the eternal peace between man and his Maker, or between man and man. The religious beliefs which have been expounded by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (may peace and the blessings of God be upon him !) go to bring the whole humanity to a common platform of equality. In order to take a fair view of what Islam has done to achieve that end, let us cast a cursory glance over the circumstances which have been invariably in the past, and will be ever in future, responsible for the disintegration and disunion of humanity. It will be readily admitted that " egoism," or the problem of " mine and thine," is the chief cause of all the troubles. Nations make war and cause tremendous bloodshed simply because they are led by the motives of " mine and thine."

The geographical boundaries, which are mere outward expressions of the same spirit of " mine and thine," kindle the fire of egoism in the hearts of nations, and result in catastrophes like the Great War, out of which we have just emerged.

Islam attempts to uproot this evil by advocating the belief in one God—who is the God of all nations, white and black. The Holy Qur'an opens with the word that Allah is the Supreme Being, the Cherisher and Sustainer, not of a particular nation or community, but of all humanity. The cosmopolitan conception of God as the universal Father of humanity is a potent factor to cement the brotherly relation of the different nations of the world, and thus to bring these apparently heterogeneous elements of humanity into one harmonious whole. Islam has established the truth that we are all the sons of the selfsame Divine Father, who has been uniformly impartial in dispensing with both our physical and spiritual wants. We all are living on the same floor of earth under the blue canopy of heaven, which has been furnished with two lamps —the sun and the moon—to give us light. Other bounties of Nature, the air, sunshine, water, etc., are equally distributed among us. It would have been quite inconsistent with the Divine Wisdom if He had not given us equally the spiritual light. He has been quite impartial in the ministering of our spiritual requirements as well. The history of different religions shows that God has been sending His messengers to different people at different times with His teachings. As a Moslem, I am required to believe in all the prophets of the world, and not to make any distinction between them. The Holy Qur'an says :

> Say, we believe in Allah and in that which has been revealed to us and in that which was revealed to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, and Jacob, and his tribes, and in that which was given to Moses and Jesus, and in that which was given to prophets from their Lord. We do not make any distinction between any of them, and to Him we submit.

Fatherhood, Brotherhood and Catholicity

Thus Islam has eradicated all the prejudices of colour and creed by the two Articles of Faith. Firstly, by the Universal Fatherhood of God and the Common Brotherhood of man, and secondly by the Catholicity of the Prophethood. These two articles of faith are enunciated in a well-known formula which is commonly called the first of the five fundamental principles of Islam, and which is generally expressed in these words :

> I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, who alone is to be worshipped, and who has no associates, and I also bear witness that Muhammad (peace be upon him !) is His apostle and servant.

It may, however, be noted that in this formula the belief in Muhammad (peace be upon him !) includes belief in all the prophets who were sent to different peoples in different times, and therefore the first Article of Faith in which unity of God and prophethood of Muhammad have been established implies a belief in all the

prophets. The first principle of Islam, therefore, comprehends a belief in a universal God and the universal prophethood, which, is, of course, a necessary corollary of the universal dispensation of God. To be brief, in this Article of Faith we have been taught to believe in the Brotherhood of man and the universal Fatherhood of God, though I am afraid the word " Father " is not adequate enough to express the Qur'anic term *Rabb ul Alamin.*

It may, however, be said that it is only an article of Faith, and a lip-belief or a profession which does not amount to much. True ; but Islam does not require mere lip:belief. As a matter of fact, the significance of belief in Islam always carries with it the actual practice. Therefore the remaining four principles of Faith represent the realization of the first principle along with respective significance of their own.

Prayer Equalizes Men

The second principle of Islam, for instance, is Prayer, which represents a beautiful sense of perfect equality and Brotherhood of man. In prayer we stand respectfully before, and for the worship of, One God, in whose sight a peer and a peasant are equal, and therefore there is no distinction of rank, of high and low, at prayer time. The poorest Moslem can stand side by side with the king in the prayer line. Thus the Brotherhood of man, which was established in theory in the first Article of Faith, has been practically realized in prayer.

The Significance of Fasting

The third principle of Islam is Fasting, and every Moslem is enjoined to fast during the month of Ramadan. It may be asked What is the use of fasting, which is but another name for starvation ? In reply, I will say in the first place that it creates a sort of fellowship with and sympathy for those who actually starve. It is an indisputable fact that there are hundreds and thousands of our fellow-men who, through adverse circumstances, are compelled to starve ; and it is our sacred duty to help them and sympathize with them. But it is a feature of human nature that we cannot realize the sufferings of others unless we ourselves go through them. A wealthy man who has never the ill-luck of going without his dainty dishes is not in a position to understand the sad plight of his brothers who often go without the coarsest food. The first advantage of Ramadan, therefore, is that the Moslems become alive to the sufferings of their fellow-men, and are thus stimulated to lend a helping hand to them. That is why the Holy Prophet and his companions are reported to be exceedingly charitable in this month. The Moslems are, as a general rule, expected to give alms more generously in this month than usual ; and it cannot be

denied that the practice goes a long way to mitigate the sufferings of humanity. It has been truly said that Islam has got a levelling effect, and that it is more conspicuous during the fasting month. A king, with all his means of subsistence and stores of provisions, fasts like a poor man, and is thus brought face to face with the realities of life. From this he can learn a great lesson of sympathy for his subjects.

This is only one phase of fasting. It has got many other advantages as well. For instance, we learn abstinence, under the command of God, for a certain specified period of time, from those things that are perfectly lawful; and this observance of His command makes us doubly fit to give up or abstain from those things which are unlawful. It is, in a way, training and schooling which cultivates in us the habits of abstinence, perseverance, patience and sympathy.

Physically, too, fasting has a wholesome effect on our constitution. It is a thing of common experience that after fasting your health is improved, and the Ramadan seems to give a tone to your health. The reason is very simple. Your physical organs, the liver, the stomach, etc., have taken rest, and have begun to work afresh with more vigour and energy. The food you take is properly digested and assimilated to your physique.

Those who have some experience in the realm of vision and spiritual flights agree on this, that the practice of fasting quickens their spiritual powers, and they see wonderful visions during the period of fasting. The explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the fact that, by subjection of the physical faculties, your spiritual faculties are strengthened; and therefore you begin to soar higher and higher in the realm of spirituality. This all-round growth and welfare which is aimed at by fasting has been described in the Holy Qur'an by the Arabic word *tataqun*, which means, " so that you may be careful of your duty " ; which, of course, implies the duty towards our fellow-beings and also duty to ourselves, which lies in keeping our body and soul in a sound state, i.e. keeping our various God-given faculties in the right proportion. I may also mention that fasting is a religious institution, which was, according to the Holy Qur'an, enjoined in the older scriptures as well. And it is a remarkable fact that the Holy Prophet, who could not read or write, gives this information to the world, and it is exactly corroborated by the study of the older scriptures. For instance, in the New Testament we find:

Then came to him the disciples of John, saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not?

And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? But the days will

come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast (*Matt.* ix. 14–15).

Moreover, when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance . . .

But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face (*Matt.* vi. 16–17).

Howbeit, this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.

From these quotations it is evident that Jesus enjoined fasting upon his followers; but I do not know if his injunctions are carried out into practice by his followers. But if I may be permitted to say so, Moslems are his true followers, because they do fast.

Fraternity of The Pilgrimage

Now I come to the fourth principle, i.e. the Pilgrimage, which represents the unique scene of man's fraternity at the sacred city of Mecca. It is true, in our daily prayers a prince and a peasant stand shoulder to shoulder, yet the difference of their various costumes and dresses is still sufficient to differentiate them. But in the Haj (or the Pilgrimage) we have to eliminate these differences of society as well, and are entirely brought down to the level of the whole of humanity. The pilgrims who visit every year the Holy Shrine of Mecca belong to different climates of the world; they differ in colour and caste, they differ in ranks and grades, they differ in speech and modes of living; but still they are fastened with the unbreakable bond of fraternity, and saturated with the true belief of the Unity of God and equality of man. The display of wealth, rich costumes and expensive clothings may make distinction in society; but the Divine Wisdom, which found its fullest and last exposition in Islam, and which wants to destroy all these conventional distinctions and differences in order to create a universal Brotherhood of man, could not allow the same in the levelling atmosphere of Mecca, in the days of Pilgrimage. Hence every pilgrim, no matter what his rank and position, had to divest himself of his particular costume before stepping into the holy precincts of Mecca, and don seamless white robes, the *Ihram.*

Mecca

Friends! just picture to yourselves hundreds and thousands of men and women, belonging to different ranks and creeds of society, clothed in the same garb of humility, and passing days and nights in the same circumstances, in the sight of God! All the distinctions of wealth and position, colour and nationality disappear there. The king and the peasant are alike, one cannot be distinguished from the other. In short, the whole of humanity assumes one uniform aspect before its Maker, and the universal Brotherhood becomes a living reality.

The Holy City of Mecca, which is the scene of this unique gathering, is known in the Islamic literature as the *ummal Qura*, i.e. the mother of cities. It is curious how the very name of the city suggests its chief feature. Just as a child has a yearning for his mother and runs to her, similarly the people of different cities long for a visit to this sacred city, and hundreds of thousands of Moslems from all corners of the world gather together in the holy precincts of Mecca during the days of pilgrimage. It is simply wonderful how this vast ocean of humanity behaves ; there is neither a policeman nor military guard, and yet the whole affair goes on without any accident or quarrel. As a matter of fact, the people become quite harmless and docile, they leave off for the time being their evil propensities, and the kingdom of God is actually established. The pilgrims become childlike in the loving arms of the " mother of cities," and so do no harm to their brothers and sisters. This is the ideal state of civil life, and " Mecca " is in reality the mother of cities, as it presents before you the wonderful sight of such a big, peaceful gathering. Thus the kingdom of God, which is only a dream to many, is realized in the sacred precincts of that blessed city.

The Kaaba

One point more with regard to Mecca. The city is a living monument of the self-sacrifice and self-denial of the Holy Prophet. The origin of " Kaaba," the holy building, which is the object of pilgrimage, is traced back by a very ancient tradition to the times even before Abraham, who, it is related, rebuilt the holy building. Thus, the building has got very remote associations with the Holy Prophet Abraham. The Holy Prophet Muhammad, being a rival prophet, could have thrown into the background the shrine associated with the name of Abraham in preference for his own shrine at Medina ; but no ; he was far above this sort of selfishness. He enjoined his followers not to make his tomb an object of worship, but in order to commemorate the sacred memory of Abraham he made the pilgrimage of Kaaba incumbent upon every Moslem, provided he has got the means to do that. This shows the entire selflessness on the part of our Prophet. The fact is that he was the last of the prophets, and as such he cherished the sweet and magnanimous hope of elevating all the prophets in the sight of humanity. It was with this view that he took particular pains not only to clear the past prophets of the false charges which were levelled against them, both by enemies and friends, but also enjoined his followers to believe in all of the prophets and their revelations. As Jesus Christ (may peace and blessings of God be upon him !) was most grossly misrepresented and misunderstood, both by friends and foes, the holy Prophet Muhammad did his best to clear his

position—and thus the prophecy of Jesus with regard to the advent of one who will purify him has been fulfilled in the person of Muhammad.

Zakat and Alms

Now I come to the last and fifth principle of Islam, which has been promulgated by the Holy Qur'an in the terms of *Zakat* (poor-rate) or *Sadaquet* (alms). Every Moslem is expected to take a stock of his savings every year and to disburse 2½ per cent. of this as "alms." Charity in Islam takes two different forms. One is optional, and the other compulsory, which is also called *zakat*. When asked as to what was the ultimate object of *zakat*, the Holy Prophet replied that it was a means whereby the rich had to give something out of their wealth for the help of those who are in need. The Holy Qur'an has laid down eight different purposes for the expenditure of this *zakat* money. It says :

> Alms are only for the poor, the needy, the officials appointed over them, whose hearts are made inclined to truth, the ransoming of captives, those in debt, in the way of Allah and the wayfarer.

It is Islam that has given charity the prestige and form of an institution. Before the advent of Islam the followers of other religions used to do charitable deeds on their own personal fancies, and had no organization. But the Holy Prophet, whose aim was to systemize the religion and make it a living force in the civilization of mankind, laid down rules and regulations for charity, so that the general welfare of society may be achieved. Here, again, the spirit of Brotherhood is prevailing. The wealthy are required to part with a certain part of their savings to help their brethren in need, so that they, too, may become useful members of society. The Western world goes on dreaming of its Utopian Socialism, but Islam, being a practical religion, has established a most useful financial institution in the form of *zakat*, which can afford sufficient funds to improve the status of those who are lingering behind in the race of life, leaving, at the same time, sufficient scope for individual incentive and ingenuity.

There is also one other phase with regard to the Islamic law of charity which should not be ignored. Before the advent of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, charity was considered only an individual act of merit ; and therefore it was thought necessary that it should be performed secretly.

But Islam has made a little modification in it, and has allowed the giving of alms openly as well. I think this change has made the teachings of Jesus perfect, as the Holy Prophet came to perfect the law, or, in the words of Jesus, to teach the whole Truth. You can easily see what a tremendous amount of good is being done to

humanity by openly raising the funds of charity. The useful work which has been accomplished by the Red Cross Association would have been quite a failure if the rule of secrecy in charity had been observed. Nay, the whole system of the Church can come to a standstill if open charity is to be discontinued. Here, again, the world at length has been obliged to sit at the feet of Muhammad (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon his soul !).

Ladies and Gentlemen ! I have attempted to give you an outline of the Islamic principles. You can well see for yourselves that the whole trend of the teachings of Islam goes to show that it is a religion which is meant for the whole of humanity, and which aims at the universal Brotherhood of man. Its Articles of Faith, its practical institutions, its ordinance of commission and omission bring this one fact home to us, that we all belong to one great world-family, and our duty lies in helping each other. The holy Prophet is reported to have said that there are two great pillars of Faith ; submission to the will of Allah, and service to His creatures.

The Shi'ah Branch of Islam

By Sheikh Kadhim El Dojaily
(of Baghdad)

(The paper was written in Arabic, translated by Dr. Margoliouth, and read to the Conference by Sir Thomas Arnold.)

THE Moslems of the world are divided into two great sects, the Sunnah and the Shi'ah. These are subdivided into various minor sects, whose differences are not of principle, but of detail.

The Shi'ah in general form a third of the Moslems, being rather more than 70 millions; they are chiefly to be found in Persia, Mesopotamia, Bahrain, India, Syria, Anatolia, Russia, Afghanistan, Bukhara, Caucasia and Yemen.

The origin of the Shi'ah goes back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Baqir Al-Khunsari, in the *Raudat al-Jannat* (Persian ed., p. 88), says as follows in the biography of Ibn Khallikan :

" This name (the *Shi'ah*) belonged properly to Salmân al-Fârisi, Abu Dharr al-Ghifâri, Miqdad b. al-Aswad, and 'Ammar b. Yasir, owing to their devoting themselves to the service of the Prince of Believers ('Ali). Presently the name was extended to those who followed their example, and even to those who attached themselves to 'Ali, and maintained his direct successorship to the Apostle, even though they did not believe in all the twelve Imams; in the latter case they would be called Imami, whereas in the former they would belong to the particular sect of Shi'ah called Ithna' shari."

In our time the Shi'ah are called by various names. There are the Ithna'shariyyah, called after the twelve Imams whom they recognize, the Imamiyyah, called after the Imamate, which they recognize as belonging to certain of their Imams, and the Ja'fariyyah, called after the Sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq, who was one of the main founders of the Shi'ah system and died in the year 148 A.H. = 765 A.C. To them also belong the Isma'iliyya, and it may be permitted to reckon to them also the Zaidis and Druzes, and Nusairis, and Babis or Bahâ'is, and Buktashiyyah.

The Shi'ah, by whom I mean the Imamiyyah only, are in our time divided into three main groups. The most important and most orthodox is the Usuliyyah (called after the Principles), after

which comes the Akhbariyyah (called after the Imami Traditions), after which the Sheikhiyya or Kashfiyyah (called after the Revelation).

The Usuliyyah and Sheikhiyyah admit of both original research and following (others). This means that if a man takes the trouble to study, he can become an authority both as to the principles of religion and the derivative matter in religion; but one who is not thus qualified must either follow another who is, or else be cautious how he acts, otherwise his labour (i.e. his acts of devotion) will be vain. To "follow" means, with them, to adopt the opinions of some particular Researcher, and they prefer a living Researcher to a dead one. Such a Researcher is regarded by them as the deputy of the "Lord of the Age" in respect of religious regulations, about whom more presently.

The Akhbariyyah

One of the first tenets of the Akhbariyyah is that wherever the recorded traditions differ as to what is permissible or prohibited the prohibition outweighs the permission. For this reason they will not eat the skin of fowls and they are not permitted to eat it of the meat of any bird.

The Akhbariyyah were well-known among the Shi'ah from ancient times because they are mentioned in the commentary of the *Aqaid as-Suduq* by the Sheikh al-Mufid who died in the year 409 A.H. = 1018 A.C., and among their greatest exponents in more recent times is reckoned to be Mirza Muhammad Amin-al-Astarabadi, who died in 1026 or 1033 A.H. = 1617 or 1623 A.D.

The Akhbariyyah do not admit of "following," but take their stand on the Qur'an and the direct Traditions of the Family of the Prophet (i.e. their twelve Imams); the hidden truths of these Traditions are elucidated to the common people by their scholars. They do not permit men to eat or drink anything not mentioned in the Qur'an or Traditions; for this reason they do not drink coffee, nor smoke tobacco, but they will drink tea, though mentioned neither in the Qur'an nor Tradition, basing the argument upon the verse of the Qur'an: "And to you are permitted pleasant things," tea in their opinion being one of the "pleasant things" because it is sweet. They do not permit that a man marry at the same time two women descended from the Family of the Prophet, though one may live in the East and the other in the West.

The Kashfiyyah

The Akhbariyyah Shi'ah prefer the Salat al-Jum'ah as against omitting it, basing their opinion upon the fact that no tradition

is recorded about omitting it, and because the command for it is mentioned in the Qur'an.[1]

The Kashfiyyah admit the principle of an authority leading his followers, but they go to extreme lengths in their love of their Imams; to whom they ascribe things which belong only to God, e.g. the maintenance of the human race, the reward and the punishment of mankind. They assert that to the Imam are submitted every morning and evening the deeds of all creatures up till the Day of Judgment, God having committed this to them from all eternity, with other things of the kind which need not be mentioned here. They believe that the Imams were carried in the sides of their mothers, not in their wombs, that they were born out of their thighs, not out of their wombs. One of them at the age of a month was as advanced as another child would be after a year. He could read the Qur'an and serve his Lord.

They are regarded by the Usuliyyah and Akhbariyyah as unbelievers, and are not allowed by them to visit the tombs of the Imams for fear of their defiling them, as they would be defiled by Christians, Jews, and other Moslems. Neither do they permit them to bury their dead in those cemeteries. This has led to a long series of armed conflicts, wherein much blood has been shed on both sides.

Opinions Common to all Shi'i

As for the common opinions of the Shi'ah, they are as follows:

1. They believe in the unity of God, that God is light; He is unlike anything else, He has neither form, nor essence, nor extent, and He is not contiguous with anything else; He is never seen either in this world or in the next, in opposition to the creed of the Ash'aris among the Sunnis; He is the Creator, the Sustainer, Rewarder, and Punisher of Creation for their deeds. He exists in all space and time. He is not comprehended by any place, and has no bound or body. It is incumbent on God to send Apostles to mankind to lead them to the truth and the right way; it is also incumbent on Him to appoint, after the Prophets, Imams who are, as it were, their trustees. These Imams are the interpreters of the word of God and of the Tradition of the Prophets. To this class belong their twelve Imams, as being the Trustees of the Prophet Muhammad, and his successors in one after another order.

[1] The Sheikh after whom this group is named is Sheikh Ahmad al Ahsa'i, who died in the year 1243 A.H. = 1827 A.D. Most of the information about the Akhbariyyah and their differences of opinion with Maliyya are found in the book *Kitab al-Hadaiq*, by the Sheikh Yusuf al-Bahrani, and in the books *Dhakhiri* and *al-Fawrid*, by Muhammad Amin al-Astarabadi, and in the *Raudat al-Jannat*, by al-Khunsari. These works are published in Persia. The first who widened the difference of opinion between the Usuliyya and Akhbariyya was Jamal al-Din al Hasan ibn Yusuf ibn al Mutahhar al Hilli, well known as al Allama, who died in 726 A.H. = 1325 A.D. and was an adherent of the Usuliyya sect.

2. They believe that the world is a new creation, that the stars are lights and that the heavens are bodily substances, but without life or speech. They believe that paradise and hell are both created; that paradise never ends, and that those in it are perpetually in bliss; likewise as regards hell, that those in it suffer for ever.

3. They believe that the Qur'an was created, and that it is not Speech.

4. They believe that Muhammad was a Prophet sent by God to all mankind without exception; that he is the Seal of the Prophets (i.e. there is no other after him) and that he is the best of creation both before and after, including the prophets.

5. They believe that the Imam is by necessity the most learned of living beings as well as the bravest; that he is learned in every science concerning the tenets of religion and immune from great and minor sins, that it is impossible for him to commit errors or mistakes or even forget; and that he is singled out for this by the Prophet and the Imam who preceded him by name to his followers; this they hold to have been the case with their Imams. Were there to be no Imam on earth, the earth could not last the twinkling of an eye; hence they believe that their Lord of the Age is alive. They believe that the Prophet singled out their Imams and mentioned them by name one after another in numerous traditions.

6. They maintain that the Imam, should he be overpowered or defeated, must live in the fear of God; that the office of Imam is temporal, but that it must be obeyed by the human race entirely as it is a stewardship of the Prophet. They believe that rebellion against the Imam is equal to rebellion against the Prophet, and that 'Ali and Fatimah are the best of God's creation after the Prophet; that injustice towards the family of the Prophet is punished by hell-fire; that the Imams on the Day of Resurrection are on the level with the Prophet and that no one else is equal with them, they being the light of God, which no impurity can touch.

'Ali's Family

7. They believe that 'Ali (the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, husband of his daughter Fatimah) and Fatimah herself are the best of mankind after Muhammad, not excepting the other prophets; after them come their descendants, the Imams. These are their two sons, Hasan and Husain:

Husain's son, 'Ali, called Zain al-'Abidin, who died 94 A.H. = 712 A.D.
This 'Ali's son, Muhammad al-Baqir, who died 114 A.H. = 732 A.D.
His son, Ja'far al-Sadiq, who died 148 A.H. = 765 A.D.[1]

[1] These Imams are all buried in Medina (in the Hijaz) where is the tomb of Muhammad, except Husain, who is buried in Kerbela in Iraq.

His son, Musa al-Kadhim, who died 183 A.H. = 799 A.D.
His son, 'Ali al-Rida (who was appointed successor to the 'Abbasid Ma'mûn, but afterwards deprived) died 203 A.H. = 818 A.D.
His son, Muhammad al-Jawad, who died 220 A.H. = 835 A.D.
His son, 'Ali al-Hadi, who died 254 A.H. = 868 A.D.
His son, Hasan al-'Askari, who died 260 A.H. = 873 A.D.[1]
His son Muhammad, called the Mahdi, the Lord of the Age, the Rightful Lord, the Plea, the Expected to Arise, and the Salvation of God.

The Mahdi

8. In their belief he is still alive receiving sustenance till this day, neither will he die till the Day of Judgment, but he is not to be seen except by the Pious (the Saints) when he chooses to meet them. At the end of time he is to appear in person to judge the world in its length and breadth, to unite together all religions, and to make them all Islam, even as Prophet Muhammad brought Islam in its original purity.

9. They believe that this person became the Imam of all the Moslems after the death of his father Hasan al-'Askari, he being at the time five years of age. When he was ten years old an army was sent against him by the Caliph al-Mu'tamid, to kill him, for fear of his becoming powerful and obtaining the Caliphate; this was in the year 265 A.H. = 781 A.D. When the army of the Caliph arrived, Muhammad the Mahdi was in his father's palace; he entered a cellar, where he disappeared from them. Entering after him they could not find him, and he remained hidden from them and from his adherents also. Then he appointed a deputy, who was to meet people and answer questions, this deputy receiving audiences of the Imam himself, to whom he could put questions. There was a series of four such deputies, but after the death of the fourth deputy (in 328 A.H. = 939 A.D.), the Imam disappeared entirely and appointed no further deputy. The tombs of these four deputies are still in Baghdad, where they are visited by the Shi'ah. The Imam nevertheless still looks after the affairs of mankind, both spiritual and temporal, and witnesses their actions. The Sheikh Yusuf al-Bahrani, a Shi'ah doctor of the twelfth century A.H. records in his work the *Kashkul* by a chain of authorities how someone saw the Lord of the Age in the Green Isle in the White (Mediterranean) Sea with his children and grandchildren, and this witness described their city and their mode of life.

Whenever the name of the Sahib az-Zaman is mentioned among them they stand up with reverence and humility, bending their heads, and say: *May God hasten thy comfort and may he make easy thy re-appearance!* For they believe that his person will be present in that place, incorporeal, when his name is mentioned. For this reason it is

[1] All these are buried in Iraq except 'Ali al-Rida, who is buried in Tus in Persia.

incumbent upon them to stand up in reverence for his name as if he were present among them at that moment; and they bow their heads in humility before God that perhaps he may answer their prayers at that moment.

They believe that the deeds of the worshippers are placed before him every Thursday, and that he thus knows the Saints of God and his enemies; and they say that his being in concealment is due to the mass of his enemies and the few helpers which he has got.

Fatimah, Queen of Women

10. They believe that Fatimah, the daughter of Muhammad, is the Queen of the women of the world from the beginning of creation till the last day; she is impeccable, as was her father, her husband 'Ali and her descendants the Imams; she died harbouring resentment against Abu Bakr the first Caliph and Omar the second Caliph, because they had robbed her of her inheritance, and deprived her husband 'Ali of the Caliphate. Hence they regard these two Khalifahs, together with Othman, as infidels, and also Mu'awiyah, 'A'ishah the Prophet's wife, and Yazid son of Mu'awiyah, because they fought against 'Ali and his descendants.

The Trustee

11. They further believe that 'Ali is the real Trustee of the Prophet Muhammad, and that Muhammad himself appointed him Trustee and Successor at the Pool of Khumm on the 18th of Dhu'l-Hijjah in the year wherein the prophet died. The Shi'ah regard this day as their greatest festival, and as of the utmost importance in their history, but this is absolutely denied by the Sunnis. They hold that all who deny that 'Ali was the genuine Trustee of Muhammad in direct succession, and that the succeeding Imams were his legitimate followers, will after death suffer eternal punishment in hell, though they may practise all the devotions of men and Jinn.

12. They believe that from the Qur'an which is in the hands of the Moslems the Khalifah Othman had removed certain verses, which deal with the praises of the Imam 'Ali and his nomination as Caliph; and that the genuine Qur'an is in the possession of the Lord of the Age, and that he will publish it to mankind when he appears. They also believe that the Lord of the Age has in his possession the *Book of Fatimah*, which contains the true account of what was and what is to be from the beginning of creation until the last day.

13. They permit "Mut'ah," temporary marriage, i.e., marriage for a limited period, however brief, and indeed with a woman of bad character, or Jewess, or Christian, or a Mazdian. This temporary marriage was in vogue in the time of the Prophet

Muhammad, and of his first successor Abu Bakr; it was abolished by his second successor Omar, who threatened with punishment anyone who contracted such a marriage. 'Ali, however, and his descendants, the Imams, did not prohibit it, whence it is in use among the Shi'ah, though rejected by the Sunnah.

14. They further believe that Taqiyyah, or concealment of religious opinions, is incumbent on all Moslems of both sexes; they interpret this expression as "Self-protection from injury by assenting to improper words or actions," which are opposed to the truth, as it is recorded in the book *al-Makâsib*, by the Shaikh Murtada al Ansari. They base this doctrine on the Qur'anic text (iii. 27): *Let not the Believers make friends of the Unbelievers rather than of Believers; and whosoever does this hath no connection with God; unless ye fear from them a fear.* Their books contain many sayings of their Imams wherein they make the assertion: *No taqiyyah, no belief.* The Imam Ja'far is supposed to have said: *Taqiyyah is my religion and that of my fathers.* The Shi'ah say that these conditions as to times and places when Taqiyyah is prohibited are imperative. Most of these conditions are found in the above-named book *Kitab al-Makasib.*

The Pilgrimage

15. They believe in the necessity of making the pilgrimage to Mecca once in a lifetime. They regard the visitation of the tombs of the aforementioned Imams as commendable, but not incumbent; the future reward for such visitation is, however, greater than that for the Pilgrimage. Most of all is this the case with the visitation of the tomb of Husain at Kerbela, he being the martyr who gave his life for the religion of his grandfather, even as Christ redeemed his people. There is many a tradition on this subject which they record, but into which we need not now enter.

16. The Shi'ah do not wash their feet in the ceremonial washing, but merely wipe them, following the literal sense of the Qur'anic text (v. 8), "wash your faces and hands to the elbows, and wipe on your heads and your feet to the instep."

The Ritual of Prayer

17. They prefer prostration (in prayer) on the ground and what grows thereon, whence they pray on mould, meaning thereby a piece of clay made into a brick, taken from the soil of Kerbela, where is the tomb of the Imam Husain; this is supposed to bring a blessing, owing to the estimation wherein they hold this Imam. Such "moulds" have a good sale in Kerbela, whence thay are carried to all parts of the world where the Shi'ah live. Great skill is shown in their manufacture, some being round, others

square, others oblong, others hexagonal. They vary greatly in size. They write on the edges and the middle of them the words of the Confession of Faith, or the name of the prophet and some of the Imams, especially 'Ali, Fatimah, Hasan and Husain, or a verse of the Qur'an in a shape resembling that of some object or geometrical figure. All these things are made by Persians, who excel in this manufacture.

The Shi'ah practise in prayer the " Isbâl," i.e. laying the palms of the hands on the sides of the thighs, instead of crossing them on the chest as is the practice of most Sunnis, the Mâliki sect excepted. The Shi'ah pronounce with a loud voice only the first two prostrations of the sunset-prayer, the evening-prayer and the morning-prayer, while for the remaining prostrations, as for all the prostrations of the other two prayers, they whisper them only.

Marriage and Divorce

18. The Shi'ah permit marriage with more than four wives, only they stipulate that the fifth and following should be by a terminable contract: this terminable contract meaning that the husband fixes a term of years for the marriage to last. Such a wife is regarded as legally married, and she and her children inherit like the permanent wife and her children.

19. The Shi'ah do not allow divorce by the mere utterance of a formula, but demand that whosoever will divorce his wife must be in a sound state of mind and temper, being neither excited, distressed nor angry, and that the act must be performed in the presence of a jurist or magistrate, and the witnesses are necessary for divorce.

20. They do not permit Ta'sib in inheritance, meaning that the brothers of the deceased, or uncles of the children, or the father of the deceased, share in the inheritance.

The Caliphate

21. The view of the Caliphate taken by the Shi'ah allows the title Caliph to no one save the Lord of the Age, who has been mentioned above. He is indeed invisible, and has appointed no deputy; but, for all that, no one else can lay claim to the title, and for this reason they disregard the Osmanli Caliphate, and they do not practise the Jum'a prayer because not sufficient zeal is shown for it. The Fatimi Caliphs in the opinion of the Shi'ah are not legitimate Caliphs, but they occupy the same position towards the Caliphate as the Omayyads and Abbasids, but the Sharif ar-Radhi praised them, as also the Spanish poet Ibn Hani, and other celebrated Shi'ah poets, and they gave them the title of Caliphs in opposition to the Abbasid Caliphs who disputed their noble

descent and spread the report that they were not descendants of 'Ali and Fatimah. Their chief seat of learning and "research" is Najaf in Iraq, where is the tomb of 'Ali who has been mentioned previously. Students of these subjects flock thither from all parts of the Shi'i world, and it is a great University like Oxford or Cambridge. One other privilege that this holy place has is that most of the Shi'i dead are buried there in the neighbourhood of the tomb of the Imam 'Ali. Hither are brought from all parts of the world the corpses of the newly deceased, but also the crumbling bones of those who have been long dead; here they are buried, through desire for the reward which God has prepared for those who are buried in this blessed spot, more holy than any other, because there (they hold) the dead will be raised on the Day of Judgment.

Holy Days and Holy Places

22. The Shi'ah have numerous holy days, of which the most important, besides the 'Id al-Fiṭr and 'Id al-Duhâ, are two. First, the Ashura Day, whereon the Imam Husain was put to death in the year 61 A.H. 8=6 A.D. It is he who is buried in Kerbela, in Iraq. Everywhere on this day the Shi'ah hold assemblies or mourning and lamentation, with beating of the breast for Husain. All possible modes of demonstrating sorrow are here employed. The countries where this is most practised are Persia and Iraq. There are dramatic representations of the catastrophe, including the battle, the single combat and the slaughter, as they actually happened. The second holy day with them is the Day of the Pool, whereon Muhammad appointed 'Ali as Trustee after him.

It is further a custom among them that the Day of the Ghadir is called "Yaum al-Ahd al-Ma'hud," the day of the Fulfilment of the Promise," being the anniversary of the day when the promise was made and promulgated, and a Shi'ah whispers into the ear of another Shi'ah whom he meets on that day as follows: *'Praise be to God who has made us to hold fast to the authority of 'Ali and his descendants who are impeccable.'*

An interesting account is found about the Days of the Ghadîr and Ashura in the book *Tuhfat al-Umara fi Tarikh al-Wuzara*, by as-Sabi (ed. Amedroz), p. 381:

It has become a custom with the Shi'ah of al-Karkh and the Bab at-Taq (names of localities in Baghdad) to erect tents, to hang up garments and to display signs of festivity on the Day of the Ghadir, as also to make bonfires at night and slaughter a camel in the morning for a guest-meal. The other sect of the Sunnah, intending to do something similar in their quarters and streets, adopted the eighth day after the day of the Ghadir as being the day on which the Prophet and Abu Bakr were in the cave, and they display similar signs of festivity as the Shi'ah on the Day of the Ghadir. They also celebrate,

as a counterpart to the Ashura, the day eight days after the day of Ashura, which they say to be the anniversary of the killing of Mus'ab ibn az-Zubair. On this day they visit his tomb at Maskin, as the Shi'ah visit the tomb of al-Husain ibn 'Ali at al-Ha'ir. The first time the day of al-Ghadir was celebrated was on the 26th of Dhu'l-Hijjah, 389 A.H. = 998 A.D.

The Shi'ah's Holy places of the Iraq and Persia celebrate certain festivals which coincide with the night of the anniversary of the Prophet or one of the Imams, when they light candles, hang up lamps and raise flags of various colours and place silk curtains with embroideries outside their homes, and anything which they consider beautiful, just as they display signs of mourning on the anniversaries of the death of the Prophet or one of the Imams.

I find in the work *Majam al-Bahrain*, in the chapter "Yaum," that the following Tradition is quoted: "Do not be hostile towards any day, for the day may be hostile to you!" The tenth Imam said, in explanation of this tradition, that "the days represent the names of the Prophet and the twelve Imams, because Saturday is the name of Muhammad, Sunday the name of 'Ali, Monday the name of al-Hasan and al-Husain, Tuesday the name of 'Ali son of al-Husain, Muhammad son of al-Husain and Ja'far son of Muhammad, Wednesday the name of Musa son of Ja'far, 'Ali son of Musa and myself, Thursday is the name of my son al-Hasan and Friday the name of my grandson (the Sahib az-Zaman or Mahdi), who will gather the congregation of true worshippers and who will fill the world with justice as it is filled at present with injustice and tyranny. This therefore is the meaning of the names of the days; do not be hostile to any one of them in this world, for they will (in that case) be hostile to you in the next world!"

23. The Shi'ah permit none but Moslems to enter their mosques and sanctuaries, or purchase their books. They regard all non-Moslems as pagans and infidels. And God Almighty says in the Qur'an (ix. 28): *Verily the pagans are unclean and let them not approach the holy mosque.* Further their doctors, after the tenth century of the Christian era, regard the food and drink of non-Moslems as unclean. Some, however, of the modern authorities among them are less strict, and allow the drinking of liquids in vessels which are used by non-Moslems, and even of liquors manufactured by non-Moslems. This of course does not include intoxicants of any kind, since these are forbidden with them as with the rest of the Moslems. The Shi'ah, however, do not forbid the smoking of opium, although it is an intoxicant and indeed more dangerous than the others.

The Canonical Books of the Shi'ah

24. The Shi'ah possess four books on traditions which they consider more authoritative than any other work written on the subject, and they resort to these in all religious questions. They are the following:

(1) *Usul al-Kafi*, by Abu Ja'far al-Kulini (died 328 A.H. = 939 A.D.).
(2) *Man la yahdaruhu al-Faqih*, by as-Saduq al-Qummi (died 381 A.H. = 991 A.D.).
(3 and 4) *At-Tahdhib* and *al-Istibsar*, by Abu Ja'far at-Tusi (died 526 A.H. = 1067 A.D.).

All these books have been printed in Persia.

The Akhbariyyah also use these traditions but without the intermediary of a Mujtahid, because they believe only in the following of the Imam himself, as has been stated before.

There are also three other books on traditions which the most prominent masters of the Shi'ah who lived after the sixteenth century of the Christian era have composed. They are consulted by the Shi'ah the same as the other four books ; their titles are :

(1) *Bihar al-Anwar*, by Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi (died 1110 A.H. = 1698 A.D.).
(2) *Al-Wafi fi Ilm al-Hadith*, by Muhammad al-Faid (died 1091 A.H. = 1680 A.D.). This work consists of fourteen thick volumes.
(3) *Tafsil Wasa'il ash-Shi'ah*, by al-Hurr al-Amili (died 1104 A.H. = 1692 AD..). This work consists of a number of large volumes, and this is the book at present principally in use among the Sh'iah.
(4) A supplement to the last-named work, by Mirza al-Nuri, who died in 1320 A.H. = 1902 A.D. This work is entitled *Mustadrak al Wasa'il*, and consists of three bulky volumes.

All these eight works have been printed in Persia, but it is not permitted to let anyone have a copy unless he be a Shi'ah. These eight works have served as the principal authorities for my discourse.

The Resurrection

25. The Shi'ah believe that at the end of time, and before the Day of Judgment, some of the dead will return to the earth, viz. the most believing and the most unbelieving. The oppressed will then avenge themselves on their oppressors, and after thirty months of life will die on one night. This they call the first resurrection.

The Select and the Masses

The Shi'ah call themselves the Khassah, i.e. " the select," while they call other Moslems the Ammah, i.e. " the masses " ; the reason for this, as recorded by al-Khunsari in the *Raudat al-Jannat* in the biography of Nasir ud-Din Tusi, is as follows : " Because the Sunnis are more in numbers than the Shi'ah, which is one of the reasons why the one are called the ' Select ' and the other the ' Masses ' ; secondly because they are followers of the Family of the Prophet who are the Select of the Prophet ; thirdly because most Moslem sects differ in opinion as regards the fundamental and secondary principles of religion, while the Shi'ah have differences of opinion only as regards secondary matters."

Other Moslems call the Shi'ah of the Imamiyyah sect the " Rafidis " or " Heretics," and say that they received this name

because they cast off (*rafadu*) the allegiance to Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman; while the Zaidis say they were so named because they shook off the Imamate of Zaid ibn'Ali, after whom the Zaidi sects are named. The Shi'ah in the early centuries used to be proud of this name, while in later centuries the masses of the Shi'ah considered it a reproach and applied it to those who had shaken off the Imamate of 'Ali and his descendants.

The Ahmadiyya Movement

By Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud Din, Mahmud Ahmad, Khalifat-ul-Masih (Qadian)

With the Grace and Mercy of God! He alone is the Helper!

I MUST at the outset acknowledge the limitless bounty of God who has endowed us with faculties by means of which we can attain to perfect realization of Him and communion with Him, and I render countless thanks to Him for having thrown open to us those avenues of knowledge which lead to perfect realization of Him, and for having shown us the path by treading on which we can attain to union with Him.

I next proceed, very briefly, with the subject concerning which I have been desired by the Conference of Living Religions within the British Empire to state my views, viz. Ahmadiyyat.

The Foundation of the Movement and its Present Strength

The Ahmadiyyah Movement is not an old Movement; it is only about thirty-four years old. It was founded in 1890 by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (on whom be peace!) under an express Divine command. He claimed to be the Mahdi, whose advent had been foretold by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (on whom be peace and the blessings of God!) and the Messiah, whose advent had been foretold in the Bible and in certain Islamic books, and the Promised teacher, whose appearance in the last age had been foretold by almost every Prophet.

He had from the very outset to encounter bitter and determined opposition from all sects and classes, but his propaganda went steadily forward and was attended by increasing success. The Moslems, who should have rejoiced at the advent of this Champion of Islam, were, and still continue to be, his bitterest enemies. The Ulema of Islam issued decrees against him, condemning him as an impostor and an infidel, and to read his books, or to talk to him, or even to shake hands with him, were declared to be offences heinous enough to put a man beyond the pale of Islam.

The Extent of the Movement

Despite all this opposition, the hearts of men began to be drawn towards the Holy Founder of the Movement, and whosoever came

in contact with him or read his books was deeply impressed by his truth, so that, by the time of his death, which occurred in 1908 —eighteen years after he had published his claim to the Messiahship —the number of his followers had swelled from forty to hundreds of thousands, and his Movement had found adherents in countries outside India, such as Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon and Africa. After his death, the Movement continued to make steady progress during the time of his first successor, my revered Master, Hazrat Maulvi Noor-ud-Din (may God be pleased with him!) and after the latter's death, when the present writer was, by the Grace of God, elected Head of the Community, the Movement has been spreading still faster. At the present moment regular missions are working in England, Germany, the United States of America, West Africa, the Gold Coast, Egypt, Persia, Bokhara, Mauritius and Australia; and outside India, Ahmadiyya Communities are to be found in Afghanistan, Bokhara, Persia, Mesopotamia, the Hedjaz, Syria, Egypt, Algeria, Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Natal, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ceylon, Burma, Straits Settlements, the Philippines, Mauritius, Australia, France, England, Holland, the United States of America, Trinidad and Costa Rica.

One English journal and five vernacular newspapers and journals are issued from the headquarters of the Movement, one Bengali journal is issued from Bengal, an English and a Tamil newspaper are issued from Ceylon, a French newspaper is issued from Mauritius, and a quarterly magazine is issued from the United States. A journal will shortly be issued from England. The members of the Movement number about a million, and comprise men from all nations and all religions. Christians, Sikhs, Hindus, Jews, Zoroastrians, and men belonging to different sects of Islam have all joined and continue to join the Movement. The mission in the United States of America was started only three years ago, and within this short period over a thousand persons have joined the Movement in America.

The Relation of the Ahmadiyyah Movement to Islam

The Ahmadiyya Movement stands towards Islam in the same relationship which was occupied by Christianity in its early days towards Judaism. As I have already indicated, one of the claims of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (on whom be peace) was that he was the Promised Messiah. Keeping this in mind one can easily understand that Ahmadiyyat is Islam itself, and not a mere off shoot of Islam, as Christianity was not an off shoot of Judaism, but was pure Judaism in a plain and simple form.

The Promised Messiah was not the bearer of a new law or dispensation, but was only an exponent of the real teachings of Islam. Just as by the time of Jesus the teachings of the Jewish religion

had ceased, owing to the innovations and interpolations which had been introduced into them, to represent the original teachings of Moses, so in the time of the Promised Messiah the teachings attributed to Islam had ceased to bear any resemblance to what Islam really taught.

The Nature of the Claim of the Promised Messiah

It is necessary to explain here the exact nature of the claim of the Promised Messiah. As the Christians and Moslems believe that Jesus (on whom be peace !) is still alive and dwells somewhere in the heavens and will return to this world at some appointed time, when they are told of the Promised Messiah they are apt to imagine that the Ahmadies believe in the doctrine of reincarnation. The truth, however, is that the Promised Messiah (on whom be peace !) did not claim that the soul of Jesus was incarnated in him. By claiming to be the Promised Messiah he merely meant that he had appeared in the power and spirit of Jesus. This question of a " Second Advent " has been cleared up by Jesus himself. The Jews believed that Elijah would appear a second time before the advent of the Messiah, and this " Second Advent " of Elijah had been mentioned as a condition precedent to the appearance of the Messiah in the Book of Malachi. It had been said :

" Behold, I will send you Elijah, the Prophet, before the Coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord " (*Malachi* iv. 5).

But as it happened, Jesus appeared, and no Elijah descended from the Heavens. When Jesus was asked, concerning this, he replied : " For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. And if ye will receive it, this is Elias which was for to come " (*Math.* xi. 13, 14). In this way Jesus explained that, when the prophecies speak of the Second Coming of a Prophet from the Heavens, they really mean the Advent of a Prophet ' like unto him.' So should the Second Coming of Jesus be interpreted.

Now we have to see whether all that which had been written concerning the time of the Second Advent of Christ was fulfilled in the time of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (peace be on him !) and at his hands. It had been said, there would be wars, and wars there have been in abundance and on a scale which had never been witnessed before—especially the last Great War. It had been said that there would be pestilences, and, in spite of the great advance which the world has made in hygiene, unparalleled ravages have been caused by influenza and the plague. It had been said that there would be earthquakes, and we find that the frequency and intensity of earthquakes now being experienced was never experienced before within twice the same period. It had been

said that there would be famines, and, in spite of the development of means of transport, certain portions of the earth have suffered from the severest famines.

Again, in accordance with the prophecies, the powers of Heaven have been shaken, as the dominion of Religion is at an end, and men care no longer for matters spiritual. All these prophecies which had foretold the advent of the Messiah clearly indicate that the present is the time when the Messiah should have appeared.

The Testimony of the Age that this is the Time for the Appearance of the Promised One

Apart from the previous prophecies, the condition of the world itself demands the advent of a Prophet. For, where can we find to-day the Light and the Faith of which we read in connection with the Prophets? Who can show the signs and miracles which men were wont to witness at the hands of the Prophets and their companions? We find a great deal written in the books of each religion, but where can we find the practical proof of it? Where is the gift of prophecy which the companions of Moses possessed? Where are the signs which the disciples of Jesus were wont to show? The books of every religion talk of a living God, but is that living God living to-day also? Does He still maintain with His servants the relations which Jehovah was wont to maintain with the followers of Moses, or the Heavenly Father with the disciples, or Yazdan with the Zoroastrians, or Allah with the Moslems? If not, what reason can be assigned for this change? And, has this change occurred in God, or in man? We find that, in order to avoid having to face this question and to admit that this change has occurred, the contents of the revealed books of different religions are sought to be explained away, and meanings are assigned to passages which the words are incapable of bearing. But how can we repudiate the truths which have been unanimously accepted by all religions through centuries? If God used to talk to His servants in years past, why does He not talk to them to-day? If He was wont to send down His guidance in times of trouble, doubt, and error, why does He not open to men the door of His guidance to-day? Does it mean that all religions have become corrupt and that no truth can now be discovered in them, so that no result can be obtained by acting upon any of them; or is it possible that the true religion exists in the world, but that men do not act upon it, and can therefore make no progress in the spiritual realm? Whichever view we may accept the question will arise, why did not God reveal a new religion if He thought there was need for it, and if He had already given His guidance to act upon and the people did not heed it, why did He not raise a reformer to lead them to the right

path so that they may attain nearness to Him and fulfil the object of their creation?

It is unbelievable that a Merciful and Loving God would remain unmoved at the sight of mankind floundering in error and worldliness and yet He would take no measures for their guidance and direction. God must be kinder and more merciful than a father or a mother, for a father and a mother are merely a means for the procreation of a child, but God is not only the Creator, He is also the end and the object of man's existence. The relationship between a child and its parents is temporary, but the relationship between man and God endures for ever. The faculties and resources of parents are limited and perishable, but His power is unlimited and His treasures can suffer no diminution. He who is related to His creatures in such a manner and is the Master of such powers cannot forget His creatures and be indifferent to their sufferings. If He feels for His servants in their trials and yet makes no provision, we must conclude either that He has no power to guide mankind to the truth, or that to attain communion with God is not the object of man's existence, and that man was created merely to eat, drink, and to lead a purely worldly and animal existence. But each of these alternatives is insupportable. To imagine that He who created the Universe has no power to provide means for the spiritual guidance of mankind is absurd. The Creator of the whole must have power to create a part. If we admit the existence of a Creator, we must admit that He has absolute power and that nothing is impossible unto Him, and He can accomplish everything except whatever is incompatible with His Holiness and Perfection. Nor can we imagine that man has been created merely for the purpose of a worldly existence, for, in that case, we would be compelled to admit that an All-Wise and All-Knowing Creator has brought this huge universe into being to no purpose. No machine is ever made for the purpose merely of keeping itself working; every machine is created for some definite purpose and object. If the purpose of man's existence is merely to eat, drink and sleep, it would mean that man has been created in order simply to maintain himself in comfort. If the individual has no purpose in his creation, then mutual help cannot be considered as the purpose of life. Besides, we would have to suppose that all righteous men, whatever country they may have appeared in—Syria, Arabia, Persia, India or China—were, God forbid the thought, liars and impostors! Or, can we believe that men to whom credit is due for the whole intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement of mankind, and who have left an impress on the minds of men, which the passage of centuries has failed to obliterate, were out of their minds and believed in the creation of their own fancies as things that had life and being in the Universe? If this is not so—and, most

certainly, it is not so—there is no escape from the conclusion that there must exist in the world some religion which can lead man to God. So that if a perfect religion exists in the world—as the followers of all religions believe that it does—at the same time we find that all religions fail to produce men as perfect as they produced in ages past, and that they are now incapable of establishing that relation between man and God which used to exist between them in earlier days, why does not God present the true religion to the world in a manner calculated to demonstrate His power and bring about that change in the hearts of men, the working of which alone is the object of religion? In short, whatever way we look at the matter we are bound to arrive at the conclusion that the present condition of the world calls loudly for a Divinely-guided Teacher, and that the souls of men are like distracted lovers looking towards Heaven with yearning and longing, and supplicating their Creator in anguish and in sorrow, with full hearts and streaming eyes, to take pity on them and to open for them the Gates of His Mercy and His Grace, and to vouchsafe to them that which had been granted to those that have gone before, and, by causing the spiritual darkness to lift, healing their eyes and their hearts of blindness and of impurity to lead them into the Life Everlasting which is the object of man's existence.

Islam Claims to be under Divine Protection

O, ye that thirst for Spiritual Life and hunger for the face of God, I give you the Glad Tidings that Islam provides that for which you stand in dire need. He Who causes the dead to live, gives sight to the sightless, ears to the deaf, and limbs to the maimed, and cleanses the leprous, has, in accordance with the needs of the times and in fulfilment of the prophecies of the previous prophets, descended from the Heavens with the name and in the spirit of the Messiah, and in the power and spirit of all the prophets, in the same manner in which the chosen men of God have ever descended from the Heavens. He has appeared from the East in accordance with the prophecy of Isaiah—"Who raised up the righteous man from the east?" (*Isaiah* xli. 2)—so as to bring the world out of the darkness of sin and to lead it to salvation.

In the Holy Qur'an God says:

"We have caused this book to be revealed and we shall provide for the preservation of its truth" (15: 9).

Again, the spirit of the book has been preserved in a wonderful manner. The Holy Prophet (on whom be peace and the blessings of God!) had said:

"God will continue to raise among these people, in the beginning of

each century, a man who would teach them the spirit of Islam and thus, in a manner renew the days of the Prophet."

In accordance with this prophecy such men have appeared in Islam in the beginning of each century. But, as after the lapse of a long interval, despite intermediate reform, serious defects creep into a religion which call for radical treatment, a great reformer is raised to bring about a thorough and complete change.

Islam could not be an exception to this general rule. It was given out beforehand in a prophecy that sometimes later the rising tide of Islam would not only receive a check, but would also lose its spiritual hold on the hearts of Moslems themselves and wrong and varied interpretations would take the place of its pure teachings. It was also promised that at such a juncture God would raise a Messiah from among the Moslems to do the same work as did Jesus for the Mosaic dispensation. The Promised Messiah (on whom be peace !) has, therefore, appeared thirteen hundred years after the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace and the blessings of God !) in the same manner as Jesus of Nazareth appeared 1300 years after Moses (on both of whom be peace !). In addition to the several resemblances between the two, the need of the age, and the fulfilment of the prophecies contained in the Bible, God caused to be fulfilled in favour of the Promised Messiah all those prophecies concerning the prophet of the Latter days which were contained in the books of other religions. This shows that the Promised Messiah should have appeared in the present age, but the question next arises, what is there to show that the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement is the person concerning whom all these prophecies were made? We find that there are some prophecies which indicate even his personality. For instance, it had been written that, during the time of the prophet of the Latter days the moon would suffer an eclipse on the 13th, and the sun on the 28th of the lunar month of Ramazan, and this sign has not been vouchsafed to, or fulfilled in the case of any other claimant to prophethood.

But in the case of the Promised Messiah (on whom be peace !) this sign was fulfilled four years after he had published his claim, viz. in 1894, in a manner which was admitted, even by astronomers, to be extraordinary. Again, it had been written that *Mahdi* would belong to a family of landholders, that his father would be a great landholder, but that in the time of the Mahdi the greater portion of the lands would be lost to the family. So it came to pass that, although in the time of the Promised Messiah's father the family had lost its position as a ruling family, yet he was the proprietor of eight villages, but at the advent of the British Government even these villages were confiscated, the estate now consisting of

proprietary rights over one village and Telukdari rights over three villages. On the death of the Promised Messiah's father, even this small estate was still further curtailed, as, owing to certain family entanglements, the lands of Qadian were divided up among different branches of the family. Again, it was written that the Messiah would suffer from two disorders, one affecting the upper half of his body and the other affecting the lower half. Accordingly the Promised Messiah suffered from vertigo and diabetes.

Again, it had been written that the Mahdi would be born in a village called Kadaa, and he was born in Qadian, which the common people call Kadia or Kadi. It had been written that he would be affected by a slight stammer in his speech, and so he was. Again, it was written that the Messiah would have wheaten complexion and straight hair, and he possessed them both. It was written that his marriage and the offspring through that marriage would be of prophetical bearing ; and so it came to pass with him, that he was informed beforehand that he would marry into a certain family, and although certain racial and financial differences and disparities were barriers to the alliance, the marriage took place, and every one of his children, born after his claim to the Messiahship, was born in accordance with certain prophecies of his which had been published beforehand. Again, it was recorded in the books of the Moslems and the Parsis that the Messiah would be of Persian origin, and he was of such origin. And it was written that he would be born on a Friday, and would be a twin ; and his birth took place in accordance with this prophecy. From the books of the Hindus, it appeared that the Promised Messiah was an Indian.

Having mentioned some of the prophecies which have been fulfilled in the person of the Founder of the Ahmadiyyah Movement, and which shew that he was the Reformer whose advent had been foretold by all the previous prophets, I now proceed to indicate briefly how Islam was regenerated at the hands of the Promised Messiah, and what the latter did for the world.

The Promised Messiah Regenerated Islam.

I have already mentioned that the Promised Messiah was not the bearer of a new religion, but was sent for the service, the regeneration, and the propagation of Islam, and to lead mankind to God through Islam.

The very first question relating to religion is the " Unity of God." If a religion does not contain a true conception of God, it cannot claim to be a religion at all. At the time of the advent of the Promised Messiah, the realization of the Unity of God had entirely disappeared from the world. Every religion, no doubt, loudly claimed to preach the Unity of God, but the real significance of

this doctrine had never before been so completely lost sight of. The expression, "Unity of God," either covered a multitude of polytheistic ideas, or signified, at most, belief in the existence of One God. The Promised Messiah drew attention to the fact that God did not raise prophets for the object merely to propagate the doctrine that there is no God beside Him, for the acceptance of this doctrine alone can make no deep impression on a man's life. The object was, that man should so regulate his life in conformity with the doctrine of the Unity of God as to lead him to moral and spiritual perfection, that is to say, he should love no other thing or being with a love greater than that which he entertains for God, and should place his whole trust and reliance in God, and should not regard any other thing or being as having any control over his affairs. A person who believes in the Unity of God in this sense and acts upon such belief is bound to experience a moral revolution.

All sins and weaknesses in the world proceed from two causes, either because a man loves an object with such intense love that he regards his existence as useless without it, or because he regards an object as so injurious and hateful that he imagines his salvation depends upon its destruction, and this unreasonable excess of love or hate leads him to do things that are incompatible with purity. But a person whose faith in the Unity of God is perfect prefers not the love of any other object or person to his love for God, and hates nothing so intensely as being led away from God. To such a person sin becomes an impossibility, and this is the true doctrine of the Unity of God, which is the real object of religion to teach, and not the mere lip-profession of the existence of One God, which can neither please God nor have any practical effect on a man's life.

Next to the doctrine of the Unity of God, the question which most affects man's life is the question relating to the relationship subsisting between man and his Maker. How do I stand towards my Maker and what goal has He out of His personal love towards me appointed for me since the moment of my birth are questions which deeply affect every aspect of a man's life. A true comprehension of these questions opens the doors of righteousness to a man, and an error concerning these questions locks on him the doors of advancement. The Promised Messiah found mankind labouring under misapprehensions in respect to these questions also, and laid them under grateful obligations by leading them to a true comprehension of them. He explained that the object of man's existence is unbounded and unlimited advancement, and it is therefore inconceivable that God should Himself have defeated the object for which He had created man. Man is not born with shackles which he cannot break, and God never shuts on him the gates of liberty—it is man himself who does that by his own action.

Nay, when man has thus shut himself out, God provided means whereby the gates may again be opened to him. He further explained that all men stand in a similar personal relationship towards God, and that He does not act the part of a stepfather to any of them. Even the greatest of prophets and reformers are, in their relationship towards God, no more than men, and the gates of progress and advancement that are opened to them are open to all mankind. God does not permit an intermediary between Himself and His creatures. All prophets occupy the position of guides, but none of them can serve as an intermediary, for the welfare of the prophets and of those for whose guidance they are sent is equally dear to God. One may, on account of his purity and righteousness, attain nearer to God than his fellow-creatures, but however near he may be and whatever eminence he may possess, he cannot shut the gates of advancement on others. It is open to every man at all times to attain to the highest point of spiritual advancement; the gates of Heaven are opened to all those who knock.

God's Bounties are Inexhaustible

He next removed the misconception which had become common to the whole of mankind that the manifestations of the Mercy and Grace of God had been confined to the past ages, and that the gates of His bounties were now shut upon mankind. He pointed out that it was a sin and an impertinence to believe that any of God's attributes at any time were liable to suspension. A living organism must exhibit signs of life. As it is the sign of a living creature that it must go on absorbing into its system life-giving matter, so it is the sign of a Living Creator to cast the reflection of His Life-giving attributes on His creatures. So that if there exists a Living God, we ought to be able constantly to perceive the quickening effect of His attributes in the world.

A very serious misconception which prevailed at the time of the Advent of the Promised Messiah, and which had undermined the foundations of all religions—so that the very essence of religion was being completely revolutionized, as a result of which, in place of the divine light of revelation, were being substituted the ideas and conceptions of the human mind—was the entirely erroneous definition of revelation which had found general acceptance. Independence of thought and the length of time which had elapsed since the appearance of the last prophet had led the greater portion of the world to believe that revelation was mere inspiration of the mind. This was due, on the one hand, to a total cessation of revelation, and, on the other, that God could not speak in words as He was not a material Being and was not dependent upon

material means like men. The Promised Messiah explained on the basis of his personal experience that revelation is conveyed in words and the mode of conveying is as certain and free from doubt as the talking of one man to another. He pointed out that unless revelation was conveyed in words it could not be entirely free from doubt and could not lead to perfect certainty. For, if inspiration is revelation, every man can fancy himself inspired, and thus deceive himself and mislead mankind, as has actually happened in several instances since this erroneous conception of revelation has found currency.

By this exposition of the nature of revelation the Promised Messiah has laid the world under great obligations to him, for he has thus provided means for the checking of that dangerous onslaught upon religion which was sweeping away the authority of all revealed books under the explanation that revelation was mere inspiration, and has aroused such certain hopes of attaining to perfect realization which are sure to quicken the steps of the stragglers on the way.

There is another important question which relates to the person of God, and affects alike the relationship which subsists between God and man and that which subsists between man and man; viz., Which nations have been the recipients of revelation and on what principles were they selected by God to receive His revelation? Without the solution of this question, the reform which the Promised Messiah had attempted in relation to other questions relating to the Being of God would not have been complete. With regard to this question, he pointed out that, as God is the Lord of the whole Universe, His Guidance could not be confined to any particular nation. As He is the Lord of all mankind and has equipped all of them with thinking minds, He could not deprive any nation of His Guidance. As the Holy Qur'an says: "There is no nation but has had its warner."

God has sent His messengers among all nations and in all ages, and as the sun lights up the whole world, the light of revelation has ever lit up the darkest corners of the earth. The Promised Messiah demonstrated from the Qur'an that not only were those men the righteous servants of God whose services to humanity are recorded in history, but that the attributes and the Word of God alike bore witness to the fact that every nation, whether its traditions have been preserved or not, has had its prophet, and that to receive guidance through prophets was the right of humanity which God would never ignore. The extent to which this doctrine has opened to all nations the doors of the love of God, has placed the internal relations of mankind on a basis of concord and amity, and has secured the founders and righteous men of all religions against insult and abuse.

A Complete Code of Revealed Laws

On the other hand, the Promised Messiah pointed out that the human mind had developed gradually, and that during different stages of its development an All-Wise Providence continued to reveal teachings suitable to each respective stage, till the time arrived when the mind of man had become fully developed and means of inter-communication between different sections of humanity had been perfected, and the world had in its advancement attained the stage when it might form one country and one nation. At this stage God sent the last law-bearing Prophet, viz. Muhammad (on whom be peace and the blessings of God !), with the last and complete code of revealed laws, viz. the Holy Qur'an, which contains teachings suitable to the needs of every age. The doors of revelation and of spiritual advancement are, however, still open, and will continue to remain open for ever. No new law shall henceforth be revealed, but such prophets as shall lay open the hidden treasures contained in the Qur'an and open to mankind the doors of Divine realization shall continue to arise, for no new law is required in the presence of a perfect code, and yet man is always in need of attaining to the realization of God. There can, therefore, be no new law, but the door of such prophethood as is attained by spiritual perfection is open and should remain open for all time, for God is as much our Providence as He was of our ancestors.

The Promised Messiah was, however, careful to explain, and laid emphasis on the fact, that the doctrine that the Qur'an was the last and perfect code of revealed laws did not involve the consequence that man had reached the last stage of intellectual progress and could travel no further, for the human mind ever continues to advance along the path of progress, both in this world and in the next. On the contrary, he pointed out that the more perfect a book is the more it ought to help in the advancement of learning. With respect to the contents of a revealed book, he put forward this wonderful test, which has revolutionized the attitude of all seekers after truth towards revealed books, that the Word of God should be like the Work of God, and that as the latter is a treasure-house of unlimited secrets which mankind has not been able wholly to discover from the creation of the universe up to the present day, so the Word of God ought to be a treasure-house of inexhaustible learning and wisdom.

The benefit which I have derived from the application of this principle to the study of the Qur'an fills me with an intoxicating joy. When I contemplate the extent of the field of learning which a study of the Qur'an reveals, the universe becomes a mere mote in my sight, for the whole of it cannot fill even a corner of the spiritual universe which the Qur'an displays before me. This

miracle of the Qur'an is a powerful proof of its truth. However learned a man may be, he cannot beforehand provide for the needs and offer a solution of the problems of all future ages, for the circumstances of man are constantly changing, and who can guess through what conditions men may pass in the future, and what new sciences and learnings may discover which might necessitate the solution of entirely novel religious problems, and how far his intellect might develop and what kind of spiritual food he may require?

A book, therefore, that contains a complete code of teachings suitable to the needs of every age, and provides a remedy for the ills and means for the moral and spiritual development of all ages, must be a book revealed by God, for it explains the philosophy of human development, and it is beyond the capacity of human reason to master the philosophy of the development of an ever-changing entity.

No doubt the teachings of Islam are often criticized, but, as the Promised Messiah has demonstrated, all objections raised against Islam are due either to a lack of serious reflection or because passion is allowed to prevail over reason. Islam presents a teaching so perfect that, if it were submitted to the verdict of reason and reflection uninfluenced by sentiment or tradition, one would discover no better or more perfect code for the moral and spiritual advancement of man.

Islam and the Sword

It is alleged that Islam permits the propagation of religion by means of the sword; whereas the Qur'an clearly declares:

> "There should be no compulsion in religion, for guidance has been made distinct from error, and every man can distinguish between the two" (2: 256).

It permits the Moslems to fight only those people who fight them with the object of destroying Islam and compelling the Moslems to renounce it, and they are permitted to carry on the war only so long as the enemy continues the war with this object. When the latter is willing to stop the war, they must also stop it, and they must not reject overtures of peace merely out of resentment and desire for vengeance, intending totally to crush the enemy and thus cause a further and useless loss of life. Is it, then, the function of a true religion to teach that if a man seeks to destroy that religion by the sword the followers of that religion should make their humble submission to him and sacrifice their lives to humour his caprice? Surely, no true religion could teach such a thing! For, in other words, it would amount to teaching that evil and

wickedness should be permitted to flourish unchecked and truth and righteousness should be sacrificed to them.

Slavery

Again, it is alleged that Islam encourages slavery, whereas Islam is the greatest enemy of slavery, and has put an end to all modes of reducing men to slavery which were current in pre-Islamic days. Islam forbids the reduction to slavery of men who are captured for no reason, or merely because they belong to a hostile tribe or nation, or who have been taken prisoners in worldly wars. It permits only of such prisoners of war being reduced to slavery who are captured in a war undertaken by the enemy with the object of enforcing the renunciation or acceptance of a religion by means of the sword. Strangely enough, it appears to be regarded as permissible and proper to keep whole countries in the hands of social, political or financial slavery, till they are able to pay their quota of heavy war indemnities; and yet the keeping of only such men who have been guilty of actual participation in a war of the kind that is mentioned above, in imprisonment till they are able to pay their respective shares of the cost of the war, is condemned as improper and inhuman.

Again, the teachings of Islam concerning the prohibition against the payment or receipt of interest are objected to; whereas interest is not the natural foundation of the civic and social systems of the world, but has been adopted as such a foundation. A little consideration would shew that, as the Qur'an says, interest is responsible for many of the wars that are undertaken in modern times.

Similarly, if the payment and receipt of interest were prohibited, the wealth of a country would not be accumulated in a few hands and would be more evenly and more generally distributed among the community, as used to be the case in Islamic countries, and thus wealth would be more widely and evenly distributed. The captains and directors of commerce and industry would then be compelled to borrow money from a large number of people in return for a share of the profits of the concern, and thus admit them to a sort of partnership in the concern.

Polygamy

Again, the teachings of Islam concerning polygamy are objected to, but moral, political, social, racial and financial problems sometimes arise, the only satisfactory solution of which is offered by polygamy. For instance, what course is open to a man who finds himself married to a woman who becomes insane or a permanent invalid? Under such circumstances is there any remedy except polygamy, which would equally satisfy the demands of nature,

society and morality? In truth, those who condemn polygamy, or deny the necessity of it, either ignore the demands of nature and the various duties laid on man, or prefer a superficial moral glamour to consideration of real morality. Had they been aware of the restrictions and responsibilities which Islam imposes upon the husband in cases of polygamous marriages, they would have realized that polygamy is a heavy burden which a man is sometimes compelled to carry and is not a device for indulgence.

Divorce

Similarly, with regard to the doctrine of divorce, the critics of Islam fail to realize that the temperaments of the husband and the wife may, in some cases, chance to be so entirely incompatible that to compel them to live together would amount to an attempt to reconcile fire and water, which is bound to result in the destruction of both. Such and all similar objections to the teachings of Islam are the result of ignorance or a lack of understanding, for the teachings of Islam are, more than those of any other religion, based on considerations of mercy and of wisdom, and offer a complete and a perfect solution for the needs and problems of every age.

Morals

Having related a few instances of the misconceptions which prevailed concerning the nature of God and of His revelation, which the Promised Messiah removed, and of the higher teachers concerning these questions, which he explained, I now advert briefly to that portion of his teachings which related to other aspects of a man's life.

No religion can claim to be perfect unless it contains full teachings concerning human morals, for, although morals are not part of spirituality, yet they constitute the first step towards it, and without perfect morals a man cannot attain to perfect spiritual development. The Promised Messiah has laid down wonderful principles concerning morals, and a study of those principles startles one into the admission that the world was merely groping in the dark in the search for moral principles.

The first matter relates to the definition of morals. He was the first to draw attention to the fact that the nature of moral qualities has been misconceived, which has led mankind into serious error and is responsible for long but futile discourses in religious books. People fail to realize that there is an intermediate stage between animalism and morals. Animalism signifies that condition of man in which, owing to defective training, disease, habit, ignorance or ill-will, he acts out of purely selfish motives for purely selfish ends, and has no regard or consideration for the feelings of others.

But this is not the natural condition of man, for man has been invested with many natural feelings which prompt him to do good to others and which people mistake for good morals. For instance, a man is naturally pained by the misfortunes of others and is inclined towards courtesy and truth, for man has been created social and these feelings are the necessary equipments of a member of society. For instance, affection and aversion are both equally natural feelings, and neither of them can, therefore, be described as good or bad; for if one of them is good and the other bad, we would have to confess that God had made evil inherent in our nature, which would amount to blasphemy. Besides, this doctrine is refuted by our experience, for a feeling of aversion towards certain things—for instance, towards oppression or evil-doing—is highly creditable. But if every feeling of aversion were to be regarded as evil, then repugnance towards evil-doing itself would be a sin, which is absurd. The Promised Messiah, therefore, explained that, for a religion merely to exhort its followers to be kind, or forgiving, or affectionate, or beneficent, or not to be extravagant, is merely to enumerate our natural feelings and does not amount to moral instruction of any kind. Only that religion can claim to have given moral instruction which lays down rules calculated to control the exercise of natural feelings and gives directions for their proper exercise. In other words, the exercise of some natural feelings and the suppression of others does not amount to morals; it is the conscious and intentional exercise of all natural feelings on their proper occasions, and a restriction of such feelings on every undesirable occasion, which is moral. This may be illustrated by saying that the human mind is a country peopled by natural feelings. Now, the function of moral instruction is not to hang some of them and let the others loose to do what they please; for this is not government but anarchy; on the contrary, its function is to set limits to the conduct of each and to permit no one to go beyond those limits. This is the reason why human acts are described as moral, and similar acts proceeding from animals are not so described.

The second principle which he laid down concerning the moral teachings of a religion is that, in addition to indicating the proper occasions for the exercise of each moral quality, a religion must give an explanation of the different stages of good or bad morals that are likely to result from the proper or improper exercise of each natural instinct, for, if it omits to do this, most people would be bewildered and would either abandon at an early stage the attempt to improve their morals, or would flow along paths which could never lead them to the goal. They would be like a student who, desiring to acquire a knowledge of the English language, starts committing the *Oxford Dictionary* to memory.

The third principle that he laid down was that a religion must explain the grounds on which its moral injunctions are based, for, without a knowledge of these, a man would not experience that feeling of cheerfulness which is required to sustain the effort necessary for the attainment of a high moral standard.

Fourthly, he laid down that a religion must point out the source of good and evil inclinations, and should teach men how to block the channels of evil and to open wide those of good ones, for evil cannot be destroyed till evil inclinations are suppressed, and unless a religion deals with this aspect of the problem its moral teachings would remain imperfect. Mere abstract principles cannot be of much help, unless their practical working is explained. Not only did the Promised Messiah point out these principles relating to moral teachings, but demonstrated in detail that the Holy Qur'an deals with and illustrates all these aspects of the moral development of man, and thus established that Islam alone can be the true moral guide of mankind.

Sociology

Another function of a perfect religion is to lay down principles which should govern the sociological aspect of man's life, and, by following which, polity and civilization may be perfected and peace and order may be established in the world. The Promised Messiah (on whom be peace !) has also explained this aspect of the teachings of Islam and discovered to the world the wonderful truths embedded therein and removed the misconceptions which had become current concerning those teachings. Islam deals in great detail with the rights and duties of the sovereign and the subject, the freedom of the administration of justice, the sanctity of the rights of man, the relation of master and servant and the modes of settling disputes that may arise between them, the duties of a Moslem citizen, the rights of the poor, the relations between different religions and different governments, etc., and one is forced to admit that in this respect it stands alone among religions. I have dealt with this aspect of the subject at greater length in my book, *Ahmadiyyat, or the Real Islam*, but I shall here confine myself to a brief mention of the principles explained by the Promised Messiah in this connection. With regard to the relations between sovereign and subject, he pointed out: First, that a government is the servant of the public and must always regard itself as such. The Promised Messiah himself possessed a spiritual dominion, but concerning himself he says: "Do not place a chair for me, for I have been appointed to serve." In these few words he has referred to two great principles of government, viz., that government is the servant of the public, and that there is no rest for a government and that those who are placed in authority over others must sacrifice their

comfort to duty and devote the whole of their time to the service of the public. He used often to recite the Arabic proverb: "The chief of a nation is its servant." It is his duty to sacrifice his own comfort and to provide for the comfort of others.

Wealth

Secondly, the administration of a country must, according to Islam, be conducted with the advice of the people. The Promised Messiah used to consult his followers in all things, and each and any one of them was welcome to offer his advice, and he often followed their advice even when sometimes he differed with them, that they might learn the importance of consultation. Thus he revived the spirit of true democracy which Islam was the first to introduce into the world.

Thirdly, he laid down that it is the duty of government to arbitrate in inter-communal disputes which are likely to lead to disorder and thus disturb the public peace. He often drew the attention of Government to communal disputes and suggested that it should secure public peace and order by procuring a decision of the matters in controversy by means of arbitration. But he did not approve of any kind of interference with liberty of conscience or with the rights of individuals. Indeed, Islam teaches such sanctity of the rights of individuals that it goes so far as to enjoin upon a Government the duty of securing to every workman the payment of the full value of his labour.

Where, however, on the one hand, the Promised Messiah laid special stress on the rights of the poor and taught that we must regard them as our brethren, on the other he taught that a man should not be deprived of that which he has acquired by the exercise of his talents. He considered that the competition which was the result of a divergence in talents and capacities was essential for the progress of the world; but that those who were in possession of the wealth of a nation were bound to allot a certain portion of it, fixed by Islam, towards the welfare of the poor, and to employ the balance towards objects of public utility rather than towards the gratification of personal desires; that is to say, that they ought to prefer the happiness to be derived from the distribution rather than that to be derived from the hoarding or squandering of wealth.

International Relations

With regard to international relations, he pointed out that they could never be put on a satisfactory basis till it was realized that nations and Governments were as much subject to the dominion of morals as individuals. Indeed, most international disputes are the result of the false doctrine which prevails that Governments

are not bound to conform to the moral standard expected of individuals.

For the peace of the world he also considered it necessary that the subjects of each State should co-operate with their respective Governments. There could be no objection to their taking measures to demand and safeguard their rights, but in so doing they must not adopt a course of conduct which is calculated to disturb the public tranquillity or to undermine the authority of the Government, or which is objectionable from a moral standpoint.

Again, he considered that, so long as there were people who believed sincerely in some religion or other, and the world was not composed entirely of men who used religion as a cloak to be donned on ceremonial occasions, religious differences were bound to arise, and that true concord would be established only when the world, or the majority of its people, was united by the bonds of one common faith. To bring peace, therefore, to the Universe, he claimed God has sent him so that, through him, men may be gathered in the fold of one faith and thus find outward and inner peace. As an improvement of present conditions, however, he made the following suggestions:

1. The founders and leaders of different religions should not be referred to in a manner which is likely to offend the susceptibilities of their followers.

2. In the propagation of religion, the missionaries of each religion should confine themselves to an explanation of the beauties of their religion and should not attack any other religion. To find faults in other religions does not prove the truth of one's own religion. The truth of a religion can be established only by reference to the superiority of its own teachings and not by reference to the demerits of other religions.

3. The followers of a religion should not ascribe to their religion a doctrine or a teaching which is not directly deducible from their scriptures. Both the doctrine and its proof must be cited from the revealed book of the religion.

4. The advocates of different religions should be required not to confine themselves merely to an abstract explanation of the teachings of their religion, but also to illustrate in practice the results which can be obtained by acting upon those teachings, so that people might be able to judge whether those teachings do or do not lead to any result.

I have here mentioned only a few instances of the teachings of Islam calculated to promote peace and amity, but I have, as already indicated, shown in my book, *Ahmadiyyat, or the Real Islam*, that Islam gives detailed instructions concerning this aspect of man's life. It even outlines an international council and lays down the principles on which it should be based. These principles are different from those on which the present League of Nations

is based, but a consideration of those principles would lead everybody to the conclusion that no international council can work successfully without them.

Life after Death

Ever since man has been created he has believed in the existence of a life after death, and every religion has held out the hope of such a life to man.

The *first question* that presents itself is, How would the life after death be brought about? The answer he gave was that the life after death would not be the life of the material body that lives in this world; it would not be a resurrection of the body but of the spirit. The material body is good only for this world and shall end here. In the next world the soul would be invested with a spiritual body which would be sensible to spiritual joys and spiritual pain.

The *second question* is, When shall the life after death commence? The answer which the Promised Messiah gave to this question was that the life after death commences immediately after death, and not on any specified day after an interval of thousands of years. But that life is divided into three stages. The first stage, which is called the stage of the grave, may be compared to that stage of man's life which is passed in the womb. In that stage the soul experiences various transformations and begins to develop new powers and faculties till, like a child in the womb, which develops a soul at a certain stage, it develops another soul and itself begins to serve that soul as a body. In other words, the soul experiences a new birth, and then begins the second stage, which is called the resurrection, and which may be compared to the birth of a child. During this stage the soul begins to experience the conditions of the second life, but its realization of these conditions is imperfect like that of a child. After this stage has been passed, begins the third stage, which may be compared to the maturity of a youth. In this stage the soul is able to realize fully the conditions of the life after death, and is then placed in heaven or hell.

Heaven and Hell

The *third question* is, What is the nature of heaven and hell? His answer was that heaven and hell are similar stages in which a man experiences joy or sorrow according to the character of the life he led before death. They are not material, for they cannot be experienced by our material bodies, nor can they be described as entirely spiritual, for, in that life also, man would possess a spiritual body, which shall serve as a shell for the soul that a man owns in this life, and which will possess much finer and more delicate perceptions than the latter. The delights and pains of the life after

death shall, therefore, correspond to the faculties of the spiritual body with which man will be invested in that life.

The *fourth question* is, Whether heaven and hell shall be eternal or of limited duration. His answer was that the soul will be given eternal life and that heaven shall open to man avenues for unending development, but that, as man has been created with the object of attaining perfection, the punishment of hell will not be everlasting. For, if hell were eternal, the object of man's creation would be defeated, for some men would for ever remain in a state of imperfection. Indeed, hell is like a hospital, where man would be cured of those spiritual diseases which he contracts as the result of his actions in this world, and owing to which he is unfitted to enjoy the delights of Paradise.

In short, the Promised Messiah cleared every aspect of Islam from the errors which had crept into it and presented to the world the original teachings of the Qur'an, to which nobody could possibly take any exception.

Proofs of His Claim

A question might legitimately be asked here, namely, What are the personal proofs of the truth of the Promised Messiah? The answer is that the Promised Messiah possessed all the proofs by which the truth of previous prophets was established, and that he worked all those miracles that had been worked by the previous prophets. The greatest proof of the truth of a prophet is the perfect purity of his own life. The life of a prophet exhibits such uniform purity and righteousness that all those who have opportunities of observing it are convinced of the truth.

The Promised Messiah issued a challenge to his enemies, but nobody came forward to take it up, and his bitterest enemies confess that his whole life was a uniform record of purity and righteousness. He had many friends among the Hindus and Sikhs, who subsequently became his bitter *opponents* in religion, but they all bear unanimous testimony to the fact that he bore a unique and a spotless character. An old Sikh gentleman always speaks of him with tears in his eyes and describes him as a "born saint." His worst enemy, Maulvi Mohammed Hussain of Batala, who travelled throughout India to procure a verdict of apostasy against him from the Ulema, and who incited the Government and the people against him, wrote in his journal, the *Ishaat-us-Sunna*, concerning him as follows:

> I have known him (i.e. the Promised Messiah) since his childhood. He has so persistently helped and served Islam with his time, money, pen, tongue and personal example that the parallel of this cannot be discovered during the last thirteen centuries of Islam.

This unparalleled purity of life and character displayed by him is a strong proof of the truth of his claim.

He was a believer in verbal revelation, and claimed that God spoke to him in words. Had he claimed merely to be inspired, there would have been room for the suggestion that he was mistaken in his claim. As, however, he claimed to be the recipient of verbal revelation, the only alternative to the truth of his claim was that he was either a deliberate impostor or a madman. But the whole of his life furnishes a conclusive refutation of either of the latter hypotheses, and we are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that his claim was perfectly true.

The Holy Qur'an says :

> If he had attributed to Us some of his own words which We had not spoken to him, We would have caught him by the right arm and then cut off his carotid artery (69 : 44, 45, 46).

These verses show that if a man invents sayings and then gives them out to the world as revelations from God, he is not allowed to flourish and is cut off before his movement can obtain a strong foothold in the world. By applying this test to the claim of the Promised Messiah we are convinced of his truth, for he first claimed to have received revelation at the age of forty and lived for thirty-four or thirty-five years after the publication of this claim. He founded a flourishing community and lived out the normal span of life, and his death occurred in accordance with his own prophecy which he had published beforehand and in which he had been informed, two and a half years before his death, that only two and a half draughts of the water of life were left to him.

Sisters and brothers, is it conceivable that a Living God should permit a man deliberately to invent sayings, and to ascribe them to God as revelations received by him for publication among mankind, and thus to lead His creatures astray, unchecked and with impunity ? If this were so, what security could there be for faith, and what protection would there be for righteousness ?

Again, in support of the truth of his claim may be cited those wonderful signs which God caused to be revealed at his hands in the same manner as they used to be revealed at the hands of the prophets of old. These signs number hundreds of thousands, but I shall cite here a few by way of illustration which do not stand in need of any external evidence,

The first instance I take is his literary miracle, which not only testified to the truth of his claim while he was alive, but would ever remain a strong proof of the truth of his claim. Despite the facts that he was a resident of an obscure village in the Punjab,

and had never attended any school or seminary, having received some very elementary instructions from private tutors, and lived at a very long distance from Arabia, in a country where Persian was in greater vogue than Arabic, and was born at a time when the Punjab was dominated by the Sikhs, who were the bitter enemies of all learning, he made an announcement that God had bestowed upon him an extraordinary knowledge of, and command over, the Arabic language which could not be matched even by those whose mother-tongue was Arabic. In pursuance of this announcement, he wrote and published several books in Arabic, and called upon his opponents, including the people of Arabia, Egypt, and Syria, if they doubted his claim, to write books in Arabic, which should, in point of literary style, purity of diction, beauty of composition and the excellence and pregnancy of meaning, match those written by himself, but none has so far dared to take up the challenge. The books written by him are still extant, and we still claim that they cannot be matched, and that God's hand would be raised against any person who presumes to make an attempt to match them.

Then there are his prophecies which he published concerning the success of his mission and his eventual victory, and which are being fulfilled in a manner passing the understanding of man. At the time when he published his claim he was almost unknown. Qadian, the place to which he belonged, was neither an educational nor commercial centre, nor was it the headquarters of any administrative unit. It was a small village, comprising about 2,000 souls, eleven miles from the nearest railway station, where even the bare necessities of life could not be had. Living in this village in a state of retirement he published the following revelations :

" God has raised a prophet, the world will not accept him and will oppose him, but God will support him and will establish his truth by mighty signs. God has decreed that He and His messengers must always prevail. Hearken ! the help of God is nigh. Men and things from far countries will come to thee. Enlarge thy house, for a large number of visitors will come to thee, and will altogether leave their homes and settle down near thee, preferring thy love to all concerns of the world. God will exalt thy name, and the Heavens and Earth will be thine as they are Mine. We have sent thee as a Mercy for mankind unto all ages. God will accomplish all thy designs and will give thee all thy desires. I will cause thy name to be known unto the uttermost corners of the earth, and all nations shall gather under thy banner, and monarchs shall seek blessings from thy clothes. Within the space of 300 years all Western countries shall have accepted Islam, and the followers of other religions will be but few in numbers."

He received and published these revelations at a time when he had not a single follower, and both the Government and the people

were opposed to him. One cannot appreciate the full significance of the fulfilment of these prophecies until one considers the factors that ordinarily contribute towards the success of a religion and the difficulties against which the Ahmadiyyah Movement had, and still has, to contend.

The factors which commonly contribute towards the success of a religion are :

First, *Vacuity.* If a community does not possess a religion with a complete code of laws and it is offered a religion with such a code, it may, as a matter of fact, oppose the new religion at first, but, finding it superior to their system, it is naturally inclined to accept that. When such a community continues to hear the teachings of such a religion and its ears become accustomed to it, the only cause which led it to oppose it is removed, and it accepts it without any further delay. The whole community adopts the faith in a body. Instances of this may be found in the case of those nations who had no complete code of religion of their own and to whom such a religion was presented. The success of a religion under such circumstances is due to the working of that natural law in obedience to which air rushes in from all directions to fill a vacuum.

Secondly, *Revolt.* People sometimes get disgusted with a religion owing either to its involved doctrines, its unreasonable severity, the oppression of the priests, or its being a hindrance in the path of their temporal or intellectual advancement, and desire to exchange it for some other religion which would secure them against oppression and permit them to pursue the paths of progress unmolested and unhindered. At such a time a new religion has a great chance of being accepted, as was the case with Christianity and Buddhism.

Thirdly, *Echoing the Current Thoughts.* When new ideas and new ways become current among a people which are not sanctioned by the religion or towards which the priests of that religion take up an unsympathetic attitude, then, even though there is no oppression or persecution, the thought that they are acting against the dictates of their religion makes people uneasy. If at such a time the new ideas or new ways which the people have already adopted are presented to them in the garb of religion, that religion would meet with eager acceptance, for the people have already been looking for means of self-deception, in order to still the voice of conscience.

Fourthly, *The Personality of the Founder.* Where the founder or originator of a religion already occupies a position of dominance in a community, he can employ the resources of the community for the propagation of the religion founded by him ; for instance, where he is the successor of a saint or the founder of a movement, or occupies some other position of command or authority over a community. A religion formulated by such a man is accepted

at once by the community of which he is the head, and he finds the means of propagation of his religion ready to hand, and he can use the organization and the traditions of the community in aid of his own purposes, and his task is thus rendered very easy. A similar advantage may be derived by a person who belongs to a family or tribe in whom are bound up the religious hopes of the people.

Fifthly, *Place.* A religion may derive considerable help from the fact that the place of its origin is, for some reason or other, a place of common resort ; for instance, it may be the capital of a country, or a great market, or a religious centre, or a great harbour, or may possess some scientific, archæological, political, religious, social, intellectual or other similar attraction. Such a religion is at once brought to the notice of the public and acquires immediate publicity which promotes its spread.

Sixthly, *Association.* Another factor which may contribute towards the spread of a religion is its being bound up with the political, financial or other needs of the people. Such a religion would also find a ready acceptance, owing to such association.

Seventhly, *Licence.* A religion which does not insist upon conformity to spiritual injunctions or the reform of society, but emphasizes merely belief in a particular doctrine, or allegiance to a particular individual, and leaves its followers free in other matters to act as they please, would also be accepted readily by a certain class of people, as it affords them complete liberty of action.

Eighthly, *Stimulation of Fancy.* Some religions seek acceptance by stimulating people's fancy by means of the use of powerful drugs or the exercise of mesmeric powers, or by presenting to a dulled mind the delights of a fanciful paradise or the horrors of an imaginary hell, and thus acquire such a powerful hold over their followers that the latter can never shake off the influence of such a religion, but, on the contrary, help in ensnaring others in its meshes.

A study of the life of the Promised Messiah reveals the fact that he did not command any of the means mentioned as contributing towards the propagation of a religion, nor did he seek to provide himself with one.

The publication of the revelations recited above, in the face of all the difficulties, shews that the prophecies contained therein were of an unusual kind, and, if we are satisfied that they have been fulfilled, we would be furnished with the strongest proof of his truth. Sisters and brothers, the fact that this paper is being read to you in this Conference on behalf of the Ahmadiyyah Movement is proof sufficient of the fulfilment, in the presence of very adverse circumstances, of the prophecies published by him thirty-four years ago. Those of them that have not so far been fulfilled are in the course of fulfilment. Qadian, which was then an obscure

village, is to-day known throughout the world. He who was alone a third of a century ago can claim a following in all continents and among all nations, drawn from every class and creed. His name has been exalted, and even his enemies mention it with respect. He has regenerated Islam, so that to-day Islam cannot be put to shame by the followers of any religion or the exponents of any culture, and it lifts its head in glory and in honour above all religions. Ahmadiyyah missions are being opened, and members of the Ahmadiyyah community may be met with, in all parts of the world. The truth of the Promised Messiah is being established by the mighty signs of God. Qadian is now attracting visitors from all parts of the world. Over 1,500 men from all parts of the world have already gone and settled at Qadian. Nearly 300 guests are entertained at the table of the Promised Messiah daily. The Promised Messiah has contrasted his life before his claim with that subsequent to it in an Arabic verse, which runs as follows :

Time was when I used to feed on the crumbs
Which fell from the tables of others ;
To-day, whole families are fed from my table.

Religions have flourished and have had to contend with difficulties, but none of them, whether true or false, has attained such success as has been attained by the Ahmadiyyah Movement in the face of difficulties such as this Movement has had to contend against. The Movement is still in its infancy, and that which has been achieved so far is only the shadow of that which is coming.

Besides this the Promised Messiah has shewn hundreds of thousands of signs whereby the dead have been brought to life, the deaf have heard, the blind have seen, the lame have walked, the lepers have been cleansed, and those who were possessed have been made whole and have become like humble children in the presence of God. In a sense this very Conference is a fulfilment of one of his prophecies. In 1892 he published a book called the *Izala-i-Auham*, wherein he related one of his visions, in which he saw that he was standing on a platform in London and was delivering an address and that he afterwards caught some birds. He interpreted it to mean that his doctrines would be preached in London and that through him people would accept Islam.

Conclusion

After this necessarily brief exposition of the principles of Ahmadiyyat, I desire to convey to those present, and, through them, to all those who dwell in the East and in the West, this message.

Sisters and brothers, the Light of God has shone forth for you, and that which the world had, owing to the lapse of time, come to

regard as a romantic tale, has appeared before your very eyes. The Glory of God has been made manifest to you through a prophet; yea, a prophet whose advent had been foretold by all previous prophets from Noah to Muhammad (on whom be peace and the blessings of God!), and God has again demonstrated to you the fact that He is not only the God of those that are dead, but also of those that are living; and not only the God of those that have gone before, but also of those that shall come after. Accept ye then this Light, and let your hearts be lit up with it. Sisters and brothers, this life is but an episode, and it is wrong to imagine that it is followed by annihilation; there is no such thing as annihilation. The soul was not created for annihilation, but for eternal life. From the moment of his birth, man begins to tread along a never-ending path, and death is nothing but a device to quicken his pace. How is it that you who are constantly striving to outstrip each other in small competitions are completely neglecting this huge competition which is for ever proceeding between those that have gone before and those that have taken their place? Do you not perceive that a righteous man was raised in the East and God has, through him, caused the Truth to be brought to your doors? Be truly grateful for this Grace which you have received, so that you may receive more abundant Grace, and run forward to receive His Mercy, so that His for you should swell in volume. How is it that you who condemn all such intoxicants as render the brain sluggish are content with teachings that profit not and merely still the yearnings of the soul? You refuse to bow before idols, then how can you bow before an imaginary image of God that gives no sign of life? Come and drink of the Divine nectar of life that God has provided for you; this is a nectar that kills not reason, but illumines it; it does not undermine the nervous system, but strengthens it.

Rejoice, ye bridesmaids, and sing joyful hymns, for the bridegroom has come. He who has been sought after has been found. He who was being waited for till the eyes of those who waited had become dim now illumines your eye; Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Those who find him find all, and those who see him not will see nothing.

And the end of our discourse is

Praise be to Allah,
The Lord of the Universe.

A Note on Sufism

By Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

ONE of the most interesting incidents of the Conference was the reading of a paper on Sufism contributed by Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali. He is a leading member of the important order of Naushahi Sufis, who trace their origin back to the days of the early Mughal emperors, and who constitute a sub-division of the more extensive order of Qadiri Sufis, founded by the famous Darvesh, Said Abdul Qadir Gilâni, who lived in Iraq in the twelfth century A.D., and whose tomb at Baghdad is still an important place of Muhammadan pilgrimage. Hafiz Raushan Ali is a native of the northern Punjab and has been a follower of *Tassawuf*, the technical name for Sufism, from an early age. Knowing, as he does, the whole of the *Qur'an* by heart, he is entitled to the honorific religious title of Hafiz which he enjoys. He has also a knowledge, both deep and extensive, of Mussulman literature, religious and philosophic. Many years ago he became a member of the modern sect of Ahmadiyya Muhammadans. The paper was actually read by Dr. Muhammad Din, himself a Sufi; but Hafiz Raushan Ali was present, and gave the audience some most interesting recitations from the *Qur'an* and from Sufi poetry. The paper itself presented a full and suggestive view of the development and extent of Sufi thought and practice. It was replete with information and clearly brought out the main points of Sufism.

The fundamental conception of that system is that human souls differ in degree, though not in kind, from the Divine Spirit, from which they emerge, and to which they ultimately return. The aim of the Sufi is, through loss of individual self-consciousness in ecstatic self-abandonment, to obtain union with that Divine Spirit. Their principle is that, since reason cannot transcend the phenomenal, it must be abandoned in favour of that divine illumination, the spirit of intuition, by which true knowledge and a grasp of the infinite is to be obtained.

As argued by Hafiz Raushan Ali in the opening part of his paper, Sufism in its origin was an expression of the kind of asceticism approved in the *Qur'an*. That book contains elements or rudiments of later mysticisms and thus provided a basis upon which Sufism developed. Its growth was naturally encouraged

by the general political and social conditions of the first two centuries of the Muhammadan era. Towards the end of the second century asceticism had assumed some tinge of agnosticism, but, later on, helped by foreign Oriental influences, it developed pantheistic tendencies. In origin it was a practical religion rather than a philosophic system, but it moved gradually from quietism towards mystical speculation.

Sufism

By Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali
(Ranmal, Punjab)

(The paper was translated and read by Dr. Muhammad Din, a member of the Ahmadiyya Delegation)

THE word *Tassawuf*, or Sufism, has been explained in various ways, two of which, perhaps, stand out conspicuously and correctly. *Suf*, the Arabic for wool, would make Sufi to mean the weaver of a simple, yet hard, woollen stuff to keep him alert and watchful. *Safwat* is another derivation which means purity and purification. This root has its support in the Arabic etymological rule of transposition or *Takleeb*. Since the true Sufis applied themselves heart and soul to the inner purification and the purging of heart of all sinful desires, as opposed to the generality of mankind—whose one consuming desire is this world and its allurements—hence this blessed group, who had turned their backs upon all the worldly ways, were called Sufis, for in so doing they had nothing but complete transformation and change of heart in view.

Sufism Original to Islam

Much has been written about the Sufis and Sufism, both in the East as well as in the West, and there is a vast and ever-growing literature by the Sufis themselves. It has been generally supposed that Sufism is a foreign growth, principally of Persian or Buddhistic origin, and that its aims and teachings are mostly antagonistic to those of Islam, but that on account of long contact and mutual interaction it has gradually found its way into Islam. Nothing can be further from the facts. Professor Nicholson, who has gone deeply into the subject, has had to admit that such a theory is untenable. He says that modern research has "discredited the sweeping generalizations which represent Sufism as a reaction of the Aryan mind against a conquering Semitic religion, and as essentially a product of Indian or Persian thought."[1] "If Sufism," he goes on, "was nothing but a revolt of the Aryan spirit, how are we to explain the undoubted fact that some of

[1] *Mystics of Islam*, p. 8.

the leading pioneers to Muhammadan mysticism were natives of Syria and Egypt, and Arabs by race?" Moslem theology, philosophy and science, according to him, had put forth their first luxuriant shoots before Islam came into contact with Buddhism or Vedântism. "In spirit," he thinks, "Buddhism and Sufism are poles apart. The Buddhist moralizes himself; the Sufi becomes moral only through knowing and loving God."

Sufism not an Aryan Reaction

This Persian or Aryan reaction theory, in so far as the best and original Sufism is concerned, is not at all in consonance with the facts. The Persian and the Aryan element have played so large a part in purely Islamic sciences of Arabic grammar, jurisprudence, commentary, etc., that the fanciful flights of imagination could not even connect them with Hellenistic or Indo-Persian influences. The mere fact that a Persian took a very prominent part in the movement in later times is no ground for the assumption that it had a Persian origin, especially in face of the fact that the whole warp and woof of Sufism is Islamic. The Hellenistic, or Egyptian, theories are even more irrelevant, and so is the assertion that Sufism owes anything to Christianity. To establish any historical connection, in the words of the author of the *Mystics of Islam*: "It is not enough to bring forward evidence of their likeness to one another, without showing at the same time (1) that the actual relation of B to A was such as to render the assumed filiation possible, and (2) that the possible hypothesis fits in with all the ascertained and relevant facts!"

According to the great master minds among the Sufis, Islam has been affirmed to be the only true religion with God; and whoever swerves even a hair's breadth from it is regarded by them as one who is groping in darkness. To the Sufis, Muhammad is the embodiment of all perfections and excellences; they call him the "perfect ensample and exemplar." The great ones among them think the Light of Muhammad existed before any other creation, and all other lights among mankind, they say, were but partial manifestations of the same which found its highest, brightest and completest expression in the person of Muhammad of Arabia—peace and the blessings of God be upon them all! They maintain that the religion of all the prophets has been Islam, the difference being in degree only—essentials being the same. All these teachers, they say, emphasized service to God as well as service to their fellow-men, which is summed up in the word Islam, which means total and utter submission to the will of Allah. Love, they admit, should be the guiding motive for a novice and the early initiate, and they quote chapters and verses from the Holy *Qur'an* and the traditions

of the Holy Prophet. They quote Jesus and Buddha, and others too, not to base the principles of their teachings for which they go to Islam alone, but for corroboration only, and they aver that even Love has its selfish side ; therefore, for a perfect and highest grade of Sufi, they recommend the passionless, yet most active, state of one who, in perfect resignation to the will of Allah, forgets his own self altogether, but whose life is one continuous chain of activities in the way of God. This, according to them, is the first stage of an aspirant to perfection.

Muhammad the Master Sufi

To know Sufism we shall have to know the history of Sufism from the Sufi point of view ; not that we have to accept what an interested party has to say, but because theirs is the first-hand information, and they are in the best position to deal with it sympathetically. We can, of course, apply all the canons of history and historical criticism, but the framework must be theirs. As we have stated above, all the great teachers from the Sufi point of view have been the great master-Sufis of the world, Muhammad standing at the top of them all—the ideal and the perfect man—*Al-Insan-al-Kamil,* and Islam as the most perfect expression of Sufism. They say that when this *Insan-al-Kamil* appeared, the world was steeped in the worst form of superstition, ignorance and wickedness, and the Arabs were the worst people in that respect. Yet, under the benign rays of that Heavenly Light, they were changed into the most God-fearing divine lovers that the world has ever seen. Not only did they becomes lode-stars in the spiritual firmament, but in the arts and sciences they became the torch-bearers. Under the magnetic influence and divine training of that heavenly personality the Arabs saw a wonderful development of all the human faculties and powers, and when the time of his departure from this earthly plane drew near they were in a position to carry on his work of world transformation, and the whole world witnessed miraculous changes. This generation did its work, and passed away, leaving their work in the hands of their successors.

Another great factor at work was the time. The Sufi historians write, and human experience all over the world confirms their statement, that, with the lapse of time, the spiritual influence of the great Sufi began to wane. Wealth, and all that it stands for, began to exert its own influence : the past took on the halo of romance ; experience became dimmed with the onrush of the world, and the hopes of future spiritual advancement took on a remoter aspect. This was one great factor ; but there were other natural causes at work. The Master Sufi had passed away, and his companions and the generation following them, who were imbued

with the spirit of the Master, had all passed away. There was no question of division of labour then, but it was unavoidable now. The great Sufis of this period, realizing the advantages and disadvantages of this position, took up this spiritual work, not by way of protest, but for the sake of collaboration and to complete the work of the other labourers in the field.

The Sufi historians insist upon and reiterate the fact that Muhammad, the Master Sufi, stood for all that is best in man, whether it relates to his physical or intellectual, mental or spiritual life. According to them, he was the *beau ideal* of all that is best in the multitudinous aspects of the human life. They adduce facts from his life to shew how he was in the world, and yet he could lead a detached life. So long as this attachment stood for a divine purpose and fulfilled it, he was for it. Yet he was willing to sacrifice it if it, in any way, stood between him and his God, for their point of view is this, that the sole purpose of religion—especially of Islam—is to establish the right relation between God and man and the service of humanity. Prayers and fasts, pilgrimages and sacrifices were established, not that they are an end in themselves, but because they are a means to an end. They say, for instance, that where the Holy Word enjoins prayer it emphasizes the end too, for it says that prayer should be for the purpose of checking and restraining evil—the evil inclinations of man.

Formalism and Sufism

Faithful recorders as they are of events, they could not of course slur over the clashes that subsequently followed between the formalist and themselves, but this took place late in the day, when both sides began to drift towards extremes. The best of the formalists in the most prosperous days of formalism coincided with the best days of Sufism, and that covered a long period of many centuries. The rift came when schismatic persons on both sides began to emphasize their point of view to the discredit of the others, which sane people in every party have always looked upon with dislike.

At present the past bitterness has given place to toleration on both sides, though glimpses of the old rivalry sometimes find expression in acrimonious writings; but, on the whole, there is a good deal of toleration of each other. Says Professor Nicholson; "The Sufis, instead of being excommunicated, are securely established in the Muhammadan Church."

Great Persian Sufis

As we have stated above, the Sufi teachings were taken in hand at the right moment by the Arabs and non-Arabs—the Persians,

in particular, entered into the fold, and along with other sides of this great faith they took up the spiritual side with great avidity. Had they joined with the purpose of breaking up Islam, or had their actions been due to the natural reaction set in by a superior yet decadent civilisation, how is it that we have men of Persian descent or origin, like Imam Muhammad bin Isma'il Bukhari, Muslim bin Hajjaj of Nishapur, Abu Essa Tirmidhi, the great jurist Imam Abu Hanifa No'man, Imam abu Yusuf, Ya'qub, Sibavaih and Abu'Ali Farsi—the last three being the greatest grammarians—who have all played an important rôle in the history of Islam and its propagation? It is difficult to find such a galaxy of famous names even in the ranks of the Sufis, who were proud to follow them, as well as the great Arab Muslims, in all reverence.

Moreover, some of the greatest names in Jurisprudence have been equally great in Sufism—for instance, Abu Hanifa, Shafi'i and Rabi'a of Basra. Necessity is the mother of invention. It was necessity that drove them in various directions. The various branches of Muslim religion were taken up by the great ones when a need was felt for them. In short, the Persians did not only take part in the Sufi Movement, but their activities were visible everywhere in all branches in the interests of Islam. If the mere reading of the Holy *Qur'an* was needed, they were in the forefront. If the need for spiritual side was felt, we find them shoulder to shoulder with others.

The Sufi writers, especially those of Persian origin, give a very interesting explanation of the Persian interest in Sufism. Sufism, they say, is the Spirit of Islam. As soon as the Persians realized that they had committed a very great mistake in resisting and persecuting the Master Sufi of all times, and the realization dawned upon them that they had been the greatest losers in rejecting the Divine blessings, then, with a contrition of spirit born of sincere and deep regret, they tried their best to make good their past; and, if some of them outstripped some of their Arab contemporaries, it is not to be wondered at, for it was all due to the zeal born of a repentant spirit. Some of them shewed such great earnestness in their new work that they are ranked with some of the very prominent men of the first generation. They tried to reproduce in themselves the same spirit that animated the first generation. That is why some of these Sufi writers, writing from a subjective point of view, give so much prominence to these advanced Sufis.

Basic Principles of Sufism

Sufism is based upon the *Love of God* and the *Service of Humanity.* So say the Sufis. As a matter of fact, both these are really one.

And that is *Divine Love.* Ethics and morals, service and right life, are the direct result of this Love, say their great leaders.

The initiative they place with Divine Love, which induces human love as with the process of induction. As soon as human love begins to stir, the Divine Love begins to descend and unite with the human love. The Sufi writers quote a well-known saying of the Prophet which says that God told him that He was a hidden treasure, but He willed to be known, and so He created Adam. Again, continues the Prophet, if a man stirs, God moves; if he walks to God, then God runs to him.

It should be borne in mind that though, now and then, these Sufi teachers quote Jesus, Buddha, Socrates and others, that is only in additional support and confirmation of their views, but they base their teachings invariably on the *Qur'an* and the traditions of the Holy Prophet. Ibn al-Arabi declares that no religion is more sublime than a religion of Love. He claims that Islam is peculiarly the religion of Love, inasmuch as the Prophet Muhammad laid the greatest stress on Love. Some examples follow here.

" Man's love of God," says Hujwiri, " is a quality which manifests itself in the hearts of the pious believers . . . who abjure the recollection of everything beside."

" I fancied I loved God," said Bayazid, " but, on consideration, I saw that His love preceded mine."

Junaid defined Love as the substitution of the qualities of the Beloved for the qualities of the Lover, relying on the well-known tradition which says that man's love is really the effect of God's love.

" If I worship Thee for Thine own sake, withhold not Thine everlasting beauty," says Rabi'a.

" His love entered and removed all besides Him, and left no trace of anything else, so that it remained single as He is single."—Bayazid.

" To feel at one with God for a moment is better than all men's acts of worship from the beginning of the world to the end of the world."—Shibli.

" Fear of the fire in comparison with the fear of being parted from the Beloved is like a drop of water cast into the mightiest ocean."—Dhu'n-Nun.

" Thyself hast thou sprinkled salt on the wound that has raised the cries of Thy distressful lovers. The mellowness of a sweet face is a part of Thy beauty, and every curled lock points to Thee."—Ahmad.

" O Love, what wonderful signs hast Thou shown. The cut and the salve hast Thou made the same in the way of the Beloved. Thy Love is the remedy for a thousand ills. By Thy Face, the real release is Thy bondage."—Farrukh.

" If the secret of Love between Him and me had been disclosed, thousands of lives would have been offered as a sacrifice at my door."—The Promised Messiah.

Divine Love

We know that the Sufis never hesitated to use sayings of Jesus and other great teachers by way of supplementary proofs of their teachings, but perhaps it would be a surprise to many that they very rarely used the Gospel definition of "God is Love." Their point of view is so sublime that such a definition would not fit in. Love, according to them, is one of the attributes, and not a whole definition, of God. That is why they always rely on the Holy *Qur'an* and the Traditions, and the words of other Moslem Saints. Fatherhood of God seems an imperfect idea to them, that is why the Qur'anic verse, "O ye believers, remember God with an intensity of love as ye remember your parents, rather more," goes deeper into their hearts. Another verse which throws them into raptures is, "O ye believers, if you love God, then follow me, and thus you (yourselves) will become the beloved of God." Love of the Prophet and love of the Word of God with them are tantamount to Divine Love—a practical expression of it. That is why they can never be dissociated from God, according to the Sufi interpretation.

This Divine Love has found its highest expression in total resignation and complete submission to the Will of Allah, according to the great Sufi minds. "Thy Will be done," was spoken to give expression to this very sentiment. As a matter of fact, this is the culminating stage of Love. How enraptured and how eloquent the Sufi writers wax when, in glowing words, they comment upon the following Qur'anic verses:

> Say, if your parents or your children, your brothers or your wives and your other kith and kin, and the hoardings that you have amassed together, and the business whose slackness you are afraid, and the mansions that you love—if these things are dearer to you than Allah and His Prophet, and striving in His way, then wait till Divine decision arrives; verily, God never guides the violators of solemn pledges.
>
> Say, my prayers and my sacrifices, my life and my death are for Allah. There is none beside Him, that is my order (duty), and I am the first of the believers.

Love of God and total submission are the first and the last principles, and the whole foundation of Islam, according to these Sufi minds, is based upon these two hinges.

Stages in the Sufi's Spiritual Life

Of course, Sufism has been developed into a science, even the minutest points of a person's character having been classified. It is at once a composite of ethics, philosophy, metaphysics, psychology and spiritualism, etc. A vast literature has been written on every phase of the subject, and abstruse problems like the

reality of God, His unity, the problem of good and evil, responsibility of man, or otherwise, God and His attributes, pantheism, created and uncreated things, matter and soul, life and death, and almost all other points have been dealt with in great detail, and with a depth of mind which would baffle the students of abstruse psychology of to-day. It is impossible to deal with them here. Suffice it to say, that with the master minds among the Sufis, these were not mere mental exercises. Their discussion had always a bearing on life, and they did live up to their professions. Whatever views they expressed they never meant to be libertines. All their efforts were directed to the improvement of their self. As they have reduced Sufism to a science, they have their own terminology. The Sufi who sets out to seek God is called a *salik* (a traveller); he advances by slow stages (*maqamat*) along a path (*tariqat*) to the goal of union with Reality (*fana fil haqiqat*).

There are seven stages: (1) Repentance; (2) Abstinence; (3) Renunciation; (4) Poverty; (5) Patience; (6) Trust in God; (7) Satisfaction.

After the traveller has progressed along this path he is raised to the higher planes of *Marifat* (Gnosis) and *Haqiqat* (the Truth). The Sufi is a true Moslem; he does not believe in mere otherworldliness, or celibacy and monasticism. All the great Sufi teachers led happy married lives. This "renunciation" is the right use of all the powers given to man by God. The Sufi is in the world, yet he is out of it. He braves the risks like a courageous, dutiful soul; he never shirks his responsibility, for the Prophet had said that an unmarried person who shirked the great responsibility of life could not be trusted with higher responsibilities.

Three Further Stages

The Sufis have three more advanced stages; as a matter of fact, the divisions are many, but these three roughly include them all. They are *Fana*, *Liqa* and *Baqa*.

Fana means total effacement of one's self, so much so that the adept becomes merged in Divine presence. He eats and drinks, prays and fasts, not that he likes to do it, but because he is impelled to do it. God is all in all for him. "Turn to your Creator and surrender yourself to Him," says the Holy Word, and the Sufi, in contemplation of this, just puts himself at the disposal of his Creator, as the dead corpse in the hands of an undertaker. He thinks of the Holy Prophet's words, "Die before your death." And, in keeping with his origin that he is a perishable thing after all, for the word says "everything is perishable but what comes under Divine Will," he undergoes a death to receive an eternal life; not that he wants it, but because it is the Divine Will, which in Sufi terminology stands for Law. That is the stage

or passing away into Divine Presence. Jalalu'd-Din Rumi has well illustrated this stage of *Fana*, or self-effacement, in the following verses :

When a fairy comes to possess a man,
He loses his attributes of man,
Whatever he says, is through the inspiration of that fairy.
It is neither from this nor from that brain.
Gone is his own individuality, he himself becomes that fairy.
Arabic to a Turk comes as a mother-tongue without any revelation.
When he is lost to himself he knows nothing of the language.
For knowledge is the person and attribute of the fairy.
How can, then, the Creator of man and spirit
Be less than a fairy ?
If this influence and law hold good in the case of a fairy,
We can well judge the powers of the Creator of the fairy.

Again he says :

When he (the drunkard), under the influence of old or new wine, begins to speak,
You would say, " It is the wine that is speaking."
If this noise and fuss were due to wine,
Could it be possible that the Light of God can be without force and power ?
Though the Qur'an has come out of the lips of the Prophet,
Infidel is he who says that God has not said it.

Fana, the passing away of the Sufi from his phenomenal existence, involves *Baqa*, the continuance of his real existence. He who dies to self lives in and with God, but not in the pantheistic sense, as is generally supposed. The Sufi is opposed to deification. Jalalu'd-Din Rumi, who is supposed to be a believer in pantheism, clearly refutes this idea in his well-known couplet :

To say *I am He* at the wrong moment (as did Pharoah) is a curse.
To say *I am He* at the right moment (as did Mansur) is a blessing.

Yet, as he thinks that his soul has proceeded from the hands of his Creator and that his self is but a reflexion of the Real Self, so he always aims at continual progress. The elder Sufis never lost sight of the fact that they were human, and though, in their periods of illumination and union, they sometimes thought they were lost to themselves, just as the shadow vanishes when the sun is in high heaven, they never lost sight of the fact that they were merely human, and that their ultimate aim was to continue in a state of *Baqa*—Eternal Life—actuated and motivated by the instinctive desire for unification, called in their language *Liqa*. That is why the elder Sufis never went beyond the bounds of the

Law. Such a state of mind, according to their best judgment, bordered upon apostasy. "Strive hard in the path of trust and rectitude, piety and devotion," says Sadi, "yet never dream of trespassing the bounds set by Mustafa (Muhammad)."

The Highest Stages

Two more stages the advanced Sufis claim are *Lahut* and *Nasut*. When the Sufi has traversed all the stages until he has attained to the stage of *Baqa*, or Eternal Continuance, he is supposed to have stepped into the stage of what they call *Lahut*, in which stage he remembers nothing but God. He is dead to all else besides, and he feels that he is, as it were, at-one-ment with Him. At this stage, all his actions and all his movements are due to Divine urge—rather Divine Will—for that is the stage of "There is none but Allah" (*La ilaha illallah*). The Sufi is nowhere, but God is everywhere. This stage has its degrees, the beginning and the culminating points. That is the ascent of the Sufi, which in his own terminology he calls *Mi'raj* (ascent), and when the climax arrives, then he begins to descend, which should not be confounded with decline, for this descent is higher than his previous ascent.

It happens in this wise: Divine Love is the source of all creation, and Divine Love is the supporter and maintainer of it. It is the Divine Love that first inspires the Sufi to seek union; and, now that the consummation has arrived, he is not his own previous self, but Love himself, and now he desires to manifest himself.

Hence, after this ascent, when the Sufi becomes united with God, Divine attributes begin to manifest themselves through him. As Divine Love is always flowing out to meet the needs of humanity, so the Sufi—the highest embodiment of Divine Love—begins to evince and ultimately manifest his love for humanity, which is termed service, and this is called the stage of *Muhammad Rasul Allah*—that is, the Sufi has now become a reflection of Muhammad, the Messenger of God. That is the stage of a *Mujaddid*, and a *Nabi*, each of these having their own stages, degrees and qualities, the highest being the stage of *Muhammad*, which the Sufis call the "Light of Muhammad." The Sufis here draw a very fine distinction. Love of God with them is the first and original inspirer, but progress depends upon the human soul, for which effort is necessary. This self-effort, which is a reaction of the human soul to the Divine stimulus, then leads him on to the stage of Submission, total and entire, where all his movements become Divine. Here the Sufi's actions become God's action. The highest stage is that of the Prophet, where the Prophet is only the instrument and God works through him. All this is included in the stage of *Nasut*. One of the stages in this state of *Nasut* is the stage of *Boruz*.

The Meaning of Boruz

According to the Sufis, Muhammad is the Perfect Man, Al-Insan al-Kamil, and it was to realize this or that aspect of the "Light

of Muhammad " that the other prophets have been appearing in this world, and the perfection was fully realized when Muhammad appeared himself.

It is better to state here that the *Boruz* should not be confounded with reincarnation, which the Sufis totally reject. *Boruz* means the appearance of one in the power and spirit of another, just as John the Baptist was the Elijah that was to come. This phenomenon of recurrence the Sufis use in a spiritual and metaphorical sense. The Second Christ or the Second Buddha does not mean that both these dead personages have taken a rebirth. The second one is individually different, but corresponds to his prototypes in some of his spiritual traits. Moreover, the correspondence in situation needs correspondence in characters, neither more nor less.

No Transmigration

Another mistake pertaining to belief has also crept into some of the present-day orders. One is the belief in transmigration and reincarnation (*Tanasukh-i-arwah* and *Hulul*). The elder Sufis always rejected it. What they mean by " recurrence " is the reversion of the old types. Some Sufis represent the spirit and power of some of the past Sufis, and therefore they sometimes have asserted their identity with their prototypes. This has been understood to mean reincarnation, etc., which the elders have expressly repudiated as abomination. As we have explained elsewhere, this reversion to type they term a *boruz*, which means the coming of another in the power and spirit of the departed one. These elder Sufis cite one of the sayings of the Holy Prophet, which says that some people among his followers are born in the spirit of Abraham, while others in the spirit of Moses, and Jesus and other prophets. But they are not the same persons. It is only the prominence in resemblance which entitles a person to a certain name.

Sufism and Islam against Monasticism

The elder Sufis were true Muslims. They lived and taught nothing but Islam, and the emphasis that they laid on the spiritual side was only to revive the pristine, pure, Islamic spirit. Islam stands for the whole, while Sufism is but one of its aspects. Moreover, Sufism has no constructive side, nor does it stand independent. It stands and falls with Islam.

Like everything else, Sufism has been affected during its history of many centuries. The present-day Sufism—though built on the old lines—has undergone some change. Some of the present-day practices and teachings are not in conformity with the original Sufism. Renunciation in the sense of celibacy and monasticism was never countenanced by the great Sufis ; they never used it in the sense of severance of human relations and retiring into woods and

forests, leading anchorite lives, and having nothing to do with this world. That is a great departure from the old Sufii point of view. All that Islam and early Sufism insisted upon was that real attachment should be to God. Support and care and maintenance of one's wife and the upbringing and looking after of one's children is one of the bounden duties of man. Under the mistaken notion of serving God with a singleness of purpose, they have forsaken the world. They are just like a horse that runs without a load or carriage, but as soon as he is loaded or yoked he stops short and kicks! What Sufism and Islam required of a man was that he should learn to stand, walk and run in spite of hindrances and handicaps, so as to bring out the best in him. As a matter of fact, the care of all these things in the right spirit is a part of Divine worship. That is why the Sufi writers have insisted on the law which says, " There is to be no monasticism in Islam."

God has willed that all these earthly things should be well looked after, and yet a monk disregards all these duties. That is one of the practical abuses that has found its way into some present-day Sufi orders, whose practices, in certain instances, are a direct infringement of the teachings of the great Sufi masters. The Shari'at, or " law of Islam," has always stood guard to counteract such tendencies.

Mysticism and Sufism

Sufism has generally been confounded with Mysticism. The misunderstanding has been due to the apparent similarity in the meanings of the words " mysticism " and *sirr*. But the *sirr* of the Sufi is not the mystery of the mystic, for the Sufi had nothing to conceal. To a Sufi the word connotes the reality underlying anything, whether it be a noumenon or a phenomenon. As the reality of everyone's experience is known only to oneself, that is why sometimes the Sufi emphasizes individual rather than common experience, because it is a thing to know which one has to go through it himself. One can instruct another in formalism, but the discipline and illumination are an individual affair. This attitude of a Sufi has been attributed to a mystifying habit, which is surely an unfair judgment on him. So Mysticism and Sufism are two different things altogether.

Various Orders in Sufism

There are many orders of Sufism, with many more sub-orders. They all started with the same principles and the same practices, differing only in minor details, and the idiosyncrasies of the individual. These orders are all known by the names of the different persons who first founded the movement in their own localities. There has been no difference whatever so far as the elders and the

best people in these movements have been concerned. But with the lapse of time and the differences of tastes, temperaments and traits of character, and the atmosphere and environments that surrounded them, there were developed certain practices which, though harmless perhaps at first, led in the end to wide cleavages, not only in matters of details, but even in principles of action.

These latter-day Sufis, having lost the spirit and the reality, now looked about for something tangible; and as a consequence of the sudden results achieved through alien practices, along with the fact that there was some similarity between these practices and some of the actions of their elders, which they never tried to fathom, they devoted themselves to these things to the exclusion of the reality; and that is the reason we meet with fraud, hypocrisy and imposture so often. Some of them have adopted the heathenish practices of bowing and prostrating before men, offering libations to the dead saints, kneeling before the tombs of saints, offering prayers to the living and dead. Some think themselves above every law, giving a free rein to every passion. It is fortunate that there are not very many of them, but it is undeniable that they are a part of the society, however low a part it may be. But they have nothing in common with the real Sufism or Islam, for the matter of that.

Though there are many orders and sub-orders, the following are the major groups:

1. *Qadiriyya*—founded by Sheikh Abdul Qadir of Gilan, a great saint, whose name still exercises a great influence.

2. *Naqshbandiyya*—founded by Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Naqshband, a great saint. This order has also a great following.

3. *Chishtiyya*—founded by Khwaja Mu'in ud-Din, a great saint, who has a good many followers in India.

4. *Suhravardi*—founded by Sheikh Shahab-ud Din Suhravardi, another great saint, who has a good following in the Arabic-speaking countries.

In addition to the above four, we have the *Jalalis*, the followers of Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi, the author of the famous *Masnavi*. Though his followers are found mostly in Asia Minor and Egypt, howling and dancing dervishes mostly belonging to this order, yet his book has had a great influence all over the East.

BUDDHISM

An Historical Note on Buddhism

By Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A.

THE three addresses of the second day give a representation of Buddhism as a living religion to-day in portions of the south and east Asian corners of the Empire. It was not intended that the speakers should exceed their already arduous task by giving any account of the common origin of the religious cult so-called, but requests have reached us that some word on just that should be included in these printed transactions. This is the writer's sole justification in offering the following scanty sketch.

To this one thing we must bring our vision at the outset. The original movement in a little corner of India which, long after, came to be called Buddhism was one thing ; the system of doctrine sanctioned and taught as Sâsana (orthodox teaching) by a Sangha (clergy) was another—two things not different in kind, but different in emphasis and in method. Both things started growing from the first. The former remained fairly consistent while its initiator and his chief helpers lived on earth. The latter grew into a relative rigidity by a body of doctrine orally fixed and orally taught, and, in time, taught in unchanging forms of wording. It also took on a dominant feature, as the memory of its founder grew from a remembered experience to an imagined idea of a glorified super-man, a worshipped abstract ideal, replacing the once seen, once known brother-man. But there were other developments as the movement grew to be paramount over India, annexing both the culture and the folk-lore of the country, and spreading to other lands, mingling with other traditions. There is nothing unique in this history of Buddhism. It is a world-way.

Who was this brother-man, and what led him to bring a new message to his little world? He was the elder son of a petty chief or râja in the kingdom of Kosala. This extended along the watershed of the eastern Ganges northward to the foothills of the Himâlayas, and was then, in the sixth or seventh centuries B.C., becoming paramount. Because of soothsayers' predictions that he would become a world-ruler (and so possibly a parricide), or a world-saviour, he was brought up, as heir to his father, secluded from

life's rougher realities. But the real man in men is not to be solely moulded by nurture. This man, Siddhattha Gotama, brought to the earth at that day the will, long exercised in previous lives, to help his fellows if he might thereby save them from life's sorrows and sufferings. When he realised that life meant old age, much bodily ill, death, this will broke out in flood. " How can I find a way out for the world? " He learnt what " leaving the world " meant. He left it. He sought teachers. He left them. He sought vision by austerities. He left them. He tried self-communing on the " way out." He deemed he had found a way—the way of the ascetic to suspend the cause of a renewal of life after death, and so end ill with a possible ending of life itself. But he shrank from trying to help in such a hopeless way. The will to save was paralysed.

Then came a messenger from another world to this brother-man. Clairvoyantly he saw a brother-man kneeling to entreat. Clair-audiently he heard himself begged to help men, heard himself told that it was worth while, for all were at different stages of growth, and some could or would understand. The helping will sprang again to life, and he went forth to speak his message.

But the words that came to him, medium of a higher will, were not the ascetic teaching, but a message of the way in which men should live one with another as they moved towards the goal. By the *way* alone could ill be overcome. And all men could walk in it. Men called on Brahmâ, on many gods, but the one way to qualify for life in the unseen with Brahmâ was the Brahmacharîya, the " God-living." Sorrow and ill were largely due to man's failure to walk in this way. It was neither the worldling's way nor the ascetic's way. It was the way of living the best (*sammâ*) each man could. This was the original message of " Buddhism."

It was not in that land, in those times a recognized foundation of religious teaching. Ritual, prayers, left it on one side. They were not immoral; they were unmoral.

It is not what we now understand by ethics. Its altruism was, in effect, only " Do no harm." It was not " Do good," each man to each man. That was a later message. But the doing no harm was to be practised and taught " in compassion one to another," which brought into this gospel the very atmosphere for further advance.

It was not a merely moral message, and thus not belonging to " religions." Religion, where the word was first used, meant, as it now means, the placing and seeking of a warded welfare in the unseen, a welfare which in duration and importance is to our earth-welfare as adult life is to schooldays. Buddhism from the

first looked to welfare in the unseen, and assigned the warding of welfare there and here to a world-order. According to this order, man could win weal or woe as he obeyed its prompting in him or disobeyed it. Buddhism from the first was a religion

The order warding man's welfare here and hereafter, if he willed, was not, in Buddhism, conceived as the will of a Warder. On this both message and messenger are silent. The way to such a conception was barred there and then. The Brahmanic esoteric teaching of that day, confronting any new religious movement, barred it. The general religious atmosphere was somewhat similar to that of Rome at the end of the Republic. The gods were discredited. Priesthood, sacrifices, rites, were looked upon as part of the public order and discipline. Earnest men were concerned with much speculation on the nature of man and his destiny hereafter. The Brahmanic more inward teaching was that man, as distinct from his body and mental capacity, was, as spirit (*âtman*), so akin to the source and essence of all (Brahman = âtman) that he *was* It. Wisdom was to know, to see this identity.

Gotama took up a position against the dangerous conceit in this teaching by showing that man's weakness in wielding body and mind could not be the actions of *Âtman* (*attâ*). With this negative protest he fell back on his message of the Path of the Best. He put aside what we ultimately are ; he taught what we can and do become. He showed how, by creating (*bhâvanâ*) a way of good living, the good (*kusala*) might be transformed into the lovely holiness of the man whose face is set towards the goal. This he left unworded using the negative but pregnant word of his day—" Nirvâna " or " Nibbâna," a " going out " as of a fire. Man could only attain the goal when all that hindered him within was " gone out." He would then be utterly well.

His Church limited its world-usefulness for all time by over-emphasis on monasticism, and the inevitably distorted importance it gave to the petty details of monkish experience and monkish outlook, as compared with the greater social problems of man's growth as an earth-citizenship. His Church made a doctrine of no-self to take the place of the not-God-self. It set up the brother-man as an all-knowing substitute for the Willer warding man from the beginning. But it spread the real message at the same time. The word of the way of the good life as alone bringing future freedom from suffering overflowed its birthplace and spread wide, as only such messages spread. The little brother-man of Kosala has become one of the great figures of the world, a symbol of that milestone in our upward way, marking how man has taken up the good life into all his advance since then in the Way leading to the unseen " Well."

The Status and Influence of Buddhism in Ceylon

By Dr. W. A. de Silva
(Colombo)

THE term "Buddhism" is now used as a substitute for the Law or Dharma as taught by the Buddha. The new term, however, creates a limitation of the true significance of the teaching. The religious ideals of a people are formed from actual experience. The tendency to interpret the religious experience of others by an investigation of the terms in which such experience is recorded has led in many instances to a misunderstanding of the view-point held by those who actually profess the religion itself.

We have, as far as Ceylon is concerned, sufficient material to understand the significance of the fundamental ideas of Buddhism as they appealed to Sinhalese Buddhists. The writings in the *Pitaka* (texts) and *Attakatha* (commentaries) are supplemented by a series of interpretations in Sinhalese written from time to time. These are still preserved in Ceylon. They are not translations of the Pali, but are expositions and explanations.

A modern critic who tries to interpret a fundamental idea expressed in a Buddhist text often confines himself to the significance of the words as they appear to him from his line of thought. He naturally comes to the conclusion that if the words are to convey any other point of view they should have been expressly explained in the original text or its commentary or should have been repeated with some emphasis.

Nature and Society

The present status and influence of Buddhism in Ceylon is due to the fact that among the people of the country the fundamental ideas of Buddhism which came to them originally were accepted, and a strong tradition was created that stabilised the teaching in a practical manner, incorporating it in the lives of the people. The significance of the religion came to them unimpaired and their environment favoured its stabilisation.

Before proceeding further, it will be useful to consider the scope of the religious ideas that found a permanent place in the social

economy of the Sinhalese. The practical application of Buddhist teachings can be divided into two main categories. The first of these is the realization of the truth of certain laws of Nature. The second is the application of these truths to the advancement of society. There was here no question of an ethical reform movement. To a Buddhist, Nature (*Loka*) expresses the idea of what is existent or is in being, whether animate, non-animate, material, non-material, and what is conceivable. There is Nature (*Loka*) and Beyond Nature (*Lokauttara*), being and non-being, conceivable and non-conceivable, limitation and non-limitation.

The Three Characteristics

We are concerned with Nature (*Loka*) and its limitations and the characteristics that keep us bound to it. There are three characteristics of Nature, viz. *Anicca, Dukkha* and *Anattâ. Anicca*—changing; *Dukkha*—disharmony; *Anattâ*—non-independent or non-absoluteness. These pervade both "matter" and "mind." Everything conceivable in Nature is characterized by a continuance-state of mobility and change; there is not a moment's stability anywhere. If we speak of a stage or an element, it is merely an incorrect expression, and is used in order to illustrate some explanation. The same law pervades through the largest to the most minute group or aggregate. The most minute component imaginable is pregnant with the same phenomenon of change to infinity.

Dukkha—disharmony, is a continuous vibration; the degree may be less or more; it increases and decreases in response to activities—*Kusala,* that which lessens vibration; *Akusala,* that which does not lessen vibration.

Anattâ—is the state of non-independence. No group or material is absolute or independent of others; the very fact of continuous mobility makes an absolute state impossible in Nature.

Tanhâ—the desire to possess (acquisitiveness, craving) is the energy that keeps the state of disharmony in being. When *Tanhâ* is reduced, disharmony is reduced, and with its complete elimination harmony results.

A Community Founded on the Elimination of Tanhâ

From these fundamental ideas the whole of the teachings of Buddhism starts. The elimination of *Tanhâ,* or acquisitiveness, is the ideal. The process and means through which this can be effected become a part of the social life of a Buddhist. The application of the process or the training has to start in consonance with the character possessed at a given time in aggregate or being. "Everything is not suitable in every place." The avoidance of extremes in

our life—extreme asceticism and extreme self-indulgence—the following of a noble path included in the eightfold Noble Path and the training for eliminating conditions that feed *Tanhâ* (acquisitiveness), such as an attachment to passionate desire, jealousy producing ill-will and hatred, lethargy of mind and body, unsettled state of mind and worry, state of perplexity and inability of discrimination. The method and process of training form the essential part of the Buddhist literature in texts, commentaries and explanatory works which are known to us.

A community which has accepted these teachings constructs its social code accordingly, and therefore Charity and Tolerance, Virtue that protects the neighbours, Meditation, Reflection and Concentration that trains the mind, Service to the Community, Recognition of merit in others, Rejoicing at other's good deeds, Kindness and Love, form the ideals of a Buddhist community.

Is it Practicable?

It now remains for consideration whether a community can live up to these ideals and practise and incorporate them in their lives. It is also interesting to consider whether the acceptance of such ideals can permanently affect their lives, or whether it will merely form an incident of a temporary character, likely to be dropped when the novelty of the experience disappears. These questions can be answered from experience and the history of countries where Buddhist teachings influenced the lives of the people. Independent observers have noted the "attractive gentleness and kindliness of disposition, dignified and courteous hospitality, and a cheerfulness and friendliness which bear witness that the influence of an outstanding character and personality (Buddha) lives and works for good, unaffected by the flight of time," even among some of the most backward races that have embraced Buddhism, "The silent and perhaps scarcely recognized influence which the teaching of Gotama (the Buddha) has exercised upon the conduct of mankind."[1]

Buddhist teachings, wherever adopted, have, in spite of adverse influences such as aggressive propaganda of creeds and the contact with civilizations that exalted wealth, power and dominion as instruments of superiority, remained firm for thousands of years.

I shall now confine myself to the particular country I have selected for consideration in this address.

Asoka's Mission to Ceylon

The Island of Lanka (Ceylon) was a prosperous colony at the time of the Buddhist King Asoka of India. The land had been colonized about two hundred years before this period by the warrior

[1] *Lands of the Thunderbolt*, Earl of Ronaldshay, pp. 108 and 248.

tribes of Vanga (Bengal), who invaded the island under the leadership of Vijaya. These pioneers were followed by adventurous chiefs and princes of the Sâkya race. Within a hundred years of their arrival they formed a stable government, conciliated the aboriginal inhabitants, constructed cities and tanks, and opened up large areas under cultivation. On account of its situation and its trade connections from the West and the East, and the mainland of India, Ceylon became noted for its wealth and influence. The King of Ceylon at this period—Devananpiyatissa—desired an alliance of friendship with the powerful Emperor Asoka of India, and sent him an embassy with numerous presents from Ceylon. Emperor Asoka extended his friendship to the King of Ceylon and sent him return presents. The Sinhalese King celebrated his coronation under the auspices of the Emperor's influence. King Asoka was full of enthusiasm for the establishment of the Law of Piety which the Buddha had taught, and accordingly sent a message to the King of Ceylon, "I have taken refuge in the Buddha, The Law (*Dhamma*) and the Order of Disciples (*Sangha*); I have avowed myself a devotee in the religion of the descendant of Sâkya. Ruler of men, imbuing thy mind with the conviction, with the truth of these supreme blessings with unfeigned faith, do thou also take refuge in this salvation." Then followed the arrival of the Buddhist Elders, led by Mahinda Thera, a son of King Asoka. On his exposition of the Law, or *Dhamma*, the King and Nobles and the inhabitants accepted the teachings with enthusiasm. The daughter of King Asoka, Princess Sanghamitta, a member of the Order of Nuns, arrived subsequently, and enabled the women of the island to join the Order. She brought as a token of good-will from King Asoka a branch of the Bo-tree under which the Buddha sat when he attained to Wisdom. The venerable tree still thrives in the ancient city of Anuradhapura, and is treasured with veneration and respect to-day by millions of inhabitants in Ceylon as a tangible mark of the great gift they secured over two thousand years ago. A period of prosperity and culture followed. Cities and irrigation works, houses and palaces, religious monuments and works of art, rapidly rose up; hospitals for men and animals, convalescent homes and meeting houses were established all over the country. Education became universal, arts and sciences were cultivated, literature was produced which has taken a permanent place in the literature of the world. The *Pitaka* Buddhist Texts were revised and committed to writing in Ceylon. Important commentaries in the Sinhalese language on the Buddhist teachings were produced. Scholars from the neighbourhing Continent, and from distant places as China, came to the island in search of knowledge. Buddhagosha, the great Buddhist commentator, came from India and produced the Pali Buddhists commentaries; other scholars produced various

works on Buddhism. A large number of the population, both male and female, joined the Order. They left the householders' life and devoted themselves to the service of the community. They became, not only the custodians of religious knowledge, but also of secular knowledge.

Buddhism resists the Forces of Disintegration

There had been various foreign invasions and changes in the political status of the country. Dynasties disappeared; wars, pillage and robbery by invaders and the destruction of material prosperity were seen from time to time. Religious institutions were destroyed, books were burnt, colleges were dispersed, but the civilization and the ideals of Buddhism had gained such a permanent hold on the people that those devastations did not materially affect their ideals. Hindu practices were introduced at different periods under the influence of invaders, but were all absorbed into the system of life that prevailed in the country.

Next came a period when the West came in violent contact with the East. The Portuguese occupied the Maritime Provinces of the island in the sixteenth century. They kept the Sinhalese of the unoccupied country busy defending themselves. In the occupied territory they forced Christianity on the people, they tried to change the habits and customs of the people, they changed their names. The Dutch followed the Portuguese, and continued the plan of coercion through which they believed they could destroy Buddhism. Churches were opened throughout the country, and children were compelled to learn the Christian Catechism. Adults were compelled to attend Church services. Civil rights were denied to those who refused to profess the new religion. After the British occupation of the island these disabilities were gradually relaxed. Various Christian Mission Societies from England established their agencies and their efforts for converting Buddhists to Christianity were pursued with vigour. Civil restrictions against Buddhists were completely removed only so late as 1850 with the provision for the registration of the marriages of non-Christians.

Open Revival under British Government

With the removal of disabilities "Government Christians" disappeared. The people who hitherto professed their religion with some amount of secrecy found that such secrecy was no longer necessary. Buddhist ideals, which were hardly affected during this long period of trouble, were again practised openly and with renewed vigour. Ninety per cent. of the Sinhalese population are Buddhists to-day. The sustained efforts of missionary movements for the conversion of Buddhists have resulted in a marked failure. The census returns of Ceylon show the following figures,

which more than confirm the above view. In 1901, 60·1 per cent. of the total population of the island were Buddhists; in 1911, 60·25 per cent. were Buddhists; in 1921, 61·6 per cent. were Buddhists. And Hindus were 23·2, 22·85 and 21·8 respectively. For the same periods the percentage of Christians was 9·8, 10 and 9·9. The efforts of missionaries, it will be seen, have not added a single person to their faith during these decades. On the other hand, there are at the present time about 7,000 Buddhist Bhikkhus (Monks) in the island, and nearly 400 educational establishments for them, where they receive higher instruction in Pali and Buddhist literature. Practically 99 per cent. of the Bhikkhus possess a knowledge of Pali and the higher literature of Buddhism.

What, then, is the secret of the great vitality that Buddhism has displayed in Ceylon under such adverse conditions of persecution, neglect and continuous and sustained attempts at converting the people to other faiths? The answer to my mind is a simple one. Buddhism is based on certain fundamental clear and well-defined universal laws. There is Nature and Beyond Nature. We are concerned with Nature, and in order to attain to Beyond Nature we have to realize the laws of Nature—continuous change, disharmony and non-independence or non-absoluteness of all that which we can conceive—and that such conditions are due to the energy of *Tanhâ* (acquisitiveness). *Tanhâ* is eliminated by training. When it is eliminated, Nature is overcome, and, beyond Nature, *Nirvâna* is reached. A Buddhist applies these laws to all ideas placed before him, to all creeds and theories and systems that may be brought up. It is not necessary for him to say whether a creed or statement is false or true; his touchstone is whether such ideas can be examined in connection with the laws of Nature he has realized. Where they agree he has nothing to say; where they disagree they have no place for him. He has realized this through the teachings of the Buddha the Teacher, the Law and the Order of Disciples that keep the Teaching in being.

The Influence of Buddhism on Education in Ceylon

By Mr. G. P. Malalasekera, B.A. (London)
Vice-Principal, Ânanda College, Colombo

WHEN we consider that in this great Conference, representative of the Living Religions of the British Empire, one whole afternoon should have been arranged for Ceylon, we may perhaps ask ourselves why it is that a little island, away in the Indian Ocean, forming but a footstool to the continent of India, should have been accorded such honour; and in the answer to that question lies the solution to a deeper problem—why, in spite of the vicissitudes of fortune which it had undergone during the course of centuries, Ceylon has escaped the oblivion which has overtaken mightier nations and greater peoples. It is indeed remarkable how the Sinhalese race, numbering a few millions, have been able to preserve their separate nationality and foster their individual national culture. Perhaps no other Eastern country has received the impact of so many civilizations, and certainly no other Eastern country has shown broader toleration in adapting itself to what was new, while maintaining many of the elements of its old civilization. It is my aim in the short time allotted to me to bring before you a few of the features of that culture and of that attitude towards life which made such a phenomenon possible.

King Vijaya

The primitive history of Ceylon, like all ancient histories, is enveloped in fable; and, as we look back into her long past, the first event that emerges on the horizon of recognizable history is the landing of Vijaya, the founder of the Sinhalese race, 543 B.C. He was an impetuous and headstrong youth, the scion of a royal race in Northern India, and he and his followers energetically set about colonizing the country. They found it inhabited by a race of aborigines, called Yakkhas, who possessed a certain degree of civilization. One of his first acts was to marry, under romantic circumstances, a Yakkha maiden of great beauty and much refinement; later, apparently for political reasons, he discarded her

and married a South Indian princess. Vijaya and his immediate successors were adherents of the Brahmanical faith, and they chose their consorts from the ancient and powerful Pändyan dynasty, whose sovereigns, because of their enlightened encouragement of literature, have been called the Ptolemies of India. There is no doubt that, once free intercourse had been thus established between the two countries, there was also some migration of Brahmanical culture ; for the Aryans, to which stock Vijaya and his followers belonged, carried with them their love of learning wheresoever they went. The Chronicles tell us that one hundred years after Vijaya's arrival, on the spot where Abhayagiri now stands, at Anuradhapura, the old capital, King Pandukabhaya built a special monastery for a colony of Brahmans, who from this centre spread their learning throughout the land.

Mahinda's Mission and its Influence

But it was not till two centuries later, in 307 B.C., that Ceylon received from Asoka's royal missionaries that vital and spiritual movement which covered the island with those stupendous religious edifices whose remains still excite our wonder and admiration, and which bequeathed to the Sinhalese a glorious heritage of high ideals and a nobility and refinement of character of which neither centuries of ruthless warfare nor the more insidious attacks of modern commercialism have succeeded in depriving them. The ground had been prepared for its reception by the earlier infiltration of Indian culture, and the seed had only to be sown for it to take root and blossom with amazing vigour. Within a few years of the introduction of Buddhism the whole of the country had embraced the new faith ; and princes and nobles, ministers and people, vied with each other in the practice of its sublime teaching. Following the example set by Anula, wife of the sub-King, and by Arittha, the Prime Minister, thousands of men and women entered the Order of the Sangha, and, spreading themselves throughout the land, carried the tidings of the Good Law into every home. Monasteries were built as dwelling-houses for these spiritual teachers, and they were supported by the community with a generosity unheard of before. " In every group of villages there rose the *Vihara* (or monastery), small and retired, or, as sometimes, with a towering snowy-white *dagoba* and an imposing gateway. The Sinhalese had a keen eye for the beauties of Nature, and all their poets give expression in their song to that appreciation. Every commanding spot was utilised for the purposes of worship. Beneath it would be the great tank, the very source of life for the village—a hundred acres of lotus—pink and white, with here and there blue—scenting the air a mile around. The water-fowl would splash lazily in the cool of the evening, confident in the

security which no one would disturb."[1] Hard by was the forest where the villagers went for their firewood, and there the deer gambolled in the sylvan shades, while the birds flitted unmolested amongst the branches and the fishes floated lazily in the stream. Close to it was the crematorium, whither the monks often resorted to dwell on the impermanence and transitoriness of life. Such was the scene of an ancient Sinhalese village. And once a month, on the days of the full-moon, the villagers, men, women and children, arrayed in spotless white, would make their way to the Vihara, carrying with them their bloodless sacrifices of incense and oil, and sweet-scented flowers. These offerings they deposited at the holy shrine, and made adoration to the Buddha, the Good Law and the Brotherhood of his disciples, and renewed their vows to lead the good life—vows which they had learnt to repeat when they lisped at their mother's knee. And while there they remained, sitting on the white sand of the Vihara compound, and chewing the aromatic betel-leaf, with the light of the glorious full-moon shimmering through the green palm fronds, one of the monks would discourse to them on some doctrine of the Buddha, his sermon frequently punctuated by acclamations of joy from the audience every time the truths be preached struck a responsive chord in their hearts. The villagers' connection with the temple, however, was not confined to these full-moon day visits. The monastery was in every sense the centre of the village life. To the Sinhalese villager religion was a matter of everyday interest, and the monastery was the pivot round which this interest turned. Thither he would carry the first fruits of his harvest ; if the mistress of the household prepared any new delicacy at home, she would make sure that the monk in the village temple tasted of it first. Whenever he had a few hours of leisure from his toil, he would resort to the temple to learn something of service to himself, for the monk was his companion in his simple joys and his source of consolation in times of grief.

Monastic Education

The greatest service the monasteries rendered, however, was in the cause of education. The temples were the only schools that existed in ancient Ceylon, and they were the true fountains of Sinhalese Buddhist culture. The monks were above all else teachers—teachers not merely of spiritual wisdom but also of intellectual knowledge, for the Buddha taught that ignorance is the root cause of suffering, and the way to salvation therefrom lies through wisdom, insight, *Pannâ*. The very word "Buddhi" means enlightenment and the Buddha was the Enlightened One. Thus the monastries were the seats of learning and the monks were the

[1] P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon and the Portuguese*, p. 70.

national instructors. The Sinhalese Kings, anxious for the well-being of their subjects, patronized these institutions, and gave large endowments for their maintenance. At Mihintale, eight miles from Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of 2,000 years ago, an inscription records a gift by King Mahinda (*circa* 1000 A.C.), *inter alia*, of a village for a temple school at Ambasthala. Vijaya Bahu III (*circa* 1240 A.C.) is mentioned in an ancient chronicle (the *Raja Ratnakari*) as having established a school in every village and having made provision that the monks who superintended them were to be supported by himself. We are also told that he examined from time to time the progress made by the pupils, and, according to their merits, promised them appointments in the State. Some of the most eminent of them he persuaded to become monks, and sent them to particular stations as preachers. All education was gratuitous—"without money and without price."

Social Equality in Education

At the temple school everybody was equal; prince and peasant's son traced the characters of the alphabet on the same sand-board; disparity of birth did not prevent them from having equality of opportunity for learning; they went through the same courses, save that the prince's work was harder, because he had to fit himself to be a ruler of men and to excel his subjects in all arts and sciences. The child was regarded as a being of manifold possibilities—for was it not to children that the Buddha taught some of his sublimest truths? And Buddhism asserted and asserts that all life is *bhava*, a process of becoming; man is master of his fate, the potentialities of the human spirit are vast, and diligent endeavour alone is necessary to bring it to its highest goal. Buddhism preaches a gospel of evolution, a perfectioning that shall give to men and women the full possession of themselves and their personalities. Human life is based on the two great relations—the relation of the individual to himself as a human being and his relation to his fellow-men, as member of a family, a citizen of his country, of the world, and, indeed, of the whole universe. It is the purpose of education to explain and to guide these two relations, so that man may achieve the highest and fullest development. This was what Buddhist education set out to accomplish. The perfectioning of man consisted in the cultivation of all the three components of human nature—the emotional, the intellectual and the spiritual, so that there may be established an equilibrium, a harmony, between the moral impulses, the intellectual ideas, and the physical expressions and impressions. The moral needs of men and women were met by a due cultivating and stimulating of the feelings; on the intellectual side it offered a workable

philosophy of the world and of mankind, and it furnished them with inspiration and guidance for their practical action and conduct, thus carrying into effect those moral feelings and intellectual conceptions. The Noble Eightfold Path, which forms the key-note of the Buddha's religion and philosophy is based on this conception.

Religious Basis of Education

Let us examine in a little more detail how these theories found practical application in the education given to the Sinhalese Buddhists of ancient Ceylon.

From his very infancy the child was taught the importance of worship; of worship, not as a supplication for favours, but as a form of religious expression. Before his day's lessons began he would go to the Vihara (or shrine-room), and there, after he had offered his handful of fragrant flowers at the altar, he would remain for a few moments in an attitude of humility, revolving within his mind the attributes of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha. To him the Buddha was the supreme type of the great Teacher and Sage, a purely human figure, not a god, but a man, who lived amongst men and women a long and devoted life. With the image before him, he would gaze at the face of the Buddha seated in meditation, his expression one of ineffable peace. No tide of anger or passion could any longer sweep over that patient form which had won the victory of the spirit, no act of injury to man or beast could be cited to mar the harmony of his perfect love. And the stories which the boy heard related to him enlarged the conception which he had already formed of the Buddha's boundless compassion. For love of home life forms one of the chief traits of the Sinhalese character, and home stories and sayings exercise over him no little influence. The fireside, with which those who live in harsher climes associate story-telling, is absent from the Sinhalese house, but it finds its counterpart in the little verandah or on the roadside; and often, when the family has retired to rest, in the single room and verandah which generally forms the house of the cultivator, one member, frequently the grandfather, relates stories till the drowsy god of sleep has drawn away his audience. Sometimes the boy may join his elders as they sit guarding the ripening corn in their paddy fields from the inroads of the elephant, the buffalo or the wild boar, and there too he would hear stories which helped to pass pleasantly an otherwise weary vigil.

Story-Telling

The commonest was the *Jâtaka* story, telling of the various births the Buddha passed through while he practised the ten *Paramitas* necessary for the attainment of Enlightenment, that he might

show the way of salvation to his suffering fellow-beings, giving his life for the wild beasts out of pity for them and also for the fishes of the sea. He would also learn from the ancient chronicles of the exploits of Gemunu and his generous chivalry to his fallen foe[1] (an act perhaps unsurpassed in the annals of any country); of the mighty Parâkrama, who, considering that "not to live for the people's good, but merely to enjoy the happiness which has come to our hands—such a life was utterly unfit for such as me," sacrificed all pleasure and comforts for the aspirations which kindled his soul, and by unbounded confidence and deliberate perseverance achieved undying fame; of Sâliya, who sacrificed a kingdom for a Candâla maiden's love; of the sixteen-year-old novice Sonuttara, whom neither poison nor fire could deter from his attempts to obtain relics of the Buddha for Ceylon dagobas; of the boy Madduma Banda, who showed how a Sinhalese lad could die; of Sanghamittâ, who brought the branch of the Sacred Bo-Tree to Anuradhapura and obtained the everlasting gratitude of Ceylon Buddhists; and of the princess Devi, who, when the gods in their wrath at her father's dastardly crime sent the sea to devour his dominions, consented to be thrown into the sea in an open boat as a sacrifice to appease their anger and later became famous in history as Vihâramahadevi, the mother of the great Buddhist hero, Dutugemunu. His imagination was thereby fired with noble ideals that he might minister in the service of his fellow-men. For, in the words of one of his own kings, "Life in this world is of but little value in comparison with the glory that shall never die," and he was taught that the acquisition of such glory should be, not in a spirit of pride and emulation, but with a deep sense of humility, for death awaited us all, the high and the low, the glorious and the inglorious, alike.

Buddhist Philosophy

He was also educated in the appreciation of truth, beauty and goodness. In his search for truth he was encouraged to open up new avenues of knowledge; there were no fixed bounds to the development of the human intelligence. This resulted in the

[1] "The annals of no country can produce a greater example of chivalry than that shown by Dutugemunu to his mortal enemy the Tamil King, Elâla. It was decreed by the King that on reaching the spot where the remains of the Tamil hero lay buried and a mound had been raised over them, all music was to cease, and no one was to ride past it in a conveyance, as a mark of respect. Well may the Sinhalese be proud of chivalry so rare and unprecedented. So uniformly was this homage continued, says Tennent, that so late as 1818 in the suppression of an attempted rebellion against the British Government, when the defeated aspirant to the throne was making his escape by Anuradhapura, he alighted from his palanquin on approaching the quarter where the monument was known to exist, and, although weary and incapable of exertion, not knowing the precise spot, he continued on foot till he was assured he had passed far beyond the ancient memorial."—Arunachalam, *Sketches of Ceylon History*, p. 20.

production of a voluminous literature, of which, alas! but very little remains to us to-day. The monks in their cloisters, besides writing a series of masterly commentaries and other exegetical works on the teachings of the Buddha, developed a system of Buddhist philosophy known to us as the *Abhidhamma*. From the time the Pali language was introduced as the language of the Buddhist Scriptures, it was diligently and carefully cultivated. Kings and princes, nobles and statesmen, vied to excel in its composition, and laymen and priests have produced some of the most elegant works in any literature in the world, a few of which survive to this day. The Rev. Spence Hardy tells us that in preparing a list of Pali books extant in Ceylon during the last century he came across no less than thirty-five books on Pali grammar alone. The Sinhalese exhibited from the very beginning a genuine zeal for history, which was shared by their rulers themselves. The national annals were from time to time compiled by royal command and the labours of the historians were rewarded by grants of land. As the first actual writing and the first well-authenticated inscriptions in India are of Buddhist origin, so likewise the first actual chronicle, as well as the most authentic history in the whole Eastern hemisphere, may be traced to a Ceylon Buddhistic source. Of the *Mâhavamsa*, Ceylon's best-known chronicle, Tennent said that it "stands at the head of the historical literature of the East, unrivalled by anything extant in Hindustan, the wildness of whose chronology it controls."[1] From the time Ceylon scholars began to write in Pali (in the fourth century) they continued steadily, though there were periods of special activity, and they produced a large number of books on every conceivable subject—exegesis, law, medicine, poetry, history and tales, religion and philosophy. It was in Ceylon, 2,000 years ago, that in the rock gorge at Aluvihâra 700 monks set down in writing the text and commentary of the *Tipitaka* with self-sacrificing labour, labour "that marked an epoch in the history of the scholarship in the world, and that 600 years later drew that very encyclopædic scholar Buddhaghosa to the same venerable scene, there to study the authentic tradition of the *Theravadins*, which writing had safeguarded and preserved amidst the ruinous ravages of time and war in Ceylon."[2]

The Kings were not merely patrons of learning, but scholars as well, and in the history of Ceylonese literature the names of many monarchs figure prominently as authors of valuable works—Dâpula, who codified the law; Buddhadâsa, the surgeon; the poet-kings Kumâradâsa and Râjasinha; and, perhaps greatest of them all, Pandita Parâkrama, statesman, poet and philosopher.

[1] *History of Ceylon*, Emerson Tennent, p. 516.
[2] Lord Chalmers at the Public Hall, Colombo, February 27th, 1915.

Libraries were established all over the land to help students in their researches, and we are told that one King, Parâkrama Bâhu, alone was responsible for no less than 108. The *Nikâya Sangraha* tells us of the great warrior-king and scholar, Sri Parâkrama Bâhu of Polonnaruwa, that he founded in and about his capital 360 *pirivenas*, or places of learning, each named after some special attribute of the King. Other sovereigns were no less eager to encourage the pursuit of knowledge and learning. Sri Râhula, author of an immortal book of verse, appropriately called *Kâvy-asekhara* (the Crown of Song), who lived in the fifteenth century, has left us in melodious strains a picture of such a *pirivena*, and there we find that the subjects taught included geography and astronomy, logic and philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric and prosody. Love of beautiful speech became part of the national character, and even to this day the beggar who solicits alms tries to set forth his lamentations in song.[1] A deep appreciation of the beauties of nature is markedly seen in all the poetical works of the Sinhalese people. Nor were such fine arts as painting and sculpture neglected. The few examples that now remain reveal an extreme delicacy of workmanship, sometimes almost impossible to copy, a childlike seriousness and simplicity and a high degree of spontaneity which gives to the work a sense of restfulness and pleasantness as befits expressions of religious art.

Objective Truth

There was wide tolerance shewn in the dissemination of knowledge. History tells us of the presence of various schools of thought existing side by side, although at times kings, in their excess of zeal for the preservation of the purity of the religion, suppressed all unorthodox beliefs with a rigour worthy of a better cause. Examples of such repression were, however, not numerous. The teachers encouraged the instinctive inclination which every child shows, unless completely thwarted by unwise parents or teachers, for observing and investigating natural phenomena, and made things, not so much words, the main object of study. The child saw around him men being born, grow old and die ; he observed the sunrise and the sunset ; the change of the seasons ; the flowers bloom and fade. In answer to his questions he was told that they were the manifestations of the working of a great system of Universal Law. Perhaps

[1] An amusing story is related of a king who, in order to prove his limitations to the court-jester because the latter boasted that he could compose verse in any circumstances, took him in a boat and threw him into the water, commanding him to make good his boast. The poor fellow could not swim, but yet was equal to the occasion. He composed a verse of four lines, the burden of which was : " O King, thou art an ungrateful wretch that thou shouldst have thought fit to treat thy loyal and humble servant in this manner." After each line the man sank and came up again. Evidently he was gifted with several lives, like the proverbial cat !

this was one of the greatest positive contributions made by Buddhism to the philosophy of the world—the assertion that the general physical system of the universe, all the beauty and wonder of the external order, including our solar system, the earth, the environment wherein is being enacted the great human drama, we ourselves, the gods created by man in his own image, are all subject to the governance of Universal Law. The Buddha substituted Universal Law for the will or the caprice of a god. The workings of this law are largely known, and where unknown are partly knowable, perhaps in part unknowable. And the students were strongly urged to leave aside some of those problems, which mankind even now after much striving and agonizing has had to declare insoluble, or profiting little or nothing in man's actual living.

Speculation Discouraged

He was taught that it is the concern of men and women primarily to live, not to speculate; and it was the purpose of his education to give new moral guidance and fresh inspiration for living, to prepare him for the good life. And this good life had two aspects—the one negative, the other positive. On the negative side it consisted in the discipline of the personal instincts, of selfish and low passions, in the avoidance of all things that may bring harm to oneself and to others—in a word, the regulation of egoism. On the positive side, he had to engage in good works in body, speech and mind, to be clean in all that he did, to practise love, charity, devotion and compassion to all that lives and breathes, to develop righteousness, to tend the sick, to help the poor, to preach the tidings of the Good Law, and to win others over by persuasion and example, and thus to bring about the supremacy of altruism. It was a positive and practical teaching, a human thing, essentially concerned with mankind, to be worked out in practice by human beings on human lines for human purposes.

While he acknowledged that there was suffering in the world, his outlook on life was not what might be called pessimistic. For pain and evil, too, are subject to the Universal Law of change; suffering is not a permanent factor; it is but a passing condition, like all other things; a part of the general *Mâyâ*, illusion or transitoriness; it is constantly in motion, ever-changing, potential of evolving into good; indeed, there is always the progression going on from evil into good. Death had no terrors for him, for death—the death of the body—is the common fate of all. Living is being, and death is but part of that. The fundamental mystery of life itself he did not perhaps fully understand, but to him birth and death were the incidents that outwardly mark its beginning and its closing. Between them is this human existence, which

alone we really know, and within this all-important span, here and now, and not in some speculative future world, lie our opportunities for love and thought and service. He could look back on his life, and could say towards its close, in the words of a modern Positivist: "To have lived is well; still to live is well; to die, too, shall be well."[1] Not that he did not love his body, that wondrous complex entity that we call a man or woman; but its function, though noble, is yet temporary and not permanent; its service ended, it rightly ceases to be. He saw the reality behind the appearance. Personal immortality was not the highest aim, for that would be wearisome, endless insomnia. Everything human perishes and passes away except actions and the consequences that follow from them. This was the metaphysical law of *Kamma*, and this law demanded that the process of his perfectioning involved rebirth in a series of lives until he had completely overcome that sense of separateness, that illusion of individuality, the *causa causans* of all suffering, and thus by fulfilling the law of his being—which after all is the true freedom—reach *Nibbâna*—that wondrous condition of pure spirituality, the sublime state of rest, the true and ideal individual cessation, where there is neither birth nor death, but only joy and peace; one with the beauty of the universe, the sunshine on the hills, the majesty of the night, and the laughter of the waters.

Travellers' Testimony

Such were the broad principles on which were reared a culture and a civilization which commanded for several centuries the interest and the admiration of the Eastern world. John de Marignolli wrote in 1347 that from Seyllan to Paradise was only a distance of forty Italian miles. Others described it as the Land of the Hyacinth and the Ruby, the Garden of Eden and the Pearl on India's brow. Thither came merchants and ambassadors from many lands, from distant China and Arabia, from Rome and Palestine, in search of her pearls and peacocks, her rubies and her elephants. Some idea of the high degree of that intellectual and moral refinement and culture of the Sinhalese may be gleaned from the art displayed in the design and decoration of their religious structures, the science exhibited in the conception and execution of their stupendous irrigation works, and in the beautiful ideas of womanly devotion and virtue which constantly inspired their poetry. The island was regarded as a shrine of learning, pure and holy, and thither flocked votaries from many lands in search of enlightenment. Buddhaghosa, the Great Commentator, the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hsien and Hsuan-Chuang, Capada, the famous Burmese writer, and Candrabhârati—the Brahman author

[1] W. F. Westbrook, in the *Modern Review*, February, 1917, p. 144.

of a Buddhist-Sanskrit poem—are but a few of the names which have come down to our times. The Mahâ Vihâra, the Great Minster of Anuradhapura, was for centuries the centre of pilgrimage for scholars from many climes, and they carried with them to their native lands the torch of learning which they had kindled at this Temple of Wisdom. Burma and Siam and, in a sense, even China and Japan, were the spiritual children of Ceylon, and they drew their inspiration from her.

The Position of Women

Women shared the benefits of this civilization equally with men. It is to the eternal glory of Buddhism that it raised the status of women and recognized their rights; and amongst the Sinhalese the women have never been deliberately excluded from the acquisition of knowledge. The Sisterhood of Nuns, established in 307 B.C., exercised a great influence on the education of women, and mention is made of works in prose and poetry being read by women at public gatherings. The *Dipavamsa* contains such names as Sumanâ, Sudhammâ, Ruchanandâ, Mahilâ, Sanhâ, and Nagamittâ—which are but names to us, for their works have been irretrievably lost. Women often encouraged and helped the literary works of men. The *Kusajataka*, for instance, one of the greatest of Sinhalese poems, was written in 1610 at the request of a lady named Menik-sami, who was a scholar in Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese. It is recorded that under the Kandyan Kings women taught letters, and even astrology and medicine. Even in the early part of the nineteenth century, when education had been extremely neglected, there were many learned Sinhalese women, one of whom, Rûne Hâmine, was a poetess of such repute that the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, of the Wesleyan Mission, asked her to versify the Bible, and a large portion of this commission she carried out.[1]

The Effect of War

But Ceylon was too rich a country to be let unmolested by invading hordes. First came the Malabars of South India, who periodically swept down upon the island, carrying ruin and destruction wherever they went. It is true that they brought in their train a certain amount of civilizing influence in the form of Hindu culture, but the destruction they wrought was equally great. They

[1] This fact is all the more remarkable because Spence Hardy tells us in his Jubilee volume that under the Dutch the girls were taught in the schools only certain formalities, and they had to show that they understood the catechism and creed before they could be married; but *they were not taught to read*. In the earlier days of the British *régime* an obstacle was thrown by the Government, undesignedly, in the way of the attendance of the girls at school. A tax was put on wearing jewels of two shillings per annum for each person and four shillings for a family, and this kept many girls at home, for their parents would neither pay the tax nor allow the children to appear in public without their jewels.

plundered the temples and burnt whatever literary records fell into their hands, and disturbed the peace of the land. Then came the Portuguese at the beginning of the fifteenth century, who, " like unto the demons that suck the blood, took to themselves all the substance " of Ceylon. Their policy was " governed by territorial ambition, commercial greed and religious proselytism. Every pagan was looked on as an enemy of Portugal and of Christ. This policy was prosecuted with a bigotry and cruelty which would be incredible if there was not the actual testimony of their own historians."[1] Wherever they went they left only smoking ruins, and the people were obliged to seek the company of beasts on the mountains rather than be subject to the more bestial villainies of these men. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch, who observed a more sober-minded policy, and then by the English, and it was not until the island was ceded by the people to the British Crown in 1815 that a certain amount of order and peace reigned in the land.

But the preceding periods of civil commotion and of warfare against foreign enemies had almost entirely destroyed the old institutions and the old order of things. With the advent of the era of peace the country settled down, and the people began to build them up anew.

Reconstruction

The process of reconstruction in the matter of education has been far from satisfactory. The endowments made in ancient times to educational institutions have been allowed to run to waste. There are still temples which derive large revenues from their lands, but such income is too often misappropriated, owing to the folly or vice of the trustees of such lands and for want of proper legislation. The old temple schools have been superseded by a system of vernacular schools which, with few exceptions, are run by various denominational organizations, subsidized by Government grants; they are expected to impart to the students the rudiments of learning, but still a large percentage of children of school-going age receive no education whatever, both because there are no schools provided for them and because there are no sufficient means of enforcing their attendance. Even to-day, after over a hundred years of British rule, only four per cent. of the revenue is spent on education, one-fifth of the income derived by sale of rights to sell liquor, which undermines the body and the mind of the people. In 1922–3 the Government spent £15 on each prisoner and 14*s.* on each child of school-going age (*vide* Exhibition Handbook of Ceylon). The London County Council spent 19*s.* on medical attendance alone for each child. In the high schools,

[1] Arunachalam, *Sketches of Ceylon History*, p. 50.

where English forms the sole medium of instruction, the system of education has been slavishly based on the high schools of England, not only as regards the curriculum, but even in such matters as the time table and the fixing of the holidays and the school terms. Our boys are taught of the Black Prince and of Henry VIII and his six wives without a word being told them about the exploits of their own kings and heroes; they are told about Luther and Wolsey, and not one word about their own scholars and reformers, Sâriputta and Râhula; they are told of the buttercup, and not one sentence of the lotus or the jasmine; they are made familiar with glowing descriptions of robin redbreast, but they are not told a thing about their own song-bird, the *kokila*. The girls schools follow the lines of education of the boys mainly, except that it is supplemented by the teaching of needlework. It is worth noticing that many of those who come from England to join the teaching staff of these girls schools have been connected with the girls high schools in England, and have brought with them the high-school point of view. A premium has been set on such examinations as the Cambridge School Certificate, not only because this helps towards making a better marriage arrangement for the girls, but also because they serve as advertisements for the schools themselves. As a result, a valueless smattering of French and Latin, most often at the expense of their own vernaculars, a little theory of music and even trigonometry, form part of the curriculum of a girls' school. Subjects which add real charm to a girl's home life, and also lead to a considerable saving in the household expenditure, have but little attention paid to them.[1] The same is true also of boys' schools.

Missionary Influence

The large majority of the schools are manned and managed by missionary bodies, and they have tended to become a kind of theological market-place competing for converts. The system of education adopted is "dogmatic in character, restrictive in its operation, meaninglessly elaborate in its method and wasteful in its results." While it is true that whatever higher education there is at present arose out of the interested efforts of the missionaries, I am sure they themselves would admit that their efforts were actuated more by the desire of Christianizing Ceylon through education than by any altruistic desire to mould a future Ceylonese nation. From their point of view this is a noble and a high ideal; that it has not met with the measure of success proportionate to the money and energy spent on it is certainly due to no lack of

[1] *Vide* Census Report, 1911, by E. B. Denham, late Director of Education. Also the Memorandum on Education by the late Assistant-Director of Education, in the Ceylon Exhibition Handbook, 1924.

effort on their part, but to the resilient nature of the people themselves. The main defect in that system is that the social ideals embodied therein are entirely different from, and to a very great extent hostile to, the conditions of life that prevail in Ceylon. Whatever its authors and supporters may say, the system does undoubtedly bring about a processs of denationalization, and the only justification for the existence of a nation as a separate entity and the only source of the real happiness of its people depend on what contribution it can give to the world. In a sense education is but one aspect of national life, and is itself only a means to a fuller and greater development of the individual, and, above all, his harmonization with society and the fellow-men of his nation. But the social ideals formulated in the missionary institutions are revolutionary rather than evolutionary—in that they imply the complete breaking away from Ceylon's past traditions and tend to set up an almost insurmountable barrier between the products of such institutions and the great majority of their countrymen. A Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland once said: " Lasting strength and loyalty are not to be secured by any attempt to force into one system or to remould into one type those special characteristics which are the outcome of a nation's history and of her religious and social conditions, but rather by a full recognition of the fact that these very characteristics form an essential part of a nation's life, and that under wise guidance and sympathetic treatment they will enable her to provide her own contribution and to play her special part in the life of the Empire to which she belongs." The results of such a system, based on principles unsuited to the genius of the people, and having but little relation to their life and surroundings, have been disastrous. It has taken from the people the power of thinking and destroyed their originality, brought about social unrest and sowed discontent. The struggle for light, with its wide fellowships and high enthusiasms, has been displaced by the struggle for power, with its mean passions, its monstrous illusions and its contemptible ideals.

Government Subsidies

An attempt was made by Mr. S. M. Burrows during his tenure of office of Director of Public Instruction to help the *pirivenas*, or temple schools, which in many centres conducted adult classes taught by Buddhist monks for the study of Sanskrit, Pali and higher Sinhalese. He started a scheme and established a movement in 1902 for helping their organization " to make them more attractive, progressive and useful, while zealously guarding their indigenous and independent character, without turning them into Government subsidized high schools." His plans, like some of " the best

laid schemes of mice and men," have unfortunately miscarried—the *pirivenas* are fast becoming Government-subsidized institu tions turning out examination wallahs. It is true that in our percentage of literacy we are in advance even of India and Burma, but literacy signifies very little.

The hall-mark of culture lies, not in the possession of a University degree, but in the love of service and fellowship. What really matters is character—not merely the training of the intellect by the acquisition of knowledge, but also the training of the emotions, disciplining them to fit the individual for life, to make of him a man self-controlled and useful to others, free from unscrupulous egoism, inspired by ideals of loving service and helpfulness to others.

To give to the Sinhalese the full development of his personality, the educational policy of the country should be based on the past traditions of Ceylon, on the basis of the ancestral and national life and history of the people, for those traditions and that history furnish working hypotheses; they contain accounts of her great sociological experimentations. They embody and enshrine the experiences, the hopes, the imaginations and the visions of past generations, and thus have a claim to full recognition. In such a scheme Buddhist influence must necessarily play a very important part.

The Sinhalese were emerging as a nation when Asoka's son gave them the message of the Buddha. Under its benign influence they grew up to be a mighty nation, mighty in their ideals and in their accomplishments. Whatever they have achieved in history worthy of being remembered was due to its inspiration. In times of adversity, such as befell them on many an occasion during the last twenty-four centuries, it was their steadfast loyalty to the religion that kept them together, and sent them forth to face and overcome difficulties which otherwise would have overwhelmed them. No Sinhalese, if he but knows the history of his own mother-land, can fail to be drawn irresistibly to that faith which gave his country, insignificant as it is in numbers and material resources, a place amongst the civilized nations of the world.

Hopes for the Future

So much for the past and for the present. As I look forward to the future I am filled with a sense of boundless confidence and hope. The spirit that animated our forefathers, although it was greatly weakened, could not be completely destroyed by the loss of political freedom; it could not be killed, nor did it die a natural death. If with the turn of Fortune's wheel we have fallen from the high estate we once occupied, if in our adversity we have done or sanctioned many things unworthy of our noble traditions, there is yet, I feel, ample warrant for the assurance that the people still

retain in them some of the sterner stuff of which great deeds are wrought. It could not with us, or with anyone else, always have been the noon-tide of prosperity ; the twilight was bound to follow, and with it dark night. But every sunset holds within it the promise of a new dawn, and every dawn of another noon. After nearly three centuries of lethargy, brought about by the fatigue of incessant strife, the Buddhists have once more awakened gradually to a sense of their responsibilities. Throughout the land signs are manifest of the quickening of a new life, gathering in force and strength as one day succeeds another. The Buddhist Renascence, which began in the middle of last century, has given them a new vision of a mighty destiny that may again be theirs. Perhaps it may be too much to hope that from the ashes of our ancient glories will arise a new culture and a new civilization, which will be electric and absorptive, combining all that is best both in the East and in the West, but it shall be our earnest endeavour to make of our island-home, set in the silver sea, a little Temple of Peace, fragrant with the perfume of Truth, to which men and women, when they are aweary of the din and strife of the world's battles, may make their way if they choose, and there may breathe an atmosphere of Love and Rest and Joy.

Mahâyâna Buddhism

By Shoson Miyamoto

(Lecturer of the Imperial University of Tokyo)

Dedicated to Dr. the Hon. Professor SENSHO MURAKAMI, of the Imperial University of Tokyo, and to TATSUJI YAMADA

PART I

Essential Features of Buddhism from the Mahâyânistic Standpoint

ABOUT the sixth century B.C. the Aryan Indians reached a new critical period characterized by a widespread and many-sided movement which affected them religiously, politically, economically and socially. This proceeded from the greater expansion of Aryan India; in other words, the new social body became strong enough to put off its old clothes.

In the first place the Kshatriya or military and ruling caste arose as a new power, taking the place of the Brâhman or priestly caste, which had monopolized not only religious privilege, but also social prerogative. These were seeking a new thought and religion. Though in India at that time sixteen powers rivalled each other, there were springing up evident signs of the unification of India, which was embodied in the new power of Magadha or Kosala concretely, and was expressed in the idea of Cakravartin, or the sovereign of the world.

There were other people who demanded a new thought and religion, because they were unable to pay the heavy charge of Brâhman ritual. Moreover, there were many people who were suffering from the social system of caste, which not only closed the door of religion to them, but deprived them of the chance of elevation of life.

Sâkyamuni Buddha was one of the religious reformers who appeared in this period of transition and met its demands.

The Buddha's Essential Teaching

I wish to enumerate the three most important features of life and teaching, which essentially relate to my address.

Firstly, religion is chiefly concerned with the enlightenment of humanity, it is to be shared by all mankind, and does not belong

exclusively to those of any special rank, such as the high, the rich, the wise, the monk or priest, etc. The only restrictions are virtue, spiritual enlightenment or faith, not birth, rank or race.

Hence all alike, from members of royal families to ministers and peasants, from Brâhmans to Sûdras and servants, belong equally to this spiritual brotherhood. If we recall the fact that Sâkyamuni preached this doctrine of equality day by day about forty-five years, and that consequently his followers in his own day were drawn not only from all castes and ranks, but even from different tribes and nations, we can readily understand the main features of Buddhism. This we call *Ekayâna* or the One Way (Vehicle); meaning thereby that in religion there is only one universal brotherhood.

Secondly, apart from dogmatism and extremes, he urged his followers to observe matters of fact and to take the Middle Way. He discouraged fruitless, soaring speculation, first directing his followers' attention to the fact at hand, then advising them as to the suitable means to be taken. His method appears like the modern pragmatism, but is in reality founded on the critical idealism which aims at ultimate enlightenment. He urged his followers to pursue the calm and tranquil life of self-mastery abiding in the *Dharma* or Truth. This is clear from his parting words: "Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast to the truth as a refuge." He made clear the law of individual causation, and the bliss of *Nirvâna* realizing it in himself, in other words, ultimate enlightenment was permeating his humanity and the truth of the universe. So he was called Truth-bodied (*Dharmakâya*).

Thirdly, the monastic life of simplicity, celibacy, mendicancy, co-operation and equality the spirit of mutual sympathy and love of fraternity, and general pity and compassion to all sentient beings, all these were practised in his *Sangha* or Community under his great personality.

But, besides these holy disciples, Buddha's brotherhood embraced various kinds of lay disciples with absolute faith who much more took refuge in Buddha's personality while pursuing their ordinary ways of living. While the holy groups contained great Brâhman philosophers, preachers, poets—such as 'Sâriputra Maudgalyâyana, Mahâkâ'syapa, Pûrnamaitrâyanî-putra, Vangîsa, Pindola-Bhâradvâja—members of royal and aristocratic families—such as Aniruddha, Mahâkâtyâyana, his cousin Ânanda, his aunt Mahâprajâpatî Gautamî, his queen Ya'sodharâ—and members of Vai'sya or agricultural and trade class—such as Subhûti, Revata, Rastrapâla, Utpalavarnâ—among the lay disciples there were Mahânâma, King Prasenajit, Queen Mallikâ, Princess 'Srîmâlâ, King Bimbisâra, Queen Vaidehî, King Ajâta'satru, Sudatta, Vi'sâkhâ, Jîvaka, Citra, etc.

On the other hand, if we consider the holy disciples in the light of their former careers, we find two conspicuous groups; firstly, those

who formerly belonged to the Brâhman caste, some being once leaders of certain schools, some great philosophers and scholars, others great poets; secondly, those who belonged to the royal or ruling class, not only Buddha's aunt, queen, son and cousins, but other former kings or sons of aristocracy. In addition to these two groups, those who were once millionaires, farmers, peasants, tradesmen, barbers, servants, etc., may be regarded as the third group, in which there were also many distinguished characters. On the other hand, the holy groups may be regarded as being composed partly of those who are most versed in Scriptures or in the *Vinaya*, or of those who devote themselves to the practice of contemplation or are concerned in preaching *Dharma*.

In saying this, I wish to suggest that to understand fully the Mahâyâna we must not forget the fact that it was really a community of a many-sided nature, including many distinguished characters among its members, whose influence played a great part in moulding later Buddhism.

The Influence of the Laity

However, what is of special importance for my subject is the group of lay disciples, which was composed of many different classes, kings, queens, millionaires, a famous doctor and so on. Later, some of them played an important part in the Mahâyâna texts as idealized Bodhisattvas, or as heroes and heroines, for instance, in *Vimâlakîrtisûtra*, *'Srîmâlâsûtra*, *mahâparinirvâna-sûtra*, *amitâyûrdhyânasûtra*, etc.

The ethical character of Buddhism is mainly due to its religious influence upon laymen. Through practice of simple but essential commandments for a good life, enjoying domestic affection purified by this means, fulfilling social virtues and duties, their life is sound enough.

The philosophy of salvation by faith and devotion, the deeper emphasizing of giving and transferring of merit, the spiritual aspiration to be born in the Pure Land of Bliss, the mystical deification of Buddha-body and the accompanying growth of both monotheism and pantheism in Mahâyâna Buddhism owe their origin to the thoughts and beliefs of the lay group. And, for the same reason, the miscellaneous character of the lay group was to a certain extent responsible for the easy-going life, and for the later springing up in Buddhism of superstitious and Atharva-Veda-like incantations.

Thus, Buddhism, absorbing all these many-sided features, in the course of time realized its universal applicability as a religion, a moral teaching, a philosophy, an art and a mysticism, assuming an immense variey of forms according to the current thoughts of various national propensities of the whole of Asia. Mahâyâna Buddhism in particular played a great part in the civilization of Asia.

Growth of Mahâyâna Buddhism as a World Missionary Religion

I have already touched on the fact that Buddhism appeals to the inmost humanity, irrespective of external differences. This was the main cause of its spreading into many countries outside the motherland as a world religion. But this was not realized until Buddhism met with the high royal patronage of A'soka, whose work constituted a great landmark in the history of Buddhism.

A'soka, one of the most ideal kings the world has ever had, appeared in the third century B.C., and was a real incarnation of Cakravartin, or the sovereign of the world. His dominion, which comprised Afghanistan, Baluchistan, etc., with its different castes, tribes, races and religions, was far more extensive than British India to-day.

He observed what sorrow and evil were caused by war, notwithstanding the glorious triumphs he had won by it. He became a hearty adherent of Buddhism, not only as one mere holy disciple, but as the ruler of a great kingdom. Through Buddhism he became convinced that righteousness was not confined within borders, and that real religion, or *saddharma*, has no frontier.

The first thing to be mentioned about him is his severe practice of Buddha's teaching, i.e. exertion for the public benefit originating from his belief in humanity. His benevolent regard for sanctity of animal life, which appeared in the Rock Edicts, is remarkable. Roads were made, wells were dug, trees, roots and healing herbs were planted, and hospitals provided, all for animals as well as for men, and this not only in his own dominions, but in neighbouring realms. Another edict says, "parents must be obeyed, respect for living creatures must be enforced; truth must be spoken . . . teachers must be reverenced by pupils and proper courtesy must be shown to relations." Further, he made a religious tour and erected a memorial pillar where Buddha was born. He did reverence to the Stupa of the earlier Buddha Konâgamana and repaired it.

Secondly, his goodwill and enlightened religious toleration for all creeds in his dominion is admirable as a model of liberty. He was a devoted guardian and protector of the Buddhist *Sangha*.

Thirdly, he sent missionaries not only throughout and to the borders of his own wide empire, but to all parts of the then known world, namely, to Ceylon, Persia, Syria, Greece, Egypt, Africa, etc.

The Buddha's Example

As soon as the Buddhist Community was organized, the Master issued the command to his disciples:

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, in the middle and in the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect and pure life of holiness.

Again, when Pûrṇa, one specially distinguished for his eloquence, asked the Buddha's permission to go and preach to the people of Sunas, in the border country of India, he was warned that he must be prepared for obloquy and blows, that he might be stoned or killed. He only replied:

> I shall say to myself, "There are disciples who go forth loathing and despising the body and life, to seek the weapons of destruction; now, without seeking, I have found them."

Thus we have seen the missionary spirit of both the Master and his disciples, and we must recognize that it was its ever-growing missionary spirit from Buddha's time, more than its outward results, made A'soka do his great work.

However, after A'soka's time, Buddhism came to emphasize greatly the spirit of social service, and fostered the thought of an ideal king and state.

The four Buddhist ways of serving others, namely, giving, loving words, beneficial deeds and sharing other's burdens, are no other than the gist of Buddhist humanity and A'soka's practice. Without these practices Mahâyâna Buddhism is no longer a "living religion," though it may take its place as a metaphysic.

In a word, King A'soka and his deeds, known to us from the numerous discoveries of inscribed pillars, rock edicts and miscellaneous inscriptions, are truly glorious, and his pious but liberal personality will be ever a mirror to future rulers, as it was to the Buddhist kings of Asia in the past.

PART II

The Relation of Mahâyâna Buddhism to the Chinese Nationality and to Other Schools of Thought

BEFORE I proceed to deal with Chinese Mahâyâna Buddhism, I must make some preliminary remarks concerning the Chinese nationality.

First. It is explicitly shown in the nature of its ideographic characters. These are very intricate, and each expresses its special idea with various shades of meaning; it may be regarded as a symbol which suggests a concrete implicit meaning. This has an advantage from the point of view of terseness, brevity, vigour, pregnancy and artistic effect, but is, at the same time, most inconvenient for abstract comprehension or reasoning, which is indispensable to philosophy.

Further, the use of these characters in writing has the disadvantage of the absence of tense-relation; the nouns are indeclinable, the verbs are not subject to conjugation, hence logical accuracy is difficult to attain.

In fact, the Chinese were not much concerned with logic as the Hindus and Greeks were. Owing to these conditions Mahâyâna Buddhism in China could not develop on its logical side, but necessarily conformed to these national propensities. From this there arose the special Chinese form of Buddhism, and this is really Zen Buddhism, which I shall deal with later.

Secondly. Previously to the introduction of Mahâyâna Buddhism into China, China had been passing through a time of great intellectual activity, known as the civilization of the Ante-Chin period, covering some centuries almost corresponding to the period from Buddha's time to the great King A'soka's reign.

There were many thinkers, but Confucianism and Taoism predominated. Hence, these two systems and Buddhism wove the history of Chinese civilization, rivalling each other on the one hand, but, on the other, gradually influencing each other, until at last Buddhism and Taoism became closely associated. I understand some scholars of Chinese to-day tend to discriminate the three religions by their special characteristics; but, while this idea is true, the saying that Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, though three, are really one, is no less true.

The Chinese are a practical people. While the Indians are imaginative, subtle in analysis and highly speculative—so much so that Sâkyamuni Buddha laid stress on the importance of seeing the matter of fact and taking the immediate and necessary means to enlightenment—the Chinese interests always centre round the practical ethics of the present mundane life, in its political, social and moral bearings.

Confucianism, which has a system of ethics based on common sense and humanism, and has a strong aversion to metaphysics, is the most representative exponent of the Chinese national mind.

Moreover, Confucius's original purpose was the realization of the unified national state under the rule of the " Son of Heaven," or the heaven-ordained Emperor, though he failed to attain his object in his own day. Later, giving up his attempt to bring this about, he devoted himself to cultivate men of character, and to establish the national idea under the traditional and orthodox Chinese culture.

On the other hand Taoism, as a philosophy, has many similarities with Hinduism in its doctrine of avoidance of all artificialities and its devotion to the contemplation of the transcendental Tao, which is the impersonal but formative and all-pervading principle of the Universe. But its practical aim is the enjoyment of the bliss of a life of solitary quietism and its chief concern is self-preservation and happiness.

Mahâyânistic Idealism

To return to my subject of how Buddhism could find a place in China in these two opposed currents of thought, and what was its standpoint, first I ought to mention the doctrine of non-ego, or non-existence of self. As a matter of fact, things are all impermanent and depend on each other relatively, and thus there is no soul or entity to be taken as permanent.

We have nothing to rely on ultimately in this world but our own religious enlightenment, which will be realized by practising the noble paths. Without this enlightenment the world is only the ceaseless repetition of birth and death, but seen through this enlightenment, everything is filled with truth and grace. In short, ultimate enlightenment is a pivot of Gotama's teaching. In other words, when we retain the term " ego," we mean that the dynamic process of our religious enlightenment, or the awakening consciousness of our inmost nature, which has been revealed by or identified with the Universal Law (Truth), is our true ego. This is precisely what the Mahâyâna philosophers have endeavoured to express. They came to realize that the *Dharmakâya* or Body of Truth was itself the " great vehicle " of salvation, that is, *Mahâyâna*. And as a consequence the other conception which regarded the individual efforts of man as the vehicle of salvation was looked upon and eventually described as *Hînayâna*, or the " little vehicle." Ultimately, the two branches of Buddhism became so described.

The Buddha was not concerned with metaphysical subtlety, which might lead the mind to an endless maze, but with practice and realization. His complete silence about these metaphysical problems is more eloquent than words.

Anyhow, in Mahâyâna Buddhism, ultimate enlightenment as ideal, and suffering and misery of the world as reality, must not be two different facts of life, but one ; that is, there is no other ultimate enlightenment than that of illuminating the suffering world. Hence, to attain one's own enlightenment is nothing but to deliver all creatures from their suffering.

Therefore, Bodhisattva, an ideal character in Mahâyâna Buddhism, takes the vow not to attain ultimate enlightenment until all creatures have been delivered. For the same reason, whenever a Bodhisattva practises religious works, all the merits are not reckoned for his own self, but are transferred for the deliverance of all sentient beings. The spirit of his utter devotion and his all-embracing compassionate heart are extended not only to all mankind and sentient beings, such as animals, plants, etc., but to inanimate things, such as stones, soil, wood, etc.

His compassion penetrates even into atoms, one piece of dust or one drop of water, and sees within them the vivid evidences of the universal Buddha's activity.

The Common Heritage of Mahâyâna Buddhism handed down from Central Asia

I have already pointed out the idealistic universalism of Mahâyâna Buddhism from both the historical and doctrinal point of view. Now, before I proceed to deal with the special feature of Chinese Buddhism, I must reflect on the civilization of Central Asia, where different religions and cultures mingled with each other, such as Buddhism and Hinduism from India, Zoroastrianism and Manichæism from Persia, Nestorian Christianity from Asia Minor, Taoism and Confucianism from China, and, later, Islam from Arabia.

Among about thirty or fifty countries or dynasties which played a part, more or less, in exchange of thought, A'soka's great kingdom of India and the Greek colony of Bactria, the Assacid dynasty of Parthia, Kanishka's great kingdom of the Yueh-Chih tribe of Turks, different but successive dynasties of Kashmir and Gandhâra of North India, and many countries in the region of so-called Serindia, namely, Sogdiana of Iranians, Karashar of the Uighur tribes of Huns, Kashgar, Kucha, and Khotan of mixed people of Aryans, Turks, Tibetans, Chinese, and Mongols, are most to be remembered.

Central Asia, though now consisting of lonely and infertile countries, was, in fact, once the point of intersection of nations and exchange of civilizations. It was only of interest to a few Buddhist scholars who had become acquainted with its flourishing days from the ancient records of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, such as Fa-Hsien, Hsuan-Chuang and I-Ching. But towards the end of the last century the European powers came together in this region, and many parties of explorers were dispatched thither. The results of these explorations have been important and surprising. Everything discovered in the arid sands or in the sealed treasure-house, whether ruins, statues, frescoes, or libraries containing writings in a dozen different languages, remind us of their flourishing days.

For a period of thirteen centuries, i.e. from the third century B.C. to the tenth century A.D., Buddhism had influenced the thought of these different nations, and the result of their common effort has been handed down to the present day as a "living religion" for Asiatic people, and now as an object of scientific research for European scholars.

If we recall these historical facts, we can easily understand how China became a highway for the advance of Buddhism, and what were its features when it was first introduced. Further, if we neglect the imperishable activities of these nations of the past we really fail to understand some features of Mahâyâna Buddhism because some of the Mahâyâna texts owe their origin to these countries.

The Task of Buddhist Missionaries and Chinese Buddhist Scholars

China had intercourse with the above countries politically and economically, but she found and welcomed Buddhism as the international religion of the time.

On the other hand, finding an immense new field in China, from at least the beginning of the Christian era onwards, Buddhist missionary monks from the above countries came to China to preach, and, in the first place, to translate the scriptures into Chinese. And this hard task of translation, carried on for 734 years under nineteen dynasties by 187 translators, comprising foreign missionary monks and Chinese Buddhist scholars, sometimes even by the co-operation of Brâhman monks and a Nestorian monk, by dint of indomitable will and perseverance was nearly completed by 800 A.D.

But, owing to the fact that the translations ranged over a period of more than thirteen centuries and the translators came from many different countries, there was not much organized connection and system between them. Naturally, this roused many sincere native scholars to seek a perfect collection of the original Sanskrit texts, and to make a thorough investigation of the Buddha's doctrine in his native country.

These earnest missionary monks and devoted pilgrims, in their devotion to the perfection of the common heritage of human activity, encountered many perils of travel, and endured sufferings by desert, mountain and sea; some even sacrificed their lives in the cause.

Although some of these missionary monks were compelled to take refuge in other countries, owing to the change of political conditions in their own, or to persecution from other religions, yet their earnest effort to promote human enlightenment was none the less.

The problem now was how to treat these various Chinese texts which were coloured by the thought of the different periods and by the local characteristics under which they were compiled; how to decide which text most correctly expressed the Buddha's original teaching, and what essential thought should be stressed. In short, the next great task of the Chinese Buddhist was how to systematize these various extensive texts into a consistent whole.

The Synthetic Philosophy of Mahâyâna Buddhism

First of all, as I have mentioned above, the Mahâyânistic ideal was not personal perfection or individual salvation, but salvation of all mankind. In other words, the spirit of Mahâyâna, in its religious aspect, consists in embracing the things of the whole universe, the deliverance of which it hopes to effect in accordance

with the wideness of the scope of its ideal, and is thereby concerned theoretically to synthesize the ever-growing antithesis into its highest category, gathering together and building up all stages, a process which corresponds to the positive doctrine of all schools.

Their belief was in an idealistic Buddha, identified with the cosmic force and embodied as an all-pervading benevolent essence or personality. The human life of Gotama in India was secondary to them. On the contrary, the Mahâyânistic saying that all beings are in possession of Buddha-nature has been too much emphasized.

Their criterion was all-inclusive and synthetic, making a synthesis of two extremes, or contradictions, such as transcendence and immanence, absolute voidness and ultimate reality, immediacy and abstractness. Ultimate reality was absolute, in which being and not-being are one and the same.

The transitoriness of existence and the eternity of *Nirvâna* are essentially connected. Therefore ultimate enlightenment must be realized in and through this present life, not in annihilation or abstention from its real activities.

Thus they arrived at the bold conclusion that passion is intelligence, ignorance is enlightenment, and *Nirvâna* is *Samsâra*; the two are vitally connected. The Bodhisattva's spiritual life is to grow amid the defilement of passion and sin, even as the lotus grows in the watery mire, not in the soil of the plateau, or as the seed springs up in moist soil, not in the air. This is called *upâyakau'salya*, or the "skilful means" of Bodhisattva.

Later, the problem of oneness of appearance and reality, and that of things and reasons, developed into that of interpenetration.

These metaphysical subtleties, however, were the result of successive Mahâyânists' efforts, whose chief interests were how to harmonize both intuition and compassion, in other words, philosophical speculation and religious love.

The doctrine which is concerned only with the monastic life and individual deliverance was, perhaps naturally, despised, and described as Hînayâna, or Lesser Vehicle: in other words, *'Srâvakayâna*, or "the vehicle of the ordinary Bhikkhus," who hope to become Arhats; and the *Pratyekabuddhayâna* or "the vehicle of the Solitary Buddhas, who do not preach the Truth (Law) to others."

Thus Mahâyâna Buddhism roused itself to claim a superiority over the two Little Vehicles already mentioned, as being a Great Vehicle, a *Buddha-and-Bodhisattvayâna*, creating a new epoch in the history of Buddhism, under the term of "Three Vehicles" (Sanjyo). These three are not regarded as incompatible, but as degrees of synthetic unity.

Problems of Developed Mahâyâna

Many scholars, some from traditional instruction of their predecessors, others from their own spiritual awakening, chose one or more texts which they regarded as most Mahâyânistic, and therefore as the authoritative or basal text of their school. They criticized others and the remaining texts in the light of a dogmatic criterion, and arranged them in order in their system. This arranging of doctrines and texts indicates the degree of value, and at the same time marks the successive stages of Gotama's teaching; in other words, their method was "dialectic." In this way many schools or sects of Chinese Buddhism came into existence, and this must be regarded as a new epoch in the history of Mahâyâna Buddhism.

The works of Chih-I (538–597) of Tien-tai (Tendai) school, in which the doctrines of his predecessors and contemporaries are criticized, are the most systematized achievement of the early Mahâyâna Buddhism in China. His systematic doctrine of Five Periods and Eight Teachings (Go-ji, Ha-Kkyô) is the type and standard which is to be followed by the beginner in Buddhist philosophy.

The continuous development of Chinese Buddhism reached a new epoch in the systematic works of Fa-tsang (Hôzô, 643–712) of the Tang dynasty. By him, not only the doctrine of Hua-yen-tsung (Kegon-shû) was systematized, but two different currents of Mahâyânistic thought, which at times were antagonistic in India and China, i.e. Madhyamakavâda and Yogâcâravâda, were systematized in his metaphysic.

The ever-growing progress of criticism in Mahâyâna Buddhism produced many classifications of the grades of doctrine within itself, such as the doctrine of the Provisionary or Approximate and the Ultimate (Gon-Jitsu), of the Partial or Imperfect and the Perfect (Hen-En), of the Sudden or Abrupt and the Gradual (Ton-Zen), of the Apparent or Exoteric and the Hidden, Secret or Esoteric (Ken-Mitsu), of the Passing-through or Unifying (rationalization), the Separate or Detached (idealization) and the Perfect and All-inclusive Harmony (Tsû-Betsu-En), of Sameness or Unity (that) and Otherness or Individuality (this-what) (Dô-Betsu), of the Path of Difficulty or the Holy Path, which will be attained by self-power, and that of Ease or the Path of Pure Land of Bliss, which is purely quietistic, that is, in which one casts aside all his self-power, and believes only in Amida Buddha and his saving power with unconditioned faith (Shôdô-Jôdo; Jiriki-Tariki).

Chinese Buddhism, generally speaking, tended to become the subject of study in the monastery on a mountain, or other detached place, and consequently was not much concerned with social service. As I stated before, Confucianism claimed to be the national code and creed in China, and its devotion to administrative function and its social and practical features did not afford much scope to

Buddhism in these directions, and this is quite contrary to the general character of Japanese Buddhism.

Zen Buddhism

On the other hand, Buddhism in China developed its special feature as Zen Buddhism, according to the Chinese national character.

Zen Buddhism may be regarded as a development of the so-called Dhyâna Buddhism in India, but the difference between the two springs from the different nationalities in which they grew up.

It is strongly averse from speculation or intellectualism, it assumes a bold attitude of negation of what is external to its ultimate enlightenment without regard to knowledge, practice, merit, age, rank, value, etc. It aims at coming to the point at once, and, when it has reached there, in the light of its position all its former negations become positive. Abstractions or generalizations are all regarded as far from its point.

Immediate apprehension, ceaseless activity of mind, careful regard to bodily or manual labour, special consideration of direct personal guidance and instruction, Socratic method of Mondô (Questions and Answers), direct action, readiness for the contradictions and paradoxes in thought and life, all these are the vigorous and practical features of Zen Buddhism. To see directly into one's own original nature, this is Zen, and this is the only way to seek the Buddha which is to be immanent in self-nature. This is called " Satori " or " Ken-shô " (Chien-hsing), that is, " Seeing into one's nature." They try to avail themselves even of every trivial incident of daily life in order to make their mind flow into a new world hitherto unperceived.

Chinese Buddhism, from the end of the Tang dynasty onwards, could develop its uniqueness owing to the domination of Zen Buddhism, which itself is no other than one of the achievements of the general idealization of Mahâyâna Buddhism.

In China, after the Yuan dynasty, Buddhism was dominated by the Tibetan Lamaism under the auspices of the Mongolian emperors, and many Zen masters went to Japan seeking spiritual freedom and a new field. From then to the present, Chinese Buddhism has lost its growing activity, through its diffusive tendency, as exemplified in the diffusion of Amidaism and Zen, and of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

On the other hand, Japanese Zen Buddhism, having welcomed the stimulus of many distinguished Zen masters from China, continued its vigorous development, and along with the reformed Buddhism of the Kamakura period—i.e. Jôdo sect, Shin sect and Nichiren sect ; which I shall deal with later—has contributed to the moulding of Japanese thought.

PART III

Prince Shôtoku

PRINCE SHÔTOKU (593–622), a contemporary of Augustine of Canterbury and of Muhammad of Arabia, was the real founder of Japanese civilization, having established the Japanese Constitution. Buddhism was brought to Japan by missionaries from Korea in 552 A.D. Half a century later, Prince Shôtoku expounded the ideal of One Vehicle of the Truth and of the enlightened spirit of humanity.

Having assumed the command of state affairs, he made an earnest and critical study of the scriptures, and lectured on *Srîmâlâ sûtra* and *Saddharmapundarîka* sûtra to the courtiers of his aunt, the Empress Suiko, in her presence, and afterwards compiled commentaries upon these two and *Vimâlakîrtisûtra*, which are extant.

He devoted a part of the royal and national revenue to the building of many temples and charitable institutions. In the year 593 he erected Shi-Tennô-Ji, or the Shrine of the Four Heavenly Guardians. Thus he not only demonstrated a new faith to his nation and internationalized civilization for visitors from neighbouring lands, but provided social institutions for public welfare, such as hospitals, dispensaries and asylums.

In the year 607 he established the monastery of Hôryuji, dedicated to the study of Buddhist philosophy. It is the richest storehouse of Buddhist art and architecture in all the East, and has wonderfully survived for thirteen centuries to the present day. In short, like the great king A'soka of India and Kanishka of Yueh-Chih, he saw in Buddhism a wonderful bond of union, deeply rooted in humanity, for people who were not yet highly cultivated, and made use of its Mahâyânistic doctrine of the oneness of Dharma to abolish political and racial or clan barriers.

Japanese National Character in its Relation to Mahâyâna Buddhism

Japan, as a nation of new-comers, was able to take advantage of the heritage of her forerunner's efforts, that is, of the accumulated fruit of the activities of many nations during some centuries. Truly, in this respect, she ought to be thankful for the common heritage of humanity. She had the good fortune to come under the influence of Mahâyâna Buddhism at its high tide, theoretically and practically, through this prince, who was the enlightened genius of his age.

Before they came into contact with continental culture, the Japanese were quite primitive in their own ; they were simple-hearted, practical and full of love and gratitude for what was high and good. Owing to the variety of physical features and seasons, they could not be indifferent to nature ; their simplicity, cleanliness, neatness and practicalness accords with their natural environment. The idea of gratitude and love to nature forms the key-note of their life. For this reason, their

disposition was susceptible to the unselfish or Non-ego teaching of Buddha, and to the Mahâyânistic doctrine of pity and sympathy for all beings.

Further they were much more inclined to Hellenistic æsthetic culture than to speculative intellectualism. History shows how admirable the Japanese achievements were during the few centuries after the introduction of Buddhism, in the direction of æsthetic activities, rather than in speculation. In fact, Japan owed very much of her early civilization to Korea, though she held the political supremacy.

Scholars, priests, architects, artisans, etc., were imported from Korea. She directed all her energies to the assimilation of continental culture during the seventh century, just as she has in the last half-century. She learned quickly with a simple heart, and in a short time surpassed her teacher in many respects.

She continued religious pilgrimages for six centuries, till, in the thirteenth century, many Chinese Zen monks came to Japan owing to the change of political conditions in their own.

'Srîmâlâ, the heroine of the first Scripture that Prince Shôtoku most suitably chose for the nation during the reign of his aunt, the Empress Suiko, was the Princess of Mallikâ, the queen of Prasenajit, the King of Kosala in Buddha's time, and the most perfect lady who became completely versed in the Mahâyâna doctrine. Vimâlakîrti, the hero of the other Scripture that Prince Shôtoku chose, was a great personality among the laity, and was deeply affected with compassion for the world's suffering and a loving desire to save it.

The third Scripture was the famous text of *Saddharmapundarîka* Hokekyo, which contains a full explanation of the most efficient means of saving the world.

Popular Faith

This Mahâyânistic theory, being combined with the Japanese practicalness, became more socialized and utilized for the welfare of life.

I wish to draw special attention to the fact that the Japanese prayer for material prosperity or corporeal salvation was accompanied by social services, such as medical treatment, charity for the poor and diseased, care of orphans, etc. Kômyo, the queen of the Emperor Shômu (who reigned from 724–748 and whom I shall mention later), built a hospital and dispensary within the royal precincts, besides those which she built in the Temple of Hokke.

On this account Bhesajaguruvaidûrya Prabharâja (Yakushi

Nyorai), who is the Divine Healer, was much favoured by the people for the sake of the welfare of this present life, health, marriage, prosperity, etc., and at the same time the growth of charity administration and of gratuitous treatment were accelerated by this faith.

Avalokite'svâra, or Kwannon, is the Bodhisattva or deity of mercy who looks down from above with love upon a suffering world. This deity was always regarded as dwelling in an enchanted mountain by the sea. This was so in India, China, and Japan. Naturally she became the deity of guidance and protection on the sea.

In fact, this deity has inspired all the æsthetic culture of Japan, sculpture, painting, music, poetry, drama, etc. Kwannon was also favoured in China and in Thibet. The Dalai Lama is regarded as the incarnation of Avalokite'svâra ; Kwannon is the deity which most represents the positive desire of life in Japan, cultivating religious and æsthetic feeling.

Next, the problem of death and the future life is the other subject of religion.

Fear of hell, popular belief in transmigration, prayer for deliverance and bliss, led to the idea of a saviour. Ksitigarba or Jizô, who is the gracious spirit ready to multiply his personality in order to minister to the wants of all the six worlds of sentient beings.

He is the Redeemer or Guardian Deity in the journey to the other world after death, and is specially regarded as a compassionate friend and saviour to the souls of children amid the perils of the underworld. He even bears the sufferings of others in hell.

Hence, he became regarded also as the friend and guardian of the traveller in this world. Stone images of him were placed at the barriers, cross-roads and places of great resort. In days when travelling was difficult and often attended with misery and hardship, the traveller would find great solace in meeting with the image, with a staff in one hand and a jewel in the other, of one who had benevolently vowed to renounce his own bliss of Nirvâna in order to alleviate the suffering of others.

Official and Social Service

Since Prince Shôtoku established the national policy, as I stated before, Buddhism became the state religion under the earnest royal patronage. And all distinguished monks were, in fact as much concerned with offical and social functions as spiritual missions. In those days Japan was not yet a firmly united country, but many clans, tribes and peoples who had not yet received the benefaction of the Emperor waited for an organizer and cultivator. By Buddhist monks roads were made and repaired, bridges, floating-bridges and ferry-boats were built, fruit-trees were planted by the road-side, resting-places were built near rough roads, many

homes were built for travellers, harbours, basins, embankments were constructed, river-improvements and reclamation-works were carried on. Gyôgi Bosatsu (668–749), a great scholar of the Vijñânavâda or Hosso sect, and an adviser to the Emperor Shômu, devoted his eighty-two-years life to official and social works.

I shall mention his famous deeds as a representative Buddhist of those days. Thirty-four monasteries and 15 nunneries were established by him; 6 bridges, 1 main road, 15 ponds, 7 canals, 3 aqueducts, 3 harbour resting-places, 4 moats, 9 homes for travellers (Fuseya), were made by him. He did all these conspicuous achievements by repeating the name of Amida Buddha and transferring the merits to the people. That is why he was reverenced as a Bosatsu (*Bodhisattva*) and it was owing to this missionary spirit that Buddhism became rooted in Japan as a "living religion."

Japan became unified under royal authority by the penetration of the missionary activities of Buddhist monks. The parallel progress of both religious and political unification was realized concretely in the reign of the Emperor Shômu, who called himself the publicly, "Slave of the Three Treasures," that is, the Buddha, the Law, the Community. In each of sixty-six provinces one monastery and nunnery were built, usually close to the governor's house; and in Nara, the capital of the time, the chief State monastery and nunnery were built. To symbolize this organized system of State and Church, he erected a great bronze statue of Vairocana Buddha, fifty-three feet high, which was to be the centre of the Buddhist universe and has wonderfully survived thirteen centuries to the present day.

Gyôgi travelled through the length and breadth of Japan to proclaim the sovereign's project, and then added, "It is our desire that each peasant shall have the right to add his handful of clay and his strip of grass to the mighty figure." The whole nation was engaged in this task, and the national wealth was greatly spent upon this object. This unification is really based on the doctrine of the Buddhist Universe in the *Suvarnaprabhâsa sûtra*.

Pure Religious Current and Family Buddhist Shrine

But, on the other hand, in contrast with the tendency of the monk to become aristocratic and of Buddhism to be too much concerned with ceremony, I wish to mention the pure religious atmosphere which showed itself in the State nunnery. These were called Hokke-Metsuzai-ji, that is, "for the release from sin through the good Law by repentance."

The feeling of repentance essentially consists of faith, and this was the religious experience especially of the laity, and is well expressed

in the doctrine of the "Pure Land of Bliss." The heroine of Amitâyûrdhyâna sûtra, who gained the pure and spotless Eye of Truth by repentance, and was taught by 'Sâkyamuni to obtain salvation by the mere repetition of the name of Amida Buddha with all her heart, was the queen of King Bimbisara of Magâdha. In addition to this, I wish to mention that those among the Japanese who first devoted their lives to religion were three ladies. In the year 624 there were 569 nuns and 816 monks. I am glad to be able to say in the presence of our Chairman, Mrs. Rhys Davids, that in the early history of Japan Buddhism owed much to the efforts of ladies.

I have spoken in a general way of how Buddhism pervaded the Japanese mind and was accepted. But I ought also to mention the relation of Japanese ancestor-worship and Buddhism. Ancestor-worship led on the one hand to loyalty and patriotism and on the other to the idea of the family system. From early times to the present day, Buddhism cultivated these tendencies and widened their scope from the standpoint of humanitarian morality. Even in modern Japan, there are not a few sincere families who read the Scriptures and offer prayers to the Buddha of the family shrine every morning and night. They offer their daily rice to the Buddha at this shrine in the early morning, and they take their meal as a gift from the Buddha with thankfulness. This is the latent power of Buddhist influence upon the Japanese. The faith of these is a hundred times more sincere than that connected with formal or sometimes superstitious services held in certain temples.

Dengyô and Kôbô

There are three marked epochs in Japanese Buddhism. The first period (from the sixth to the eighth century) shows us the results of the union of the illuminating power of Buddhism and Japanese practicalness and the organized development of "State and Church" (Sei-Kyo-Icchi). The second period (from the eighth to the twelfth century) shows three main currents:

1. The growth of theoretical study by the epoch-making achievement of two great scholars of the Hean (Peace) Era, namely, Dengyô Daishi and Kôbô Daishi. The all-inclusive and comprehensive "Nihon (Japanese) Tendai" doctrine was handed down to posterity by the wide scope of education carried on by Dengyô Daishi at Mount Hiei, exemplified in the three following clases of students: (1) Kokuhô, or Treasure of the State; (2) Kokushi, or Teachers of the State; (3) Kokuyô, or Benefactor of the State. For five centuries after 788 A.D. Mount Hiei was the centre of the study and at the same time the birthplace of all religious geniuses, though in later years they went forth into the world as reformers.

Kôbô Daishi—who played an important part in the civilization of the Hean Era, as the founder of the Shingon sect (Mikkyô, or Hidden

or Secret Buddhism), in the history of Buddhism through his synthetic attitude, and, moreover, like Gyôgi Bosatsu mentioned above, as one of the greatest missionaries and promoters of public welfare and culture Japan has ever had, also as the founder of Kongôbuji on Mount Kôya and the Head of Tôji in Kyoto—in 828 A.D. founded the Sôgei Shuchiin, or Institution of Synthetic Study of All Arts and Schools of Thought.

2. The diffusion of Indian cult owing to the influence of esoteric Buddhism, Mikkyo, attended by popular belief in superstition and the democratizing of æsthetic culture.

3. The secular tendency of royal and aristocratic monasteries, in contrast with the awakening of a religious undercurrent which had grown up within the pious Buddhist monks and scholars, and which appealed to the inmost heart of people generally, bringing the result of reformation of Japanese Buddhism.

Religious Reformers of the Third Period

Japan was engaged for over six centuries in moulding her own thought and culture by association with continental civilization, Buddhism in particular, until she underwent her religious reformation in the Kamakura Era at the hands of Hônen, Shinran, Dôgen and Nichiren, some three centuries earlier than that of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, etc.

The Belief in Amida

While the ideal of universal salvation and the career of Bodhisattva, which was full of love and effort, were thoroughly emphasized in Mahâyâna Buddhism, religious consciousness, which made its followers reflect upon themselves inwardly and examine deeply their own nature, made them pray for the One Buddha in all humility. In other words, the more the Mahâyânistic ideal was accentuated the more the consciousness of unworthiness and sin grew in the worshipper's mind, and this was experienced fully by the lay disciples.

This current of faith developed in the Mahâyâna Buddhism as the faith in Amida Buddha as the Saviour and Redeemer. Before the Amida came to be regarded as the One Buddha above all Buddhas, he had to pass through many stages of modification and idealization, just as there were many transitory stages of development between Hînayâna and Mahâyâna. But before the great scholar Nâgârujuna expressed his faith in Amida, this was already matured in Mahâyâna Sûtras.

Amida's essential character as Redeemer, in my opinion, proceeds from the continuous development of the doctrine of transference of merit of the *Jâtaka* or the stories of Buddha's practice of love and sacrifice of his body in his former life. Amida's will to save all beings, and his love to make us join him in his Pure Land of Bliss, is no other than the will to make people attain their ultimate enlightenment. This doctrine rests upon the rationalistic side of

Mahâyâna Buddhism. His love and omnipotence is not like that of a God who plays with his creatures as a child with his toys, but is utterly ethical and religious.

He is the Lord of Infinite Light and Eternal Life, who, constantly showering his light upon all sentient beings and leading us ever onward to the awakening of faith, is the Fountain of Perpetual Revelation.

It is in fact owing to this belief in Amida that Buddhism could develop the pure religious faith of Asiatic people, in addition to its metaphysical, ethical and æsthetic influence.

Hônen and Shinran

In India, Central Asia, China and Japan its influence was remarkable. But it was not until the Reformation of Hônen (1133–1212), in 1175, in Japan, that belief in Amida gave rise to a definite sect. He was acknowledged to be the greatest scholar of Buddhist philosophy, especially in the school of Tendai, at that time. One day, at the height of his difficulty in solving a religious problem in which metaphysical subtlety gave him no help, he came upon the following passage in Zendô's *Commentary on the Amitâyurdhyâna-sûtra.*

> Only repeat the name of Amida with all your heart, whether walking or standing, whether sitting or lying, never cease the practice of it for a moment. This is the very work which unfailingly issues in salvation, for it is in accordance with the original vow of that Buddha.

His difficulty was solved by this simple act of faith. He felt that he understood the truth, and the influences of his teaching became far reaching, from the nobility and royal family down to the lowest peasant. It is a religion of simplicity, but is the result of Mahâyânistic doctrines, especially the idea of Redemption and of transference of merit, that is, by Amida's vow and act of redemption all the roots of goodness and all the stock of merit are gathered up in his name, which is called the "Great Deed" and the "Ocean of Treasure"; it is one in substance with the ultimate reason of being.

But there were many different opinions about the merit of good works and salvation, which expressed transitory aspects till the reformation reached its height.

Hônen's disciple, Shinran (1173–1262), went a step further. The heart of Faith in Amida is the only necessary condition, but not the merit of our good works. It was by him that the faith of unconditional dependence on Amida was fully expressed. His strong and absolute faith in Amida made him declare that even the righteous are saved by faith, how much more the sinning soul,

He insisted that good works, even including the repetition of the Amida's name, are to be done only as acts of gratitude for the Amida's love. He ignored the value of ascetic saintliness. Rejecting celibacy and vegetarianism, he proclaimed that religion was for all people generally. He called himself "Gutoku," i.e. "Simple-hearted-bold-man." He wished to indicate thereby his own status among followers of the Buddha's teaching, which was neither that of a monk nor that of a layman, but that of the middle way. But he was spiritually the most pious monk and externally an ordinary layman. He founded the real religion of laymen and women, countenancing marriage. In the first part of my address, I showed that Mahâyâna Buddhism tended to be the religion of the laity, and it was Shinran who first gave its full meaning to this religion of the men and women generally, spreading the faith in Amida through his letters to the followers ("*Goshosoku*") and "*Wasan*" or Buddhist hymn.

Hokekyô and Nichiren

I will speak now of another great religious reformer, Nichiren (1222–1282). You will remember the Buddha's words which I have already quoted, "Be ye Lamps unto yourselves," and, "Hold fast to the truth as a lamp." Though these two thoughts are one in idea, yet they mark two currents of thought in the Mahâyâna Buddhism. While the former lays stress upon self-reliance, the latter lays stress on the unconditioned dependence on something Other which is the Absolute Truth, afterwards identified with the personal Buddha.

The former tends much more to asceticism, self-assertion, prophetic or heroic and patriotic action, while the latter tends more to humanism, pietism and evangelism. And Nichiren was a strong personality of the former type, blending both to us. Though the reformers, Hônen, Shinran, Dôgen and Nichiren, were united in the common cause of reformation, and in the spirit which demands a religion of simplicity, practicalness, absolute faith, individual spiritual awakening, and new and vital aspiration and force, they achieved it in different ways. They faced the same hardships in the propagation of the new faith, they were persecuted and banished. While Hônen, then seventy-five years old, was exiled to Tosa, on the south border of Japan, Shinran (thirty-five years old) was exiled to Echigo, the remote northern province. Shinran said at the time of his exile, "If I do not go to my place of banishment, how can I convert the people of those remote regions! This, too, is a blessing flowing from the Master's teaching."

Nichiren was forty-nine years later than Shinran, and they did not know each other either personally or by their writings. Nichiren criticized, in a militant and exclusive way, all his contemporaries' teachings, and denounced them as heretics. The successive

occurrence of famine, earthquake and pestilence, and the shadow of the terrible Mongol power creeping closer to the country, all served to strengthen his denunciation. He ascribed these calamities to the prevalence of what he considered heretical Buddhism, and to the Government's adoption of it, and he warned them three times in vain. He exclaimed:

"Woe unto you who have forsaken the true teachings and are fettered with false beliefs. Turn, ye men of little faith, and put your trust in the unique truth of the way of righteousness. Awake, awake, look at the heavens above you. There is but one sun in the sky. Look at the earth at your feet; no two kings can rule a country."

He aimed at strengthening Buddhism by his prophetic zeal and strong character, and at establishing a living state in which his new faith should be practised. He found this faith and truth in the doctrine of the *Saddharmapûndarika* (Hokekyo) or "Lotus of Good Law" (Truth).

He stood firmly on the faith in the Eternal and original Buddha, which was depicted in the Hokekyo, and in 'Sâkyamuni Buddha, who is its real embodiment on this earth. He was convinced, like Honge Jôgyo Bosatsu (Visis*t*acâritra, or Superior Conduct), his ideal forerunner in the Scripture, that his chief mission was the promulgation of this Sûtra, and the realization of the kingdom of the Buddha in this world, and that his native country was the destined Holy See, and himself the leader destined to save the world in the Age of the Decay of the Law. Through the persecutions and exile, he became still firmer in his conviction. He made a grand vow to be the "Pillar of Japan," to be the "Eyes of Japan" and her "Great Ship." His ideal is expressed in his name of Nichiren, which means "Sun-Lotus."

Nichiren has transmitted his positive spirit to his followers, and their attitude is vigorous and exclusive. As Confucianism in China and Shintoism in Japan Nichirenism tends to become nationalist.

Statistics of Present-day Japanese Buddhism

There are in Japan 15 sects, made up of 56 branches or schools. According to the census report of 1921, there are

71,698 temples
5,893 oratories
36,051 Buddhist buildings (excluding temples and oratories)
52,037 abbots
1,166 heads of nunneries
73,513 preachers (71,913 men, 1,600 women)
55,099 monks, novices, etc.

making a total of 181,815 monks, priests, etc. The census of 1922 gives the total number of adherents as 48,724,203, i.e. about two-thirds of the population. There are 3 universities, about 10 colleges, 15 institutions for sectarian study, about 13 middle schools, 10 girls' high schools, 4 schools for nuns, and numerous Sunday-schools.

From the point of view of religious influence, the Shin and Jôdo sects, who believe in Amida, have great influence over every class in Japan, and dominate all other sects. The Influence of the Zen sect upon the educated class is also very great. Nichirenism has also many earnest followers, and owing to its nationalistic and patriotic tendency appeals to the statesman, scholar and military class.

Present-day Mahâyâna Buddhism

I have no time to describe fully the Japanese Buddhism of the New Era. Since about 1867 Japan has been by no means a mere traditional Oriental country, but has become quite Europeanised or modernised, and during the last half-century Buddhism also must have gone through trials both from within and without, in the form of attack from the Nationalists and criticism from the standpoint of scientific method and of Christianity and European philosophy. But the new study of Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan, the historical survey and the comparative study of religion and of philosophy—all these efforts in different fields became closely associated with each other, and consequently the Japanese Buddhism of to-day is entering upon a new phase, characterised by a liberal and moulding spirit not only in the history of Buddhism but of religion generally.

I close my address by pointing out that from the standpoint of " living religion " the awakening movements of the Shinran's doctrine and of the Nichiren's doctrine are especially to be remembered.

(*Revised on the 7th November, 1924, at Oxford University.*)

LESSER INDIAN RELIGIONS

Historical Notes on Some Lesser Indian Religions

By Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

PAPERS were contributed on the lesser Indian Religions; Parsism, Jainism and the Religion of the Sikhs. Their authors were in all cases followers of the three religions respectively, and their papers were stimulating, suggestive and full of interest.

Shams-ul-ulema Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad Noshirvan dealt with Parsism. He is a high-priest of that religion, and has pursued his religious and philosophical studies in Europe and America. It is needless to say that he is fully qualified to expound the principles and the working of Parsism. His paper was very enlightened and highly interesting, while it supplied a stimulating view of the ethical system of his religion, evincing at the same time a broad-minded attitude towards modern criticism, which has been directed at Parsism no less than other faiths. Owing to limitations of time, the author in this, as well as in other cases, could not deal adequately with the more purely historical setting of his subject. It is therefore proposed to supply such deficiencies, as briefly as possible, in introductory notes.

Modern Parsism preserves the tenets and teachings of Zoroaster as accepted and understood under the Sassanian dynasty, which reigned in Persia from the third to the seventh century A.D. In this form it no doubt includes accretions to Zoroastrianism in the original shape in which it left the hands of Zoroaster. According to the historians, Zoroaster lived in the sixth century B.C., but there is considerable controversy about his exact date. He was a native of Persia. Thence he migrated, before middle life, eastwards to Bactria, where he lived, preached and promulgated his doctrine. His religion permeated Persia, and was dominant there in the time of the Achæmenian dynasty, founded by Cyrus, and overthrown by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. Possibly the Magi of Biblical literature were followers of Zoroaster, or it may be more probable that Zoroaster himself was the reformer of some pre-existing Magian system of religion.

Zoroaster's dominating conception is the existence of a Supreme

individual members of the community. Under Indian rulers, before the arrival of the British, the committees exercised actual judicial powers. The Parsis are a very highly educated community; according to statistics, no less than one in four are able to speak, read and write not only in their own vernacular, but also in English. They are employed almost entirely in commerce, industry, and, to some extent, in the learned professions. They form a most interesting element in the population of India, and are characterized by a comparatively high ethical sense which is carried into efficient practice.

JAINISM was dealt with in a long paper written by Rai Bahadur Jagmander Lal Jaini. He is by profession a barrister-at-law, and is now Chief Justice of the High Court of the Indian State of Indore. He is an enthusiastic exponent of Jainism and the editor of the *Jain Gazette*, the principal organ of the community. He has written a book, entitled *An Outline of Jainism*, which supplies an interesting account of the religion, and explains many of the technical terms with which it abounds. His paper provided, in a very suggestive form, a clear view of some of the philosophic and ethical aspects of Jainism and of the practical activities of its adherents.

The adherents of Jainism generally ascribe an almost immeasurable antiquity to their religion, tracing its existence through the lives of twenty-four great saints, or Tirthankâras. Of these the last two, Parçvanâth and Mâhâvira, were no doubt actual personages, since their names appear in documents and records which have a valid claim to be historical. Modern scholars attribute the foundation of Jainism in its present form to the second of these, Mâhâvira. It is possible, if not indeed probable, that he was rather a reformer of a previously existing sect in which his predecessor, Parçvanâth, occupied a prominent place. Be that as it may, we know that Mâhâvira lived in eastern India in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. He was a native of the State of Vaisali, which corresponded to the modern Tirhût, where he was born and where he died about 480 B.C. After spending some thirty years as an ascetic, and probably as a follower of Parçvanâth, Mâhâvira began his preaching and founded his religion in the region which included his native country. It is a matter of considerable interest that Buddhism and Jainism, which were contemporary, came into existence in identically the same part of India and in about the same era. The Buddha died only ten years before Mâhâvira, and the two religions were to some extent rivals.

Jainism may be termed a monastic religion: it consists of a monastic order and of a laity. Like Buddhism, Jainism was a

definite revolt from the contemporary Brahmanic religion, from its lore and from its ritual, while at the same time it opposed the ascendancy of the Brahman. Having made its appearance in eastern India, at the end of two centuries, it migrated westwards, and its present adherents, who number only one and a half millions in India, are to be found mainly in western India and Rajputana, though considerable groups exist sporadically all over India, and more especially in Delhi and its neighbourhood.

Philosophically, Jainism is a dualistic system. Its fundamental principle is an unmediated dualism between matter on the one hand and spirit on the other. But with this principle is combined a conception according to which soul and matter are almost always found in close conjunction. Though in their natures entirely distinct, they are nearly universally combined. Earth is itself the body of the lowest type of soul, and man himself with his soul is entangled in a material body. The aim, therefore, of the good Jain life is to secure the release, or Nirvâna, of the soul from the fetters of the body. This is to be done by the continued practice of Ahimsâ, which is the principle of abstaining from causing injury to any living creature.

In the practice of asceticism, self-mortification and austerity the Jain monk takes the five great vows of Ahimsâ, truthfulness, honesty, poverty, and chastity. The laity take these vows in a more or less modified shape; but it is a prominent characteristic of Jainism that not only those included in the monastic order, but the laity also have their definite place in the ethical system of the Jain religion and are under definite ethical obligations.

Jainism has not been exempt from the influence of religious discord. In the third century B.C., after the death of Mâhâvira, the religion underwent a great schism; the two divisions, or sects which resulted being known as Digambaras and Swetambaras. They are chiefly differentiated by the fact that the Swetambaras possess a recognized canon of scriptures, while the Digambaras have none, nor do they recognize the authority of the Swetambara canon.

Jainism cannot claim to be a missionary religion, like Buddhism. On the other hand, it has enjoyed comparative freedom from the impact of foreign influences, and has thus existed in more or less unaltered form during the twenty-five centuries which have elapsed since its foundation by Mâhâvira.

SIKHISM was the subject of an able paper contributed by Sardar Kahan Singh, of Nabha, a State which is situated in the part of India termed the Punjab. He is well known as a leading Sikh scholar, deeply versed in the language and contents of the Sikh scriptures, so much so indeed that he was a leader among the group of six learned gentlemen who, in the early

years of this century, carried out a revised translation of the principal portion of the Sikh scriptures, which is known as the *Adi Granth*. It was a work that took many years to complete. Sardar Kahan Singh's efforts were acknowledged publicly by Mr. Macauliffe in his book on the Sikh Religion which was published in 1909. The paper read before the Conference gave a very clear and suggestive view of the purport and teaching of Nânak, the founder of Sikhism, supplemented by quotations from the *Adi Granth* and from the supplementary *Granth*, which contains the utterances of the tenth Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh.

In connection with the subject of Sikhism, it is essential to bear in mind that the word *Sikh* is not the name of a race or nationality or caste, but a term which signifies the follower of a religion. Etymologically the word means a "learner" or "disciple." The Sikhs, or adherents of the Sikh religion, number three and a half million souls, and they live, practically without exception, in the Punjab. They are predominantly a community of sturdy farmers, and they form a very importnat element, numerically one seventh out of twenty-five millions, of the population of that region of India.

Sikhism as a religion is important, not so much on account of its numbers as on account of the prestige attaching to the religious and political history of the Sikhs. Briefly, that history is one of an initial stage of religious reform and revival of a peaceful type, followed by a period of increasing militancy culminating in political ascendancy over northern India. The founder of the religion was Nânak, a man of humble origin, born in 1469 A.D., who appears to have left home in early manhood and to have travelled widely. He proved to be very susceptible to religious influence, and that tendency was developed by his extensive travels. His spiritual attitude was affected by the Vedântism of southern India, and also by the mystical side of Islam, to which he was introduced by the teachings of the famous poet Kabîr, who, though a Muhammadan, had himself been influenced by Hinduism. On the whole, Nânak's system was a revolt from the Brahmanic type of religion which surrounded him. He rejected caste and Brahman usages, as well as the supremacy of the Brahman. He prohibited idolatry and pilgrimages, but accepted the doctrine of transmigration, and claimed to be an incarnation of the deity. He did not found any definite religion, though he purported to be a critic and a reformer of existing religions. In view of the subsequent developments which occurred in the community of his followers it is as well to note that his teaching was entirely devoid of political content. He was a quietist of the pacific type. He died in 1539 A.D.—seven years before his great European contemporary, Martin Luther. He was followed, up to 1675, by a line of eight

Gurus, or spiritual leaders. That period witnessed the beginning and the growth of a spirit of militancy in the Sikh community, which was partly the effect, partly the cause, of extensive persecution by the Muhammadan rulers of India. It culminated in the martyrdom at Delhi of the ninth Guru, Tegh Bahâdur. His son, Gobind Singh, the last and the most famous of the Gurus, succeeded him. He died in 1708, the greater part of his life having been devoted to developing the reforms of Nânak, though in the direction of increased militancy. He exalted military prowess and valiant feats of arms and imparted to his community a distinctly military aspect. His most important act was the foundation, at the end of the seventeenth century, of the Sikh Khâlsa, a kind of Militant Church of the Elect, to whom, as his disciples, he gave the name of *Singh*, or Lion. But, except as to their quietist aspect, he in no way abrogated the teaching or theology or religion of Nânak. His tendency, rather, was to emphasize them. In order to make his Khâlsa a more definite body he instituted a form of ritual, of which the two main elements were a rite somewhat analogous to baptism and a communal meal of consecrated food. His followers were enjoined to carry about their persons, as marks of the true believer, five articles, the name of each of which begins with the letter K.

The most important part of the Sikh scriptures is known as the *Adi Granth*. It was compiled by the fifth Guru at about the end of the sixteenth century, and it contains compositions by Nânak and his successors, and also by certain Hindu and Muhammadan saints. The writings and utterances of Guru Gobind were compiled after his death into a supplementary *Granth*. The two *Granths* constitute the Sikh scriptures, and contain the Sikh system of religion. One of the last injunctions of Guru Gobind was that he should have no successor, and that he would thenceforward dwell in spirit with the Khâlsa, and would be present when two or more of his followers were assembled.

After the death of Gobind Singh the history of the Khâlsa becomes inextricably mingled with the history of northern India, that is to say, with war and bloodshed. In the Punjab there ensued political chaos of the most disastrous kind, culminating in a conflict with the ascendant power of the British in the two Sikh Wars. Nine years later, in 1857, occurred the Indian Mutiny. In that great struggle the Sikhs as a whole rallied to the ranks of their conquerors with a loyalty which has been conspicuous throughout their subsequent history. In the tranquil times which followed, the religious ardour of the Sikhs tended to decline, but the awakening effect of the present century has induced a notable revival of their communal and religious aspirations.

Zoroastrianism, the Religion of the Parsis

By Shams-ul-ulema Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad Noshirvan, Ph.D.

First Class Sardar and High Priest of the Parsis in the Deccan, Poona

Prefatory Note

[In preparing this paper on " Zoroastrianism " for the Congress of Living Religions to be held in London in 1924, I am glad to say that I have derived considerable help from the most valuable works written by many European and American *savants* who have laboured in unearthing the hidden treasures and placing them before the civilized world. Among those scholars whose works I have freely consulted may be pre-eminently mentioned the name of Dr. J. H. Moulton, who in his Hibbert Lectures on *Early Zoroastrianism* has conclusively shown that Zoroastrianism, as found in the Gathas, is purely monotheistic, and that Anghro-Mainyu is a human enemy, while the Ahriman of the Vendidad, which has been turned into a proper noun by the Magi, is only the evil mind of mankind and has no place in the Gathas.

My interpretation of the Gathas also leads me to the same conclusion, inducing me, as it does, to follow the same lines as those followed by him. His lectures and discourses on Zoroastrianism delivered in Bombay a few years ago deserve special mention, since the topics therein touched upon cover a wide range and supply the best food to those interested in the study of religions.

My grateful acknowledgments are therefore due as much to him for the theological portion of my paper as to Dr. Dhalla, my friend and colleague, for the ethical, as both have been largely drawn upon from their most valuable works.—K. A. N.]

Zarathustra, the Prophet and his Idea of Monotheism

ZOROASTRIANISM, or the religion of the Parsis, has derived its name from Zarathustra—or Zoroaster as he is known to European scholars. Like the Hindus, who attribute the compilation of the Purânas and the Mahabharata to Vyâsa, the Parsis attribute all the books of the Avesta to Zoroaster; but the Gathas only were written by him. In the Gathas, Zoroaster claims to have held conversations with Ahura Mazda, the Supreme

Being himself, questioning him about all matters of importance, and receiving always the right answers to his questions. He was an early religious reformer, and the system he propounded, after he had settled down in his new home in Iran, on his separation from the Vedic Aryans, was *Monotheism.* In the course of migration he developed the idea of Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord, and, before long, found a congenial field for his monotheistic form of worship in the dominions of the king Vistaspa, who decreed that this new faith should be the state religion of his kingdom.

The Zoroastrian Theology

When a new faith is introduced among a people brought up in a different faith, at first it finds a small following. The same was the fate with this new faith, viz. Mazdayasnian faith of the order of Zoroaster. At first it gave rise to many deadly feuds. The old faith, though it was in its primitive stage, was believed in and followed by people in the kingdom of the king Vistaspa, and in different principalities of western Asia, and had a firmer hold upon the people than the new one. Even under the Achæmenian rule, though the old faith worshipped Ahura Mazda and the Baghs, still it could not be said to be of the order of Zoroaster in the strictest sense of the word. This state of things continued until the era of Sassanian Empire dawned, and then only the new faith became the accepted faith and the State religion of the empire and the whole of Iran. It changed the whole aspect of religious, social and political fabric of the nation. The essence of Zoroaster's teaching, which mainly lay in rousing the noblest elements in the moral ideas of man—namely, truth, righteousness, and devotion to duty—brought home to the people the importance of the worship of one Supreme Being in place of nature-worship, or the worship of a plurality of Gods. The new teaching enjoined purity in thought, word and deed ; and associated the worship of Ahura Mazda with the symbolic worship of *Fire* as the outward and visible symbol of the Divine. Families and chiefs became inspired alike by one common faith, and paid homage to the will of the King of kings whose personality was as Supreme on earth as Ahura's was in heaven. This idea of the exaltation of a single person as master on earth imbedded itself so deeply in the heart of the Iranian Aryans that it found its reflection in the inscription of Behistun, " King of kings by the grace of Ahura Mazda of this wide earth far and near," long before the times when Darius and Xerxes had flourished, though they were the persons who had it inscribed in their times. As times passed, people became alive to this precious inheritance, as bequeathed to them by Zoroaster.

Zoroaster was a practical teacher, a prophet of the highest order the world has produced. He laid the foundation of monotheism

as compared with the monism into which the nature-worship of the Vedic Aryans subsequently developed. The first and the foremost of his teachings lies in the Omnipotence of God, Ahura Mazda, and not in the identification with the forces of nature. Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord, was not of Zoroaster's creation. He had been worshipped long before Zoroaster flourished. He was the God of the Aryans. (By Aryans here we mean a small group of nobles only.)

The worship of Ahura Mazda was, therefore, a precious inheritance with which he started, and thereby he sought to shew that the spiritual omnipotence of Ahura Mazda did not lie in the creative forces of Nature. This was quite antagonistic to the idea of nature-worship that had found a deep root elsewhere. He thought and preached that darkness and light came from God. "Open and secret things" are alike clear to him (Yasna xxxi. 13) and "He sees far onward" (Yasna xxxiii. 13), the future as clearly as the present. Ahura Mazda, as conceived by Zoroaster, is pictured in the following lines (Yasna xxxi. 7 and 8):

E'er since mine eyes are trained indeed,
O Lord, thee foremost I've conceived,
Thou'rt Father of all mankind
And hence conceivable in mind.
Thou first to think and first to shine
Thy glories into other lights;
Thyself creating, wise, divine
To hold our hopes, our holy rights.
Thou art the same eternally,
Evolving us continually.

Those who read the Gathas cannot fail to observe that Zoroaster's doctrine of God mainly rested upon those abstract conceptions which later teachers called the *Amesha-Spenta*, "The Immortal Holy Ones." So far as the Gathas themselves are concerned, we find no collective name for them, nor of their number being restricted. It is only the later theology that appears to have chosen *six* of these abstract conceptions or attributes and styled them as Archangels. But this only poorly represents Zoroaster's thought, which appears to be that "they are within the being of God, not separate from Him." In other words, Zoroaster meant these attributes to be no less than part and parcel of the Great God, Ahura Mazda. According to him, the Wise Lord, Ahura Mazda, is an *undifferentiated unity*. If the warring forces of Nature were taken to be all powerful in their own sphere, the theory of monotheism, which has been the natural development of the primitive forces of nature, would fall to the ground. His doctrine of God, which appears to us to be a well-considered one, views God as a

meeting-point of the great attributes of God-head. This view of Zoroaster forms an important contribution to human knowledge about God.

The Six Attributes

Let us now consider how far the abstract conceptions or attributes influence the life of man.[1]

I. The first of these is Good Thought (*Vohu Manah*). It is the spring of words and deeds. Good Thought has no transcendental or philosophic significance. It is simply the godliness of men and women living in this world and discharging the duties which their station in life calls upon them to do. *Vohu Manah*—Good Mind suggests kindness, not only to man, but also to dumb animals. The specific mention of this attribute, and the high place it was given among the six attributes by Zoroaster, indicates his close study of human nature. In a land where people led first an agricultural and then a pastoral life, Good Thought was a much needed virtue. Good Thought is also a collective name for right-thinking people in the mass. When we think of the propriety and the practical sense with which this attribute has been given a prominent place, we cannot help being reminded of the lines of an English poet :

> The mind is its own place, and of itself
> Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.

II. Then comes in natural sequence the spirit of Truth and Right (*Asha*). Moulton says that Zoroaster was the first to state that the *spirit of truth* was part of the very essence of the Supreme Being. Universal Law and Order are the natural concomitants, or they might be taken to have their origin in Truth and Right. The term *Asha* is, therefore, used to indicate the Holy and Immortal Laws of the Universe. The inclusion of Asha among the attributes suggests the keen-sightedness on the part of Zoroaster into the practical side of life. It includes, among other things, whatever is true, just and pure. Hence, Ahura Mazda is far above lying, favouritism and injustice.

III. The third in order is the Divine Reign (*Khashtra*). This comes very near the teaching of Christ. The term *Khastra* means not only God's Spiritual Sovereignty but also His dominion of heaven. The later Avesta adds an epithet, *Vairya*—to be desired. As men are endowed with the gifts of Vohu Manah and Asha Vahishta, they can establish by means thereof a kingdom of heaven on earth, and live a life compatible with the precious inheritance

[1] I fully endorse the view taken by Dr. Moulton of the six Divine attributes.

which is theirs. This kingdom of God was on earth when Zoroaster preached the word of God, and will come again, if strenuous efforts are sincerely made and the path which is beset with thorns and brambles is rendered smooth.

IV. The fourth is the spirit of Benevolent Piety or Devotion (*Aramaiti*). It establishes a connecting link, or vital harmony, between God and His worshipper's soul, and is therefore a part of the Supreme Being rather than an attribute of God.

This idea of Benevolent Piety lays axe at the root of the idea that a recluse who has renounced the world and lives on charity is better situated than one who is imbued with the idea that charity begins at home—a practical lesson in the history of the human race. A person who rears up his family and cares for its well-being with no ill thought for others is a far more useful asset to a nation than one who turns his back upon the well-being of his brethren. This practical lesson simply suggests the true sense of charity and piety, as expounded by Zoroaster. Piety with a benevolent mind is, according to Zoroaster, a religious duty.

V. & VI. The fifth and the last are the spirit of Healthful Well-being (*Haurvatat*) and the spirit of Immortality (*Ameratat*). The two are the necessary corollaries to the first four, inasmuch as those who are inspired by the Good Mind, whose actions are regulated by Truth and Right, and who submit to the Divine Reign of Law, working incessantly for the Well-being of their fellow-beings, will be certainly blessed by Ahura Mazda with these blessings here and with Immortality above. "Every good gift and every perfect bounty are from above, and come down from the Father of Lights."

These are not the only abstractions stated in the Gathas; there are others, such as: *Sraosha*, the great angel of Obedience; *Ashi*, the Destiny; and *Gaush Urvan*, the Ox-soul; which have been placed in the forefront by Zoroaster to make up the whole Duty of Man.

Ethical Conceptions of Zoroaster

Meditation in a jungle and self-torture lead only to human weakness, obstructing the spiritual, social and economic progress of man. Zoroaster considers that the highest aim and end of man's life can never be achieved by renouncing the world for a contemplative life, but that it can be gained by active service and by constant struggle for final victory. The interests of society can best be furthered by remaining in and with the world, and by being serviceable to the poor and the needy. The general uplift of humanity, regeneration of society, sacrifice for others, etc., constitute the highest goal of man's life in this world. Disinterested

efforts and self-sacrificing zeal for humanity alone aid the development of his social and domestic virtues. To put it in the words of Dr. Dhalla, "*Exertion* and not inertia is the watchward of life. Spiritual virility and not spiritual inactivity is the ideal." A saintly life can be led better in the hurly-burly of the world than in the jungle or the cloister, as the latter affords man no opportunities to study and ameliorate the condition of human life, because the best service that can be rendered to God is active service to God's creation. Then comes social ethics which is, as a whole, not separate from, but bound up with, personal ethics. Sexual relationship and the stability of society are interdependent. The real aim of marriage is not merely the gratification of carnal desires, but the perpetuation of the race, and thereby the propagation of the Zoroastrian Faith. To abandon the wife or husband, or to be faithless while in wedlock, mars the beauty of family life and even brings about a moral ruin of the family. Last, but not least, comes *legal ethics*, which deals in spirit, though not in the exact words of the Gathas, with cheating, breach of promise, false covenants, perjury, misappropriation of others' property, etc. These are considered as abominable sins and are, therefore, strictly forbidden. *Drujademan* awaits those who are actuated by, and perpetrate, these sins. Obedience to parents, and reverence for elderly persons and those in authority, and loyalty to the king may be said, with other things, to sum up the legal ethics of Zoroaster. To be always humble and to do good to the public form an essential part of man's life. To implicitly bring the triad of Good Thought, Good Word and Good Deed into force in everyday-life, which formed the prominent feature of Zoroaster's life, ought to be a guiding rule of conduct with the Zoroastrians in their personal, social and legal relations with others.

Zoroaster's Idea of the Hereafter

Man is the master of his own body and is therefore responsible for his own deeds, good or bad. It is his thought, word and deed that enable him to carve out his destiny for the next world, where no good will remain unrewarded, and no evil unpunished, for that is the place which determines the merit and demerit of man. Reward for good and retribution for evil depend upon the way in which the life here is led. The righteous go to heaven and enjoy eternal happiness, and the wicked are dragged into hell to suffer punishment for evil.[1]

[1] I take the responsibility of adding to this short paragraph a translation of part of Yasht xxii. by the late Dr. J. Hope Moulton. It illustrates the idea of life after death, and is to be found in Dr. Moulton's book in the Cambridge University Press Manuals: *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*.—[EDITOR].

Glory to Thee, O Mazda! Lo, I turn
From dazzling visions of Thy home of light,
And find me weary in the strife again,
To battle with the watchful fiends that line
Man's path to Heaven. Yet in the sacred Fire
I pray Thee let my waking thoughts recall
Sights that can soothe and strengthen.
I beheld,
And lo, from out the eternal House of Song,
One came and answered my unspoken prayer:
"How came I hither? Thou must tell the tale
Of what I was, a mortal, for the years
Of bliss have swept the memory away.
It may be the fell demons of disease
Vanquished my body, while the Death-fiend nigh
Waited the hour to swoop upon her prey.
What recked I? I was free.
Three days I watched
Hard by the spot whence weeping friends had borne
The demond-haunted frame that once was mine.
New light had dawned on all the earthly scenes
Where once I seemed to struggle all alone
Against the Lie; for myriad angel forms
Thronged o'er the foughten field, and silently
Strengthened the weary warrior with their aid.
And joy whose like the world had never known
Bade me forget the tears that death had drawn
And death should dry. . . .
Long time I gazed
Dazzled at Heaven, or blinded upon Hell;
Till o'er the abyss I saw a thin bright line
Stretched up to that fair portal, and I knew
the Bridge of Judgment. Lo, an angel dread
Sat there beside, and in his hand the scales
To weigh the good and evil. At his bar
I stood, yet feared not, while good angels pled
And demons fierce accused me, till the scale
Sank with the load of everlasting joy.
So with my Angel forth I sped and passed
The Bridge of Judgment, passed the Heavens Three,
Good Thought, Good Word, Good Action, and beyond
Soared to the place of Everlasting Light,
Ahura Mazda's boundless House of Song,
A Saint's voice hailed me, 'How hast hither come,
From carnal world to spiritual, from the realm
Of Death to life, to bliss that cannot die?'
And from the Throne came answer. 'Question not
Him that has trod the dread and unknown path
Which parts the body and the soul for aye.'"

—Yasht xxii. (translated by the late Dr. J. Hope Moulton).

Influence of Zoroastrianism on Modern Thought

Anquetil du Perron, the first translator of the Zend-Avesta, in his critical view of the theological and ceremonial system of Zoroaster, sums up the Zoroastrian creed thus:

> The first point in the theological system of Zoroaster is to recognize and adore the Master of all that is good, the Principle of all righteousness, Ormuzd[1] [according to the form of worship prescribed by him], and with purity of thought, of word, and of action—a purity which is marked and preserved by purity of body. Next, to have a respect, accompanied by gratitude, for the intelligence to which Ormuzd has committed the care of Nature, to take in our actions his attributes for models, to copy in our conduct the harmony which reigns in the different parts of the Universe, and generally to honour Ormuzd in all that he has produced. The second part of the religion consists in detesting the author of all evil, moral and physical, Ahriman[2]—his productions, and his works; and to contribute, as far as in us lies, to exalt the glory of Ormuzd by enfeebling the tyranny which the Evil principle exercises over the world.

These simple truths, as propounded by this sublime religion, have been fast influencing modern thought in more ways than one. Men of science, philosophers and divines have admitted them in their works of science and theology as the basic principles upon which the whole edifice of a religion ought to be built. A great recommendation which the religion of Zoroaster can make to modern thought is that it is not burdened with the dead weight of traditional dogmas and miracles. Its chief doctrine is that there exists one Supreme Being, manifesting himself in the Universe under certain fixed laws. No progress of science or philosophy conflicts with it. Religion, or love for the Supreme Being, which lies beyond the sphere of human sense and reason, shines through this pure medium more brightly than through that of the misty metaphysics.

Zoroastrianism as a Universal Religion

In view of the approximation between the Zoroastrian religion and the forms of modern thought, it is interesting to note how the former works among its adherents in actual practice. For the practical side of a religion is more important than its speculative or philosophical theories. Tried by this test, Zoroastrianism has a superior claim to be called "the religion of the world."

We have already shewn that some of the distinguishing features of Zoroastrianism are largely due to the crystalization of ideas floating in solution at certain periods of evolution of societies.

[1] Ahura Mazda. [2] Anghra Mainyu.

At the period which marks the cleavage between the Iranian and Vedic Aryans, we find that when nature-worship and polytheism existed, it was Zoroaster who brought home to his followers the fallacy of both, and preached monotheism. So far as the fundamental ideas and the essential spirit of religion, as preached by Zoroaster, are concerned, his religion comes nearer those of the most advanced modern thought. Polytheism, which originated in ancestor-worship, perished because the idea of a plurality of Gods could not satisfy the earnest mind of Zoroaster. With the advance of morality, which became one of the elements that constitute religion, the cruel rites and scandalous fables which accompanied polytheism became very shocking to an awakening conscience. Then came, as a matter of necessity, monotheism, which had for its basis a good practical sense. Monotheism, as conceived by Zoroaster, gives the outline of a creed which goes further than any other to meet the practical wants of the present day, and to reconcile the conflicts between faith and science.

To put it briefly, the religion of Zoroaster has, among other things, had the following advantages. The essence of his religion lies in the fact that there is one Supreme Being, Ahura Mazda, manifesting himself in the Universe under certain fixed laws, that this God is personal, that the destiny of man is also personal, with no outside agency to influence or alter it, and that the immortality granted to man, being individual, can affect his destiny as well as that of the Universe, inasmuch as, speaking of the last, the rewards and punishments given to man depend upon the way in which his efforts are directed. Another notable feature is that the whole conception of monotheism is based upon the threefold conception, Good Thought, Good Word and Good Deed, with which no progress of science or philosophy can conflict.

Zoroaster's code of morality is as complete as it could be. His religion aims at the enforcement of sanitary rules, kindness to animals, hospitality to strangers and travellers, respect to superiors, and help to the poor and the needy. This comprehensiveness is seen more vividly when we find that it does not offend against the moral code of any other religion. Kindness to animals is specially enjoined, as ill-treatment to animals is considered a sin. It might be said that the practical wisdom of Zoroaster, which is seen in all his precepts, has not lost sight of the " Falsehood of extremes," since it is not carried so far as to prohibit the killing of an animal when necessary. It certainly redounds to the credit of Zoroaster that, at so early a period in the history of civilization, he conceived what might appear to the most enlightened in the twentieth century to be simply astounding. His precepts approximate to the forms of modern thought. The fundamental truths, as found in his religion, work very harmoniously among its adherents in actual

practice. For we know that the practical side of a religion is more important than its speculative or philosophical theories.

Tried by these tests, Zoroastrianism has a high claim to be called the Universal Religion. Its followers, though limited in number, are known for probity, intelligence, enterprise, public spirit, benevolence and many other good qualities.

Jainism

By Rai Bahadur Jagmander Lal Jaini,
M.A., M.R.A.S.,

Barrister-at-law, Chief Justice and Law Member, Indore

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I deem it a great honour and privilege that you have kindly invited me to represent one of the greatest and most ancient religions of the world, i.e. JAINISM. On behalf of all the Jainas of India, and on my behalf, I thank you for your kindness.

I propose to deal with the subject as follows :

(A) Leading and characteristic doctrines.

(B) Numbers and geographical distribution of the adherents.

(C) Effect of the system on the daily life of the adherents.

(*A*) *LEADING AND CHARACTERISTIC DOCTRINES*

Theological Propositions

1. Living man, as we see him, is a dual personality ; material and spiritual. The soul impregnates a nucleus, and thus the dual personality is evolved. It is in this sense that the saying that God put breath into human body is strictly true. The fully evolved soul is God, the nucleus is the clay into which breath is put by the entry of this potentially divine soul in its incomplete, sinful, mundane form.

2. The soul as inhabiting the bodies of living beings in the world is not perfect. In its perfect condition, it has the infinite quaternary (*Ananta Chatushtaya*) of Infinite Perception (*Ananta Darsana*), Knowledge (*Jñâna*), Power (*Viryâ*) and Bliss (*Sukha*).

3. By following the proper method, the soul gradually frees itself from all matter and becomes perfect, i.e. attains liberation, emancipation, salvation or Godhood.

4. Man himself, and he alone, is responsible for all that is good or bad in his life.

Metaphysical Categories

The chief points of the metaphysics of Jainism are thus enumerated:

(1) Three divisions of Time—present, past and future; (2) Six Substances (*Dravyas*) with nine classifications (*Padârthas*); (3) Six kinds of Embodied Soul; (4) Six Thought-paints; (5) Five Substances having body (*Astikâyas*); (6) The five Vows (*Vratas*); (7) The five kinds of Carefulness (*Samiti*); (8) The five Conditions of Existence (*Gati*); (9) The five kinds of Knowledge (*Jnâna*); and (10) The five kinds of Conduct (*Châritra*).

5. The six Substances are:

(1) Soul (*Jîva*); (2) Matter (*Pudgala*); (3) Fulcrum of Motion (*Dharma*); (4) Fulcrum of Rest (*Adharma*); (5) Space (*Akâsa*); and (6) Time (*Kâla*).

6. The following are known as the seven Principles (*Tattvas*):

(1) Soul (*Jîva*); (2) Non-soul (*Ajîva*); (3) Inflow of matter into soul (*Asrava*); (4) Bondage of soul by matter (*Bandha*); (5) Stoppage of inflow of matter into soul (*Samvara*); (6) Shedding of matter by the soul (*Nirjarâ*); and (7) Liberation of soul from matter (*Moksha*).

These seven, with Merit (*Punya*), and demerit (*Pâpa*), are known as the nine Classifications (*Padârthas*).

7. There are six kinds of Embodied Souls:

(1) Earth-bodied as in the mineral kingdom; (2) Water-bodied; (3) Fire-bodied; (4) Air-bodied; (5) Vegetable-bodied; and (6) Mobile, i.e. so embodied that they have more than one sense.

That is to say, that for the Jain there is a soul in all the kingdom of nature, and the task of man, the self-conscious human being, is to liberate that soul that it may become freed from delusion, and attain perfection.

8. There are six Thought-colours or paints:

(1) Black; (2) Blue; (3) Grey; (4) Yellow; (5) Pink; (6) White.

9. There are five Substances having body:

Soul (*Jîva*); Matter (*Pudgala*); Fulcrum of Motion (*Dharma*); Fulcrum of Rest (*Adharma*); and Space (*Akâsa*).

10. There are five vows:

Non-injury (*Ahimsâ*); Truth (*Satya*); Non-stealing (*Asteya*); Chastity (*Brâhma-chârya*); and Non-attachment to worldly objects (*Aparigraha*).

11. There are five kinds of Carefulness, or discretion, relating to

(1) Walking; (2) Speech; (3) Eating; (4) Rising and Lying down; and (5) Excretion.

12. There are five States of Existence in which sentient beings may exist:

(1) Inmates of Hell (*Naraki*); (2) Sub-human beings (*Tiryancha*); (3) Human beings (*Manusya*); (4) Celestial beings (*Dêva*); and (5) Liberated beings (*Siddha*).

13. There are five classes of Knowledge:

(1) Knowledge through the senses (*Mati*); (2) Scriptural knowledge gained through study (*Śruta*); (3) Direct knowledge of matter limited in space and time, the apperception of various states of matter (*Avadhi*); (4) Direct knowledge of others mental activity about matter, apperception of mind (*Manahparyâya*); and (5) Perfect knowledge, or omniscience (*Kevala*).

14. There are five kinds of Conduct:

(1) Equanimity (*Sâmâyika*); (2) Recovery of equanimity after a downfall (*Chhedopasthapana*); (3) Absolute non-injury (*Parihara-visudhi*); (4) All but entire freedom from Passion (*Sûkshma-samparâya*); and (5) The ideal and passionless state (*Yatha-khyata*).

Sevenfold Logic

The greatest contribution of Jainism to metaphysics is the famous doctrine of *Syâdvâda* and *Saptabhangî*, which is an attempt to save the human intellect from the semi-paralysis of monistic conception. It is the corrective of the fallacy into which fell the two knights who saw different sides of a shield, for it is the insistence that two seemingly contradictory statements may both be true if some trouble be taken to find out the two points of view from which the statements are made. In the example of the two knights a possible cause of misunderstanding is at once apparent, but it is not always so obvious, and the fallacies arising are often a fruitful source of misunderstanding. Seven classes of Points of View are noted. They are:

(1) *Syâd asti*: A is. A rose is.—(2) *Syân nasti*: A is not. A rose is not, from the point of view of a clock.—(3) *Syâd asti nasti*: A is and is not. A rose is and is not, as in (1) and (2).—(4) *Syâd avaktavya*: from a certain point of view it is impossible to describe A; e.g. from the point of view of integral calculus it may be difficult to describe a rose.—(5) *Syâd asti cha avaktavya*: A is, and it is impossible to describ

A. This is a combination of (1) and (4).—(6) *Syân nâsti cha avaktavya*: A is not, and it is impossible to describe A. This is a combination of (2) and (4).—(7) *Syâd asti cha nâsti cha avaktavya*: A is and A is not, and it is impossible to describe A. This is a combination of (1), (2) and (4).

From these seven modes of expression the system derives also its second name *Sapta-bhangi*, i.e. sevenfold system of logic.

Ethical System

16. *Ahimsâ*, Non-injury to and sympathetic relief of the sufferings of all living beings. This is the greatest characteristic of Jainism. Long before Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose of Calcutta proved to Western science that plants have life and respiration, Jainism, thousands of years ago, gave plants a very high place in the scale of living beings. With this the next characteristic is essentially connected.

17. The clear-cut, well-defined division of all substances in the world into two exhaustive categories, namely, the Living and Non-living Substances; or the *Jîva* and *Ajîva Dravyas*.

In this address I propose to develop this characteristic in detail, according to Jainism, after one or two preliminary remarks.

The Living and the Non-Living Substances

Jainism is a great word. But Truth is still a greater one. And Jainism is eternal and great in direct proportion to its identity with Truth. The Jainas claim that Jainism is Truth. I do not presume to define Truth, but a general definition of it may be given. That which most easily and in most divergent circumstances satisfies the inner and outer needs of the greatest number of living beings is Truth. Jainism seems to satisfy this criterion.

It rules out all mere mysticism and vague scepticism. If we *cannot* know, if there *is* nothing real which can be known, we cannot move, and have no need to. But this attitude is refuted by even a superficial observation of things and men, and indeed by our very desire to discuss and to discover. Jainism is not for the materialist and the sceptic. A materialist need not waste his time thinking about it, but, if he believes that study may be of value to him, it is open like the vast book of Nature; it is fresh and illuminating like the Dawn. But Nature is a closed book to the ignorant; the Dawn is not for the blind; therefore, leaving ignorant materialism and blind scepticism on one side, we start on our Quest of First Principles.

"I Think, Therefore I Am"

Great souls have laboured in the field and made our task easier. Descartes, arguing from his very doubts, concluded that they

implied thinking, and thinking proved the existence of a thinking individual, i.e. himself. His famous: *Cogito, ergo sum* ("I think, therefore I am") is well known. Most ordinary observation leads to the same conclusion. Everybody is sure of two facts; one, that he or she exists as a *living* being; and the other, that some other things, for example, the clothes on the body or the chair on which it rests, are non-living. This distinction between the living and the non-living is logically perfect. It is the starting-point of Truth. Let us grasp it firmly. These two existences or substances, the living and the non-living, are universal, undeniable, self-evident facts. To make this great first Truth sink deep into us, let us pause to consider further its two aspects of life and lifelessness.

Life is felt as a fact, just as the sun is seen as a fact. We cannot touch the sun with our hands, neither can we analyse or create life in the laboratory. Science has flapped its impotent wings for centuries to break away from the limits of its cage, but in vain. The theory to-day is that living matter has been evolved from non-living matter. But a great scientist says:

> With regard to this view of the origin of life, in our opinion it has failed to explain many of the features of living matter by purely physical and chemical laws . . . and that even if, in the course of a few generations, it may be shown that living matter has been evolved from "inorganic" substances, then we may find that what we at present consider inorganic is in reality organic matter.—(Professor W. D. Henderson in his *Biology*, pp. 13–14.)

This is a cautious attitude, and leaves the eternal distinction between the living and the non-living substances. What are these two substances? At the outset one marvellous thing is noticeable. We *do* see purely non-living things, as the pen and paper with which I write. But pure life is never met with. So the position really is that we have (1) living substance mixed with non-living substance; and (2) non-living substance. There is non-living matter in both. But in one there is life also; in the other, not.

The Phenomenon of Death

Another important factor is the fact of Death. What was a mixture of living and non-living substances is reduced by death to inanimate substance. By careful comparison we can trace the characteristic features of life and its differences from lifelessness.

The first thing we notice in one who was living but is dead now is that he has no vitality of the senses. He cannot touch, taste, smell, see or hear. He has no force, no vitality of body, speech, or mind. But these things may be absent also in a living man who is asleep or in a trance. Therefore we examine the respiration. If it is there, we say, "He still lives"; if not, we say, "He

has breathed his last." It is also popular speech to say of a dead man, "He has numbered his days"; "His time has come," etc. Without going into the insoluble mysteries of metaphysics, in the above common observations we have the most self-evident distinction between living and lifeless objects. If we can believe in the testimony of our own immediate observation, confirmed by the fact that the experience of every other thinking being is exactly the same, we must sum up the distinction between living and non-living substances thus. A living substance has, and a non-living substance has not:

(1) the Vitality of one or more of the five senses; (2) the Power of body, speech and mind; (3) Respiration; and (4) Age.

Consciousness

These four may be called the four (or, with their sub-divisions, the ten) Vitalities of Living Beings. But it is noticeable that all these are also a manifestation of one underlying fact; viz. that of Consciousness. And in a dead body the sense organs are there, but there is none of that consciousness which in life responded to stimulus; then, fundamentally, it is consciousness which distinguishes life from lifelessness.

Too much and too careful thought cannot be given to this subject of consciousness. If we do not understand it, we shall wander from the Truth. Let us, therefore, try to gain further insight.

We often pass through a street without seeing or hearing things which are present before the eye and the ear. A man spoke; but we say, "I am sorry I did not hear him." The sound waves impinged on the ear, and yet we did not hear—simply because we were absorbed otherwise; our consciousness was not attentive. This attentiveness of consciousness is another great distinction between the living and the lifeless, and, of course, it will be of as many different sorts as there are activities of the senses, mind, and the soul of which we can be conscious. We can be conscious of an object of sight, or of the other four senses; or of the soul itself directed to a material object or to its own Omniscience.

Attention

Notice also, that of necessity, this Attention is essential to any kind of knowledge. As a matter of fact, if we subject any piece of our knowledge to deep analysis we can note the following stages:

(1) To begin with, there is consciousness itself. This is the centre of life. It is life itself. It is what is called soul.

(2) It must be attentive to cognize an object, to be inclined towards an object.

(3) It must cognize the object, i.e. it must be aware that some object is present there.

(4) Then it must attend to know that object in however slight detail. This is attentiveness which must precede knowledge.

(5) Then a detail is grasped and knowledge begins.

And from all the above knowledge about the words you are reading you may lead yourself on to a knowledge of something else which is not in the words themselves. So from the mere sense of having seen the words, i.e. from a merely sensitive knowledge about them, you may go on to think they are philosophical symbols.

Consciousness may further know things directly without the intermediation of the senses or the mind. The soul itself may visualize a material thing directly, or its impression in the mind of another. This kind of knowledge is very rare, and can be understood only after profound study and a life of controlled discipline and purity. And still more difficult to understand is Omniscience. Consciousness is the mighty characteristic of life.

Mixture of Living and Non-Living Substance

Although non-living substance is found in abundance around us, living substance always seems to be mixed up with non-living. Popular phraseology teaches us to call this non-living sheath of the living consciousness its " Body." One body, one soul, seems to be the general motto of the universe. There are exceptions, but they need not be considered at present. Botanical and other scientific researches have taught us of parasites and their hosts, so one body becomes the lodging of many souls. But, to use popular parlance, one unified, individual consciousness forms the ego, or soul, and it fills one body. The crudest observation shows that this consciousness has the capacity of completely filling the size of its particular body. The elephant has a conscious individual soul ; so has an ant. So we may note as the third distinction between life and lifeless matter that life has the capacity of completely filling its lifeless sheath with consciousness, or, in other words, of being co-extensive with its body.

Notice also that the same grow fat on high living, or grow thin by disease. Indeed, the little, new-born baby becomes a big boy, then a bigger, powerful man, and then a weak, emaciated, old man ; yet all through, the same one individual consciousness completely fills the body in its different sizes. The soul is capable of contraction and expansion.

Look at the living-non-living mixture from another point of view. We attribute activity and enjoyment to it. We say of a man's act, " What a good or bad thing he has done." When a man acts without restraint, or rashly, and comes to grief, we say,

" This is the fruit of his folly." If a man is good and prosperous, we say, " Oh ! he does deserve it all and more." These popular phrases really have a philosophical significance. They attribute responsibility and reward to the conscious being. They imply that the conscious being is an active, responsible agent ; is the Doer of all actions ; and is the Enjoyer of the fruits of these actions, good or bad.

It is necessary to remember these, lest we should fall into the error of exempting the soul, ego or individual consciousness from all responsibility for actions, good or bad, and thus at one stroke uproot all ethical distinctions and put a full stop to discriminate actions.

Inner and Outer Activity

We must also draw a distinction between the actions and the inner activity, to which these external actions are due. From the practical point of view we emphasize the external actions, from the real point of view their cause is in the inner activity of our consciousness. But the responsible agent of both these is the individual conscious ego, or Self.

Pure conscious being is differentiated from matter, which is unconscious.

There is no means at present of studying life or the soul directly in its pure condition without any admixture of matter. We are in the world. There is no pure soul in our part of the world. All are embodied or mundane souls. In studying them, except in abstract thought, we cannot separate the living soul from its sheath of non-living matter, i.e. the body. But an embodied soul does sometimes attain to such a high degree of purity that we can form a near idea of a soul that is perfected. As we approach perfection we find that satisfaction in, and pleasure through, the senses shrinks more and more ; and that direct cognition and pure knowledge correspondingly increase. And from this it is justifiable to conclude that ultimately the ideal or perfect soul will be identical with pure consciousness, which has complete and absolute knowledge, with the attendant attributes of power and bliss. This stage can only be attained by total separation or liberation from matter.

Pure Soul

Thus, from a consideration of the differences between living and non-living substance, we can arrive at a conception of a Pure Soul, the Highest Self, the Ideal, God, or whatever other name you like.

Living substance rises higher and higher, and ultimately, when entirely rid of matter, it rushes upwards to its ultimate and eternal condition of pure light and Self-Absorption.

There its modifications are its own perpetual self-modifications. It has reached the end of the world. It has perfect cognition and perfect knowledge. It is itself. It is liberated. It is pure Soul.

The Living Substance

But here below in the world, the pure qualities of the soul are mixed with matter. So we find that Attention, Cognition and Knowledge, which are the attributes of Pure Consciousness, are found to exist in the embodied soul side by side with the characteristics of the body, and share in the responsibility for the action of the law of sowing and reaping, which operates as long as consciousness and matter are united in the physical universe.

The whole of the picturesque and varied combinations of life in the universe—physical, mental and emotional—are the effect of the infinite variety of ways in which the living can unite with the non-living.

Let us try to consider this glorious, variegated wealth of embodied life, souls in air and water, earth and sky. The whole universe is packed full of living creatures. Indeed, we discover life in such out-of-the-way and unexpected places that some Great Intellects have gone the length of saying that *all* is life and there is no lifeless matter at all. This, of course, is easily refuted by common observation. In trying to understand the almost incomprehensible vastnesses of space and time, let us keep a cool and dispassionate head, lest, in our admiration for one of the several constituents of the universe, we should deny others, and thus cripple our further and full knowledge of the whole truth. The checking of our premises and first conclusions again and again is absolutely essential if we, imperfect human beings, wish to gain perfect knowledge of Perfection (i.e. of Truth). The search after Truth is not a child's play; the path to it is more narrow to traverse than the passage of the camel through the eye of the needle, in the Bible.

The universe, then, teems with infinite living forms. How should we observe, analyse and classify them, so that we can advance on the path of our tremendous, trackless Enquiry?

I propose to consider them in three different ways, (1) *Jîva Samas*, (2) *Jîva Margana*, and (3) *Jîva Gunasthâna*.

(1) The obvious differences in the development of body, senses and mind which we find in various grades of souls. The body is the basis of this classification.

(2) The more subtle differences in species, emotion, knowledge or experience, conation, etc. In this stage the embodied condition of the soul is a mixture of the living and non-living conditions.

(3) Is the purely inner progress of the soul. In it the spiritual progress of the soul from ignorance and delusion to perfect self-absorption is traced.

i. Fourteen Soul-Classes

From the protoplasm of the germ-cell to a fully developed human being there are an infinite number of evolving beings in the universe. The protoplasm, so far as is known at present, has no hearing or sight, no sense of taste or smell; it has only the sense of touch. The human being has five senses fully developed, and a mind also, which is a kind of additional and higher sense, the organ of which sense is invisible to us. Thus we can divide mundane souls into seven classes.

(1) There are those with the sense of fine touch only; (2) those with the sense of gross touch only; and those with the added attributes of (3) the sense of taste, (4) that of smell, (5) sight, (6) hearing, and (7) mind.

Some of these are born and completely developed; others are born, but die before acquiring the capacity to develop. Each one of the seven may therefore be developable or non-developable. Thus there may be said to be fourteen soul-classes in all.

There is also another distinction. Some mundane souls can voluntarily change their place in space. A man attacked with a sword or by a lion can run away. So also a dog, bird or even a maggot, or the finest animalculæ which can *see*, can move away from danger. It is an example of the universal instinct of self-preservation.

But a blade of grass, a tree or a stone in a quarry cannot run away before the scythe or spade which threatens to put an end to its life. This capacity for voluntary motion, therefore, sub-divides souls into the Mobiles and the Immobiles.

Observation will shew that, as a rule, all the one-sensed souls are immobile, incapable of voluntary change of place; and that all the others are mobile, that is to say, they can run away at will from danger.

ii. Soul-Quest

What are the characteristics of a mundane soul? In other words, along what path can one search for and find the soul? There are fourteen different orders:

(1) It may be (*a*) human or (*b*) sub-human; or it may be a non-human soul in the sky or under the earth; these latter are the celestial and hellish beings, whose existence has been posited in all the ancient systems of thought, though we cannot see them. But there is nothing inherently impossible in the conception of living beings who can think and feel and change their bodies at will, as described by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*.

(2) The characteristic of the five senses gives us another classification. We call it the Senses-Order (*Indriya*).

(3) The different embodiments of immobile and mobile souls furnish other characteristics, another kind of Quest. It is obvious that the body of a vegetable and a man are radically different. Ultimately, as matter, they may be and are the same. But their differences are equally marked. At a certain stage people divide into vegetarians and non-vegetarians; vegetarians give up taking lives higher than vegetables, because the bodies of animals are more evolved, approximate more nearly to their own bodies. (*Kâya.*)

I wish to digress a little here. " Live and let live " as a motto for life is as simple as it is profound. No one has the right to destroy any life. Every creature has the right to live.

Now, the curious thing is that life thrives on life. No living creature can continue to live without another life being sacrificed. How can one reconcile these two facts: the duty of not taking another's life, with the right to preserve one's own, which obviously necessitates destruction of some other? The reconciliation *can* be effected by interpreting the two precepts in a practical way, but not in an impossible antinomian fashion.

The *ideal* practice of non-injury is possible only to the soul in its perfect condition (i.e. when it has freed itself from the last particle of matter). On this side of that happy state, do whatever we will, some life must be transformed into our life in order to sustain it. Therefore what is meant and enjoined is simply this: *Let the destruction be confined to things which have only one sense, such as vegetables, which have only the sense of touch, and cannot move from place to place; do not destroy anything which has sight, hearing, taste or smell, and can move away from danger.* The purer souls will, of course, not like to sanction even this. But, as formulated above, the rule does not sanction hurting or injury, and it limits destruction to the lowest possible minimum.

(4) All activities of the body and mind are the cause of the inner modifications or vibrations of our individual consciousness. An angry thought, a noble impulse, the passion of patriotism, and infinity of movements of body, speech and mind produce almost visible changes in matter. There is a constant circulation, action and reaction between these outward acts and the inner (consciousness) vibrations, of which the external vibrations are the cause.

Our speech or thoughts may be true or false, a mixture of both or neither. This gives eight classifications. The body has several interpenetrating sheaths. Their activity can be distinguished in no less than seven ways. Thus the vibration Quest of the Soul gives fifteen main orders (for details see Gommatasara: *Jîva Kanda, Gathas* 215 *et seq*).

(5) Every soul has the instinct of propagation. Life reproduces itself. This is due to sex-impulse. This takes three well-known

forms, male, female and hermaphrodite. We can search for the soul in these three sex distinctions.

(6) The sixth division is the quest of the soul through the passional nature, which includes anger, sorrow, fear, ennui, and various forms of self-indulgence. There are sixteen main passions and many minor forms, and behind them hides an evolving soul that must be freed.

(7) The seventh division is the characteristic of those souls which are evolving through knowledge, which is of eight kinds (five right, i.e. sensitive, scriptural, visual, mental and perfect, and three liable to error, i.e. sensitive, scriptural and visual).

(8) The eighth class analyses the souls who have attained to various stages in the art of self-control. Its classifications range from those which have no control at all to those which have achieved complete passionless equanimity—seven degrees in all. (*Samyamo.*)

(9) The indefinite cognition Quest, with its divisions of ocular, non-ocular, visual and perfect.

(10) The tenth order of characteristics relates to colour. "A black-hearted man," "pale with fear," "red with rage," "green with jealousy" are familiar phrases. They indicate the interplay of mind and matter, and the headings of the various classes are black, blue, grey, yellow, pink, or red, and white.

(11) You may seek souls in two classes; those who are capable of Liberation, and those who are not capable of Liberation. The capacity of Liberation is the basis of this quest. (*Bhâvya.*)

(12) No living being is without some kind of creed, set of beliefs. He may or may not realize or analyse them. He may or may not express them either to himself or anyone else; but there they are in his inner being.

Analysed, there are two triads and six classes, and Right Belief is the basis of the Quest. (*Samyaktva.*)

(13) Souls have mind or not. They are Rational or Irrational. This is the Rationality Quest. (*Sanjna.*)

(14) Souls are in incarnation, as celestial, human, sub-human and hellish beings, and then they are assimilating particles of matter for their physical bodies every instant. But in transmigration from one condition of existence to another there is no assimilation of matter for a physical body.

This distinction gives us the Assimilation Quest. (*Âhara.*)

iii. Spiritual Stages

In freeing the soul from its combination with matter, we notice fourteen stages:

(1) The soul has delusion. It has Wrong Belief. (*Mithâytva.*)

(2 It had Right Belief, but it is falling from that to Wrong Belief. This is the Downfall stage. (*Sasâdana.*)

(3) It is in a stage of Mixed Right and Wrong Belief. (*Misra.*)

(4) It has Right Belief; but does not act upon it; does not resolve

or vow to follow it in actual life. It is Vowless Right Belief. (*Avirata Samyaktva.*)

(5) It may follow it by partial Vows. We may call it the Partial Vow stage. (*Desa-Virata.*)

(6) It may be with all possible Vows, but may keep them imperfectly. We call it the Imperfect Vow stage. (*Pramatta-Virata.*)

(7) If it has all Vows and keeps them perfectly, we have the Perfect Vow stage. (*Apramatta-Virata.*)

(8) When all Vows are kept perfectly, then new inner progress begins. The soul has a new inner thought-activity. We call it the New Thought-Activity. (*Apûrva Karana.*)

(9) Further advance gives us the Advanced Thought-Activity stage. (*Nirvrithi Karana.*)

(10) Then we near the Goal. Delusion is leaving us. When it has all but left us we call it the stage of Slightest Delusion. (*Sûkshma Samparâya.*)

(11) If all Delusion has entirely subsided we call the stage one of Subsided Delusion. (*Upasânta-Moha.*)

(12) If Delusion is destroyed we are in the stage of Destroyed Delusion. (*Kshîna-Moha.*)

(13) Then the soul knows all, sees all. Still, it has the body of its last incarnation and it vibrates, as every body does at every instant. We call this the stage of Vibratory Omniscience. (*Sayoga-Kevalî.*)

Omniscience

(14) Finally when the body ceases and vibration stops, the stage is one of Non-vibratory Omniscience. Then the soul is at the end of its mundane existence and becomes liberated from all Karmic matter for ever; and rushes upwards to enjoy its own eternal, suprasensual, undisturbable, Infinite Bliss along with Infinite Knowledge and Power. It is itself; the Goal is reached; the Ideal is realized; it has Perfect Right Belief; it is the acme of Fineness; it has no high or low class, because all pure souls are the same; it is interpenetrable with them. There is no struggle for existence, because there is pure and full existence for all. It has dropped its last body for ever. Its modifications are its own perpetual, continuous self-modifications. It has reached the end of the universe and is steady there. (*Ayoga-Kevatî.*)

(*B*) *NUMBERS AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE JAINS*

The Jainas are found all over the world, but of course their home is India. According to census, they number more than twelve lacs or 1,200,000. They include a few Englishmen and women

also, who believe in Jainism as their practical creed, and who are members of the Mahâvîra Brotherhood or Universal Fraternity founded in London on August 24th, 1913.

(C) *EFFECT OF THE SYSTEM ON THE DAILY LIFE OF THE ADHERENTS*

The effect of Jainism on its votaries is as marvellous as one would imagine from the greatness of its teachings. It may be said that in Jainism morality begins at a point where in most other religions it may seem to end. A man can hardly be a Jain unless he is in the fourth spiritual stage (described above, on page 228). The greatest proof of my position is this, that whereas most of the ancient religions born in India have been extinguished, assimilated or expelled by the other religions, Jainism has survived all shocks and attacks, political and otherwise, since at least from 1,000 B.C.

A few other effects may be noted. The Jains are a law-abiding people. Their criminal record is marvellously white. The proportion of criminals among Jainas is the lowest in India.

In trade and commerce they almost top the list. There is not a district or town in which Jainas are in any considerable number where they do not take a leading position as landed proprietors, bankers, merchants, lawyers, and in other honourable professions. There are no Jaina beggars or mendicants to be found anywhere. They have bi-weekly, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly newspapers and magazines in several languages—two of them being in English. They have schools for boys and girls, boarding-houses, ashrams for widows, orphanages, pinjrapols, dharamshalas attached to places of pilgrimage, and in large cities they have their associations, conferences, for all India and different provinces, and all other usual institutions of modern civilization. Their community takes an interest in all modern movements, and they are very enterprising.

But the greatest effect of Jainism upon Jainas is that it has saturated their souls with *Ahimsâ*. Through centuries of tradition and discipline it has become impossible for a true Jain to hurt anyone in any way by thought, word or action. Non-violence is the twin-sister of Pity, which is the essential heart of actual practised Truth. Thus a man or woman, Jain or non-Jain, who follows Jainism, even a little, ever resides in the heart of Truth.

Peace and good will to all!

[This paper has been somewhat abridged, with the assistance of Mr. H. Warren, the reader entrusted to present it to the Conference.—EDITOR.]

Sikh Religion

By Sardar Kahan Singh

(Nabha)

FROM the study of the old histories and religious scriptures it appears that the preaching of Avatâras, Prophets and Gurus against vices and evils prevalent in the world during their life, and their valuable advices to mankind, become afterwards the principles of new religions.

The Sikh religion did not appear suddenly, but was preceded by various movements of reform and dissatisfaction. Jaidev, the author of the *Gîtâ Gobind*, Nâmdev, the Maratha saint, Râmânand and the great poet Kabîr, prepared the way for the first Sikh Guru Baba Nânak. Nânak's early life was, according to the traditions, one of unworldly meditation until he believed himself to have received a divine call to expound a new mission.

The Ten Gurus

Guru Nânak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in 1469 A.D. at Talwandi (now called Nankâna), in the present Shekhûpura district of the Punjâb.

Guru Nânak was sent by the Creator to fulfil the special mission of regenerating the human race. He commenced the work of reform at an early age. He travelled far in the whole of India and pointed out to men the straight way—that there is only one God, the primal and omnipresent. The followers of Guru Nânak were called Sikhs.

There were nine successors to Guru Nânak Dev :

1. Guru Angad. 2. Guru Amardâss. 3. Guru Râm Dâss. 4. Guru Arjan Dev. 5. Guru Hargobind. 6. Guru Har Râi. 7. Guru Harkrishan. 8. Guru Tegh Bahâdur. 9. Guru Gobind Singh.

The tenth and the last Guru Gobind Singh Jee breathed his last in 1708 A.D. He preached both about the worship of God and valour, and thus made the Sikhs a brave people.

The Sikh nation is divided into two sects, one Sahajdhâri and the other Khâlsa Singh. The Sahajdhâri do not think it compulsory to keep long hair, and do not take the baptism of the tenth Guru. The Khâlsa keep long hair and wear Kirpân (Sword), and have Singh after their name.

The sacred Book of the Sikhs is called the *Guru Granth Sâhib*, composed by the Gurus, according to the order of the Creator. It contains 5,867 Shabads (Hymns) in all.

The principles of the Sikh religion as found in *Guru Granth Sâhib* are briefly enumerated, and supported by scriptural authority, in the passages I shall now quote.

Caste Divisions

When Holy Baba Nânak began his mission there were many caste divisions in India. Even men of one and same caste had different inclinations, and despised each other so much that they had prejudices against eating and drinking mutually. Guru Nânak made it a principle that there was no caste. All human beings were to be regarded with equality, as brothers. So we read in the *Granth Sâhib*, the Sacred Book of the Sikhs :

Caste hath no power in the next world : there is new order of beings.
Those whose accounts are honoured are the good.—(*G.S. Wâr Âsâ*).
What power hath caste ? It is the reality that shall be tested.
—(*G.S. Wâr Mâjh*).

Let none be proud of his caste,
He who knoweth God is a Brâhman.
O Foolish one ! be not proud of thy caste ;
From such pride many sins result.
—(*G.S. Bhairo*).

Pilgrimage

The religions of India had nearly all adapted the practice of pilgrimage, which led to people leaving and breaking up their homes. People considered it a religious principle to become devotees by leaving their houses. Consequently there were many sects of devotees which became a burden on the country.

The pious Baba Nânak held that the worship of Almighty in homes was best of all to obtain eternal happiness. It was no use to forsake ordinary worldly duties. Men who earned their livelihood by labour, and distributed something by way of charity out of it, understood the real way. Begging was a great sin.

This is shewn in the Scriptures with great force. We read :

The perverse, having through avarice abandoned their own homes, ruin themselves by casting covetous eyes on the houses of others.

They have ruined their state of householder, they have not met the True God, and through their folly are involved in a whirlpool.

Blessings on that man who, whether householder, Sannyâsi, or Yogi, fixeth his attention on God's feet.

He who in the midst of desires is without desires, and who loveth the one God, is a Sannyâsi.

He who drinketh God's essence and preserveth a religious attitude in his own home shall obtain peace.

The mind of the pious man who knoweth God wavereth not, but restraineth its wanderings.

Sanctified Daily Life.

The following sayings illustrate the teachings of sanctity in ordinary life :

Nânak, I have met the true Guru, and my union with God is accomplished.

Even while men laugh, and play, and dress, and eat, salvation can be obtained.—(*G.S. Wâr Gujari*).

O man, by striving and earning enjoy happiness.

Nânak, by meditating on God, meet Him, and thine anxieties shall vanish.—(*G.S. Wâr Gujari*).

> Touch not at all the feet of those,
> Who call themselves Gurus and Pîrs, and go begging
> They who eat the fruit of their labour and bestow something,
> O Nânak, recognize the right way.—(*G.S. Wâr Sârag*).

Bodily Mortification

For centuries India was a country where asceticism was carried to great lengths. The performance of austerities was highly regarded. Many people kept fasting, suffered heat to their bodies with fire, sat in water in the cold season, etc. Holy Baba Nânak preached that it was a great sin to torture one's person, the gift of God. The name of Almighty should be repeated but with a healthy body. So we read :

Man may be vowed to silence ; he may live on leaves ; he may roam about naked in the forest ;

He may visit all the places of pilgrimage of earth ; but even then he could never escape from worldly love.

With a desire in his heart for emancipation he may take his seat at a place of pilgrimage, and apply his head to the saw ;

But even though he made hundreds of thousands of such efforts, his mental impurity would not depart.

He may bestow gifts of many sorts—gold, women, horses and elephants ;

He may offer corn, clothes and lands in abundance ; but even then he could not reach God's door.

He may continue attached to worship, adoration, obeisance, prostrations, and the six acts ;

But he could not in that way find God ; he would merely fall into the meshes of pride.

He may enjoy the sport of kings and the delights of empire and issue orders not to be disobeyed;

He may possess beautiful counches, and use sandal and distilled aloe-wood, but such things form the gate of terrible hell.

Singing God's praises in association with His saints is the highest act of all.—(*G.S. Sorath*).

"The Tank of Immortality"

The doctrine against pilgrimages is very strongly enforced in the verses of Nânak, who instituted, instead of the visits to the four points of the compass, an allegorical visit to the saints of Goraknâth. Thus the religion turned away from objective observance to interior worship which was alone sincere. We hear of "the tank of immortality" as contrasted with some famous bathing-place rendered sacred by tradition. Visiting the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage will not take away any man's sins.

Formerly it was considered a very pious act to go to pilgrimage. Even death at some holy place was looked upon as emancipation of the soul. But Sat-guru Nânak Dev expounded to the people what were the true holy places, and rescued them from superstitions. He says:

I would bathe at a place of pilgrimage if it pleased God; but since it doth not, why should I bathe there?—(*G.S. Jap*).

Shall I go to a place of Pilgrimage to bathe? God's name is my place of pilgrimage.

My places of pilgrimage are God's word, contemplation and the divine knowledge within me.—(*G.S. Dhanâsiri*).

The divine knowledge within me is my place of pilgrimage; the true Guru hath expounded it to me.

My uncleanness hath departed, my mind hath become pure, and I have bathed in the tank of immortality.—(*G.S. Wâr Wadhans*).

He who wandereth to the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage is ruined thereby; how can he wash away the filth of his sins?—(*G.S. Mâru*).

Monotheism

Sikhism is remarkable for its teaching of Monotheism. Many deities were worshipped in place of one God, and there were different modes for the worship. Holy Baba Nânak preached the worship of one God and taught the best way of devotion, holding that Almighty God was like a husband and man his wife. He who worships God as his master shall be saved. The Scriptures say:

To whom else shall I pray; whom else shall I worship? It is God who created all.—(*G.S. Sorath*).

Repeat the name of the one God, magnify the one God,
Remember the one God, make Him thy heart's desire,
Sing the excellences of the one God who is endless;
With soul and body repeat the name of the one God—
God Himself is the only, only, only one;

The perfect God filleth every place;
There have been many expansions of the one God.
Worship the one God, and all thy sins shall depart.
Nânak, by the favour of the Guru the one God is known by him.
Whose soul and body are throughly imbued with His love.
—(*G.S. Sukhmani*).

Some, worshipping stones, put them on their heads; some suspend lingams from their necks;

Some see the God in the South; some bow their heads to the West.

Some fools worship idols, others busy themselves with worshipping the dead.

The whole world entangled in false ceremonies hath not found God's secret.

This passage is from the writings of Guru Gobind Singh, who became the teacher in 1606.

Religious Dress

Religious costumes and marks had become the cause of mutual strife among different religions. Sat-guru Nânak held that costumes and special marks were not a part of the religion. He stood out for simplicity of life.

Religion consisteth not in a patched coat, or in a beggar's staff, or in ashes smeared on the body;

Religion consisteth not in earrings worn, or a shaven head, or the blowing of horns.

Religion consisteth not in mere words.

He who looketh on all men as equal, deserveth to be called religious.

Religion consisteth not in going abroad and visiting tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation:

Religion consisteth not in roaming in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimage.

Nânak, in the midst of life be in death; thus shalt thou gain the advantage of religion.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world; thus shalt thou find the way of religion.—(*G.S. Sûhi*).

Some shave their heads, some twist long hair round them or wear a head-dress; others through pride remain silent;

But without the love of divine knowledge their minds waver and hasten in every direction.

Maddened by worldly love, they reject nectar and drink deadly poison.—(*G.S. Mâru*).

Untouchability

The superstition regarding eating and untouchability had made the condition of India worse. Holy Baba Nânak preached that these were not true faiths. The following passage is very powerful:

All impurity consisteth in superstition and attachment to worldly things.

The eating and drinking which God sent as sustenance are pure.
Nânak, the pious persons who know God have no impurity.
Impurity of the heart is greed, impurity of the tongue is falsehood;
Impurity of the eyes is gazing on another's wealth, his wife, and her beauty;
Impurity of the ears is listening to slander.
Nânak, even the pretended saint who practiseth such things shall go bound to hell.—(*G.S. Wâr Âsâ*).

The Granth Sâhib

Holy Granth Sâhib and Sikh religious Scriptures contain numerous passages in the preaching of Guru Nânak. It is not possible to repeat them here, but some of them are written below in a brief form which will throw some light on Sikh tenets:

On God

There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent.—(*G.S. Jap*).

A Prayer

O eternal, supreme God, indestructible, Destroyer of sin,
O All-pervading, contained in everything, Destroyer of grief, Lord of excellences,
Formless one, O man's companion, O Thou without the three human attributes, Prop of all,
Supporter of the earth, O Ocean of excellences, who hast ever discrimination,
O God, most remote Thou art, wast and shalt be.
O Thou, constant Companion of the saints, Support of the supportless.
I am Thy slave, I am without merits, no merit is mine.
Saith Nânak, grant me the gift of Thy name that I may string it and keep it in my heart.—(*G.S. Bâwanakhri.*)

On Truth

Man is known as true when truth is in his heart!
When the filth of falsehood departeth, man washeth his body clean.
Truth is the medicine for all; it removeth and washeth away sin.
Nânak maketh supplication to those who are in possession of truth.
—(*G.S. Wâr Âsâ*).

On Humility

Among all men foremost is he
Who by association with the pious effaceth pride.
He who deemeth himself lowly,
Shall be deemed the most exalted of all.
They whose minds are the dust of all men's feet
Shall see God's name in their inmost hearts.
They who expel evil from their hearts
Shall regard the whole world as their friends.
—(*G.S. Sukhmani*).

On Philanthropy

On the subject of philanthropy Guru Angad, the second Guru, said: "The best devotion is the remembrance of the True Name; the best act is philanthropy. Without both of these accursed is man's human birth. He merely vegetateth and heedeth not what is best for him. He is a beast without a tail or horn, and vain is his advent into the world. At the last moment the myrmidons of Death shall firmly seize him, and he shall depart grieving with empty hands. Alms-gifts, penance, and sacrifices are not equal to philanthropy. Of the various sins that man commits none is equal to selfishness."

Philanthropic men have come who are beyond birth and death;
They give their lives, turn men to devotion, and cause them to meet God.—(*G.S. Sûhi*).

Perishable the body which benefiteth not others.—(*G.S. Sukhmani*).

To do good to others is a mark of a saint. I am a sacrifice to him who taketh pleasure in practising philanthropy.

The world returneth good for good, but the Guru is pleased with those who return good for evil.

It is such philanthropic persons who render their human lives profitable.—(*Bhâi Gurdâs*).

On Superstition

He who breaketh the chain of superstition shall be free, and feel divine pleasure in his heart.—(*G.S. Mâru*).

Paying attention to omens, the nine grahas,[1] the twelve signs of the Zodiac, incantations, magic, divination by lines, and by the voice is all vanity. It is vain to draw conclusions from the cries of donkeys, dogs, cats, kites, malâlis and jackals. Omens drawn from meeting a widow, a man with a bare head, from water, fire, sneezing, breaking wind, hiccups, lunar and weekdays, unlucky moments, and conjunctions of planets are all superstition. The holy who reject such superstitions obtain happiness and salvation.

People worship departed heroes, ancestors, satis, deceased co-wives, tanks and pits, but all this is of no avail. They who enjoy not the company of the saints and the Guru's instruction die and are born again and are rejected of God. It is the follower of the Guru who weareth God's name as his diamond necklace.—(*Bhâi Gurdâs*).

Marriage

The tenth Guru taught on the subject of marriage that Sikhs should marry Sikh wives. Early marriages are forbidden. Divorce can be effected if man or woman is unchaste. A girl should be married in a family where the one Almighty is worshipped.

A man who hath one wife is continent, and calleth another's wife his daughter or his sister. To covet another man's property is forbidden to a Sikh, as the swine is to the Mussulman and the cow to the Hindu.—(*Bhâi Gurdâs*).

[1] Graha = planet.

Deadly Sins

Put away from you lust, wrath and slander;
Abandon avarice and covetousness, and you shall be free from care.—(*G.S. Mâru*).
Put away covetousness and regard for what people say of thee.
Renounce lust, wrath and pride.—(*G.S. Gauri*).

On Wine

One man filleth and bringeth the goblet, another cometh and filleth the cup.
The intellect of him who drinketh departeth, and intoxication entereth his brain;
He distinguisheth not between mine and thine and is buffeted by his master.
If possible, drink not at all the false wine,
By which man forgetteth God and receiveth punishment at His court.
He who by God's favour meeteth the true Guru obtaineth the true wine from him.
Thus shall man ever abide in the joy of the Lord, and obtain a position in His court.—(*G.S. Wâr Bihâgra*).

Transmigration and Salvation

Transmigration of souls according to one's acts is admitted by the Sikh religion. Man gets emancipation when he attains true knowledge by good associations.

As man soweth, so shall he reap;
His body is the field of acts.
—(*G.S. Jaitsari.*)

This soul hath dwelt in many wombs;
Immersed in sweet illusion, it was entangled in them;
This illusion hath reduced the world to subjection,
And infused a love for itself into every heart.
O my friend, tell us of some device
By which we may escape this dangerous illusion.
Mâyâ approacheth not him.
O Nânak, whom God mercifully associateth with the saints.
—(*G.S. Bâwanakhri*).

On Salvation

Sometimes man obtaineth the saint's society,
From which he returneth not again,
The light of divine knowledge shall then shine in his heart.
His soul and body, dyed with the name of the one God,
Shall ever abide with the Supreme Being.
As water blendeth with water,
So light is blended with light.
Transmigration is ended and rest obtained.
—(*G.S. Sukhmani*).

He who knoweth in his heart Him whose form is true
Shall recognize the Root of all things, the Cause of causes.
Divine knowledge shall be revealed to him
Into whose heart faith in God hath entered ;
He shall abide free from fear,
And be absorbed in Him from whom he sprang.
A man of understanding can understand that.
When God is found, O Nânak, man becometh one with Him.
—(*G.S. Sukhmani*).

On Gratitude

The Sikhs consider it a great crime to be ungrateful.

Bear that God in thy mind
By whose favour thou dwellest comfortably at home,
By whose favour thou enjoyest mental and bodily pleasure,
By whose favour every one honoureth thee.
O man, ever think upon the Supreme Being alone
By whose favour thy faith is preserved.
Fix thine attention on that lovable God
By whose favour thy beautiful body remaineth healthy.
—(*G.S. Sukhmani*).

The ungrateful shall wander in transmigration (*G.S. Jaitsari*).

To the earth the mountains which touch the sky appear not heavy, nor do a million forts and houses, nor do oceans, rivers and streams, nor do trees laden with their fruit, nor do the countless men and lower animals who wander on it. What appeareth heavy is the load of the ungrateful, who are the worst of all men (*Bhâi Gurdâs*).

On Loyalty

Be loyal to your sovereign ;
Leave death and life in the hands of God.
He who forsaketh his master in battle
Shall be dishonoured here and condemned hereafter.
The vultures, knowing him to be disloyal,
Will not touch but spurn his flesh.
He shall not go to heaven hereafter, nor obtain glory here ;
Abundant disgrace shall light upon his head.
Be assured of this, that human birth shall be profitable to him
Who loseth his life with his face to the foe,
For all the drops of blood that fall from his body,
So many years shall he enjoy the company of his God.
—(*Tenth Guru's Guruvilâs*).

One should ever live on honest earning. Of all means of earning, trade is the best. Agriculture comes to it next. In service soldiership is the most preferable. It behoves a soldier to go for war anywhere his master sends him. He should become a gallant warrior and should avoid the temptation of plunder. He should never think of gaining another's property unlawfully. Honest earning and obedience to one's master should be strictly observed (*Tenth Guru's Premsumârg*).

CHINESE RELIGION

Historical Note on Taoism

By Mr. G. R. S. Mead, B.A.

(Mr. Mead, taking the chair, opened the session on September 29th)

THE reason Taoism is introduced into the work of this Conference of Living Religions within the Empire is because there are some thousand practising Taoists in Hong Kong, in the Malay Archipelago, and Northern Burma, who thus come " within the Empire," practising the modern Taoist religion—which differs from the classical form which will be the main topic of the following paper.

There are " three teachings " in China: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Buddhism has already been dealt with in this volume under its main headings; it did not reach China till A.D. 61. Confucianism and Taoism are the indigenous religious products of the genius of China. We do not know for certain the real origin of Taoism, or how the term came to be used in its present application. The first great teacher was Lao-tze, who was born in 604 B.C. He was an elder contemporary of Confucius, fifty years his senior. Of him we possess very little biographical information, but he left behind him a small tractate of 5,000 characters called the *Tao-Teh Ching*, a kind of *Ur-evangelium* of Taoism. The next teacher we have traces of is Lieh-tze in the fifth century B.C., and in the fourth century comes Chuang-tze. We have translations of their writings, and I should like to say that, of these documents of classical Taoism, I am sure the one which will give the greatest delight to English people is the book of Chuang-tze. It must be read in the translation of Professor Giles, of Cambridge, which he published in 1889. He has hit the spirit of a religion very difficult for us to understand. It is the most grandiose nature-religion that can be conceived by the mind of man. It was hundreds of years before its time, and in its teaching there was a daring, underlying criticism of Confucianism. For the teaching of Confucius is based on charity and duty to one's neighbour—what can be grander? What is nearer to the great religion of the Western world? And yet we have a stern criticism of the Confucian system; why? Because, according to the Taoist, there was an over-anxiety in Confucianism to artificialize people into virtue, to interfere with other people; whereas the Taoist

idea was to live naturally, according to the great order of things; in a word, spontaneously.

Another thing that recommends Chuang-tze to us is his great humour; here we have a humour that is delightful and refreshing in every way. His notion was that it was these very philosophers who had made everything wrong. "They go about with the sun and moon under their arms, and rub all the hair off their shins in charity and duty to their neighbour—believe me, sirs, you have done the world much wrong!"

Classical Taoism continued up to 200 B.C. After that there arose in it a strong tendency to degenerate. One thing specially is to be noticed: in the East there is a long tradition of alchemy, and we find this tradition in its more psychic elements among the teachings and practices of Taoism.

I should like to say just one word with regard to the fundamental doctrine of Inactivity, and I am referring only to the philosophic Taoism. I believe that the doctrine is not one that should be really so strange as it may appear to be. In the West, with the activity in which we live, the conception of inaction is difficult. It is the inner inactivity which is to be kept; the calm and peace that is within; then all things can be performed. Now, the Taoist said "*I* will do nothing." Is there much difference between the Taoist idea of *Wu Wei* and that perfect peace within, which leads the Christian to say: "Not my will, but Thine be done"?

It seems to me to be part of the same wisdom.

Unfortunately we were not able to obtain a paper written by a professing Taoist, but one has been prepared by a very distinguished scholar of Peking University, Mr. Hsü Ti-Shan. After a year at Columbia University, New York, he is now in England, and studying at Oxford. His modesty is so great that he was not with us at the moment of reading his paper, though he attended the Conference. His paper was read by his friend, Mr. R. K. Evans, from whom a scholarly and well-informed appreciation of Taoism was heard.

Taoism[1]

By Hsü Ti-Shan
(Peking)

I. INTRODUCTION

TAOISM is one of the religions which are practised by the Chinese only. Taking into consideration the fact that there are many Chinese who either live in the British Empire or are British subjects, which makes the Taoist religion one of the "Living Religions of the British Empire," I have the honour to present this paper to the Conference.

Wu and Shih, the Two Departments

The Chinese people possess three main religions, namely: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. But the former two are really one, both of them coming from the same original thought of "change" which was interpreted in the *Yi-Ching*, or Book of Change.

Taoism is often termed *Hsüan Chiao*, or the Metaphysical Teaching, while Confucianism is termed *Ming Chiao*, or the Terminological Teaching, and Buddhism is termed *Hsiang Chiao*, or the Iconic Teaching.

The *Hsüan Chiao* and *Ming Chiao* are two aspects of one original doctrine, for Taoism deals with the religious and speculative side of Chinese life, while Confucianism stands for the ethical side. But the earliest Chinese religious life is said to have been derived from the magicians of the mytho-historical period, and the social life is based on what the old historiographers had handed down. In the period of Kao Yang (2513 B.C.) there were, as far as we can know, two departments of government; that of the Southern Director (*Nan-Chêng*), who supervised celestial phenomena, and that of the Northern Director (*Pei-Chêng*) who superintended terrestrial affairs.

Under the Southern Department there were groups of magicians (*Wu*), oracles (*Chu*), astrologers, diviners and so forth. For the

[1] This lengthy and informative paper has been necessarily somewhat abridged, with the author's consent, but nothing referring to Taoism proper has been omitted. So far as is possible, the Chinese words for names of persons, places and divinities are printed in Roman type, and those of schools, books and technical terms in italics. Titles are generally enclosed in inverted commas.—EDITOR.

Northern Department there were historiographers (*Shih*), scribes, or statesmen who assisted the ruler to govern the country.

The functions of the *Wu* were invocations and dances to evoke spirits, cheiromancy, magic performances, astrological calculations, divinations and so on. The duties of the *Shih*, on the other hand, were to keep the traditions handed down from the past, recording the experiences and thoughts of preceding generations. The *Wu* and *Shih* both possessed the same "record," or text-book, but their application of it was different. This record, or text-book, is what we now call the Book of Change, or *Yi-Ching*. The *Wu* used the *Yi-Ching* as a hand-book of divination through which the Will of Heaven was revealed, whilst the *Shih* supplied the traditions or experiences from actual life and supported the doctrine of the *Wu* by giving examples of the divine will as it had formerly been revealed to the people. The *Yi-Ching*, on the *Shih's* side, was merely a lexicon,[1] or history of the people, and there are many fragments of the legends and myths contained in it which we cannot yet interpret. The *Yi-Ching* was highly respected by the ancient Chinese, not so much because it is the nation's first book, but because the book itself was sacred. The invention of writing was always regarded by the ancient Chinese people as a divine gift; it could be used for no other purpose than to express the Divine Will; and therefore writings should be honoured as divine symbols. Inscribed waste paper is still respected, and the use of sacred writings as charms (*Fu*) is specially promoted by the Taoists even at the present time. Since the sacred book, the *Yi-Ching* itself, is the cradle of Chinese thought in both religious and social spheres, we must, in order to understand Taoism, examine the teachings given in this book.

The Ho-T'u and the Lo-Shu

The *Yi-Ching*, on the religious side, is a manual of divination. Its texts explain the sixty-four duplicate diagrams which originate in the *Pa-kwa* (eight diagrams). The *Kwa* is said to have been derived from the *Ho-T'u* (diagram of the Yellow River) and *Lo-Shu* (letters from the Lo River). These two probably were ideographs used by the troglodytes who lived side by side on the river-banks before the Chinese invasion. The *Ho-T'u* and *Lo-Shu*, according to apocryphal books (*Wei-Shu*), were sacred emblems sent down from Heaven to decorate the majesty of the rulers, so that every first ruler of the different dynasties, from Fu-shi to King Wen of Chow, received either the *T'u* or the *Shu*. The *T'u* appeared as the curves on the back of the *Lung-ma* (dragon-horse) and the *Shu* comes from the markings of the turtle-shell.

J. H. Rivett-Carnac, in his article in the *J. R. A. S.*,[2] states that

[1] For further information see Lacouperie's *The Yi-Ching and its Authors.*

[2] 1903, pp. 517-43.

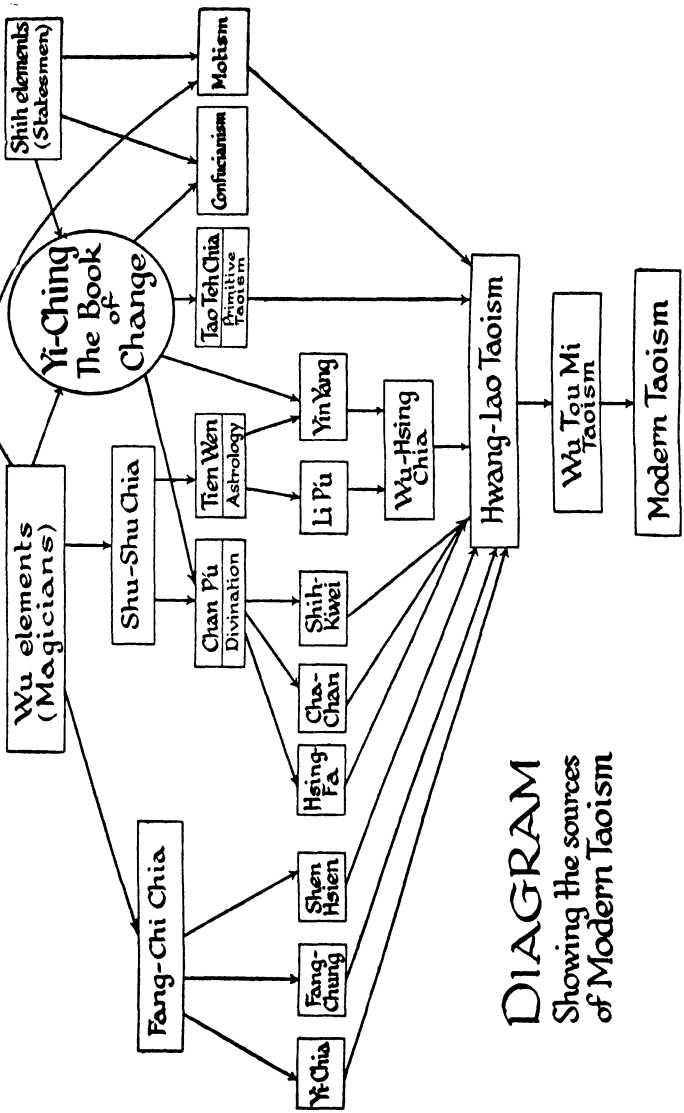


DIAGRAM
Showing the sources of Modern Taoism

the *Yao* of the *Kwa* (diagram) were divined from the cup-marks, which always related to some sexual faith. The phenomena of reproduction in the natural world so much affected primitive people that it naturally caused them to classify everything in the terms of gender, as Yang for the male, the father, bright, active and so forth, and Yin for the female, mother, dark, passive and so on. Thus the universe is seen in a sexual orientation.

II. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF TAOISM

TAOISM, as it is now, is a compound organization formed from different sources in old times, but on its speculative side it is based on the teaching of the *Book of Change*. The preceding diagram will shew how complex modern Taoism is:

It is impossible to interpret in detail the diverse schools which combined to form Taoism. Nevertheless, we may examine briefly the general characteristics of the main divisions. The principal doctrine is drawn originally from the *Book of Change* and is naturally to be mentioned first.

The extant text of the *Yi Ching* (Book of Change) is known as the *Chow Yi*, i.e. the text current in the Chow Dynasty. Tradition says that there were two other texts, called *Lien-Shan* and *Kwei-Tsang*. The three differed in their arrangement of the Pa Kwa. The *Kwei-Tsang* text was that in use in the Yin Dynasty.

The difference between Taoist and Confucianist thought goes back to the fact that the latter followed the Chow Yi text, the former the *Kwei-Tsang* text. The *Hsi-Tz'u Chuan* of the *Yi Ching* is said to have been written by Confucius, but from its contents seems to retain the teaching of the *Kwei-Tsang* rather than that of the *Chow Yi*. It must have been written in the Pre-Ts'in period about the same time as the *Lü-Shih Ch'un Chiu*, the *Tao Teh Ching*, and the *Li Yün* in the "Book of Rites. A comparative study of these four writings is necessary to understand fully the Taoist philosophy of Change.

The *Ho T'u* and *Lo-Shu* provide the idea of the *Yi-Ching* and of the *Yin-Yang* system, which in its turn gave the idea to the *Wu-Hsing* schools of thought.

The mathematic and sexual interpretation of the universe is the cardinal philosophy of Change. The meaning of *Yi* (Change) is threefold, viz. *Yi* (Simple), *Pien Yi* (Changeable) and *Pu Yi* (Unchangeable or Constant).

The threefold meaning of *Yi* permeates the whole metaphysical teaching of Taoism. The *Hsi-Tz'ü Chüan* says:

Ch'ien (Heaven) directs the great beginnings of things; *Kw'an* (Earth)

gives to them their completion. It is by the *ease* with which it proceeds that *Ch'ien* directs, and by its unhesitating response that *Kw'an* exhibits such ability. Ease will be easily understood and freedom from laborious effort will be easily followed (*S. B. E.*, Vol. xvi., p. 349).

The idea of *ease* or simplicity is explained more fully in the *Tao-Teh Ching*, which contains the Taoist political philosophy as well as its ontology. The rulers could rule easily without creating either laws or customs; and need not govern either with hesitation on one hand or with force on the other. They must be quiet and passive and assume the state of inaction, or *Wu-Wei*. The *Tao-Teh Ching*[1] says: "Governing a great country is like boiling a small fish." You cannot boil a small fish either with hesitation or with strength; otherwise it will be spoiled. It is the same in ruling. The ideal government is that which does nothing for the people, for, whenever the government acts, it means that the people will have to submit to authority, force, pressure, and thereby lose their freedom. Force is a thing which works against nature, and it is produced from activity or creation. Force is itself nature, and will work of its own accord, but becomes unnatural when the government adopts it to rule the people. Whenever force is used, life will be more heavy and more complex; desires are formed which in time become uncontrollable. The more one desires the more he wants, and the more misfortune he experiences. So the Taoist says:

> Were I ruler of a little State with a small population, and only ten or a hundred men available as soldiers, I would not use them. I would have the people look on death as a grievous thing, and they should not travel to distant countries. Though they might possess boats and carriages they should have no occasion to ride in them. Though they might own weapons and armour they should have no need to use them. I would make the people return to the use of the knotted cords. They should find their plain food sweet, their rough garments fine. They should be content with their homes, and happy in their simple ways. If a neighbouring State was within sight of mine—nay, if we were close enough to hear the crowing of each other's cocks and the barking of each other's dogs—the two peoples should grow old and die without there ever having been any mutual intercourse (*Tao-Teh-Ching*, chap. 80; *L. Giles*, p. 40).

To let the people live a simple life is the foundation of Taoism. From this come the following categories:

> To live according to the Tao is to submit one's self to nature. For the Tao of the earth is most gentle and weak, but when put in motion is hard and strong; it is most still, but is able to give every definite

[1] Chap. 60.

form. By following, it obtains its proper lord and pursues its regular course. It contains all things in itself, and its transforming power is glorious. Yes, what docility marks the way of *Kw'an*. It receives the influences of Heaven and acts at the proper time (*S.B.E.*, vol. xvi., p. 418).

Moreover, "the way of the Earth is not to claim the merit of achievement, but on behalf of Heaven to bring things to their proper issue." The greatest virtue of the Earth is not her achievement, for Heaven will supply the needs of every being. The duty of the Earth is to remain passive and thus help the process of evolution. So a Taoist must follow the non-creative doctrine in order to keep life long and keep everything in its natural and correct state. Creation is based on selfishness and cannot remain eternal. Thus the *Tao-Teh Ching* says:

Heaven and Earth are long lasting. The reason why Heaven and Earth can last long is that they live not for themselves, and thus they are able to endure. Heaven and Earth nourish all beings through natural transformation, and all beings are not created by them to benefit or give pleasure to themselves. Therefore they are eternal. Therefore man must follow the *Tao* of Nature. All things depend on it for life, and it rejects them not. Its task accomplished, it takes no credit. It loves and nourishes all things, but does not act as master (*L. Giles*, chap. 7, p. 42).

It is unnatural and unbenevolent to have things created in order to utilize them. Thus the Taoists say:

Nature is not benevolent; with ruthless indifference she makes all things serve their purpose, like the straw-dogs we use at sacrifices (*L. Giles*, chap. 5, p. 43).

If Heaven and Earth create for their own benefit, they are selfish and unbenevolent, but they do not. On the contrary, they "pursue their mysterious work; that is: Production without possession; action without self-assertion; development without domination" (*L Giles*, chap. 15, p. 22).

Seeing that everything is transformable, the "reality" of beings can neither be created nor destroyed, it can never be completed, nor can it be ever incomplete. Speaking on the phenomenal side, every minute creates and correspondingly destroys. So real Nature is *Chao-Hwa*, or "Creative destruction." The process of the universe is from completeness to incompleteness, and from incompleteness to completeness; from life to death, and death to

life ; from bliss to doom, and doom to bliss ; just as in a circle one can never tell where is the beginning and where the end.

The *Tao-Teh Ching* says :

Calamity is the forerunner of fortune, and fortune is but the cloak that covers calamity. Miserable, you rely upon coming happiness. Happy, you crouch under dread of coming misery (chap. 58).

Chuang Tze says :

The division of the immaterial energy of Nature produced the visible universe, and, after the completion of this, there was destruction. Before the completion of all things there was no destruction ; here again there is the same reason for both. Only the wise man is able to understand thoroughly how all this is (*F. H. Balfour*, 1881, p. 17).

Wherefore it may be said that the sages while living walk with Heaven, and in dying undergo the transformation common to every created thing. In repose, they are like the *Yin* principle in its virtue ; in action they are like the *Yang* principle in its pervasive flow. They do not take the initiative in either auspicious or calamitous affairs, but respond to whatever exigencies may occur ; they act when pressed by circumstances, and only lay hand to work when it is inevitable. They discard knowledge as well as the traditions of antiquity, and simply follow the principle of Heaven (p. 188).

Man lives only in accordance with the manifestations of Nature, and it is useless for him to determine whether his deeds will be successful or otherwise. Success and failure are but unreal manifestations. Whether one feels depressed or joyful on account of repeated failures, depends entirely upon how he looks upon those failures, for the accumulation of failures results in success. Just as in a revolution much blood is shed, towns are destroyed, homes wrecked—surely that is failure. There is no need, though, to be depressed. Later, a new government forms itself over the débris of the revolution, the old and presumably poor government is changed for a new and better one. This is success. Thus success comes from an accumulation of failures. Therefore a Taoist must follow the emptiness of the *Tao*. Chuang Tze says :

The *Tao* of Heaven revolves without any accumulation of its antiquity, wherefore all things are brought to perfection. The tranquillity of Heaven and Earth consists in vacant quiescence, dispassionate placidity, solitary silence and absolute inaction. This is the highest wisdom and the perfection of law ; wherefore the rulers and sages desist from their labours. This desisting leads to emptiness, emptiness leads to truth, and truth leads to regularity of action. Emptiness leads to quiescence, quiescence to motion, and motion to attainment. Quiescence leads to inaction, and inaction necessitates the shifting of responsibilities upon others, by whom the duties are performed. Absolute inaction leads

to happy contentment ; neither sorrow nor distress can dwell with those who are in happy state, and they live to a good old age (*F. H. Balfour*, pp. 155, 156).

The primitive Taoist view of a " good old age," or *Ch'ang Shêng*, is not to covet the pleasures of the world, but simply to follow the mechanism or course of Nature. Since everything is provided for man by Nature, man could live joyfully and constantly without any disasters. The only thing that brings man sickness, age and death is knowledge. I want knowledge, therefore I think with desire, and fight against Nature. Alas, " to my natural life there is a limit ; but to thoughts of the mind there is no limit. For that which is limited to try and keep pace with what is unlimited is dangerous." This is why men grow old and die unnaturally. So the wise should discard knowledge and live according to what Nature has given. Evil exists because men try to act for good, and hypocrisy is the by-product of wisdom. So goes the obscurantism of the Taoist :

The great *Tao* falls into disuse ; benevolence and righteousness come into vogue. When shrewdness and sagacity appear, great hypocrisy prevails.

Cast off your holiness, rid yourself of sagacity, and the people will benefit a hundredfold. Discard benevolence and abolish righteousness, and the people will return to filial piety and paternal love. Renounce your scheming and abandon gain, and thieves and robbers will disappear (*L. Giles*, chaps. 18 and 19, p. 44).

The *Tao* of Nature is wise enough to free all beings from disasters, but she does not draw up any definite scheme nor does she try to show her sagacity and wisdom ; she remains silence and emptiness. It is the way she attains to the state of eternity. Chuang Tze says :

Heaven and Earth are full of excellence, yet they speak not of it ; the four seasons have each their distinctive characteristics, yet they do not consult ; all things have a completed nature, yet they say nothing. The sages study the excellence of Heaven and Earth, and penetrate into the nature of all things ; wherefore perfect men are entirely inactive, and men of great holiness do nothing. They are called holy because they contemplate the method of Heaven and Earth (*F. H. Balfour*, p. 264).

The Taoist denied any place to *philosophia civilis* in his thoughts.

Spiritual Naturalism

Having examined the cardinal doctrine, the primitive Taoism, we may conclude in a word that the teaching of the Taoist pioneers is simply a sort of " Spiritual Naturalism," the three precious

virtues of Taoism—gentleness, frugality and humility. Gentleness, for the realization of the virtue of production and nourishment of the earth; frugality, similar to the earthly virtue of conservation; and humility, to imitate the great virtue of obedience.

So much for the doctrinal side. We must now turn back to the other sources which made Taoism pass from a philosophy to a religion. Taoism on the philosophical side is termed *Tao-teh Chia*, or "School of the Way and its Virtue," but the Taoist *religion* comes mainly from the old magical sciences (*Shu Shu*),[1] combined with the teachings which the *Tao-teh Chia* proclaimed.

The first institution in connection with Taoism is the *Yin-yang* school of the pre-Ts'in period. This school held the eternal struggle and harmony of the two principles—*Yin* and *Yang*—as the constant model of all affairs, both divine and human. Pan Ku (92 A.D.), the Han historian, stated

> That the *Yin-Yang* school is descended from the office of the Hsi's and Ho's (astronomical officers during Yao's reign)[2] in reverent accordance with their observation of the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate the movements and appearances of the sun, the moon, the stars and the Zodiacal spaces, and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to be observed by the people. This is the excellence of the school. When practised by narrow-minded people, the doctrine causes them to be affected by the idea of Luck, by irrational "taboos," and by fear of the Spirits' envy, impeded by the "minor determinations" of their individual fate, and so become neglectful of human and mundane affairs, and to trust to spirits and ghosts (*The Record of Literature and History of the Former Han*, vol. x. 30, by Pan Ku).

The founder of the *Yin-Yang* school is said to be Chou Yen (fourth century B.C.), who lived shortly after Mencius. Some account of his life is given by Sze-Ma Ch'ien in the biographies of Mencius and Sun Tze (*Shih Chi*, vol. lxxiv., p. 14).

Chou Yen realized that the State princes of the warrior period could not be converted to the ideal government which had been preached by the Confucian school. He therefore turned to the natural phenomena of the *Yin* and *Yang*, their transformations and mutual influence. He claimed that everything is determined by these two principles. The causation of happiness or misery only depends upon whatever man does with or against Nature. The differentiation of all beings is due to the provision and transformation of the five elements, so man must calculate his own "minor determination," in order to adapt himself in harmony with the universe. Thus he made Hwang Ti the ideal ruler who ruled the country according to what is determined by the Divinity. He preached the *Yin-Yang* doctrine of the Divine, and his followers

[1] *Lit.* "Magical Calculations." [2] See *Shû-Ching*, *S. B. E.*, vol. iii.

were welcomed by the princes in the north-eastern States. This contributed later on to the Taoists' idealization of Hwang Ti as a model ruler who ruled according to the Divine Mechanics, and Lao Tze was claimed as the messenger who first propounded the doctrine of simplicity and inaction.

Thus the term *Hwang Lao Tao* was popular in the Ts'in and Han Dynasties.

The Wu-Hsing School

The school which sprang from the *Yin-Yang* was the *Wu-Hsing* school. The teaching of this school is really dominant in all Chinese thought. The idea of the five elements—metal, wood, water, fire and earth—is said to have come from the *Lo Shu* (the diagram of the Lo River) received by Yü the Great, whilst he put the five elements as the first category in the *Hung Fan*.[1] The idea may have come down from ancient time, but whether it existed in the time of Yü is doubtful. As we know in the book of Mo-Tze, a statement was made controverting the " taboo " of certain colours in certain places or directions. It is very easy for us to imagine how the variety of different colours affected people in primitive times, and led them to think that every particular direction or article has its own colour as a sign of its own element.

Blue (green) is the colour of wood and dominates in the east; white is the colour of metal and dominates in the west; red is fire in the south; and black is water in the north; the yellow colour is for the earth and therefore remains at the centre. These five colours correspond to the five elements which suggested to the Republicans the design of the new national flag.

The *Wu-Hsing* doctrine spread widely during the later Chow Dynasty. It may have come from western countries; for the ancient Persian legend said that Ormuzd created 186,000 stars and divided them into five camps. The idea of *Wu-Hsing* no doubt comes from the astrologers who calculate the bright and dark periods of the five planets, which suggested to them the application of the theory of mutual control and production to the whole universe.

The writers of the apocryphal books in this period referred the five elements back to the original five positions of the *Ho T'u* and *Lo Shu*. Some held that water is the first stage of creation; water producing wood; wood producing fire; fire producing earth; earth producing metal; and metal again producing water (see *Ch'un-Ch'iu Fan-Lu*).

But the older theory is: The " One " in the Heaven number and the " Six " in the Earth number of the *Ho T'u* and the *Lo Shu* produced water, then—in order—fire, wood, metal, earth. Still, many different

[1] *Shû-Ching*, Book IV., *S. B. E.*, vol. iii.

theories concerning the mutual production and control of the elements existed in the later Chow Dynasty. We need not here go into detail, but in general they are simply attempts to explain what the *Yin-Yang* school had said.

So the followers of the *Wu-Hsing* school also believed that misery and happiness depend upon the intercourse of the Two Principles and the Five Elements ; and of course they were determinists.

Li-P'u and T'ien-Wen Schools

The *Li-P'u Chia* or Almanac school, as well as the *T'ien-Wen Chia* (astrologist), is now affiliated to Taoism. The Almanac school were calculators of human life, as affected by the rotation of the sun, moon, planets, and the four seasons. Most Chinese live according to the astrological Almanac, which is Taoistic, but with *Li-P'u* and *T'ien-Wen* elements. Moreover, the belief in *Fêng-Shui* (Geomancy) and *Hsing-Fa* (Physiognomy) are derived from the *Shu Shu* (Magical Calculation) group ; so all alike possess the same cosmology.

Longevity-Culture

Besides the *Shu Shu* there is another group called *Fang-chi*, or Methodic Acts, which also contributed some important practices to Taoism. The first contribution is the belief in immortals or genii, who live on the Islands of Immortality. The desire of long life of the *Fang Shih*, or Methodists, was different from the naturalism of primitive Taoism. From the time of Chow Mu Wang (1001–951 B.C.) the Isles of Immortality in the eastern and western seas were known, and the king tried to seek the genii and finally met Hsi Wang Mu in the west. Four hundred years later Ling Wang (571–550 B.C.) came to the throne ; and his descendants are still living in the Isles of Immortality (Japan). As Professor H. Kurita, in his study of Japanese genealogy (Shizoku Ko), states, the families of Yamada (Shan Tien), Miido (Yü-ching), Shigo (Chi-ngo), Nagano (Chang Yeh), Hirono (Kwang Yeh) and Miake (San-Tse) are descendants of Ling Wang. Mr. Chang Ping-Lin inclines to think that they are descendants of the Prince Ts'in, son of Ling Wang, who gave up his elder-son's right and became an immortal in Shang Shan. Although the *Lieh Hsien Chüan* (Biography of the Immortals) did not mention whether the prince had been over the sea or not, the fact is that at that time the three Divine Islands were known, and some of the seekers of immortality had been there.[1]

The Shantung Peninsula at the time of the Chow Dynasty was the only seacoast near the civilized States, and the Mirage,

[1] Still some of the leading families in Chow and Ts'in Dynasties, such as Lin (Hayashi), Chaw (Shu), Tien (Den), So (Sung), Ts'in (Hata), Wu (Kure), Nan (Minami), Mei (Ume), and so forth, are found in modern Japan. See *Tai-Yan Wen Lu* 1. *Tai-Tze Tsin Shen-Shien Pien.*

which is to be seen there, was mistaken for reality and suggested to the people of Yen and Ch'i their belief in the Islands of the Immortals.

" The Real Man "

The genealogy of modern Taoism is borrowed from the *Shên-Hsien Chia* of the Yen and Ch'i States. These Methodists, or *Fang Shih*, held that man could acquire immortality physically by using the elixir which was produced through alchemy. But primitive Taoism preached the doctrine of the *Chên Jên*, or " Real Man "; and held that he enjoyed life while it lasted and did not escape death.

What is he who may be called a " Real Man " ? The Real Man of ancient times wasted no conjectures upon the insignificant (men or things) around him ; he put forth no extraordinary efforts to achieve great things ; he never devised plans for accomplishing any business. By this means he never gave himself cause for repentance for having made mistakes, or for self-complacency in the event of successfully completing an undertaking. Thus he could scale lofty heights without being afraid, plunge into water and not be drowned, pass through fire and not be burnt ; thus did his experience enable him to soar into the very heights of wisdom. When the Real Man of ancient times went to sleep, he never dreamed ; and during his waking hours, he knew no sorrow. In eating he disregarded the sweetness and relish of his food ; he took deep regular breaths, for the Real Man draws his breath from his heels, while the vulgar herd breathe only in their gullets. If a question ever arises among the people in which differences of opinion lead to brawling, whether the disputants are unable to speak from choking (with choler) or whether their words find vent, it is first as though they were all vomiting. Their licentiousness lies deep, and their Divine Mechanism (or natural good inclinations) is proportionately shallow.

For the Real Man of old life had no attractions and death no terrors. Living, he experienced no elation ; dying, he offered no resistance. Whether he suddenly departed or as suddenly returned, there was an end of it. He did not forget the past (or beginning), nor did he seek information about what was to come at the end. Being born, he accepted the fact as it stood. When the oblivion of death came, he just returned to what he had been before. This being so, his heart did not reject the Real Wisdom ; he did not, like others, invoke human means to carry out the decrees of Heaven. Thus was it that they were called the Real Men or *Chên-Jên*. Death and life do not influence the wise ; for it is the nature of *Chao Hwa*, whenever there is creation, destruction follows (*F. H. Balfour*, chap. vi., pp. 68, 69).

The Latin saying, " *mors janua vitæ*," almost exactly reproduces the Taoist view of death. The *Chên Jên* of the primitive Taoism differs, of course, from what the *Shên-Hsien Chia* handed down to

the present Taoists. The primitive Taoists held that in the figurative body there dwelt a " Real Man " who lived according to the process of the Divine Mechanism and free from time and space. In describing symbolically of the divine man who lives in the Kuyeh mountains, Chuang Tze explains how the real Taoism faces the problems of life and death or of time and space. Death is natural, therefore man need not try to escape from it ; the only thing for a man to do is to make death as happy as life.

The relations of a man to the *Yin* and *Yang* differ but little from those of a son to his parents. If, then, it be decreed from above that I am to die, and I turn a deaf ear to the voice, would not that stamp me as overbearing and rebellious, while no guilt would attach to Heaven? This great world supports my frame upon its surface. During life, I work with diligence ; when I grow old, I enjoy ease and leisure ; when the time comes for me to die, I rest from my labours altogether. Thus I am happy in my life, and equally happy in my death (*F. H. Balfour*, chap. vi., p. 80).

Thus we see that the idea of the *Chên Jên* is to keep the inner self peaceful and happy, but not to prolong the corporeal appearance in order to enjoy the earthly pleasures, as the *Shên-Hsien Chia* wanted. There are still two schools of the *Fang chi* group which maintain the Taoist immortalism. They are the Medical and *Fang Chung* schools. Medical science came, of course, from the old magic rites, but on the mystical side these are related to Taoism. The *Fang Chung Shu* (or " Technology for the Chamber ") is a science dealing in the main with sexual intercourse. The literature of this school is mentioned in the historical record of the former Han Dynasty, but its contents are unknown.

So much for the immortalism of the Taoist.

The Deity in Taoism

We turn now to study the development of the Taoist conception of deity. The *Tao-Teh Chia* did not affirm the existence of any supernatural beings who look after the actions of mankind. Heaven and Earth are simply mechanisms ; they are not animated by the moral principle—good, simply mechanical, not moral, is rewarded by good, and evil by evil. The idea of recompense may be derived from, or suggested by, the theories of mutual affection of the five elements, but the conception of a Supreme Being who has the authority to judge is rather alien to primitive Taoism. Hwai-Nan Tze (or Liu An ; died 122 B.C.), a Taoist of the early Han Dynasty, did hold some idea about requital. He states : " Those who possess hidden virtues must be rewarded by unveiled recompenses ; those who perform hidden good deeds will receive manifest glory " (*Jên-Chien Hswen*).

Chou Yen preached the causation of the five elements early in the third century B.C., but he made no clear statement about Providence. The "Nine Ways"[1] in the book of the Taoist philosopher Ho-Kwan Tze (about the third century B.C.) seems to suggest that the Taoists at the pre-Ts'in period had to study these nine curricula, but four of them, *Tao-teh, Yin-Yang, Ti'en Kwan* (the astronomical sciences), and *Shên-chêng* (Divine Witness) are still traceable in modern Taoism. The conception of Divine Witness is rather strange to the primitive Taoists; it must have grown after the belief in supernatural beings prevailed throughout the country about 300 B.C., and have been influenced by Mo-tze.

The Influence of Mo-tze

The founder of Motism, Mo-tze, who lived about the fifth century B.C., propounded the two main doctrines of Universal Love and Divine Will. His teaching was resolutely opposed by the Confucian Mencius, and crushed after the Court favoured Confucianism in the Han Dynasty. The Motists were brave enough to preach the doctrine of a Divine Will, but they were soon annexed to Taoism. For at the early Han period the only rival of Confucianism was the so-called *Tao* of Hwang Lao, to which so many other schools were allied.

Mo-Tze's teaching on divine recompense is stated in several passages of his work. Here we may select one or two of his sayings for the sake of illustration. "Know what will be blessed by Heaven and the spirits, and avoid what is displeasing to them, so that we can beg for the development of benefit and avoid the disadvantages of the world" (Mo-tze, *Tien Chi*).

Another passage says: "When we are sacrificing it does not mean that all the offerings are merely poured out or thrown into the filthy ditch, but they are for the purpose of receiving a blessing and communicating with the spirits above; and on the lower side it is to gather the multitudes in order to create friendship with the neighbouring villages" (Mo-tze, *Ming Kwei*).

Mo-Tze inherited strong religious tendencies from the Duchy of Sung, and his priestly temper contributed to the Taoist organization. It is curious to notice that early in the Chin Dynasty (265–419 A.D.) Mo-Tze was enrolled in the *Shên-Hsien Chüan* ("Biography of the Genii") as one of the successful genii in the old times. And in the still later period spiritualistic practices, or the calling down of the spirits for services and for alchemy, are attributed to his name, under the title *Mo-Tze Shu*, the "Technics of the Master Mo."[2] Mo-Tze was something of an engineer, and is said to have made a wooden kite that could fly, and invented many implements for military defence, but

[1] *Ho-Kwan Tse*, chap. xv.

[2] See *Hsin Wu Tai Shih*, vol. xiv.

whether he himself actually practised spiritism and alchemy or not we cannot tell. Probably his followers who were connected with *Hwang Lao* Taoists in the Han Dynasty did practise them, and were distinct from the other Taoists in this respect.

The practice of alchemy has thus some connection with the great altruist.

Taking all the different streams of thought into account, the foundation of the real Taoist religion as it now exists to-day was established at the end of the later Han Dynasty. Before going a step farther, we must notice briefly that the popular religion at the Han period was astrolatry, viz. the worship of T'ai-Yi, a star near the North Pole, which later on becomes *Shang-ti*, the Taoist supreme deity. Furthermore, the worship of Wên-chang (the God of the *literati*), Tou Mu (the Goddess of Fertility), Sze Ming (the God of the Kitchen, keeper of fate), Fu Teh (the God of Locality, who guarded the people, known as T'u Ti), and so forth, are merely stars, and yet worshipped by the common people as Taoist divinities.

Taoism as an Organized Religion

The real founders of Taoism as an organized religion were the Chang families. It is said that in the period of Hsi Ping (172–6 A.D.) different secret religious sects arose in various districts who always claimed to be the followers of the Tao of the *Hwang Lao*. (1) In Hanchung, Chang Hsiu established the *T'ai-P'ing Tao*; and (2) Chang Chiao established the *Shên Tao* or *Wu-Tou-Mi Tao* in Chü Lu; and (3) Chang Lu also started the *Wu-Tou-Mi Tao* in Shu (Szechuan). The Master of the *T'ai-P'ing Tao* used charms and spells to cure the sick. He asked the patients to drink water mixed with charmed ashes after the confession of their sinful deeds and thoughts. Under the Master there were "Libators" (*Chi-Chiu*), whose duty it was to teach the multitudes the five thousand characters of the sayings of Lao Tze (the *Tao-Teh Ching*), and other officers called *Kwei-Li* (Officers of the Spirits), who prayed for the patients and recorded their names and confessions. Chang Chiao, who was a follower of the *Hwang Lao Tao*, made himself the "Grand Good Master" (*Ta Hsien Liang shih*) and also made use of magic to cure the sick; and for more than ten years he sent disciples throughout the country to preach the *Shan Tao* (the Auspicious Doctrine). He is known as the head of the "Yellow Turban Rebels," for he believed that his God of the Yellow Heaven should rule the people spiritually and politically.

Theocracy

The other branch of the *Hwang Lao Tao* was founded by Chang Lu, who became the head of the followers of the *Wu-Tou-Mi Tao*, after he had killed the leader, Chang Hsiu.

He was the grandson of Chang Ling. In the reign of Hsun Ti (126–44 A.D.) Chang Ling travelled to Shu and studied Taoism—or, rather, exorcism—in Ho Ming Shan. He wrote charms and spells to cure the sick and call down spirits. Each adherent was asked to provide five bushels of rice for the purpose of hospitality. Thus the name *Wu-Tou-Mi Tao* ("Five Bushel Rice Taoists") was given to them. For three generations the Chang family maintained their connection with this organization, until the religion was fairly established, when Chang Lu gave himself the title *Shih Chün*, the "Master Ruler," and under his theocratic government many officers, such as Chi-Chiu, Kwei-Chu, Li-Tau, and others were appointed similar to those of the *T'ai P'ing Tao* in Hanchung. The *Chi-Chiu*, or Libators, of the *Wu-Tou-Mi Tao* built free boarding-houses on the wayside in different districts where the rice and meat were served to strangers and travellers.[1]

Such a spirit of philanthropy may have been borrowed from the Motist organization, which was crushed in the Confucian-Han periods. The use of charms by the Taoists to cure illness still goes on in the present day. It is a special characteristic of Taoism. During the reign of Han Wu Ti (140–88 B.C.) the Taoist, T'ao Hung Ching, used to write charms and spells, and Wang Yuan did the same in the time of Hwan Ti (147–167 A.D.). This practice was considered not to belong to primitive Taoism, but the *Hwang-Lao* Taoists of the Han period promoted it to begin with, and the *Wu-Tou-Mi* Taoists spread the practice by their preaching, from which modern Taoism was born.

The "First Divine Master," Chang-Tao-Ling

I must give a brief account of the life of the "First Divine Master" at the end of this chapter in order that I may illustrate the thoughts and practices of modern Taoism in the next chapter. The First Divine Master, Chang-Tao-Ling, or Chang Ling (34–156 A.D.), is said to have been virgin-born, but his actual life was that of a retired governor of Kiang-Chow, where he held the governorship between the years 58 and 74 A.D. He resigned, and sequestered himself like a hermit in the Pei-Mang Hill of Lo-Yang, devoting his time to making the elixir of life and to the practice of exorcism. Afterwards he moved to the present Lung-Hu Hill, which is about twenty-seven miles to the south of the city of Kweichi Hsien, Kiangsi Province. After staying there, he moved to Szechuen, where the fear of evil spirits had a strong hold upon the popular imagination. He received his title "T'ien-Shih" from the Supreme Being, accompanied with a sort of phylactery, namely, three jade tablets, a double sword for the extermination of demons, and a

[1] See *Hao Han Shu*, vol. cv., *Biog. of Lin Yian.*

magic seal of office (the *Yang-P'ing Chih-Tu Kung Yin*), which possessed the miraculous power of leaving its impression on a hundred sheets of paper, although but one had been touched. In the year 147 A.D. Chang Ling moved to the Ch'ü Ting Hill, where he transferred his divine commission as the Divine Master,[1] and all the miraculous emblems, to his son Chang Hêng, charging him to hand these things on to his hereditary successors. Chang Hêng was the father of Chang Lu, under whom the *Wu-Tou-Mi* Taoism was firmly established, and exorcistic Taoism took the place of the *Hwang-Lao Tao* as well as of the philosophy of the *Tao-Teh* school.

Chang's descendants in the direct line still possess the title " Divine Master " (*T'ien Shih*) in the present day. His family have lived all these centuries in the Lung-Hu Hill. The locality was named the " Jasper City," and his residence in the hill was entitled the " Palace of Supreme Purity." The present " Taoist Pope " or Divine Master is the sixty-second (or sixty-third) descendant of the original Chang-Tao-Ling. Neither the " Divine Master " nor the Taoist priests in general are very much in favour among the people nowadays, so that little is known of his activities and life.[2]

III. TAOISM AS A POLYTHEISTIC RELIGION

TAOISM, drawn from so many sources and thoughts, and divided into so many streams in the course of its history, springs originally from the early magic. For its birthplaces we should say that the *Shen-hsien Chia* of Shantung and Chihli contributed to it its faith in genii, the *Tao-Teh Chia* in the south supplied its philosophy, and the demonism of Szechuen, of the later Han Dynasty, enabled it to become a religious organization. The life of the legendary ruler Hwang-ti has of course a large element of mythology in it, and the so-called founder of Taoism, Lao-tze, became a figurative person after the *Wu-Tou-Mi* Taoism was established.

The Influence of Buddhism

When the Wu-Tou-Mi Taoism was founded, Buddhism had already been introduced. This new, foreign, religious rival spread rapidly round the estuary of the Yang-tze River and then north and south. Buddhism inspired Taoism to make many imitations, and provoked many controversies. The legends about Lao-tze were widely

[1] It is the reason why the Chin people called Taoism the *T'ien-shih-Tao*, which literally means " the Taoism of the Divine Master."

[2] For further information see " The Master of Heaven," by H. Kopsch, *China Review*, vol. ii., pp. 226–9.

taught by the Chin Taoists. Lao Tze, according to them, was a divine incarnation, the master of Confucius, and, moreover, he went westward to the countries around the desert and taught the *Tao* there. He even became incarnate for the Western people as Buddha, and later as Mani. After a period of conflict with other religions, the Taoists began to make their faith a syncretistic religion, and the Taoist theology began to be formed. Ku Hwan, a scholar of the fourth century A.D., explained that Taoism and Buddhism are merely one, because both of them were founded by Lao Tze. The difference is that "Buddhism shews the method of crushing evil, while Taoism is the art of developing the good." "Taoism holds fast to the beginning in order to reach the end; Buddhism saves the end in order to keep the beginning." He meant that Buddhism emphasizes the negative side of the Tao, and the *Hsing-shan Shu*, or Taoism, the positive. Henceforth a new and rather popular Taoist philosophy arose, differing from the primitive form.

As Mahâyâna Buddhism allowed its followers to deify the founder, 'Sâkyamuni, and at the same time retain their old faith in local divinities, so Taoists retained as objects of worship the deities of the old Chinese faiths. The oldest object of worship in China was the sun, as representing Heaven. The *Chi-yi* states: "The sacrifice in the Suburb of the Capital was the great expression of gratitude to Heaven, and it was specially addressed to the sun, with which the moon was associated."[1] So far as I know, Ts'in Hsiang Kung (770 B.C.) was the first ruler who built an altar named Hsi-Chi for the "White Emperor of the West," that is, the principal stars in the western skies. This was the beginning of the worship of special constellations instead of the sun and the moon by the State princes. The Ts'in rulers developed the religion on this basis of star-worship and divided the heavenly bodies into five positions, according to the idea of the *Wu-hsing*. The worship of the Wu-ti, or the "Five Rulers," in the Ts'in State (later the Ts'in Dynasty) is clearly stated in the *Yueh-ling*, a section of the *Li-chi*;[2] the Han rulers invented no new objects of worship, but followed what the *Wu-hsing Chia* of the Ts'in Dynasty had honoured before them. The Ling-hsing Tzu, temple of the T'ien-chên star, was ordered to be built in every district for the harvest prayer and sacrifice. Down to the reign of Wu-ti (140–88 B.C.), the *Fang-Shih*, or "Methodists," began to worship the star T'ai-yi as the Supreme Being. T'ai-yi is a star near the North Pole. He is considered as the Heavenly Ruler, who governs all the heavenly bodies in the five divisions. The Star Rulers—the White of the West, the Blue of the East, the Red of the South, the Black of the North, and the Yellow of the Centre—are His assistants. The fixity of the polar star gave the idea of supremacy to the Taoist; and in a later period the title Shang-ti or T'ien-ti was conferred upon it. All the stars are personified from the Han Dynasty onwards. The stories of communications

[1] *S. B. E.*, vol. xxviii., p. 218. [2] *S. B. E.*, vol. xxvii., pp. 249–310.

between human beings and the personified stars became prevalent early in that period. Practically all the objects of worship among the Han people were stars, and were due to Taoism, and they are held in reverence down to the present time.

The Buddhistic idea of many heavens gave the Taoist the division of nine, which finally rose to thirty-two, or -three, Heavens. Each Heaven contains many, almost countless, divinities. I am not going to give their names in detail, but the main deities must be mentioned.

The Taoists' Divinities

The Taoists gave to their male divinities the title Ta T'ien-chün, or the " Great Heavenly Honoured One," and to the female deities the title Yuan Chün, or the " Mystical Princess." In the upper Heaven, there are the seats of the " Trinity of Purity " ; that is, the Yuan-shih T'ien-chün of the " Region of Jade-purity " ; the Ling-pao T'ien-chün of the " Region of Upper-purity " ; and the Chiang-sheng T'ien-chün of the " Region of Grand-purity " (the " First-born Heavenly Honoured One," the " Spiritually-precious Heavenly Honoured One," and the " Incarnate Heavenly Honoured One," i.e. Lao Tze). Subordinate to this supreme Trinity is the Trinity of the " Region of Miraculous-Being," that is, the " Heavenly Honoured One," the " Holy Father " ; the " Mystical Princess," the " Holy Mother " ; and the " Grand Heavenly Honoured One," the " Jade-Emperor." The " Jade-Emperor " (or Yü-Hwang Shang-ti, Yu-Hwang Ta-ti, Yü-ti) is the governor of the physical universe, who corresponds to the Indra Sakra of the Hindu mythology. Next to the Yü-Hwang Shang-ti there are many incarnations of the Shang-ti or Yü-ti entitled T'ien-chün. The residence of the Shang-ti is the north, and the " First Divine Master," or the Taoist Pope, was promoted to be one of the Yü-ti incarnations. Buddha, under the Taoist hierarchy of divinities, is entitled " The Pure and Inactive, Prince of the Natural Awakening " (in Pali the *Tathâgata*). He is also considered as one of the Yü-ti's incarnations, so he is just a step lower than Shang-ti.

Subordinate to Buddha are T'ien-chu Ti-chün, or " The Emperor of the Heavenly Lords," of the Eighth Heaven, then the three Shang-tis of the " Region of Jade-Brilliance," namely : (1) the " Primal Ancestor of Heaven and Earth," the " Spirit of the Five Planets," the " Heavenly Honoured Shang-ti " ; (2) the " Shang-ti of the Region of Hollow-Jade " and (3) the " Shang-ti of the Illumined Heavens " ; then, lower still, the " Four Chên-Jên," the Bodhisattvas of the Mahâyâna Buddhism, all the " Golden Genii " who succeed in this life, the " Jade-Virgins," and the " Mystical Princesses." Below these deities, again, come the Chên-Jên, Grand Genii, and the Patriarchs of the Ch'ing-Wei, or " Pure-Twilight Heaven." Below this Heaven lies the " Region of Emerald Meadows," and a company of T'ien-chün are glorified there. They include : (1) T'ai-yi, the " Heavenly Honoured One," who listens for the cry of suffering and comes to save ; (2) the

" Heavenly Honoured One," who renews mankind as at the beginning, the " Thunderer of the Nine Heavens "; (3) the " Heavenly Honoured One, the Lord of the Law and Prince of the Tao " (i.e. Chang Liang); also (4) the " Shang-ti of the Northern Heavens "; (5) the " Heavenly Honoured One, the Former Sage and Master," who develops the teaching of *Ju* (the Confucian scholars) and fertilizes the world, the " King of Human Culture " (i.e. Confucius).

There are still many more Heavenly Honoured Ones, whom I have not space to mention.

The sun and moon are also worshipped, but the well-known triad of the subordinate divinities is called San Yuan, the " Three Original Ones," or San Kwan, the " Three Rulers." They are: (1) the " First Person of the Heavenly," that is, the " Ruler of Heaven," the " Giver of Happiness," the " Great Emperor of the Polar Star "; (2) the " Second Person of the Middle," the " Ruler of Earth " who forgives sins, the " Great Emperor of Purity and Emptiness "; and (3) the " Third Person of the Lower," the " Ruler of Hades " (or Water), the " Liberator of the Dead," the " Great Emperor who Enlightens the Shades." Among the Chên-Jên, Lü Tsu is the greatest favourite. His place in Taoism is like that of the *Avolokitesvara* in Mahâyâna Buddhism. The Tou-Mu, or " Mother of the Great Bear " (Star), is the Hindu Maritchi, who is the " Protector of Children."

Those worshipped at the domestic altar are the San Yuan, Pei-ti, and Lü Tsu, mentioned above. Wen Ch'ang, the God of Literature, equals in authority the Three Rulers, and gives help to those who are seeking place and power. The Kitchen God is entitled " The King of the Fireplace; the Keeper of Fate, residing in the Eastern Kitchens under the Nine Heavens "; and the Household God is entitled " The Righteous God of Happiness and Virtue," or sometimes " The Long-lived One and Giver of Long Life," the Earth God to whom worship is offered by this family. Both the T'u Ti (the Household God) and the Chao Chün (the Kitchen God) are universal domestic deities throughout the Republic and amongst Chinese overseas. These two gods have their heavenly origin somewhere near the Polar Star (T'ien-Hwang Shang-ti). They have been worshipped by the people since the Han Dynasty, and were related to Taoism in the course of history.

IV. PRACTICAL TAOISM:

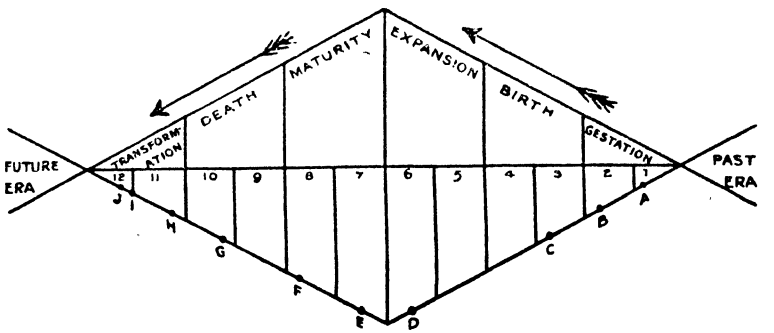
A Working Theory

TAOISM on its practical side seeks to make human life harmonize with the *Tao*. Just as all things are made by the *Tao* and its " mysterious mechanism," so also they are determined in a certain situation. Everybody has his own " fate " or " psycho-physical atmosphere " (*Yün-ch'i*), in which his life

revolves. A man's fate could be reduced to a formula by calculating the constitution of the five elements in his body, the " time " or the *kan-chih* (the Ten Stems and the Twelve Branches) when he was born, and the circumstances in which he lives. All these are called *shu*, or *ming*, or *ch'i*. Even the physical world has its own fate, for the principles of *Yin-yang* and *Wu-hsing* are in a state of conflict and mutual production all the time; and, by reason of these conditions, the world has a Beginning and an End. The larger universe is determined by six periods of existence, namely, the periods of Gestation, Birth, Expansion, Maturity, Death and Transformation. These are called the " Six Atmospheres " of the universe. The Time process is also determined by the " Five Motions of the Five Elements." Everything is determined by the " Six Atmospheres " and the " Five Motions," which are usually spoken of as *Yün-ch'i*, the equivalent of " Fate " or " Fortune."

Every minute the *Yün-ch'i* of a human being, an animal, even of the whole universe, is going on without ceasing. This idea, of course, comes from the *Yi Ching*, especially as interpreted in the *Kwei-Tsang* text, the *Yi* which emphasizes the element of the evolution of the universe. The later Taoists divided the evolution of the universe into twelve periods, and each two of these periods corresponds to a period of existence, the twelve periods succeeding one another without interval. They postulate the duration of the twelve periods as 129,600 years, which is called " One, ἀρχή."

The diagram below shews the ἀρχή of the present world.



Explanation:
30 Years = 1 generation.
12 Generations = 1 Revolution = 360 years.
30 Revolutions = 1 Confluence = 10,800 years.
12 Confluences = 1 ἀρχή, or Era.

Confluences and Time Spirits

The process of the world is thus divided into twelve "Confluences," corresponding to the twelve Branches and the twelve Spirits of Time.

The Six Atmospheres.	Number on Dia.	Names of the Confluences.	Names of the Spirits of Time.
Gestation	1	Tze Hwei	K'ai (Commencement)
	2	Ch'u Hwei	Pei (Hibernation)
Birth	3	Yin Hwei	Chien (Establishment)
	4	Mao Hwei	Ch'u (Cancellation)
Expansion	5	Chen Hwei	Man (Full)
	6	Ssu Hwei	P'ing (Level)
Maturity	7	Wu Hwei	Ting (Fixedness)
	8	Wei Hwei	Chih (Maintenance)
Death	9	Shen Hwei	P'o (Destruction)
	10	Yu Hwei	Wei (Crisis)
Transformation	11	Shu Hwei	Ch'eng (Fulfilment)
	12	Hai Hwei	Shou (Reception)

The diagram appears in diamond form, since the world sprang from a vacuum, and then develops more and more until it reaches the period of Expansion, then declines little by little until it reaches the state of Vacuity or Emptiness again. In the diagram, the mark A in *Tze Hwei* (First Confluence) indicates the beginning of Heaven ; and B of the *Ch'u Hwei* (Second Confluence), the chaos condensing to become earth ; at C of the *Yin Hwei*, Man appears, but with a merely animal life, for he has not yet got enough *Ch'i* from the Heaven and Earth to imitate their motions. The mark D of the Sixth Confluence was the time of the Chinese sages, Fu-hsi and Hwang-ti ; and E of the Seventh Confluence is the present year, 1924, the thirteenth year of the Republic of China. This Confluence is the point at which the present era, or ἀρχή, begins to decline ; 68,941 years of this era have already passed. At the mark F, in the Eighth Confluence, Heaven and Earth will reach

their period of full maturity, and this period is what the scholars speak of as the period of " Old Earth and Barren Heaven," when Heaven will produce no more and Earth will no longer be able to support its population. Mark G of the Tenth Confluence is the period of the extinction of Mankind ; and the Genii or Immortals are also to be extinguished shortly afterwards. Mark H of the Eleventh Confluence is the period of Fulfilment, when the sun, moon and stars cease to move. At the end of the Eleventh Confluence, mark I, Heaven is to be completely destroyed ; and 6,000 years after—mark J—the Earth will collapse. The preparation of the next cycle will then begin. Between J and A there is a period of Vacuity, i.e. the *Tao* returns to its own natural state, the *Yin* and the *Yang* being united in it.

This is the Taoist conception of the Alpha and the Omega of the universe. We only know very few elements in our own era or cycle ; but there are countless eras or cycles besides, both past and future, of which we know nothing at all.

This conception of an ἀρχή, or era, was developed from the astrological calculations of the pre-Ts'in Dynasty. The *Chien-Ch'u Chia*, or " the school of calculating the months and days by the Spirits of Time," gave suggestions as to good and bad luck. The Twelve Spirits—Chien, Ch'u, Man, P'ing, etc.—are divided into lucky and unlucky. The dates of felicity and infelicity may be found in the Astrological Almanacs issued every year ; and practically every family possesses a copy as a guide to the year's life. The twelve Spirits are supposed to be on day-duty according to a series or cycle, and the Almanac denotes the *I-Chi*, or programme of suitable and unsuitable dates.

Aspects for To-day, September 29th, 1924

Let us take to-day's programme from the Astrological Almanac as an illustration. September 29th, 1924, corresponds to the first day of the ninth month in the Lunar-Solar Calendar used in China. The Spirit for this day is " Man " (Full). It is a good day for sacrifice and prayer ; for meeting relatives and friends ; for travel and removals ; for bathing and washing of the hair ; for cutting out ceremonial clothes for weddings ; for putting threads on the loom ; for mending walls ; for corking up holes ; and for filling in graves. Wedding ceremonies ; breaking up the ground ; laying coffins in the grave ; and opening holes are unsuitable or unpropitious on this day. The general " Mechanic Rotation " of this year, according to the Almanacs, is lucky for the east and west (and for this Conference !), but unlucky for the north and south. There will be floods in the states of Yen and Chi (i.e. Chihli and Shangtung), and the mulberry leaves of the Wu and Ts'u States (i.e. the Yang-tze provinces) will flourish on the fields, but nobody will be able to

gather them. This year is, in fact, an unlucky one; for "the rats will squeak and the sparrows will chirp with hunger."

The rotation of the twelve Spirits is clearly stated in the chapter *T'ien-Wen* of the *Huai-Nan-Tze*. There it is said, "The Spirit for the Yin date is Chien; Ch'u corresponds to Mao; Man to Chen; P'ing to Ssu; these ordain the lot of prosperity. T'ing corresponds to Wu, and Chih to Wei; these ordain the lot of perdition. Shen corresponds to P'o, who ordains the lot of Hêng; for Yu is Wei, who disposes the lot of Cho; Cheng corresponds to Shu, who confers the Minor Virtues (*Hsiao Teh*); Shou is for Hai, who dispenses the Major Virtues (*Ta Teh*); the Spirit for Tze is Kai, who manages the luck of Jupiter; and Pei is for Ch'ou, who dispenses the luck of the Moon."[1]

The books *Liu-T'ao* and *Yueh-Chueh Shu*, which were probably written before the *Huai-Nan-Tze*, also give an account of the programmes of suitable and unsuitable dates. The *Chien-Ch'u* theory was referred to Hwang-Ti; but it is undoubtedly held by the *Yin-Yang* scholars of the pre-Ts'in period. From that time on the Chinese people in general have directed their lives literally according to what the yearly Almanacs direct.[2] Since the psycho-physical mechanism prevailed throughout the universe, the phrenologists tried to read the significance of the human form and features; the geomancists to give the *Feng-Shui* theory of the Earth; the astrologists affirmed the mutual control of the stars and the mutual influence of Man and Heaven; and the physicians tried to explain the interrelations of the Five Elements in the human body.

All these are Taoist in their essence, and only Taoists favour them. A pure Confucian never has any faith in these theories of the *Yin-Yang* professors. It is an essential difference between the Taoist and the Confucian.

Taoist Priesthood

The main purpose of a Taoist adept or priest is to practise spiritism or occultism, and to secure the elixir of life. The latter is the most important concern for a priest, but very few of them pursue it nowadays. Under the pressure of economic necessity the Taoist priests commercialize their profession by selling charms, chanting the confessions or sacred books, exorcizing demons, and by other magical arts. But lay adherents still cherish the hope of smelting the metal for the elixir of life. For whenever a man finds the elixir, he will immediately ascend up to the Nine Heavens and become an immortal being. The Taoist belief is that man could live immortally in the physical body until Heaven and Earth have passed away, when the soul would be separated from the body and once again be absorbed in the creative Chaos. Immortality is thus a limited term; even an immortal will live only so

[1] See *Hwei-nan tze Tien wen Hsun.*
[2] See Paul Carus' *Chinese Thoughts*, pp. 25–8 3.

long as Heaven and Earth last. The belief in transmigration has made the Taoist hold a semi-Buddhistic view of eschatology. The *Chung-Lu Ch'uan Tao Chi* states that a man must keep himself free from transmigration, free from illness, age and death. All human beings are candidates for immortality, but man cannot acquire it after he is parted from the body. Death is pure *Yin*, but immortality is pure *Yang*; and as man has both the *Yin* and *Yang* elements he can become either an "immortal" or a *kwei* (ghost). The world of *Hsien*, or "immortals," is the proper sphere for man's future existence. To become a *Hsien*, or "immortal," depends upon the merit which a man has acquired during his lifetime. There are five degrees of immortals, namely: the *Kwei Hsien*, or Ghost Immortal; the *Jen Hsien*, or Human Immortal; the *Ti Hsien*, or Terrestrial Immortal; the *Shen Hsien*, or Divine Immortal; and the *T'ien Hsien*, or Celestial Immortal.

The *Kwei Hsien* is not yet free from the wheel of transmigration; the *Jen Hsien* only attains the state of partial success; but both he and the *Ti Hsien* are free from death. When a man reaches the state of a *Shen Hsien* he can then secure an immortal body besides the physical one. *T'ien Hsien* is only an imitation of the Buddhist *Bodhisattvas*, who preach the *Tao* to all sentient beings in the different worlds after they have been enlightened by the *Tao*.

The Three Kinds of Illness

The causes which prevent a man from attaining the state of immortality are the three kinds of illness: the illness of Time, the illness of Age, and the illness of the Body. If a man desires too much, or overworks, and does not rest in time, the result will be the illness of Time. If he cannot control his passions, and lets the *Yang* essence flow away, he will get older and older, and the result will be the illness of Age. The illness of the Body is due to lack of physical requirements or refinements, so that Death has the opportunity to take away the body. The first step for a man who becomes a candidate for immortality is to keep life easy and the body young, since both mind and body have no inherent defect or trouble. But man is rarely born in a complete condition, both heredity and environment robbing him of completeness. Therefore he needs the help of the elixir of life in order to attain to the world of immortality. Thus alchemy is an important element in Taoism.

The Taoist alchemy is known as *Lien-Tan*. The *Tan*, or "elixir," is made from mercury and silver. The Taoist termed the former *Yang Lung*, the "Active Dragon," and the latter *Yin Hu*, the "Passive Tiger." The furnace and vessel for the *Tan* are arranged according to the position of the *Yin-Yang* and the *Pa-Kwa*, the *Yang Lung* (i.e. mercury) being placed in the *Li*, or "fire," position, and the *yin-Hu* (i.e. silver) in the *K'an*, or "water," position.

They are then melted with the fire of the Five Elements, and the Dragon and Tiger have " intercourse " in the vessel, or cupel (i.e. are melted and mingled). The *Tan* can be completed in three years ; but the most effective elixir must be in the vessel for twelve years. The elixir acquired in the third year after " the intercourse between the Dragon and the Tiger " can only cure diseases ; if kept till the sixth year it will prolong life. The elixir of the ninth year is called the " White Snow " or " Jade-Essence," and the twelfth year's elixir is called " the Divine Tally." If an adept swallows the " White Snow," he will be able to fly ; if he swallows the " Divine Tally," the clouds will be under his feet and carry him wherever he wants to go.

If anyone asks how it is that, when elixirs of life have been eaten by so many Taoists, and the sky should be thronged by countless immortals flying like birds, all we see is only the clouds floating to and fro ; the only answer is that the medicine for the *Tan* is not pure enough, or that the adept hesitated to make it complete, or that the opportunity was missed. So the real elixir of life is very hard to get !

The Two Elixirs

To complete the alchemic theory : the Taoist claims that there are two kinds of elixir, the one " outer " and the other " inner." The " outer elixir " is only for the physical body, and man, to attain immortality, needs also the help of the " inner elixir." This inner elixir is to refine the *ch'i*, or " atmosphere," of the adept. It rather resembles the " meditation " of the Buddhist. The Taoist says that the human body is really a microcosm, all the principles of the *Yin-Yang* and the *Wu-Hsing* being contained in it. So man can secure the mercury and silver inside the body without any outer sources. He has his own field of elixir, called the *Tan T'ien*, where the " inner elixir " can be made. There are three fields in the body : the upper field of elixir is for the refining of the soul ; the middle field is the place for the *ch'i*, or breath ; and the lower field of elixir is the store of essence.

The heart provides the real fire and the kidneys the real water. The water is *Ch'ien Fu* (the Father), who begets *Cha-Nü* (the Immaculate Virgin) ; the fire is *K'un Mu* (the Mother), who gives birth to the *Ying-Er* (the Innocent Child).

These two (*Ying-Er* and *Cha-Nü*) are the Dragon and Tiger in the body, and they will hold intercourse in order to produce the " inner elixir of life."

Meditation

This *Nei-Tan*, or " inner elixir of life," is, of course, only an allegory of meditation, such as we find in several other literatures. I cannot now go into it in detail.

The art of spiritism and planchette divination are still practised by lay adherents. During the last few years many Taoist societies, such as the *T'ung-Shan-Shê*, the *Wu-Shan-Shê*, the *Tao-Teh-Hsueh-Shê*, and so forth, have been organized in different cities. Most of the members are retired officers or officials, or people of the leisured classes. They gather together to practise occultism and other superstitious rites, but without making any serious study of the Taoist philosophy. Taoism, like other religions, has had political bearings as well as religious. Many secret societies have been formed amongst its adherents and occasionally attempts have been made to overthrow the Government of the time. Under the pseudo-Christian Government of Hung Hsiu-Ch'uan most of the rebels were really groups of Taoists; and, after the Taiping Rebellion was crushed, different secret societies appeared in Taoist form.

Taoism in Modern Politics

The "Boxers" of 1900 were also a kind of Taoist. They believed that the *Chêng-Ch'i*, or "true breath," could defeat the *Hsieh-Ch'i*, or "false breath," of the foreigners. The Commissioner Yeh Ming-Shen, who was caught by the British and French allied troops and sent as an exile to Calcutta in 1857, was an enthusiastic Taoist. He believed that the *Hsieh-Ch'i* of the foreign troops could not interfere with the *Chêng-Ch'i*, which prevailed throughout the country. This conviction was inspired by Lü-Tsu by means of planchette divination before the allied attack upon Canton was made. Yeh took no thought of military defence, but prayed all the time to the Taoist deities to enable him to drive off the "diabolic power" of the foreign armies. But his prayer was in vain!

This is the general Taoist faith of the present age—a hope of supernatural help through occultism and exorcism.

. . . . . .

At the end of this paper I want to spare a small space to express my thanks to Mr. C. Duncan, a former student of the School of Oriental Studies, and to my personal tutor, Mr. R. K. Evans, of Peking, for their constant help in my composition. And I wish to thank Sir Denison Ross for allowing me the use of the Library of the School of Oriental Studies, which enabled me to make this paper a little more complete.

MODERN MOVEMENTS

Historical Notes on Modern Religious Movements

By Rev. W. Sutton Page, O.B.E.

IN the opening years of the nineteenth century a brilliant young Brâhman scholar of Bengal, Râmmohan Roy by name, having come in contact with Christianity, conceived the idea of attempting to restore the Hindu religion to its pristine purity by freeing it from idolatry and other blemishes, which he regarded as later accretions. With this object in view, he published in 1820 a book entitled *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness*, and in 1828, with the help of certain wealthy friends, amongst whom was the grandfather of Rabîndranâth Thâkur, the poet, he established the Brâhma Samâj. In 1833 Râmmohan Rây died while on a visit to England, and the leadership of the Samâj passed to Debendranâth Thâkur, the father of Rabîndranâth. In 1857 Keshub Chunder Sen, a Vaidya by caste, who had formerly been a Vaishnava, joined the Samâj, and rapidly rose to a position of great influence. In 1865 Keshub and his followers separated from the parent Samâj, on the ground that they could not approve of the observance of caste distinctions among its ministers. In 1878 a still further division took place, and from that date until the present time there have been three distinct organizations called by the name of the Brâhma Samâj:

(1) The Âdi-Samâj or Original Samâj, the right wing of the movement. This of late years has tended to become a family affair of the Thâkurs (Tagores). (2) The Sâdhâran Samâj, the centre party. (3) The Nababidhân Samâj, or Church of the New Dispensation, the left wing of the movement, Keshub Chunder Sen's party. The fully initiated members of all three sections combined do not amount to a great number, but their influence throughout Bengal, in education, literature and social reform, is out of all proportion to their numerical strength.

The Ârya Samâj was founded by Svâmi Dayânand Sarasvatî, who was born in Kâthiâwâr in 1824 and died in 1883. When, as a boy of fourteen, he was initiated into the Shaiva sect to which his father belonged, Mûl Shankar, as he was then called, spent a whole night before the symbol of Shiva, and the sight of the rats running

over it and defiling it filled him with a disgust for idolatry which remained with him to the end of his days. At the age of twenty-one he ran away from home, to avoid getting married and being so prevented from devoting himself entirely to the pursuit of religious truth. In eighteen years he wandered from place to place as a sannyâsî. At the close of this period he began publicly preaching against idolatry, and in 1875 founded the Ârya Samâj as an organization aiming at restoring the Vedic religion as he understood it. Every member of the Samâj has to declare his implicit faith in the Ârya decalogue, or ten principles, and in particular to assert his belief in the canons of Vedic interpretation laid down by the founder. From 1878 to 1881 the Ârya Samâj attempted to work in partnership with the Theosophical Society, but differences of belief with regard to the personality of God, and other difficulties, made the arrangement unsatisfactory to both parties, and the alliance was dissolved. After the death of the founder the Samâj was divided into two parties, the College party and the Mahâtmâ party. The former is more liberal than the latter in its thought and practice; for example, it does not, like the Mahâtmâ party, condemn the eating of meat, nor does it maintain, as the other party does, the permanently binding authority of the teachings of Svâmi Dayânand. The College party is so called because it has established at Lahore the Dayânand Anglo-Vernacular College, while the centre of the educational activities of the Mahâtmâ party is the Gurukul at Hardwâr, where boys and young men are being trained on ancient Indian methods to become preachers of the Ârya faith.

The Bahâ'î Movement had its origin amongst the Bâbîs, a Shi'ite sect of Moslems who not only accepted the doctrine of the Twelve Imâms, but recognized Mîrzâ 'Alî Muhammad, a young Sayyid of Shîrâz as the "Bâb," or "Gate," through whom the commands of the invisible Twelfth Imâm (or Imâm Mahdî) were communicated to the faithful. Mîrzâ 'Alî Muhammad "manifested" himself as the Bâb in Persia in 1844. In 1850 he was martyred at Tabrîz. He had nominated as his successor Mîrzâ Yahyâ, afterwards known as Subh-i-Ezel, but in A.H. 1283 (=A.D. 1866–7) Bahâ'u'llah, the elder half-brother of Subh-i-Ezel, announced that he himself was not only the successor of the Bâb, but the one of whose advent the Bâb was merely the herald, i.e. the Imâm Mahdî himself, emerging from his seclusion of more than a thousand years at Jâbulqâ. The Bâbîs were thus divided into the two sects of the Bahâ'îs and the Ezelis. Bahâ'u'llah died in 1892, and after his death differences arose between his two sons, 'Abbas Effendi and Mîrzâ Muhammad 'Alî, as to the succession. In the meantime, Bahâ'î propaganda, resulting in the gathering of a number

of converts, had been begun in America by a Syrian, Ibrâhîm Khayru'llah, who, after a period of neutrality, declared himself in favour of Muhammad 'Alî. Persian missionaries were, however, dispatched to America in 1902 by 'Abbas Effendi, who thus became generally accepted by the American Bahâ'îs as "the Master." The present leader is Shoghi Effendi of Haifa. W. S. P.

Nirmul Chunder Sen was born in 1869, and educated in Calcutta and Great Britain; he entered Government service in 1890 in Bihar and State service in Cooch Behar in 1895. He was appointed Local Adviser for Indian Students in London in 1913, and is now Joint Secretary for Indian Students at the office of the High Commissioner for India, President of the London Brâhma Samâj.

Professor Pherwani, himself a member of the Ârya Samâj, was not able to be present at the Conference. His lecture was ably read by Bishop Francis James.

Until the opening of the Conference, as our programme shewed, we were hoping for the presence of the leader of the Bahâ'î Movement. Shoghi Effendi is the grandson of Sir Abd'ul-Bahâ 'Abbas, K.B.E., by his eldest daughter, and, after taking the B.A. degree at the American University of Beirut, came to England. At the time of the passing away of his grandfather, he was an undergraduate at Balliol College, Oxford; but at once left England for Haifa, Palestine, to take up the Headship of the Bahâ'î Cause throughout the world, in accordance with the terms of his grandfather's will.

Ruhi Afnan is also a grandson of Sir Abd'ul-Bahâ 'Abbas, by the second daughter, and thus a cousin of Shoghi Effendi. He also obtained the B.A. degree at the same University of Beirut, and is now in London following a course of instruction at the School of Economics.

Mountford Mills is a member of the American Bar, and one of the foremost Bahâ'îs in America. He is the President of the American National Spiritual Assembly, which directs the Bahâ'î Movement in the United States as well as Canada. He has several times visited Haifa to confer with Abd'ul-Bahâ.—[EDITOR.]

Brâhma Samâj

By Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E.

BRÂHMA SAMÂJ means Society of the Believers in Brahm or Brahman, the Supreme Spirit (not from Brahma, the first person in the Hindu triad) ; it owes its origin to Râja Râm Mohun Roy, who was born in Murshidabad, Bengal, about 1774. Since very early days he manifested a strong religious bent of mind, and it is said that his first duty every morning as a boy was to recite a chapter of *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*. He also shewed great religious independence of thought, and would not brook any restraint put on him. When only sixteen he wrote a paper challenging the validity of Hindu idolatry, and thus it may be said that he broke himself away from the religion of his forefathers and caused the first rupture between himself and his near relatives. He travelled widely in Northern India, cultivating, all the while, theological studies and making theological researches. He also spent three years in Tibet, where his anti-idolatrous doctrines incurred the severe displeasure of the Lamas, and he met with their persecution. Of great natural ability, the Râja also possessed a profound, scholarly acquaintance with the Sanskrit and Arabic languages. He had devoted much time to a thorough study of the Sastras, the religious books of the Hindus, and the *Qur'an*, and had accompanied the study of these with the readings of the Bible. Râm Mohun Roy was gifted with not only rare honesty of mind, but possessed intrepid courage, for in the pursuit of his close investigation and researches into the origin of the different systems of faith he encountered much hostility and persecution at the hands of the orthodox Brahmans, who looked on him as an infidel ; he was on one occasion mobbed in the streets of Calcutta, and for some time his life was in danger. But this did not deter him from his enquiries. That he might better comprehend all that was known among men respecting the worship of God, the Râja gave himself to the study of the Hebrew and Greek languages, so that by perusing the Bible in its original tongues he might enter more completely into the spirit of Hebrew and Christian devotion. His Persian work, called *Tohufut-ul-Mowahedeem*, " A Present to the Unitarian," with his three appeals to the Christian public, his work on the Vedanta and discussions with eminent Brahman Pandits, shew the scholarly erudition of the author and his close

grasp of theological subjects. Râja Râm Mohun spared no pains in exposing and denouncing in no unmeasured terms the idolatrous beliefs and prejudices wherever prevalent. Though he was determined to destroy these in whatever religion he discovered them, the Râja carried on at the same time his constructive propaganda by culling together passages from all those religions which inculcate monotheism. Though a relentless iconoclast, yet he never failed to extract the simple essential and saving truth of monotheism from every creed with a view to lead every religious sect with the light of its own religion, to abjure idolatry, and acknowledge the One Supreme Being. Thus while he evinced respect for every creed, and aversion to every form of idolatry, and thereby excited and disarmed in turn the antagonism of his adversaries his real faith remained mysterious and unintelligible to them. Hence conflicting opinions were put forth as to the creed which he professed. The Muhammadans claimed him as one of their sect and gave him the title of Moulvi; some regarded him as a Christian, others a Hindu of the Vedantic type.

Universal Worship

The grand idea, however, which lay in his mind, and which has perhaps eluded the observation of his shrewdest critics, was to blend together all seeming anomalies in a sublime consistency and find a harmonious unity in all discrepancies. His object was *to promote the universal worship of the One Supreme Creator, the Common Father of Mankind.* This catholic idea, while it led him to embrace all creeds and sects in his comprehensive scheme of faith and worship, precluded the possibility of his being classified with any particular religious denomination. His eclectic soul spurned sectarian bondage; it apprehended in the unity of the Godhead the indissoluble fraternity of all mankind. He belonged to no existing sect, nor did he seek to found a new sect or originate a new creed; his great ambition was to bring together men of all existing religious persuasions, irrespective of the distinction of caste, colour or creed, into a system of universal worship of the One True God. Thus his catholic heart belonged to no sect and to every sect; he was a member of no Church and yet of all Churches. His earlier controversies and discussions with the different religious sects exhibit but partial glimpses of that grand and sublime idea which was subsequently matured and perfected in his mind. Its fullest development and final realization was consummated in the fullness of time in the establishment of that institution, the Brâhma Samâj, which stands as an imperishable monument of the founder's real creed. The trust-deed of the premises of the Samâj, established in 1830, contains the clearest exposition of that idea. It is therein set forth that

the said messuage or building should be used as a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe not under or by any other name, designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular being or beings by any man or set of men whatsoever and that no graven image, statue or sculpture, carving, painting, pictures, portrait or the likeness of anything shall be admitted within the said building and that no sacrifice, offering or oblation of any kind shall be ever permitted therein . . . and in conducting the said worship and adoration no object animate or inanimate that has been or is or shall hereafter become as an object of worship by any set of men shall be reviled or slightingly or contemptuously spoken or alluded to, and that no sermon or preaching, discourse, prayer or hymn be delivered, made or used in such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe, to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue and *the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds.*

As our revered Minister, Keshub Chunder Sen, wrote so eloquently and vividly in the *Indian Mirror* in 1865 :

Accepting this as the highest and final expression of the religious nature of Râm Mohun Roy, we find in it a clear view of both the negative and the positive side of his faith, his aversion to idolatry and sectarianism, and his strong attachment to monotheism and catholicity. Who can contemplate, without emotion, the grandeur of such a Universal Church—a Church not local or denominational, but wide as the universe, and co-extensive with the human race, in which all distinctions of creed and colour melt into one absolute brotherhood ? Who can look without wonder and profound reverence upon moral grandeur of that giant mind which conceived and realized such a Church ? The philanthropic heart, interested in the welfare of all mankind, cannot in its highest aspirations wish anything more, nor can the ambition of the greatest religious reformers fail to be satisfied in finding in it a realization of their ideal of the Church of the future. It is not a Church of Jesus or Muhammad, but is emphatically GOD'S CHURCH. It is not a Church of Hindus or Christians ; it is the Church of all mankind. It is not a Church of Bengal nor of India ; it is the Church of the world. In the conception of this Universal Church the heart, lost in immensity, would exclaim, Who can measure the length and breadth, the height and depth, of this Universal and Eternal Church ? Built upon the imperishable and immutable principles of absolute religion, and upheld by the Everlasting Arms of that Great God to whose glory it has been upreared, it will continue to bless mankind through endless ages. Blessed Child of God ! thy name shall live embalmed in the enduring gratitude of mankind for the noble legacy thou hast bequeathed to them !

Though the Râja had for his mission to realize a grand ideal of universal worship by pulling down all barriers between sect and

sect, it would not be quite correct to say that he was the founder, or even promulgator, of that system of religion which is known as Brâhma Dharma. In its rise and progress we must look to a later date ; what Ram Mohun Roy aimed at was the religious amelioration of his country and the reformation of the prevalent system of idolatrous worship. He declared his object to be the restoration of Hinduism to its primitive purity, and in all his anti-Brahmanical controversies he drew his arguments invariably from the Vedas. In this, his mission might be said to be analogous to that of Luther. However, what can be gathered from his published writings tends to prove that his idea of revelation was catholic ; that he measured the inspiration of the so-called Scriptures by the truth which they inculcated. Hence he attached great value and importance to the Christian Scriptures, and he published a compilation entitled *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Happiness* for the welfare of his countrymen.

As can easily be perceived, a baseless and indeterminate system in which no unity of faith was demanded, but only in the idea of the Godhead for the purpose of common worship, could not last long. It was, therefore, left to time, the perfecter of all things, to develop this system of worship into a Church of faith, and make the wandering band of worshippers settle together on the ground of common faith and religious brotherhood.

It may be mentioned here that in 1830 Râja Râm Mohun Roy through his fearless and patriotic exertions was able to suppress, with the help of the British Government, the obnoxious practice of *Suttee*, or the immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands.

A year after the establishment of his Church the Râja left for England, where he lived for eighteen months, and died in Bristol in 1833, in the sixtieth year of his age.

" Such was Râm Mohun Roy," wrote his famous biographer, Professor Max Müller ; " to my mind a truly great man, a man who did a truly great work, and whose name, if it is right to prophesy, will be remembered for ever with some of his fellow-labourers and followers as one of the great benefactors of mankind. . . . I have no doubt that when Râm Mohun muttered his last prayer, and drew his last breath at Stapleton Grove, he knew that, happen what may, his work would live, and idolatry would die. That was the chief object of his life, and, small as the results which he achieved might seem to others, he knew full well that all living seeds are small."

New Benefactors

After the Râja's death the Church which he had founded languished for want of new interest and for want of a real head. During the next seven or eight years its chief representative was

Pandit Râm Chandra Vidyabagish, one of the Râja's earliest disciples, while its material wants were supplied by the generosity of Dwarka Nath Tagore, the same devoted follower and admirer who erected afterwards the monument to the memory of Râm Mohun Roy in the Arno's Vale Cemetery in Bristol, and who himself lies buried in Kensal Green, London. Dwarka Nath Tagore became a still greater benefactor of the Brâhma Samâj, though indirectly, through his son, Debendra Nath Tagore. The latter, being a young man of considerable wealth, suddenly, at the age of twenty, saw the vanity of all earthly pleasures, and determined to devote the rest of his life to a search after truth, to a constant meditation on the things which are not seen, and chiefly to the discovery and recovery of his own true self in the Divine Self. He started a society called the Tattwabodhini Sabhâ, or the Truth-teaching Society, which lasted from 1839 to 1859, whilst its journal, *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, still continues to appear. Debendra Nath —or the Maharshi (Great Sage), as we call him—was soon attracted towards the Brâhma Samâj, and his accession gave fresh life to it. In 1843 a new covenant was introduced, by which each member of the Brâhma Samâj bound himself to renounce idolatry altogether, and to cultivate daily worship, addressed to the One God whose attributes were now more clearly defined. The covenant contained the following vows:

1. By loving God and by performing the works which He loves, I will worship God, the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer, the Giver of Salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipresent, the Blissful, the Good, the Formless, the One only without a second.

2. I will worship no created object as the Creator.

3. Except the day of sickness or tribulation, every day the mind being undisturbed, I will engage it in love and veneration of God.

4. I will exert myself to perform righteous deeds.

5. I will be careful to keep myself from vicious deeds.

6. If through the influence of passion I have committed any vice, I will, wishing redemption from it, be careful not to do it again.

7. Every year, and on the occasion of every happy domestic event, I will bestow gifts upon the Brâhma Samâj.

Grant me, O God, power to observe the duties of this great faith.

The Rejection of the Vedas

But a still more important step was soon to follow. The Maharshi's fervent soul was not satisfied with the Veda, nor with any book that was to tell him what to believe and what not to believe. Highly interesting and valuable as the Vedas are as historical documents (for they date 2000 to 3000 years before the Christian era, and give an insight into the origin and growth of religion unsurpassed by any other literature), it would be absurd

to claim for them superhuman origin. Debendra Nath, not knowing much of Vedic literature, in order to satisfy his own mind, sent four young Brahmans to Benares to study the Vedas under some of the most learned theologians of that ancient seat of learning. After the report made by these students on their return from Benares, the Maharshi did not hesitate, and in 1850 the Brâhma Samâj solemnly pronounced the dethronement of the Veda. There is perhaps nothing analogous to this in the whole history of religion, but this bold step, far from endangering the Brâhma Samâj, really infused new life into it. The Samâj might then be likened to a Church without a Bible, but Debendra Nath, its leader, felt inspired with new hopes and aspirations. In this state of mind he revised the Brahmic covenant and wrote and published his *Brâhma Dharma*, or "The Religion of One True God." In the *Brahma dharma vija*, or "The Confession of Faith," the initiates had to declare their conviction thus:

1. God alone existed in the beginning, and He created the universe.
2. He is intelligent, infinite, benevolent, eternal, Governor of the Universe, All-Knowing, Omnipotent, Refuge of All, devoid of limbs, Immutable, alone, without second, all-powerful, self-existent and beyond comparison.
3. By worshipping Him and Him alone we can attain the highest good in this life and in the next.
4. To love Him and to do the works He loves constitute this worship.

Of the Maharshi it has been said that he had nothing of the original genius of a revolutionary reformer; but who can doubt that he was commissioned by God to fulfil an important mission in the history of our country, and for this he laboured with singleness of purpose and indomitable firmness truly characteristic of great minds? His mission might be described as the *Worship of God* as a living reality, in spirit and love. The Maharshi occupied not "the front ranks of the battlefield of reform, doing desperate battle with absurd usages and institutions, reducing the old castles of error into ruins with single-handed valour and purchasing triumph with hard sacrifices. This was quite foreign to his ideas and his quiet mission. Not war, but peace, was his watchword; not action, but contemplation." He did not pursue an abstract theological divinity, nor did he soar into the region of mystical reveries; his spiritual growth was *religious*. Prayer was his guide, and it led him to a personal God, a God of infinite loving-kindness. Thus he realized in his life, for his own benefit and the benefit of his countrymen, the spiritual worship of God in faith and love. Thus did our Minister describe him: "His form was as venerable and majestic as his soul was exalted and sublime; his conversation and manners, his domestic pursuits and social movements, and in fact

the speculations and practices which made up his daily life, uniformly exhibited the singular spirituality of his faith." Such was his love for solitude and contemplation that it is said that he undertook a long and tedious journey, just before the troublous year of the Sepoy Meeting in 1857, to the Simla Hills, and there, in a lonely, sequestered place, spent more than *two years* in close retirement, studying self, Nature, and in meditation with God with undivided and concentrated earnestness.

It was indeed remarkable that Debendra Nath—a son of the "Indian Crœsus," as he was called—brought up amidst opulence and luxury, should thus repair to the Himalayas for two to three years, shunning the world, and pass his time in prayer and meditation.

To the hands of such a man did Providence entrust the management of the Brâhma Samâj. He was instrumental in turning men's minds from the material realities of Hindu worship to the stirring realities of pure monotheistic worship. The Brâhma Samâj owes to the Maharshi lasting gratitude for introducing regular prayers, and animating sermons, for the purpose of establishing direct and personal communion, between a votary and his God. These are embodied in the celebrated and soul-stirring *Bakhyam*, or discourses which he delivered in the Samâj. Maharshi Debendra Nath was born in 1817, and died in 1905 at the age of eighty-eight. His three surviving sons, the venerable Mr. Dwijendra Nath Tagore, Jyotirindra Nath Tagore and Rabindra Nath Tagore, the world-famous poet, worthily follow in their illustrious father's footsteps.

Keshub Chunder Sen

Now we come to the third, and, may I say, the most memorable chapter in the history of the Brâhma Samâj, which centres round the life and teachings of my father, Brahmânanda Keshub Chunder Sen. I shall attempt to describe these as briefly as I can and in the short time at my disposal. I feel that this I can do best if I give an account of his life and its many and varied activities, culminating in the glorious evolution and the proclamation of the New Dispensation, or the Harmony of Religions. A short span of life—for he lived only forty-five years—but it forms a glorious chapter in the history, not only of the Brâhma Samâj, but of the world.

Keshub Chunder Sen was born on November 19th, 1838. His grandfather, Ram Comul Sen, is known to Sanskrit scholars as a friend and colleague of Professor Horace Hayman Wilson. His father died when he was ten, so he was brought up by his uncle. Soon after he finished his education my father established an evening school for the children of working men, and this was continued for some years with success.

He Joins the Samâj

Keshub Chunder Sen soon became attracted to the Brâhma Samâj and was formally initiated into the faith by Maharshi Debendra Hath. This alienated him from the sympathies of his own family, and he was driven out of his ancestral house. Although he was not a Brahman by caste, Maharshi Debendra Nath shewed much courage in appointing him as a minister, or *Acharya*, of the Brâhma Samâj against the wishes of the majority of his followers, who belonged to that order, but there was soon to be trouble in the Samâj over the question of the removal of the Sacred Thread, which, although the Maharshi countenanced it himself, the conservative Brahman members of the Samâj rebelled against, and the Maharshi was suddenly prevailed upon by them to dismiss Keshub Chunder and his most active companions from all posts of trust and influence in the Samâj. This was the first rift in that body. Keshub Chunder felt this deeply, but he was not to be discouraged. The separation took place in 1865, and in the following year he and his friends founded a new society, called the Brâhma Samâj of India, while the conservative Samâj now went by the name of the Adi Brâhma Samâj—that is, the first or original Brâhma Samâj. But, although there was a rupture between the two leaders, they remained on the most affectionate terms with each other to the end of their lives.

There was a great deal of activity in the new Church. Debendra Nath was tired of the world, and often spent his time in the recesses of the Himalayas, in undisturbed communion with God, while the affairs of his Samâj were managed by a Committee.

Keshub Chunder, on the contrary, after he had taken the leadership of his new party never left his place. He and many of his followers gave up all secular employment, and became preachers, teachers and missionaries, often undergoing hardships and enduring poverty thereby. They published Theistic books, collecting texts from all the sacred books of the world—a wonderful compilation, shewing remarkable resemblance in the sayings of all the world's greatest prophets and saints at various times and in various languages; they built a new Prayer Hall, or Brâhma Mandir, in 1869, and the minister, by his marvellous eloquence, not only in Bengali but in English, won thousands of hearts for his cause, and thus Brâhma Samâjes began to spring up in the different parts of the country as a result of the new agency. The Calcutta College was opened to educate the religious sense of young men; a fortnightly journal called the *Indian Mirror* was started; centres of work were opened in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, in Sind and the Punjab. A religious journal in Bengali called *Dharma Tattwa* was started, and great efforts were made to raise

the women of India and enable them to take a part in religious and social reforms. In fact, great progress was made in education, temperance, philanthropy, cheap literature and industrial education of the masses.

Unity in Separation

In doctrine, little difference could be found between Debendra Nath and Keshub Chunder. These doctrines, which may be said to have been held to the last by both of them, were :

1. The Book of Nature and Intuition form the basis of the Brahmaic faith.
2. Although the Brahmos do not consider any book written by man as the basis of their religion, yet they do accept with respect and pleasure any truth contained in any book.
3. The Brahmos believe that the religious condition of man is progressive, like the other parts of his condition in this world.
4. They believe that the fundamental doctrines of their religion are at the basis of every religion followed by man.
5. They believe in the existence of One Supreme God, a God endowed with a distinct personality, moral attributes equal to His Nature, and intelligence befitting the Governor of the Universe, and worship Him—Him alone. They do not believe in His incarnation.
6. They believe in the immortality and progressive state of the soul, and declare that there is a state of conscious existence succeeding life in this world, and supplementary to it, as respects the action of the Universal Moral Government.
7. They believe that repentance is the only way to atonement and salvation. They do not recognize any other mode of reconcilement to the offended but loving Father.
8. They pray for spiritual welfare, and believe in the efficacy of such prayers.
9. They believe in the providential care of the Divine Father.
10. They avow that love towards Him and performing the work He loves constitutes His worship.
11. They recognize the necessity of public worship, but do not believe that they cannot hold communion with the Great Father without resorting to any fixed time. They maintain that we can adore Him at any time and at any place, provided that time and that place are calculated to compose and direct the mind towards Him.
12. They do not believe in pilgrimages, but declare that holiness can only be attained by elevating and purifying the mind.
13. They do not perform any rites or ceremonies, or believe in penances as instrumental in obtaining the grace of God. They declare that moral righteousness, the gaining of wisdom, Divine contemplation, charity, and the cultivation of devotional feelings are their rites and ceremonies. They further say, Govern and regulate your feelings, discharge your duties to God and to man, and you will gain everlasting blessedness. Purify your heart, cultivate devotional feelings, and you will see Him who is Unseen.

14. Theoretically, there is no distinction of caste among the Brahmos. They declare that we are the children of God, and therefore must consider ourselves as brothers and sisters.

Minister K. C. Sen, in a stirring address to the Brahmos, exhorted them " to accept Truth wherever you find it, and whosoever may give it to you, without prejudice ; and act up to it without compromise. Energetically discharge the manifold duties of life, and uphold the banner of truth in the midst of all opposition. In this age of reformation endeavour to be reformers. Reform yourselves, your families and your neighbours ; train up your children in the knowledge of God, and educate your wives and sisters. Manfully direct your energies against caste, and pull down the strongholds of idolatry to the utmost extent of your power. There is before you a wide field for reformation."

My father came to England in 1870, and his visit was described as a constant triumph. The *Daily News* wrote at the time : " He had many personal characteristics which fitted him for religious work. A fine countenance, a majestic presence, and that rapt look which of itself exerts an almost irresistible fascination over impressible minds lent wonderful force to a swift, kindling and poetical oratory which married itself to his highly spiritual teaching as perfect music unto noble words."

A soirée was held at the old Hanover Square rooms to welcome him, comprising ministers and lay representatives of all religious denominations, under the chairmanship of the Presidents of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Lord Lawrence (Governor-General of India), the Dean of Westminster, the Rev. James Martineau, Lord Houghton, the Rev. Dr. Mullens, the Rev. Dr. Marks (a Hebrew clergyman) also others, addressed the meeting, and there was a striking unanimity in the cordial welcome they extended to my father.

He saw the most distinguished statesmen, scholars and divines, and made many and lasting friends in this country, amongst whom were the late Dean Stanley, Professor Max Müller and many others. He was graciously received by Queen Victoria, who presented him with her portrait and a set of books. He was invited to preach from several pulpits, and addressed numerous gatherings during the eight months he was here, until his health nearly broke down under the strain. I should like to quote a passage or two from his farewell address, which he delivered just prior to his departure for India.

My visit has confirmed all the best and holiest convictions of my heart, and my sympathies and affections have been greatly extended and enlarged. Though an Indian, I am a man of the world. I belong to the Universal Brotherhood of Nations, and I feel it is quite possible

to realize the sweetness of that brotherhood, even in a foreign country. . . . I am a firm believer in the doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and I now feel more deeply convinced than ever that it is possible to realize these two great ideas in the world. There is a great future before us, and England must join with us to realize it. Allow me to say that the true Kingdom of God will not be realized—indeed, can never be realized—unless the East and the West are joined together, for it has been said—and every day, through inspiration, we may hear the voice from God—that the East and the West, the North and the South, shall sit down in the Kingdom of God. The West, with all its thought and culture, its social purity and domestic sweetness, is but half the circle of human civilization and progress. The East is the other half . . . the truths which are represented in England and Western countries generally are those which refer to force of character, earnestness of purpose, conscientious strictness, noble charity, practical duty, whilst the truths which I find peculiarly developed in India—developed to a greater extent than anywhere else—and in Eastern countries generally, are those whch have reference to sweetness of communion, sweetness of temper, meekness and resignation unto God. Is it not, then, our duty as brothers to unite England and India, the East and the West, that the East may receive some of the truths of the West and the West some of the grand ideas of Eastern countries? The thing is inevitable.

Truly I look upon you all as brothers and sisters, and I hope to grow in that conviction. With this view I feel that all official relationships and all political union will be by and by but as nothing. God will try us by another test—a more rigid and spiritual test . . . that time is coming. Men are brothers wherever they may be. Therefore let us forget all differences of caste and colour and nationality, and let us find ourselves now united together in the presence of that Great Father of us all, who is plenteous in loving-kindness, holy and pure; who not only answers the prayers of individuals, but looketh to the interests of nations and findeth and governeth the destinies of communities.

Lessons from England

After his return to India, Minister Keshub Chunder Sen set to work to apply some of the lessons which he had learnt in England. He organized the Indian Reform Association, with its five branches for Female Improvement, Education, Cheap Literature, Temperance and Charity. A school for training lady teachers began to do useful work, and a special journal was started to spread the principles of temperance. Industrial schools, night schools, and other charitable experiments followed.

In March, 1872, the Brahmo Marriage Bill was passed, which legalized marriages concluded according to the simple Brahmo ritual and prohibited polygamy among Brahmos. We are told that "Keshub Chunder Sen was, during all that time, the recognized leader of the Brâhma Samâj of India, but the greater his influence grew, the stronger grew also the spirit

of opposition among his followers. While this discontent was growing stronger and stronger, Keshub Chunder Sen suddenly announced the betrothal of his daughter to the Râja of Cooch Behar. This was the spark that made the mine explode. Keshub Chunder was accused of having broken the Brâhma Marriage Law, which he had been chiefly instrumental in getting carried, and was considered as no longer fit to be minister of the Samâj. He would not listen to remonstrances, but appealed to *Adesa*, or Divine Command. This finished the schism." Many of his former adherents left him, and founded in May, 1878, a new Samâj called the Sadharan Brâhma Samâj, or the Catholic Samâj. This constitutional, or democratic, body comprised some of the most talented and efficient workers, who carried on with unabated zeal and enthusiasm the religious and social work of the Brâhma Samâj, which continues to this day. Max Müller, who had been a life-long friend and admirer of Keshub Chunder Sen, observes in his Biography:—

> Two points only seemed to me of real importance in the teaching of his last years; first, the striving after a universal religion and the recognition of a common substance in all religions; secondly, the more open recognition of the historical superiority of Christianity as compared with more ancient forms of faith. Keshub Chunder Sen rejoiced in the discovery that from the first all religions were but varying forms of one great truth. This was the pearl of great price. To him it changed the whole aspect of the world, and gave a new meaning to his life. That the principle of historical growth or national evolution applied to religion also was to him the solution of keenly-felt difficulties, a real solace in his own perplexities.

Thus Minister K. C. Sen spoke in his lecture, "We Apostles of the New Dispensation": "Only science can deliver the world, and bring light and order out of the chaos and darkness of multiplied Churches. If there is science in all things, is there no science in the dispensations of God? Do these alone in God's creation stand beyond the reign of law and order? Are they the madness and delirium of Nature? Sure I am that amid their apparent anomalies and contradictions there is a logical unity of idea and method, and an unbroken continuity of sequence. All these dispensations are connected with each other in the economy of Providence. They are linked together in one continuous chain, which may be traced to the earliest ages. They are a conatenated series of ideas, which show a systematic evolution of thought and development of religious life." He thus defined the New Dispensation: "It is the harmony of all scriptures and prophets and dispensations. It is not an isolated creed, but the science which finds and explains and harmonizes all religions. It gives to history a meaning, to the action of Providence a consistency, to quarrelling Churches a

common bond and to successive dispensations a continuity. It shows by a marvellous synthesis how the different rainbow colours are one in the light of Heaven. The New Dispensation is the sweet music of divers instruments. It is the precious necklace in which are strung together the rubies and pearls of all ages and climes. It is the Celestial Court, where around enthroned Divinity shine the lights of all heavenly saints and prophets. It is the wonderful solvent which fuses all dispensations into a new chemical compound. It is the mighty absorbent which absorbs all that is true and good and beautiful in the objective world."

The learned Professor, whom we may proudly claim as a historian of the Brâhma Samâj, strikes a hopeful note when he says :—

If we call the separation of the Brahmo Somâj of India from the old Adi Brahmo Somâj, and again the separation of the Sadharan Somâj from the Brahmo Somaj of India, a schism, we seem to condemn them by the very word we use. But to my mind these three societies seem like three branches of one vigorous tree ; the tree that was planted by Râja Râm Mohun Roy. In different ways they all serve the same purpose ; they are all doing, I believe, unmixed good in helping to realize the dream of a new religion for India, it may be for the whole world—a religion free from many corruptions of the past, call them idolatry, or caste, or verbal inspiration, or priestcraft, and firmly founded on a belief in the One God ; the same in the Vedas, the same in the Old, the same in the New Testament, the same in the Qur'an, the same also in the hearts of those who have no longer any Vedas or Upanishada, or any sacred books whatever, between themselves and their God. The stream is small as yet, but it is a living stream. It may vanish for a time, it may change its name, and follow new paths of which as yet we have no idea. But if there is ever to be a real religion in India, it will, I believe, owe its very life-blood to the large heart of Râm Mohun Roy and his worthy disciples, Debendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen.

The Unification of Truth

Looking at the history of Buddhism when its banner floated over the whole of India from Burma to Khyber, and from Tibet to Ceylon, one cannot but be struck by the fact of how it succumbed afterwards before the steady onslaught of the Vedic Brahmans, and gradually was swept beyond the seas. Buddhism thus may be said to have died the death of isolation as far as India was concerned. The vessel of the Brâhma Samâj has to be steered between the rock of isolation and the rock of absorption into Hinduism. We are told that we Brahmos profess an eclectic faith ; by eclecticism we mean, not the collection of truth, but the unification of truth. I should like to emphasize here that our position is not that truths are to be found in all religions, but that all the established religions of the world are true. To us the leading principles of all

religions form *one* ideal, to realize which in our individual lives we strain all the powers of our soul and body. To us the great prophets of all the world form *one* hierarchy, to whom we pay our homage.

To us the leading disciplines and sacraments of all religions are but one great method of spiritual culture. To us the varying peculiarities of the devotions of all religious bodies form one great school of devotions, through which our souls must commune with God. And hence the unity of our Ideal includes all the ideals of the world.

As regards our Church, it is distinguished from other Churches by the relation which it establishes with those. The Brâhma Samâj most heedfully observes the peculiarities of other systems of faith, and accepts them, assimilates them with its own life, and strives to preserve them.

Thus the accumulated varieties of other Churches perpetually conduce to its vitality and growth, and raise it continually to higher planes of moral and spiritual existence, and in this way force is added to force, and development to development, and the Brahma Somâj as a Universal Church of God grows stronger, and is preserved from decay and death. We therefore are not afraid of the rival dangers of isolation and absorption which have overtaken other faiths in the world.

As the late Rev. Bhai Protap Chunder Mozoomdar, worthy associate and disciple of our Minister, has said, we firmly believe that :

> So long as the longing for intellectual, moral and spiritual harmony, which just now the world presents, shall last ; so long as the present disposition of the enlightened among mankind to do honour and justice to the great and good in every land shall grow and last ; so long as the universality of truth and the Fatherhood of God shall continue to be the faith of the most advanced of our species, so long the Brâhma Samâj shall last and grow.

The Rev. Bhai thus defines the new phase in *The Faith and Progress of the Brâhma Samâj* :

> Buddhism was but the development and revival of Hindu spirituality in a new spirit of ethical purity. Christianity was the development and revival of the highest form of Hebrew theism, in a new and hitherto unknown spirit of love and faith. Muhammadanism was a further development, in an Arab and Ishmailite type, of the religion of Abraham, in an uncompromising spirit of monotheistic strictness new and unknown before. It would be exceedingly difficult to point out what was *new* in these religions when they were preached, yet they were most undeniably " New Dispensations " in their origin and career. Similarly the Divine Spirit, ancient and eternal. He who is the Spirit of the Age, the Lord of Humanity, acting upon all the great religions of the

world, upon all human needs, instincts and aspirations, evolves an order of faith which breathes a new spirit and a new birth into everything. And this faith is the simple, pure theism of the Brahmo Somâj. It brings before us new views of God's nature and attributes; new views of the soul's relations to Him; new aspirations in the nature of man; new reconciliations of religious difficulties, and of the Scriptures, prophets and sacraments of all nations. And for such reasons as these the religion of the Brahmo Somâj is called by us the NEW DISPENSATION.

May I be permitted to say that I have had especial privileges which are not allowed to many? I do not say this in any sense of vainglory, but I cannot help being conscious of the fact that I have been closely connected with the lives of two out of the three venerated leaders of our Samâj. The Great Maharshi was, I believe, present at my "Naming" ceremony to give me his blessings, and throughout my life I received nothing but the deepest affection and kindness from him, and regarded him as our venerable *Pradhan Acharya*, or Chief Minister.

As regards Bramananda Dev, a son's feelings and emotions are apt to overmaster him when speaking of him who has been, and always will be, a spiritual guide, minister, and preceptor and from whom one has learnt all that can make life noble, pure and happy.

In conclusion, I should like to say this—that the faith which I profess, and in which I have been brought up, is one of Hope for Mankind. In this distracted world of ours, torn with many religious dissensions and strife, *Brâhma Dharma* has been, I believe, sent as a Dispensation of God to establish harmony and concord, and to cheer and hearten us. The Brahmos may be numerically small, but it is the small seed, like the grain of mustard-seed, which will, I believe, bring forth in the fullness of time a mighty tree, under whose sheltering boughs all mankind may, forgetting their animosities and differences, gather together and worship the one and only God—*Brahm, Jehovah, Khoda, Hari*, by whichever name He is known by the people of the Earth.

The Ârya Samâj

By Professor S. N. Pherwani
(Shikarpur)

The Ârya Samâjists—their Distinguishing Features

THE followers of different systems of religion are known at the outset by their different modes of private and public worship, by their different sacraments and ceremonials, by their characteristic modes of life, etc., sometimes by different modes of dress and address, by peculiar temple architecture, etc. What are the distinguishing features of the Ârya Samâjists in these particulars? If you see one sitting erect, cross-kneed, in Buddha-like posture of meditation, morning and evening by a river-bank; and if you see him offering oblations of ghee and brownish incense by himself in a small truncated inverted pyramid of iron in which he has built up a little fire, and if he says he has been performing Sandhyâ and Havan, you may take him to be an Ârya Samâjist. Doubtless the Hindu, too, performs Sandhyâ, but the mantras, which make up the prayer of the Hindu, are usually different from the mantras of the Ârya Samâjist's Sandhyâ. I quote the text of a meditation and the covenant in general use amongst us:

May the all-pervading Divine Mother be gracious enough to gratify our inner craving, and send down blessings all around us!

O God! Most sincerely and solemnly, I make a covenant with Thee that knowingly I shall never sin with my organs of five cognitive and five active senses; viz. the tongue—taste, the nose—smell, the eye—sight, the ear—hearing, the palm (membrane) and its back (epidermis)—touch, the genitals—passions, the heart—desire, the throat—speech, the head—thought, the hands—deed.

Similarly the Hindu may be seen offering ghee at the sacrificial fire, but the Hindu generally offers rice and sesamum besides ghee, while the Ârya Samâjist offers that peculiar brownish blend which he calls Havan Sâmigrî (sacrificial mixture), and the Hindu rarely performs Havan individually.

The public worship of the Ârya Samâjists, as distinct from this private and individual worship, is characterized by the absence of a set priesthood; anyone learned and experienced from among the

audience may conduct the public worship, beginning with a prayer and then delivering an exhortation. The sacraments of the Ârya Samâjists are sixteen in number, as set forth by their founder. They are characterized by absence of the worship of the ordinary images of the Hindu pantheon, even of the Hindu Trimûrti, by simpler ceremonial, by greater literacy both among males and females, by greater readiness to argue, and if need be to fight, by their uttering the word *Namaste* instead of the Hindu *Namaskar*, or the Dev Samâjist's *Parnam*, or the Sikh's *Wah Guru Ji Ki Fatah*, while saluting with folded hands, as all alike do. The dress of the Ârya Samâjists does not differ from the ordinary Indian dress, only in parts of the Punjab the Samâjist women wear the sâri.

Their Number and Distribution

About the number and distribution of the Âryas the following remarks from the census of 1911 and that of 1921 will be found illuminating: "Their total strength now (1911) exceeds 243,000, or about two and a half times what it was ten years ago, and six times the number returned in 1891. Nearly half the total number are found in the Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand divisions in the west of the United Provinces, and more than two-fifths in the Punjab. During the decade the number of Âryas has doubled itself in the United Provinces, and quadrupled itself in the Punjab."

"The majority of the converts are drawn from the Brâhmanic Hindus, but special efforts are made to secure the reconversion of converts from Hinduism to Christianity and Islam, and the reclamation of the depressed classes, to whom the disregard of caste in the Ârya community strongly appeals. The Âryas have recently obtained a considerable number of converts among the Doms, the depressed classes of the hills in the United Provinces, who are largely artisans, and have through their industry and enterprise become well to do, but still find themselves looked down upon by their Brâhman and Rajput neighbours, and see in the Ârya Samâj a path to social recognition. The Samâj therefore benefits by the vague but undoubted connection it maintains with Hinduism.

"The remarkable rise in the figures of Âryas in Kashmir—from 1,047 in 1911 to over 23,000 in 1921—is ascribed to the vigorous efforts amongst the Doms and Basiths, the latter a depressed class found chiefly in the Jammu district. Here again the appeal was largely to social ambition, and it is reported that the Basiths Âryas, of whom there are now 9,000 or more, now mix freely, not only with their Ârya brothers, but with Hindus generally. The Superintendent thinks that the Ârya community is probably rather larger even than the figures represent, since there was some deliberate suppression of the record of Âryas in Srînagar and other cities by enumerators hostile to the sect."

Missionary Enterprise

This rapid increase is due to the elaborate missionary organization which Mr. Blunt describes as follows:

"Dayânand founded the first branch of the Ârya Samâj at Bombay in 1875. When he died in 1883 there were over 300 branches in the Punjab and the United Provinces. By his will he constituted the Paropakârinî Sabhâ at Ajmere and left all his wealth to it, with the injunction that it should be spent on the publication of the Vedas, Vedângas, and commentaries on them, on the preaching of the word, and the maintenance and education of orphans. It is still the central organization of the Âryan community. In each province there is a Pratinidhi Sabhâ composed of delegates from each local Sabhâ. In this province it was located at Meerut from 1886 to 1897, at Moradabad till 1907, and it is now at Agra. Its funds are raised by subscriptions; each Ârya is supposed to, and most do, give one-hundredth of their income to the local sabhâ, who contribute one-tenth of such subscriptions to the Pratinidhi Sabhâ. The centre sabhâ of this province is said to control 260 branches, 73 *upadeshaks* (or missionaries), 5 *gurukulas*, and 53 *pathshalas*, besides honorary lecturers and trained choirs. Ever since 1897 "Veda Prachar," or missionary teaching, has been the chief means of propagandism. The *upadeshaks* are always moving about the province, preaching especially at large fairs, and inspecting local branches of the Ârya Samâj. At least two persons of European parentage have in the last few years become Âryas.

The Principles and Constitution of the Ârya Samâj

What are the principles and the kind of constitution of this Samâj that has expanded with such wonderful rapidity in India? Ten clear-cut principles form the basis of the Samâj. As translated by Pandit Vishnu Lal Sharma in his *Handbook of the Ârya Samâj* (Allahabad, 1912), they are:

1. God is the primary cause of all true knowledge and of everything known by its means.

2. God is all truth, all knowledge, all beatitude, Incorporeal, Almighty, Just, Merciful, Unbegotten, Infinite, Unchangeable, a Beginning, Incomparable, the Support and Lord of all, All-pervading, Omniscient, Imperishable, Immortal, Exempt from Fear, Eternal, Holy, and the cause of the universe. To Him alone worship is due.

3. The Vedas are the books of true knowledge, and it is the paramount duty of every Ârya to read or hear them read, to teach and preach them to others.

4. One should always be ready to accept truth and renounce untruth.

5. All actions ought to be done conformably to virtue, i.e. after a thorough consideration of right and wrong.

6. The primary object of the Samâj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual and social condition of mankind.

7. All ought to be treated with love, and justice, and due regard to their merits.

8. Ignorance ought to be dispelled and knowledge diffused.

9. None ought to be contented with his own good alone; but everyone ought to regard his prosperity as included in that of others.

10. In matters which affect the social well-being of the Samâj one ought to discard all differences and not allow his individuality to interfere, but in strictly personal matters everyone may act with freedom.

The regular meetings of the Council are held weekly, generally on Sundays. The programme of the weekly meetings is generally as follows:

The proceedings open with the recitation of Vedic Mantras or Havan; next follows prayer in Hindi, which is followed by hymns and recitation from the Vedas or from some other religious book. A sermon on some religious or social subject is delivered next, and the whole proceedings close with the singing of the Ârati and the recitation of the ten principles of the Samâj.

Most of the Samâjes celebrate annual meetings, at which Nagar Kîrtan (the singing of hymns in the streets) is performed. There is Havan on a large scale, and speakers from distant parts of the country deliver lectures on social and religious subjects. Subscriptions for charitable institutions are generally raised on the occasion of these annual meetings.

There is a Sarvadeshak Sabhâ (All-India Representative Assembly), which is constituted of representatives from all the provincial Pratinidhi Sabhâs, except the Ârya Pradeshak Sabhâ of the Punjab. The Ârya Pradeshak Sabhâ is the representative assembly of the Ârya Samâjes of the D. A. V. College party in the Punjab. These Samâjes form a group by themselves.

The Founder—Swâmî Dayânand Saraswatî

The life of the founder of this great regenerative movement falls broadly into three periods—the first twenty-two years at home, the next eighteen years as a wandering student in quest of truth, and the last twenty years a sturdy, aggressive reformer of Hinduism. Mul Shankar (for that was the name by which he was known to his people before he left them) was born in a Brâhman family in the year 1824 A.D. at a village in the native state of Morvi, in Kathiawar. His father, Amba Shankar, was an officer of the State. Early he received a careful training in Sanskrit and Sâstric lore. He was brought up as a Saiva, or worshipper of Siva. At the age of fourteen, while observing the Siva-râtri vigil, he noticed a mouse climb over the idol of Siva and eat of the rice and sweets offered to the idol. "This idol, that cannot protect itself from the

attacks of a mouse, cannot be," thought he, " the great Lord and Protector of the universe." Thus started that process of self-questioning which later on led to such mighty reform. The next two significant incidents in his early life were the deaths of his sister and uncle. Is there a way to conquer death ? This was the thought that these incidents generated in his awakened mind. He resolved to be a celibate scholar and search out the meaning of life and death. His parents wanted to tame this daring spirit by yoking him in marriage, but he would have none of it. And when he saw that all remonstrance with them was of no avail, he quietly cut himself off from his parental abode, and wandered forth into mountain retreats and forests to probe the secret of yoga. Thus in 1846 ended the first period of Dayânand's life.

It took him long before he could find a fit Guru, really learned and self-disciplined—not till 1860 was he able to find the man of his choice, 'Srî Swâmi Vîrjânand Saraswatî, the great blind Sanskrit scholar of Northern India. Under him he studied Sanskrit for four years, resolved his doubts and difficulties, and gained the mental illumination he was seeking. His training over, he goes to take leave of his Guru. The blind Rishi blesses his disciple, and charges him with a high life-mission. " My son "—such were the parting words of the Guru—" go and put thyself at the service of the world. Vedic learning is fast disappearing ; go and renovate it. Spread the study of the true Sâstras and fight against the prevailing false sects. Remember, the books composed by ordinary men are full of blasphemy. The books composed by Rishis are free from this defect. This is the test of works composed by Rishis." With these parting benedictions and injunction to dedicate his life to spread true Sâstric lore in India ends the second period of the life of Dayânanda.

The third period (1863–83) is the period of active carrying out of this mission, and during this the founder works strenuously as a sturdy reformer. During this period, we are told, " Swâmi Dayânand Saraswatî travelled over the whole of Northern India, from Rawalpindi to Calcutta, preaching the pure faith of the Vedas, and fighting against the prevailing thousand and one sects into which popular Hinduism has divided itself." He held Sâstra-arths—public discussions on the true interpretation of religious texts—wherever he went, and changed, through patient discussion and by cogent arguments, the faiths of several Hindus. His arguments against idolatry were so forcible that at several places people removed idols from their temples and threw them into the Ganges. He preached similarly against the *Purânas*. To Hindu converts to Islam and Christianity he showed how the Vedas also offered pure monotheism and high morality. After satisfying their doubts and difficulties he brought them back to the Vedic cult. The first

half of this last period of Swâmiji's life was spent in this work of fighting against false views about Vedic religion. During the first four years he visited Agra, Gwalior, Jaipur, Pushkar, Ajmere and Hardwar. The next two years were spent in Gwalior, Jaipur, Pushkar and Ajmere. In 1868 Dayânand had a discussion with Pandit Hira Ballabh Parvati Sastrî at Karnvas. This gentleman brought his idols into the meeting, and confidently gave out that he would make Dayânand worship or himself renounce idolatry—a very manly resolution. The discussion lasted for nine hours. In the end, the Pandit accepted the conclusion of Dayânand, and then and there, with his own hands, consigned the images to the bosom of the Ganges.

As we find from the appeal he issued at the Kumbh Fair at Hardwar in 1879, he had in mind two ways for the regeneration of India: (1) By the formation of a band of preachers, of men who are learned, who have love for their country and for their fellow-beings, of men who are willing and capable of making a free gift of knowledge to all who may desire, of men who are righteous in thoughts, words and action; (2) By establishing schools and colleges. In both these directions the Ârya Samâj has done yeoman service. Its simple faith, democratic organization, caste by worth and works instead of birth, and its insistence on spreading education all round, have been the causes of its marvellous success and expansion, despite the opposition it has encountered.

The Teachings of the Founder as found in Satyârth Prakâsh

If the Vedas form the Old Testament of the Ârya Samâjists, the *Satyârth Prakâsh*[1] forms, as it were, their New Testament. It is necessary, therefore, to know the teachings embodied in that book in order to understand the working and spirit of the Ârya Samâj.

Parsâd's own introduction, translated by Bharadwaja, gives the following account of the contents of the book:

Chapter I. is an exposition of " Om " and the like names of God.
Chapter II. treats of the upbringing of children.
Chapter III. treats of *Brahmâchârya*, the duties and qualifications of the scholars and their teachers, good and bad books, and the scheme of studies.
Chapter IV. treats of marriage and married life.
Chapter V. treats of Vanaprastha (the order of asceticism) and of Sannyâs-Âsrama (the order of renunciation).
Chapter VI. treats of Raj Dharma (Government).
Chapter VII. treats of Veda and God.
Chapter VIII. treats of the creation, sustenance, and dissolution of the universe.

[1] There are two English translations of the work, both by devout Ârya Samâjists; one by Master Durgâ Parsâd of Lahore; another, considered more readable and correct, by Dr. Chranjivea Bharadwaja, Lahore, 1906.

Chapter IX. treats of knowledge and ignorance, and emancipation and bondage.

Chapter X. treats of conduct, desirable and undesirable; diet, permissible and reprehensible.

Chapter XI. contains a criticism of the various religions and sects prevailing in India.

Chapter XII. treats of Châvâka, (materialist) Buddha and Jaina religions.

Chapter XIII. treats of Christianity.

Chapter XIV. treats of Muhammadanism.

At the end of this book we have given a summary of the teachings of the ancient Vedic religion, which we also profess.

The spirit of the book and the spirit of the author will be best realized from the following words, also found in the introduction:

Any suggestions made with a view to benefit mankind, on being found good, will be most acceptable. There are undoubtedly many learned men among the followers of every religion, should they free themselves from prejudice, and accept universal truths—that is, those truths which are found alike in all religions, and are of universal application—and reject all things in which they differ, and treat each other lovingly, it will be greatly to the advantage of the world; for differences among the learned create bad blood among the ignorant masses, which multiplies all sorts of sorrows and sufferings and destroys their happiness. This evil, which is so dear to the hearts of selfish men, has sunk all men in the greatest depths of misery. Whoever tries to do anything with the object of benefiting mankind is opposed by these selfish people, and various kinds of obstacles are thrown in his way. But finding support in the belief that truth must conquer, and that it is the path of rectitude alone that men of learning and piety have always trodden, true teachers never get indifferent to the promotion of public good, nor give up the preaching of truth.

This shows the spirit of the founder, a staunch lover of truth, and a believer in the promotion of public good. In every one of the chapters he sets forth the teaching of ancient Indian scriptures on all the topics dealt with. Generally the Vedas are quoted first, and next a good deal from the Upanishads and Manu Smriti. A comparative and critical study of the differences of opinion of other religious systems forms the second part of the book. The first part is thus constructive and the second critical. Finally he gives us a statement of his beliefs. He writes: "That alone I hold to be acceptable which is worthy of being believed by all men in all ages. I do not entertain the least idea of founding a new religion or a new sect." Then follow his fifty-one articles of faith, mostly definitions of terms current in religious lore. Beginning with an affirmation of belief in Paramâtmâ—the Supreme Spirit, God—and the Vedas as the word of God, he defines *Dharma* and *Adharma*, or right and wrong, as follows;

by birth, and so anyone could become a Brâhman if he duly studied and understood and followed the Vedas. Thus the Swâmiji lays down in Article 16: "The Class and Order of an individual should be determined by his merits." His conception of education is set forth in Article 22, which reads: "Education is that which helps one to acquire knowledge, culture, righteousness, self-control and the like virtues; and eradicates ignorance and evil habits." The Swâmiji also combated the paralysing belief in destiny. Thus Article 25 runs: "Activity is superior to Destiny, since the former begets the latter, and also because, if activity is well directed, all ends well; but if it is wrongly directed, all goes wrong."

The culture of sympathy, no less than the culture of knowledge, was one of the central points of his creed. Thus Articles 24 and 40 are emphatic on this point:

24. I hold that it is commendable for man to feel for others in the same way as he feels for himself; to sympathize with them in their sorrows and losses and rejoice in their joys and gains; and that it is reprehensible to do otherwise.

40. Paropakâr (philanthropy) is that which helps to wean all men from their vices and to alleviate their sufferings, promote the practice of virtue among them and increase their happiness.

Thus "the sixth of the ten principles of the Society," says Mr. Burns in his Census Report of the United Provinces for 1901, "declares that the primary object of the Samâj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, intellectual, spiritual, moral and social condition of mankind, while the eighth points out to the Ârya that he should endeavour to diffuse knowledge and dispel ignorance. In accordance with these very desirable injunctions the Âryas do, as a matter of fact, insist on education both of males and females."

General Estimate, Appreciation and Critical Synthesis

We have now briefly noticed the general characteristics and distinguishing features of Ârya Samâjists, and are now in a position to give a general estimate and critical synthesis of the whole movement.

Living religions react. Hinduism is a living religion, and whenever it has been attacked it has sent forth a fresh defensive offshoot to protect its own life. Thus at one time we see Shankarâchârya coming to the rescue of crumbling Hinduism, weakened through inner fission and outer onslaughts of Buddhism. At another—1500 A.D.—we find Guru Nânak starting Sikhism, a great defensive offshoot of Hinduism, to save it from compulsory conversions and other aggressive inroads of Islam. Similarly, the Ârya Samâj (1875) is just another offshoot of Hinduism to protect it from the argumentative attacks of Christian missionaries, from the inroads that the religion of the ruling race finds it easy to make, and the

undermining influence of a system of education that leaves one ignorant of the best in one's own religion. The Ârya Samâj was a movement designed to give Hinduism a consolidated and organized shape, able to withstand attacks of aggressive faiths like Christianity and Islam, and to strengthen Hinduism from within, by ridding it of some of its superstitious and degenerative elements, as well as the tyranny of priestcraft and a caste system by birth instead of by worth and works. Not only has this great movement tried to save, and to some extent succeeded in saving Hinduism from external attacks and internal weaknesses, but it has given it an aggressive and proselytizing form, so as to reclaim those who gave up Hinduism as the result of earlier attacks, and draw new adherents to this most ancient of all the faiths of Hindustan—Vedic Hinduism. The Ârya Samâj has thus tried to rejuvenate this ancient faith, and enable it to adjust itself to its modern environment.

The Hindu need not fight shy of his brethren of other faiths; he can hold his own against any and all professors of other religions of the world. He shewed to us in a word the strength of our own fortress, and the superiority of our arms; and, what is more, he shewed us the weak points in the armoury of our opponents, who, taking advantage of our ignorance and blindness, had hitherto been so successfully operating against us. The result we all know. The demoralizing tendency of Hinduism has disappeared, the disintegration has ceased, the society has gained faith in itself, and strength and vigour are returning. He was not content with regaining our self-assurance, and recapturing lost ground. He laid it down that it is our bounden duty to carry the light to quarters that are still dark.

In so far as great learning, logical acuteness and success in controversy go, Swâmi Dayânand has been rightly compared with Shankarâchârya; so far as, being a Brâhman, he yet stood against the tyranny of priestcraft and substituted the Vedas in place of the Brâhman, he has been rightly compared with Martin Luther. We are told by Dr. Griswold:

> There are many points of contact between Dayânand Saraswatî and Martin Luther. As Luther, the German monk, was a child of the European Renaissance, so Dayânand, the Gujerati monk, was a child of the Indian Renaissance. Both alike felt the tug of the *Zeitgeist*. Both in their different ways became exponents of the new spirit. Luther attacked indulgences, while Dayânand attacked idolatry. Luther appealed from the Roman Church and the authority of tradition to the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Swâmi Dayânand appealed from the Brâhmanical Church to the authority of the Smriti, to the earliest and most sacred of Indian scriptures. The watchword of Luther was, "Back to the Bible"; the watchword of Dayânand was, "Back to the Vedas."

Political Aspects

"Dayânand wished to reform Hinduism, but it was on particular lines. He was not merely a religious zealot ; he was also a patriot, and, though it would be unfair to say that with him religious reform was a mere means to national reform, there can be no doubt that he had both ends in view. Hinduism was to be reformed into, and replaced by a religion that could be a national religion. That the Ârya movement has this patriotic side is indubitable, and is indeed admitted. And for this purpose it was necessary that Hindus could accept it, yet remain in all respects Hindus."

As compared with Sikhism, which also wanted to reform Hinduism by simplifying its creed, the Ârya Samâj may be said to emphasize the paths of salvation by knowledge and action rather than by mere devotion, which other reformers stress. Far from holding rationalism at a discount, the Ârya Samâj welcomes rationalism, fosters, indeed, rather too much the spirit of open discussion, and only limits it by the authority of revealed scriptures. It thus fits in with the present revolutionary epoch of the age of reason and free enquiry. Such a movement is quite necessary for weaning people from blind faith, and leading them on to a scientific study of religious phenomena, unfettered by the authority of a decadent priesthood. It is bound to grow and leave its impress on Hinduism, where it is not able to transform it.

What of the future? The expansive trend of the Samâj has not yet reached its climax. It appears it will still be a progressive force—during the next few decades at least. The sixty millions of depressed-class people are a fertile field for conversion by the three aggressive agencies of Christian, Muhammadan and Ârya Samâj missions. And of the three agencies, the Ârya Samâj has the greatest chance of success with them. The newly awakened national sentiment makes the orthodox Hindu tolerate, if not even welcome, this activity of the Samâj. Some societies, like the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay, have taken up this work of reconversion, though not with very great success. While the Ârya Samâj thus goes on securing new adherents for the Hindu fold, the orthodox Hindus will go on adopting one by one its really progressive items, till one day, perhaps fifty or a hundred years hence, the Samâj will be peacefully absorbed into Hinduism, and a fresh progressive movement, nearer the spirit of the scientific age, will take on itself the work of further advance and adjustment.

The Bahâ'i Cause

Compiled by The Bahâ'i Assembly

(Read by Mr. Mountford Mills, Canada)

MR. CHAIRMAN and friends,—Before I undertake to present in brief outline those events, persons and principles that combine to produce the significance of the Bahâ'i Cause, permit me, in behalf of the Bahâ'is resident outside as well as inside the British Empire, to express a heartfelt and lasting gratitude toward those by whose vision and energy this Conference came into being. For this Conference, both in character and method, expresses that ideal of religious unity so indelibly impressed upon all the members of the Bahâ'i Cause, and its very existence, under these conditions of impressive dignity and far-reaching influence, appears to us as the fulfilment of a glorious, long-cherished hope.

It may well be that in this audience there are men and women whose memory still clearly pictures that occasion when, on September 10th, 1911, from the pulpit of the City Temple in London, Abdu'l-Bahâ delivered his first public address to the Western world. Summarizing as they do the spirit as well as purpose of the Bahâ'i Cause, the words uttered on that day enable me to convey the inmost essence of the universal movement we are now gathered to consider.

Abdu'l-Bahâ said :

O noble friends, seekers after God ! Praise be to God ! To-day the light of Truth is shining upon the world in its abundance ; the breezes of the heavenly garden are blowing throughout all regions ; the call of the Kingdom is heard in all lands, and the breath of the Holy Spirit is felt in all hearts that are faithful. The Spirit of God is giving eternal life. In this wonderful age the East is enlightened, the West is fragrant, and everywhere the soul inhales the holy perfume. The sea of the unity of mankind is lifting up its waves with joy, for there is real communication between the hearts and minds of men. The banner of the Holy Spirit is uplifted, and men see it, and are assured with the knowledge that this is a new day.

This is a new cycle of human power. All the horizons of the world are luminous, and the world will become indeed as a garden and a paradise. It is the hour of the unity of the sons of men, and of the drawing together of all races and all classes. You are loosed from ancient superstitions which have kept men ignorant, destroying the foundations of true humanity.

The gift of God to this enlightened age is the knowledge of the oneness of mankind and of the fundamental oneness of religion. War shall cease between nations, and by the Will of God the Most Great Peace shall come; the world will be seen as a new world, and all men will live as brothers.

In the days of old an instinct for warfare was developed in the struggle with wild animals. This is no longer necessary; nay, rather co-operation and mutual understanding are seen to produce the greatest welfare of mankind. Enmity is now the result of prejudice only.

In the *Hidden Words* Bahâ'u'llâh says: "*Justice is to be loved above all.*" Praise be to God, in this country the standard of justice has been raised; a great effort is being made to give all souls an equal and a true place. This is the desire of all noble natures; this is to-day the teaching for the East and for the West; therefore the East and the West will understand each other and reverence each other, and embrace like long-parted lovers who have found each other.

There is one God; mankind is one; the foundations of religions are one. Let us worship Him, and give praise for all His great prophets and messengers who have manifested His brightness and glory.

The blessing of the Eternal One be with you in all its richness, that each soul according to his measure may take freely of Him.

Unity

As these words echo now once more in human hearts, so penetrating, so inspiring to our noblest ideals, so quickening to our mutual spiritual faith, so gracious, yet so challenging, there is no need for me, I am sure, to assert to this audience the fact that the Bahâ'i Cause seeks no competitive victory among the world's religions, and lays no additional frontiers among those innumerable boundaries that already divide the body of humanity into different organized creeds.

After eighty years of existence, the particular genius inspiring the Bahâ'i Cause, clearly expressed by its founder and universally accepted by all its adherents, is the ideal of *unity* consciously binding the hearts of men.

Both as a spiritual doctrine and as a living movement rooted in well-nigh incredible sacrifice and heroism, the Bahâ'i Cause can best be presented in the light of the gradual working out of that ideal.

The origin of the Cause itself coincided in point of time with the beginnings of what all thoughtful people discern to be a new era in the development of mankind. Here in the West, the new era manifested itself most visibly through the abrupt industrial revolution produced by the influence of scientific discovery; in the East, less visibly, the same ferment and universal spirit of change also had its effects in the realm of feeling and thought.

It was in that country of the Orient least touched by Western influence—that country, Persia, least known to the people of the

West and least significant to them politically, economically or morally—that country most firmly bound to its own separate tradition, and to all appearances most incapable of throwing off the fetters of the dead past—that Bahâ'u'llâh, founder of the Baha'i Cause, arose with a message instinct with the enthusiasm of a new day.

History, that greatest of romancers, surely never played a drama of human destiny upon a stage so completely in contrast with the players or with the theme ! All the machinery of daily life in Persia at that time was devised to resist change ; external assistance or accidental reinforcement for the purpose of Bahâ'u'llâh there was none ; the idea of progress even in the economic aspects of life did not exist ; arts, crafts, professions, education, creed and custom all combined to sanctify the excellence of what had been ; available only to this pure spirit was the innate influence of his unswerving faith, indomitable courage, singleness of purpose, willingness to sacrifice ease, comfort, honour and life itself upon the path, and a mind able to impress other minds with the integrity of new principles and ideals.

" The Episode of the Bâb "

But for the message of Bahâ'u'llâh due preparation, in fact, had already been made.

Between May 23rd, 1844, and July 9th, 1850, occurred that remarkable series of events known to history as the " Episode of the Bâb." Within the brief compass of six years a single youth had succeeded in shattering the age-long inertia of the country and animating thousands of people with an intense, all-encompassing expectation of an immiment fulfilnent of their profoundest religious belief. The teaching had been quietly spread, even before the appearance of the Bâb, that the time had come for a new spiritual leader—one who should restore the foundations of faith and open the gates to an expression of universal truth. A survey of the religious experience of other peoples would reveal the working of the same influence here and there, both in the East and West, at that time.

It was the presence of this quiet yet powerful undercurrent of hope that gave the Bâb his commanding position among the people, for his teaching expressed their own inmost thought, and gave vital substance to their secret dreams. The martyrdom of the Bâb in 1850, consequently, was but the extinguishing of a torch which had already communicated its flame far and wide. To extinguish the flame itself proved impossible, though the annals of the world's religions contain no records of deliberate persecution more cruelly imposed, nor suffered voluntarily by so many believers. The figure most generally accepted of Bâbi and Bahâ'i martyrs is in excess

of twenty thousand souls. Such was the price paid for faith in the promise of the Bâb, such the spiritual heritage the Bâb in passing handed on to him whom he had heralded, Bahâ'u'llâh !

To take up this spiritual heritage—to arouse this vivid expectation in thousands of faithful hearts and to inspire them with permanent principles, to establish a mould of doctrine and new custom for this fluid fire—was, for Bahâ'u'llâh, the descent from a position of highest material comfort and authority to the lowest degree of poverty, imprisonment, suffering and exile. All that worldly men cherish and long for Bahâ'u'llâh freely sacrificed in order that his vision of God might be fulfilled and perpetuated in the conscious unity of men.

The teachings which Bahâ'u'llâh gave his followers were, in large measure, written teachings—letters or " tablets " sent to individuals and groups in response to questions they were unable to address to him in person by reason of his exile ; messages sent by Bahâ'u'llâh from prison to the European and Oriental rulers ; or works of devotion, meditation and spiritual interpretation as well as of scientific and sociological character dictated to secretaries among those who shared his prison life.

The essential distinction between religion and philosophy is perfectly illustrated by the effects which the words of Bahâ'u'llâh had upon his followers. Not as mere images to be admired by the mind's eye, but as seeds to be planted in the earth of the heart—seeds to be watered with sacrifice and adoration until they produced the flower and the fruit of a *new life*—such were, and are, the utterances of Bahâ'u'llâh to those who follow him. From all ranks and stations they came, all types and temperaments, all degrees of training and experience ; bringing with them the innate differences of a whole humanity, but moved by a common recognition of one organic, central faith. To produce and maintain unity among these thousands of followers without offering them hope of material gain or earthly honour and well-being was in itself a superhuman accomplishment.

Bahâ'u'llâh's teaching reflected no acquired learning ; it was an immediate experience in the soul of one who turned wholly and directly to God. " Oneness, in its true significance," he has said, " means that God alone should be realized as the one power which animates and dominates all things, which are but manifestations of its energy."

From this fundamental concept—or, rather, *realization*—the teachings of Bahâ'u'llâh flow forth with single, harmonious essence, like waters from the same spring.

To Bahâ'u'llâh, those various standards of truth which sway human society—one standard in religion, another standard in science, a third standard in politics, a fourth standard in industry—this

conflict of standard is the source of all the world's ills, the spiritual ignorance which all the prophets came to remove. To Bahâ'u'llâh religion is not one of life's several aspects, but the predominant spirit which expresses itself through all aspects, producing, in its purity, harmony among the diverse elements of will, imagination, feeling and thought—first in order of experience, the realization of God ; then the realization of self ; last of all, the realization of one's relation to his fellow-men and the world.

The true meaning of all history, to Bahâ'u'llâh, reveals the nearness of men to the realization of God or their remoteness therefrom ; he teaches that all the founders of religion are successive, co-related expressions of the will of God, identical as to purpose and function, separate and diverse only in that each founder adapted the one divine teaching to the particular needs of his time. The glory of this age, according to Bahâ'u'llâh, is its capacity to understand the oneness of all religions ; and his inextinguishable vision of united humanity vitalizes a method of unity based upon that understanding.

Mirrors of Sanctity

This point is essential to any consideration of the Bahâ'i Cause. Let us turn to Bahâ'u'llâh's own words :

> God, singly and alone, abideth in His place, which is holy above space and time, mention and utterance, sign, description and definition, height and depth. God hath been, and is, everlastingly hidden in His own essence, and will be eternally concealed in His identity from the sight of eyes. Nay, there hath not been, nor will be, any connection or relation between the created beings and His Word.
>
> Therefore God hath caused brilliant Essences of sanctity to appear from the holy worlds of the spirit, in human bodies walking among mankind, in accordance with His abundant mercy.
>
> These Mirrors of sanctity fully reflect that Sun of existence and Essence of desire. Their knowledge expresses His knowledge, their dominion His dominion, their beauty His beauty, their power His power, and their manifestation His manifestation.
>
> Whosoever is favoured by these shining and glorious Lights, and hath attained to these luminous, radiant Suns of truth during every manifestation, hath attained the realization of God, and entered the city of eternal life.
>
> Those who earnestly endeavour in the way of God, after severance from all else, will become so attached to that city that they will not abandon it for an instant. This city is the revelation of God, renewed every one thousand years, more or less.

It is a fair estimate of the teaching of Bahâ'u'llâh, I believe, to consider it as being made up almost equally of an interpretation of that which is fundamental and true to all religions alike, and of encouragement and exhortation to respond, with spirit, mind and

soul, to the new and greater religious possibilities of this age. " Know that in every age and dispensation all divine ordinances are changed, acccording to the requirements of the time, except the law of Love, which, like unto a fountain, flows always, and is never overtaken by change."

But it is not the experience of one soul alone which establishes a religion ; rather is it the sharing of that experience with others under conditions which raise the others to the level of the experience, transmuting them while maintaining the source undefiled. The supreme test of every religion is its power of spiritual continuity after the passing of the founder himself.

Spread of the Movement

Bahâ'u'llâh departed from this world in 1892, leaving among his papers a will, or testament, appointing his eldest son, Abdu'l-Bahâ, the executive head of his Cause and the interpreter of his teachings. Whether or not the Bahâ' i movement deserves the name " living religion " to-day is solely dependent upon the administration of Abdu'l-Bahâ during the thirty years that intervened between the death of Bahâ'u'llâh and his own ascension in 1921.

By 1892 the Cause had spread to India, to Egypt, to Turkestan, to Palestine. Even a sympathetic observer might readily have considered it inherently limited in its appeal to the Oriental character and tradition. But forces were already at work which eventually extended the boundary of the Cause to include adherents in Europe and America as well. A returned missionary, for example, speaking at the Congress of Religions held at the World's Fair in Chicago during 1892, made the statement that there had just passed away in Acca one whose spirit was so broad and universal that his teachings might well be studied as a means of restoring true religious faith. A number of people from America shortly afterwards visited Acca in order to investigate the teachings, with the result that in Abdu'l-Bahâ they found a living manifestation of the spirit of universality they were seeking. The return of this group of students to America was, however, not the first point of contact between the Baha'i Cause and the West. Previous to this event, Edward G. Browne, Orientalist of Cambridge University, had already made his memorable journey to Persia and Acca, described in the introduction of his translation of *A Traveller's Narrative*, written to illustrate the episode of the Bâb, still other European scholars who had studied the Cause being Baron Rosen of Russia and Comte de Gobineau of France.

It was directly to the influence of Abdu'l-Bahâ, nevertheless, that the Cause of Bahâ'u'llâh owes its acceptance by thousands of people in the West. Abdu'l-Bahâ himself was their first and most valid proof

that through Bahâ'u'llâh a new spiritual force had been revealed to this age; and it has been through the words and writings of Abdu'l-Bahâ that the essential principles of the Cause received their direct application to problems peculiar to Western civilization.

Careful comparison of the writings of Abdu'l-Bâha with those of Bahâ'u'llâh shows no slightest divergence of essential principle. One is the religion; the other the application of the religion to a new and broader field of life. One is as a sun; the other as the circumferential rays of its light. The statement may be made without reservation that no previous religious teaching ever dealt with the innumerable problems of daily existence with such a degree of purity as Abdu'l-Bahâ maintained for the message of Bahâ'u'llâh.

What unique claim, one may well ask, has this message upon our attention? What element does it bring not already contained in the older religious systems of the world? How can this new Cause contribute to a solution of those world problems under which humanity staggers to-day?

"Guidance," said Bahâ'u'llâh, "hath ever been by words, but now it is by deeds." True to this counsel, Abdu'l-Bâha first applied to his own life those ordinances and principles he received from the teachings of Bahâ'u'llâh. What Abdu'l-Bahâ gave to the world in words he had previously given as established facts. Before he announced to any Western audience the principle that the foundation of all religions is one, Abdu'l-Bahâ had already created a bond of sympathy and understanding between members of all religions. Before he spoke of the essential harmony of religion and science he had himself explored the world of spirit, and, with inward gaze, found the expression of love imprinted in nature and in man.

Abdu'l-Bahâ's Journey

Between 1911 and 1913 Abdu'l-Bahâ, but recently released from twoscore years' constant imprisonment, journeyed through Europe and America, delivering his father's message to audiences representing the Western industrial civilization in every aspect and phase. The principles developed by Abdu'l-Bahâ under such conditions may fairly be considered his characteristic solution of the problems of the age.

Let us attempt a brief summary of these principles, bearing in mind, however, the essential fact that, shorn of the spirit of love with which they were uttered, and lacking the will to unity to which their appeal was made, they must remain inoperative until further suffering has purified the hearts of men.

Foremost among Abdu'l-Bahâ's principles is that of the *independent investigation of truth.*

A key to this principle may be found in Abdu'l-Bahâ's use of the word "imitation" where we would use such words as "superstition" or "prejudice" or "ignorance." Looking upon the minds,

Abdu'l-Bahâ perceived them as merely imitating one another and the past, like those prisoners who are chained one to another in rows. Few people ever stand apart from their mental and moral environment and test its standards by any universal truth. What most of us consider " thought " is merely an adapting of the common thinking to our personal advantage. The savage obeys the law of the jungle, and we obey no less blindly the customs of our own day; and consequently, so far as true self-realization is concerned, we are merely that same savage reborn to a jungle of men rather than a jungle of beasts. True independent investigation of reality leads to the investigation of our own inmost being, and makes us realize that severance from the self of passion and desire is the supreme independence.

Unity of Mankind

Another of Abdu'l-Bahâ's principles is that of the *oneness of mankind*. All that Abdu'l-Bahâ expressed through utterance or action he expressed from the positive and steadfast realization that mankind, in its origin and its end, is one Spiritual Man, whose atoms, so to speak, we are. To-day, as we see and feel the immediate interaction of events and conditions throughout the world, and how no portion of humanity is independent of any other portion, we begin to realize something of the significance of this Bahâ'i teaching. Thus, for the first time, one undeviating standard is available for the guidance of religions, governments, industries, education, science and art alike, and that standard is the promotion of the oneness of mankind. Whatever promotes unity is of the universal cause, and will prove fruitful and enduring; but whatever prevents unity is of limited effect, and will be rejected by the Holy Spirit, whose action is predominant over all.

Foundation of Religion

Another principle expressed by Abdu'l-Bahâ is that the *foundation of all religion is one*. For by " foundation " Abdu'l-Bahâ means the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, from which all the religions originally came. The Holy Spirit is at all times one, though, like the spring season, it comes and goes, for the Holy Spirit is the expression of the will of God, and God is not divided against Himself, but the people of the world are divided. It is this division of the people which causes differences in the effects of the Holy Spirit from age to age, for the Holy Spirit is perfect and complete in itself, but enters the world of humanity only according to the capacity of the time. It is an inexhaustible ocean, while the people are but small vessels that quickly overflow. Thus Moses, Buddha, Christ, Muhammad, seem different beings, and founders of different religions; we see them in the mirror of the world's division and

not in the light of the Holy Spirit. In that light they are one being, one essence, one cause, one power and one foundation ; and whatever they uttered is the reality, which we have seized and divided (interpreted) for our own gain, as the soldiers seized and divided the garments of Jesus. Abdu'l-Bahâ has said that when representatives of all the world's religions have gathered for a sincere investigation of the foundation of religion, their oneness will become manifest and all the secondary, man-made features of religion will utterly disappear.

Religion, Science and Reason

A fourth principle which Abdu'l-Bahâ enunciated was that *religion must be in accord with science and reason.* Now, a person who is sick is limited by that sickness both physically and mentally, and he himself cannot overcome those limitations except by attaining health. In the same way there are limitations which fall upon the understanding from sickness of soul. It is spiritual sickness which makes it possible for a man to cling to a religion at variance with science and reason. He may not realize these limitations, but that is part of the disease. These limitations shut out the ray of the Spirit, as a wall shuts out the sun. Thus irrational religion does not, and cannot, become truly predominant in human affairs. Even the fanatic does not follow out his religion in all things, but his self-interest or self-gratification is served in devious ways. Without the Holy Spirit a religion cannot awaken souls, but irrational religion gains influence over material affairs through being itself material.

But this principle is binding upon science no less than upon religion. Abdu'l-Bahâ summons the man of science to spiritual religion as he summons the man of religion to an appreciation of science. If in a laboratory, by means of certain elements, an important experiment could be carried out, and thereby great human benefits obtained, what should we think of the person who, though refusing to enter the laboratory, nevertheless denied the possibility of the experiment? Yet modern science, for the most part, takes this very attitude towards religion. For the founders of all religions have indicated the elements and principles for the development of spirituality, and the people of science deny the essence of spirituality while refusing to enter the laboratory of the spirit of the infinite in their own souls.

As a matter of fact, while irrational religion and materialistic science seem outwardly opposed, inwardly they are equally conditions of being that manifest the absence of the Holy Spirit. Both are plants confined in darkness, and both are ships deprived of sails. Where the Holy Spirit obtains, all seeming antagonism between science and religion vanishes, for there is but one reality,

though this can be cognized by the several faculties on the several planes.

Equality

Abdu'l-Bahâ has also expressed as an organic, universal principle the *equality of man and woman*; emphasizing again and again the fact that the solution of our spiritual as well as social problems is dependent on the attainment of this equality.

"Humanity," he said, "has two wings, man and woman; when one wing only is available the bird cannot fly."

As to those existing inequalities between the sexes, so deeply rooted in custom and also institutions, Abdu'l-Bahâ stated that these were due, not to inequalities of capacity, but to inequalities of opportunity. Beginning with education, we may anticipate—not only for the West, but also for the East—the irresistible progress of woman toward true equality with man, a progress whose milestones will be the abolition of militarism, poverty, ignorance and disease.

"All former religions," Abdu'l-Bahâ stated on one occasion, "gave man a higher station than women, but Bahâ'u'llâh has declared that they are equal in all conditions and degrees." The importance attributed to this principle in the Bahâ'i Cause can be measured by another teaching, to the effect that parents who can afford to educate only one child should give preference to daughter over son, the reason being that mothers are the first educators of the race.

At the very dawn of the feminist movement it was a Bahâ'i—in fact, the famous poetess, Kurratyl-Ayn—who first threw off the traditional veil of the Oriental woman, and entered that extraordinary career of public teaching which led to her martyrdom by the enemies of Bahâ'u'llâh.

Religion and Economics

Another principle laid down by Abdu'l-Bahâ is that of the *solution of the economic problem.* The solution of the economic problem Abdu'l-Bahâ has declared to be a distinctive characteristic of religion in its universal aspect; for no human power, or alliance of powers, hitherto has been able to work out a solution.

Now, by the fear that is based on the idea of poverty either actual or prospective, the human soul is ever turned downward into Nature, where the predominant law is the struggle for existence; and becoming dominated by this law, and captive to it, the soul's struggles only the more heavily burden its own chains. For the struggle for existence sets off the powers of one soul against the powers of another, and this mutual division of powers means mutual defeat. Thus in this day the sciences and inventions which

shadow forth a universal order, and dumbly signify the existence of a reality whose law is co-operation, have become, through perversion, the greatest menace to the very existence of mankind.

" The disease which afflicts the body of humanity is lack of love and absence of altruism," said Abdu'l-Bahâ in New York City twelve years ago. " In the hearts of men no real love is found, and the condition is such that unless their susceptibilities are awakened by some power, so that unity, love and accord develop within them, there can be no healing, no relief among mankind."

Obligation to Labour

A close study of this aspect of Abdu'l-Bahâ's teaching indicates certain fundamental elements as conditional to the solution of the economic problem. One of these elements is the *universal obligation of useful labour*. Consider how idleness is condemned by physiologist and psychologist to-day—no less vigorously than by the moralist and the student of economics. Wealth does not exempt any human being from the consequences of idleness, or even misdirected activity. These consequences are ill-health of mind as well as body, and that disordered condition whose end is impotence or insanity. Moreover, in avoiding useful labour the privileged classes and their parasites have deprived themselves of the very capacity for labour, while that capacity increases in those who cannot, or will not, avoid work. In this condition we may see perhaps one meaning of Christ's saying : " The meek shall inherit the earth."

" Laborare est Orare."

But Abdu'l-Bahâ has also stated that *useful labour, performed in the spirit of service, and with the ideal of perfection, is accounted an act of worship and a form of prayer.* Now prayer and worship, in their true signification, are not cries for assistance, nor requests for a gift, nor yet taxes paid to a spiritual overseer, but are expressons of love to God and gratitude for the supreme gift of life in the spirit that knows no death. It is this spirit of love and devotion which Abdu'l-Bahâ declares should actuate our daily labour. Moreover, work performed in this spirit is creative work, and to create is an attribute of God ; so it is the worker who shews forth the Divine image and likeness on this material plane. But consider how many changes must take place in the industrial world before this creative sense can be generally expressed, and before labour is surrounded by these conditions which this conception of labour demands. Nevertheless, even this shall be ; for the Holy Spirit is destroying mightily all that intervenes between man and his own reality.

Another fundamental element is that of the ***voluntary sharing of wealth.***

Reflect how those who possess other forms of wealth—physical, mental, moral and spiritual—have ever obeyed this universal and wonderful law. Thus those who share their physical strength with the weak ; those who strive incessantly to increase the commonwealth of beauty and of truth ; those who devote their lives to the realization of greater political justice ; and, above all, those who give love to whomsoever has it not, fulfil this Divine law. All the love, beauty, truth, justice and science we have on earth are the result of a voluntary sharing of wealth—a divine principle whose veils grow darker and darker as we approach the lowest degree of wealth, which is gold. But were we to estimate the sum-total of all the taxes paid to any Government within the past fifty years, and regard this total as being wealth forcibly rather than voluntarily shared, we can perceive how disastrously extravagant material selfishness is, even on its own plane. For a fraction of that sum total, given in the spirit of unity, would have obviated most of those expenses by which taxes are consumed, while in addition increasing vastly the means of producing more wealth by all and for all.

Yet, far from condemning wealth, Abdu'l-Bahâ makes its attainment through useful labour a specific advice ; but the object of its possession is the promotion of the unity of mankind. By considering wealth as a talent on the material plane, the principle becomes clear. It is not the inequality of talents or possessions which produces injustice, but the spirit of separateness, in the poor as well as the rich, in the ignorant as well as in the learned. Mutual dependence is the essential foundation of love, for no one can stand alone.

An Auxiliary Language and Peace

Another principle strongly emphasized by Abdu'l-Bahâ is the *establishment of an international auxiliary language.*

As the nervous system is one throughout the body, and coordinates all the organs and limbs, so the body of humanity requires one universal language and writing, to be learned by all people in addition to the mother-tongue, which shall serve to interpret its needs, unite its interests and consolidate its purposes ; and diversity of tongues engenders the paralysis of the body of mankind. Those who have concern for human welfare and progress will surely give this subject the attention it deserves.

But the principle by which Abdu'l-Bahâ is most widely known, and for which he has been most extensively quoted, is that of *universal peace.* The assurance that this is the century of universal peace, the age of the elimination of warfare, the day of the most mighty surging of the spiritual waves, and the full illumination of the Sun of righteousness—this assurance is Abdu'l-Bahâ's steadfast covenant with those who follow him.

To-day, the disaster of warfare is a net thrown over the whole of humanity, like the net thrown over a gladiator about to be slain. None can emerge from this net until all emerge. But the very fact that there is no escape for one save through escape for all, and the overwhelming danger of the present situation, brings the consciousness of the oneness of humanity nearer day by day. Therefore this overshadowing calamity is feared as a net of death by those who view it with personal eyes, yet is seen to be a garment of Divine protection by those who view all things in their spiritual light.

For the effort to avoid universal warfare is binding the minds and hearts of those who have been divided during history's ten thousand years. It is creating the great agencies and institutions of the future humanity; it is destroying all agencies and institutions whose purpose is to keep humanity divided and enslaved. Consider how the world's two most powerful kings have lately been overthrown and their empires rent asunder, and the full toll of inveterate ambition and greed has not yet been taken.

Therefore the indifferent are becoming mindful, and the activities of all humanitarians are finding a common channel and a unified expression. But peace, perfect peace, must first possess the heart, through the breaths of the Holy Spirit; consequently those among the humanitarians who are wisest, while they strive to produce concrete results and discuss all possible methods, nevertheless have for their great objective the reconciling of the hearts of men. For only that which is established in the heart can ever be established in the world, and peace will never be made real, lasting or secure until the world has recognized the power of the Holy Spirit which alone can conquer and subdue the rebellious hearts or ingraft one changeless ideal in the restless, ever-divided minds. This is the Most Great Peace; this is the Peace of God.

The arch which these social principles of Abdu'l-Bahâ, like pillars, are intended to support—the structure which fulfils their purpose and directs their use—is the principle of an *international tribunal.*

Abdu'l-Bahâ ever visioned the world-federation wherein all men and women have part, and invokes this ideal within the minds of progressive people of all races and nations. Its cement is an international tribunal instituted through democratic selection, and given binding authority by mutual agreement and pledge. No portion of the race but will be fairly represented, therefore no portion but will be controlled by its decisions. Abdu'l-Bahâ has said that when this tribunal is established all controversial problems would be brought before it, and any Government which unjustly instigated war would thus be resisted by all the nations, the chief function of this world arbitration court being to prevent war. This is the firm basis of peace, and no agreement with reservations can be substituted for it.

It is an inherent part of all Abdu'l-Bahâ's teaching on the subject of tribunals and political progress that the spiritual conditions for real justice have not yet been fulfilled. He regards the function of legislation as a function of illumined minds, severed from all considerations save those of justice and truth. Just as the poet receives his visions, or the scientist his principles, through intense meditation, so will the future legislative body arrive at its structure of civic, national or international law. Order is of the essence of the manifested universe, and that order flows through, and inspires, the minds that turn to it in unity, and for the purpose of manifesting justice. Thus those who are capable of entering this unity and impersonal abstraction are to be selected by the people from their wisest men. The legislator, in fact, is placed by Abdu'l-Bahâ in a high spiritual station, where the solving of great political and economic problems is dependent upon such intense meditation.

Thus, in brief, has the successor and interpreter of Bahâ'u'llâh established a vital contact for his followers with the fundamental needs of the time—a contact which carries religion into the very heart of life, yet without impairing its essential sanctity and holiness. To produce a world civilization reflecting the oneness of God in the harmony of mankind—a civilization which is not merely the exploitation of nature but rather a fitting environment for the soul—such was the ideal of Abdu'l-Bahâ, and the purpose inspiring his difficult and arduous journeys of teaching throughout the West. The social aspects of the Bahâ'i teaching are supremely important at the present day.

A Symbolic Temple

The relationship of social service to the religious life, so strongly emphasized in the Bahâ'i teachings, is perfectly symbolized in the form of the Temple, or universal House of Worship, which Bahâ'u'llâh established. The Bahâ'i Temple, already in process of construction at Wilmette, a suburb of Chicago, on the shores of Lake Michigan, in the United States, embodies this conception on a most impressive scale. Open to all men and women without distinction of race, class, creed or colour, this institution will, on completion, consist of a central structure devoted to meditation and prayer, surrounded by other edifices used as schools, asylums, hospitals, hostels and orphanages—the embodiment, in fact, not merely of the relationship of religion to life, but also of soul to body. The first Bahâ'i Temple to be constructed is in the city of Ishkabad, Turkestan. It is a matter of interesting record that contributions for the Temple at Wilmette have been sent by representatives of every race and creed, both in the East and the West. The world contains no purer expression of the new inter-religious, inter-racial and inter-national brotherhood that is coming to fruition in this age.

The wise student of religion, however, seeking for the hidden springs of any faith, examines not merely the documents and individuals which it has produced, but also the characteristic forms devised by its followers in order to perpetuate its existence. Alone among religions, the organization of the Bahâ'i Cause is evolving through forms laid down by the founder himself, forms which manifest the spirit of democracy and directly contribute to the habit of democracy among all who come under their influence.

The Assemblies

Beginning with the local community, the administrative details of Bahâ'i service and teaching are in the hands of a " Spiritual Assembly " consisting of nine persons elected annually by universal suffrage of the believers. For the nation, in turn, Bahâ'i administration is entrusted to a " National Spiritual Assembly " elected by representatives of the local Assemblies. Outside Persia, where the Cause has penetrated to every town and village, nearly two hundred local Assemblies exist at the present time. Of National Assemblies there are now five. In the future the National Assemblies will, in the same way, send representatives to an international Bahâ'i conference, who will elect an International Assembly of nine. None of these bodies has authority or power to pass upon matters of doctrine and faith. None can, directly or indirectly, assume to come between the individual soul and God. Their province is confined to the practical affairs of life, corresponding to the function of the legislator and the executive rather than the priest. To the Bahâ'is, the text left by Bahâ'u'llâh in writing, together with the commentary of Abdu'l-Bahâ, likewise in writing, constitutes a religion in its fullness and maturity of expression, giving no opportunity to those superimposed creeds which arbitrarily narrow and control the gates of faith.

This outline of the form along which the Cause is now developing establishes, very obviously, a kind of moral school whose students are voluntarily practising the elementary lessons of world brotherhood. Small though it is, in comparison with the vast populations of the earth, it nevertheless must be regarded as a " working model " of that unity we all long for, and an evidence of the essential power of the vision of Bahâ'u'llâh too concrete to be dismissed. As in the early days of the movement, this present development proceeds without the inducement of material reward, since the strictest injunction is laid upon Bahâ'is to abstain from political activities in or through the Cause.

In conclusion, I ask you to consider one all-important fact. Just as a lighted lamp is to be measured, not by its physical size, but rather by the area covered by its rays, so a " living religion " should be estimated, not in terms of numbers or of property, but

by the area of human experience it is able to illumine through its innate force of truth. Were we to follow, sympathetically and understandingly, those beams of conscious love that shine so brightly through the teachings of Bahâ'u'llâh, never again could we bring ourselves to use the term " religions," but rather should we behold successive outpourings of one same Divine Love, undivided and indivisible—infinitely humble, the very spirit of meekness, outwardly soon overthrown, yet returning again and again through the ages, the teacher, the consoler, the reconciler of all mankind. None can claim that he is a follower of Bahâ'u'llâh until, in spirit, he is a follower of every messenger who has brightened earth with the " glad tidings " of the victory of God. None can claim that he is a follower of Bahâ'u'llâh who conceives any portion or aspect of life as non-religious, non-contributive to the eternal ascent of the soul. None can claim that he is a follower of Bahâ'u'llâh whilst secret intolerance separates him from any fellow-man. Above all, none can claim that he is a follower of Bahâ'u'llâh whose heart remains barren, fearful or indifferent in this present age—the day which is witness to the overthrow of the foundations of materialism, and the kindling of human hearts with the spirit of universal knowledge and love.

Permit me to close this brief, all-too-inadequate presentation of the Bahâ'i Cause with a prayer uttered by Abdu'l-Bahâ :

" Bring thy children together again, O Lord, by the power of Thy covenant, and gather their dispersion by the might of Thy promise, and unite their hearts by the dominion of Thy love. Make them love one another so that they may sacrifice their spirits, expend their substance and freely devote their lives for each other's sake.

" O Lord, cause to descend upon them quietness and tranquillity. Shower upon them the clouds of Thy mercy in great abundance, and make them to characterize themselves with the attributes of the Merciful !

" O Lord, make us firm in Thy noble command, and bestow upon us Thy gifts through Thy bounty, grace and munificence.

" Verily, Thou art the generous, the merciful, the willer of all good ! "

The Bahâ'i Influence on Life

By Mr. Ruhi Afnan
(Haifa)

THE speaker who preceded me gave you a sketch of the history of the Bahâ'i movement, as well as a statement of some of its fundamental principles and teachings. It now rests with me to explain briefly the significance of those principles and teachings, and describe the profound changes they have wrought in the lives of their followers.

At a time when the spirit of materialism was spreading all over Europe, when internal revolutions, diplomatic intrigues, political strife and economic rivalries were darkening the horizon of an agitated and suffering world, Bahâ'u'llâh, from the prison city of Acca, addressed a number of epistles to the monarchs and rulers of the world, to whom he declared his teachings and principles.

To the Bahâ'is these teachings stand out as the only remedy for the divers ills of the present age and the only solution of its manifold problems.

Bahâ'u'llâh saw the world like the surface of a glacier hopelessly divided by innumerable fissures and dark and deep crevasses. The development of modern science had opened the eyes of men to the bigotry and prejudice that existed in religion, and had so alienated them from it that even its pure and fundamental truths seemed, to their minds, to be darkened. The gulf existing between man and God was widening, and agnosticism was the fashion of the day.

The spirit of nationalism, embittered by fierce economic and political rivalries, had so widened the chasm separating the nations that nothing less than a great world war could be foreseen.

Within the individual nations also new lines of cleavage accentuated the divisions and differences of men, and class hatred and economic unrest were spreading fast over the European continent.

Bahâ'u'llâh conceived the glorious vision of the Oneness of Mankind, and set before him the task of healing, by aid of his fundamental principles, every sore that afflicted the body of humanity. He knew well that unless all the crevasses were bridged over, and all the differences removed, unity and universal peace would not prove enduring, nor even attainable.

To bring back man to God, and at the same time to enable him to appreciate the advantages which science provides, he declared that true religion and science cannot possibly be antagonistic. For both, in their essence, are truths, and between truths there can be no conflict. Moreover, to reconcile the religious he laid it down, as a guiding principle, that the purpose of religion is to provide a social bond, to create a new force in man's life, to infuse in him the love of his neighbour. If, therefore, a religion, which he likened to a medicine, should aggravate the disease, it is far better to be without it.

In adjusting international difficulties he did not advocate political methods. He knew that war is only the result of a state of mind, a spirit of blind and narrow nationalism inherent in man's heart. He therefore dealt his first blow by declaring that " Glory is not his who loves his country, but glory is his who loves his kind." All men are the sheep of one fold and God the Divine and loving shepherd. Why, therefore, slay each other?

As one of the sources of misunderstanding is multiplicity of languages, he called upon the members of the International House of Justice either to create a new auxiliary language or to choose one of those already existing, and to have it taught in all the schools of the world, so that ideas might be more easily diffused and the risk of grave misunderstanding lessened. He then laid down the broad lines that should direct the formation of the International House of Justice, a supreme and all-inclusive body, whose members should be fully accredited representatives of all the peoples of the world. They should assemble, and, after mature deliberation, arbitrate on all questions, social, political and economic, that might lead to war.

In order to eliminate the root cause of all forms of class hatred he proclaimed, " Do ye know why we have created you from one clay? That no one should exalt himself over the other. Ponder in your heart how ye were created. It behoveth you, since we have created you all from the same substance, to be even as one soul, in such wise that ye may walk with the same feet, eat with the same mouth and dwell in the same land ; that from your inmost being, by your deeds and actions, the signs of oneness and the essence of detachment may be made manifest. This is my counsel unto you, O ye concourse of Light ! Heed ye this counsel, that ye may obtain the Fruit of Holiness from the Tree of Wondrous Glory."

Thus, by taking away all the causes of differences, Bahâ'u'llâh sought to establish the Oneness of Mankind and to abolish definitely international and class war.

Up to the present religion has been static in nature. At the time of its appearance it satisfies the needs of humanity, solves its

problems and improves its condition, but, being rigid in its laws, fails to keep pace with civilization, and slowly falls behind, loses its influence and becomes a drag on development. Bahâ'u'llâh, however, laid down some basic principles which can be applied to all stages of human progress, and then empowered the International House of Justice, which is a purely democratic institution, to amend these laws, and mould them to the needs of the time. He says: "Inasmuch as for each time and day a particular law and order is expedient, power is given to the Ministers of the House of Justice so that they may execute that which they deem advisable at the time." So according to the Bahâ'i ideal religion will become a progressive and dynamic institution, and remain a source of inspiration and progress.

During the last two or three decades various progressive movements have appeared with rather similar aims, proclaiming very much the same principles. Yet hardly has any one of them, to my knowledge, given such a comprehensive and perfect programme of reform. They have each, as a rule, confined themselves to only a number of the vast and varied problems of the age, oblivious of the fact that, so long as one single sore remains neglected, germs may find their way in and endanger the life of humanity. For how could universal peace be ensured when religious and racial differences breed hatred, or even when the multiplicity of languages hampers mutual understanding?

The service rendered by these various progressive movements is undeniably great, and their efforts are highly valued by all Bahâ'is, who on this occasion would like to place on record their sincere and profound appreciation.

Unkind Criticism

In addition to the constant and appalling persecution the Bahâ'is have suffered at the hands of the fanatical elements in Persia, they have been the target of some misleading criticism from various writers of the West. Unable to deny the beauty and potency of the teachings of Bahâ'u'llâh, these critics have not ceased to declare that such lofty principles were only inspiring ideals, and not practical reforms attainable by mankind. These progressive movements have fortunately opened the eyes of the world, not only to the practicability, but also to the absolute and urgent need, of our present civilization for the League of Nations. They have taught the world that a narrow nationalism was the curse of the present age and the recent past, and that the sooner we accustom ourselves to think supernationally the more easy it will become to manage our intricate international affairs.

Those critics imagined that the religions of the world could never be reconciled, but the modern developments of the science

of comparative religion, which has come into prominence only in the last three decades, together with conferences similar and leading up to this present one, will, before long, prove to the world that the fundamental principles underlying all the religions are one, that their only points of difference are the minor questions that relate to rites, ceremonies and external practices, which must be necessarily modified with the changes in human wants and environment. The world has already begun to realize that controversies over such secondary points only serve to alienate those sincere souls to whom the heart of religion is all-important, and who by nature would be willing rather to hold out the hand of fellowship to all religions who worship at the altar of the One Living God than to wrangle over forms that seem to their mind of only secondary value.

I have tried to give a picture of the high aim that Bahá'u'lláh has set before him, and now I pray your attention, for a few moments more, to a brief description of the far-reaching changes it has brought about in the life of its followers.

Influence on Daily Life

In the East, especially in the land of its birth, Persia, where it admittedly stands, amid the chaos and corruption of its heedless inhabitants, as the beacon-light of progress and reform, its achievements have been great. There, under an unceasing storm of persecution, abuse and calumny, the movement has not only wrought a fundamental revolution in the life of the individuals, but has also inaugurated various reforms, of which I shall mention only two.

Wherever the number of the Bahá'is is sufficiently great, and they can afford the means, a school has been established to provide the necessary primary education for girls as well as for boys. As even these schools are under the constant threat of being closed, the Bahá'is have not been able to pursue this course to its desired extent. Only three years ago one of the schools, which had been established after immeasurable sacrifices and difficulties, was burned down by the mob, and its poor students severely beaten and dispersed.

I need not dwell upon the degrading position of women in such a state as Persia. Not only are they debarred from the smallest measure of freedom and education, but are in many cases considered nothing more than a mere appendage—an indispensable but utterly servile member of the household. Wherever a Bahá'í community can provide schools for its boys it also institutes one for its girls. In fact, Bahá'u'lláh clearly states that, as the girls will be the mothers of the future generations, they must receive preferential treatment in education. In electing the members of

the Spiritual Assemblies which are the centre of Bahâ'i activities, the women are given a position absolutely equal to that of the men. There remains only one more step to take, and that is to discard the veil. This has not yet been done. The Bahâ'i women have, however, organized societies of their own to educate themselves and further their cause. Before long, we all hope, even the veil will be set aside and the women accorded a position in Persia equal to their sisters even in some of the most progressive States of Europe.

In the West, where enlightened and capable Governments are continuously enacting laws that provide for the material well-being of its citizens, this field of Bahâ'i activity has not been so great. Its influence has been mainly to create the spirit of international brotherhood, and wipe out religious, social and economic prejudices. Those who have had the chance of attending a Bahâ'i meeting, either in the East or in the West, can appreciate the important and far-reaching influence of the movement along that line. People of different, and at times conflicting, views assemble and enjoy mutual love and harmony. Even the most illiterate of the Bahâ'is are free from prejudice. To them Christian or Jew, Muhammadan or Zoroastrian, Eastern or Western, all stand on equal footing, and are considered as brothers in the love of the One God.

Moreover, when I see that it is only since the appearance of Bahâ'u'llâh and the declaration of his principles that many movements have been established with the hope of spreading principles similar to his; when I see that it is since then that the conception of a League of Nations and international brotherhood has come down from the field of mere idealism into common politics; that a movement for a universal language has been created; that women have been obtaining a better social and political position; and the cause of universal and free education advanced, I cannot but endorse Abdu'l-Bahâ's saying that "the spirit of the Cause is pulsating in the arteries of mankind," that we are undergoing that social and intellectual revival that appeared at the advent of every prophet, and prepared the world for accepting his teachings.

In conclusion, it will be generally agreed that it would be far from God's infinite mercy to give His helpless creatures the freedom to tread on dangerous ground, and, whilst knowing the solution of their problems, to stand aside, heedless of their suffering and deaf to their constant prayers. It is in accordance with His Divine attributes to give them guidance when need arises, to send them a messenger with the necessary laws and commandments to put them on the right path of safety. And, now that the social unrest is becoming a real menace to civilization itself, when world problems in their acuteness and multiplicity are baffling the minds of men, we, a small yet determined band, fired by the unquenchable

enthusiasm of the promise of a new day, firmly believe that the sea of Divine compassion has surged, that the Lord has sent His messenger with the necessary solution of those intricate problems. The Bahâ'is on their part have tried their utmost, have sacrificed their well-being, their property, their all, to diffuse this spirit far and wide. Is the world willing to answer their call, or at least deem it worthy of attention?

PRIMITIVE RELIGION

Introductory Note on Primitive Religion

By Professor Alice Werner, L.L.A.

THE term "Primitive Religion" embraces a variety of beliefs and more or less vague notions which it is difficult to summarize under a single heading. In general, we may distinguish two main currents of thought which, separately or in conjunction (and in many cases inextricably interwoven), permeate the thought of the most primitive races known to us. That there exist any people totally devoid of religion—that is to say, with absolutely no conception of the Unseen and man's attitude towards it—has long been an exploded fallacy. Neither can we say that any people now existing represent the earliest stage of human consciousness; so that the term "primitive" must be used in a purely relative sense.

The two currents of thought here indicated are: (*a*) what is known as *Animism*—the belief that every visible object is alive, and more or less of a conscious and voluntary agent; and (*b*) the belief in human survival after death, which leads in the last resort to what is known as ancestor-worship.

Nature-spirits, on the one hand, and the ghosts of the dead on the other, may in due course develop into the "gods" of the polytheist; we may see various stages of the process at work in different parts of Africa. Some even hold that all gods alike originated as ghosts—a notion to which colour is given by the fact that competent investigators have proved such an origin for certain nature-spirits or demons—e.g. in Uzaramo, East Africa.

The religion of the Maori, as described by Archdeacon Williams, would appear to have resulted from a long course of development. The exact nature of the spiritual beings called *atua* does not seem very clear, but one gathers from the best authorities: (1) that it is a mistake to use this word, as has been done by some missionaries, as an equivalent for "God," and (2) that the *atua* are *not* ancestral ghosts.

In Bantu Africa generally one may say that the cult of the ancestral ghost is the basis of religion. Side by side with this we usually find some sort of recognition of a High God who may either

be a deified ancestor (as is almost certainly the case with the Zulu Unkulunkulu), or more or less vaguely identified with the sky —sometimes, more doubtfully, with the sun. In some, at any rate, of these cases we may recognize outside influence ; the Kikuyu, of whom Mr. St. Barbe Baker has given us an interesting account, have certainly borrowed the name Ngai from their neighbours, the Masai. Ngai would certainly seem to be originally a sky-god, and is, by the Masai, more especially associated with rain. The Galla, who are in some degree akin to the Masai, use the same word, (*Wak*), for their High God and for the visible heavens, and do not always distinguish very clearly between them.

The development of ghosts into gods is well illustrated in Nyasaland, where the " old gods of the land," propitiated on occasion by Yao immigrants in no way related to them, were really the spirits of indigenous chiefs, believed to have their burial-places in the hills.

Mr. Thoka has brought out this side of the subject in his account of the beliefs held by the South African Bantu, and the Bapedi in particular. His paper may surprise some readers who are not prepared to find so spiritual a view of the universe taken by people whom they are accustomed to regard as savages. It is just possible that Mr. Thoka's English education and contact with Europeans may have led him unconsciously to read into his people's traditional notions some things not actually contained in them ; but I really believe that in the main he has only made articulate what is implicit in those notions. It is worth noting that some of the conclusions arrived at by those observers who have most nearly succeeded in getting beneath the surface of African thought—Mary Kingsley, R. E. Dennett, and more recently, in Ashanti, Captain Rattray—are not very different in substance from what Mr. Thoka has put before us ; and I have found some confirmation of this, in a most interesting unpublished study by the Rev. T. Brown of Bechuanaland.

The idea of a spiritual essence pervading the whole visible universe —though perhaps not consciously formulated—underlies even the cruder forms of Animism and what is known as Fetishism, which latter bulks so largely in West African religion, as expounded by Mr. Malcolm. This is a much-discussed term, and has given rise to acrimonious disputes ; but I think it is now pretty generally agreed that it implies the transference of some power or influence—perhaps it would be too definite to call it a spirit—into some material object, which is thereby endowed with powers, beneficial or harmful, not inherent in the object itself. Such an object is called a fetish (from the Latin *factitium*—a word which acquired a special meaning in the Middle Ages through the Portuguese *feitiço*), and is distinguished, on the one hand, from an amulet, which acts by its own

inherent virtue, and, on the other, from an idol, which is a symbol, not a vehicle, of spiritual power.[1]

The subject of magic, comprising the various methods—reputed legitimate or otherwise—of utilizing or influencing the spiritual power, has not been dwelt on in these papers, with the exception of Mr. Malcolm's. In " primitive " religion it is not always easy to draw the line between magic and religion, properly so-called (the subject has been discussed by, among others, Dr. Marett, in *From Spell to Prayer*), but this question would hardly arise at a more advanced stage, and probably does not call for mention in any other sections of the Conference.

[1] See A. C. Haddon, *Fetishism*.

Some Account of the Maori Beliefs

By the Venerable Archdeacon Williams
(New Zealand)

THE word Maori, signifying in most of the Polynesian languages "ordinary, usual," has become accepted in New Zealand as the race name of the native population. This native population was estimated on the arrival of Europeans as being something over 100,000, but has now fallen to about 50,000. By the middle of the last century it was said that the whole Maori race had accepted Christianity. This may have been an optimistic estimate from the missionary point of view, but was accurate in that by that date there were no longer active adherents of the ancient native religion. This fact would appear to put the subject of this paper outside the scope of a Conference on Living Religions; but the Committee considered that, for purposes of comparison, it might be well to include it.

Literature of the Subject

A study of the ancient beliefs of the Maori is rendered exceedingly difficult by the meagre nature of the materials available for such study. Our principal sources of information, other than scattered allusions, are Sir G. Grey's *Moteatea*, (1851) and *Polynesian Mythology* (1854), both in Maori (a translation of the latter, 1855), the Rev. R. Taylor's *Te Ika a Maui* (1855, second edition 1870), Dr. Shortland's *Traditions and Superstitions of the Maoris* (1856) and *Maori Religion and Mythology* (1882), short passages in vols. i and ii. of J. White's *Ancient History of the Maori* (1887), and various papers by Elsdon Best in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and other scientific magazines, particularly one on the "Spiritual Concepts of the Maori" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. ix., p. 176, etc., 1900).

These authorities exhibit a general agreement in their treatment of the subject, and have, with incidental passages from other authorities, been largely drawn upon by Sir J. G. Frazer in the first chapter of the second volume of his *Belief in Immortality*, which gives the substance of two lectures delivered by him at the Royal Institution in 1916.

Atua and Ariâ

Before referring to a later publication, which made large additions to our knowledge, it will be well to summarize the leading features of the Maori religion as far as they were understood up to about the year 1910; and in doing this it will be necessary to use the greatest caution in explaining Maori terms.

All early authorities agreed that the Maori had no conception of a supreme deity, but that he recognized a number of beings, generally referred to as *atua*, who exercised their powers in their own special departments. This word *atua* is commonly translated by the word "god," but there is grave danger of mistake if "god" be accepted as an equivalent for *atua*, and, as Best has pointed out, it is unfortunate that the early missionaries adopted the word for the God of the Bible.[1] An *atua* was for the Maori a supernatural being, a sprite, a demon, who was, in his relation to mankind, generally of a malign disposition. There were innumerable such beings, inhabiting a range of ten heavens, but exercising their functions on earth, to man's great discomfort. Many of the *atua* were regarded as presiding over natural objects and the forces of Nature, and were in a measure considered to be personifications of such. When a man entered upon an undertaking which came within the scope of any *atua's* authority, such *atua* had to be placated by the performance of the requisite ceremonies, and the recitation of the necessary spells, or *karakia*. Early writers sometimes speak of *karakia* as being prayer or invocation. The large majority of the *karakia* which have been collected contain nothing of the nature of petition, but consist simply of a form of words, often quite unintelligible. The efficacy of a *karakia* depended entirely upon the correct and unbroken recitation of the form. The ceremonies accompanying the recitation were various; in some cases lustrations were performed, while frequently it was necessary to procure certain objects and present them before the *atua*. These tutelary *atua* were all of them named, and most of them were stated to have been the offspring of *Rangi* (Heaven), and *Papa* (Earth). But in addition to these more important beings it would appear that the Maori believed in the existence of hordes of minor sprites, who were at the beck and call of those who were initiated, to carry out their evil behests. No clear account appears to have been given of the supposed origin of this grade of *atua*.

In the case of the higher grade of *atua* some natural object—an animal, a tree, etc.—was associated with the *atua* as his *ariâ*, or material presentment. This *ariâ* does not appear to have been an object of worship, but served in some mysterious way to establish relationship between the *atua* and the *tohunga* who was conducting

[1] *Australasian Assoc. for the Advan. of Science*, xii., p. 458.

the ceremony. It is probable that the so-called god-sticks, which may be seen in many museums, served the same purpose. These god-sticks, varying in length from about nine to something above eighteen inches in length, were about an inch in diameter. The upper end was surmounted by a grotesquely carved head; the portion immediately below the head was lashed with cord in a peculiar manner, with diagonal interlacing in the front, the lower end being pointed for insertion in the ground. These sticks served to present, rather than to represent, the *atua*, and, like the *ariâ*, were not objects of worship.

The authors referred to above use such expressions as "the worship of deceased ancestors," or the "deification of ancestors." But both these expressions are open to objection. In the first place, worship, as we understand it, formed no part of the religious exercises of the Maori. He regarded an *atua* with terror—with awe, if the word is preferred—but did not worship him. In the second place, evidence is wanting that he regarded his deceased ancestors as *atua*. In certain circumstances, certainly, he dreaded the spirits of the deceased, but this dread is by no means the same thing as deification. In support of the theory that prayers were addressed to deceased ancestors, Shortland adduces the fact that it was not unusual for a genealogy to be introduced into a *karakia*.[1] But it need only be pointed out that the mere recitation of the names does not constitute prayer. In some *karakia*, too, we find lists inserted of the various grades of skilled persons, such as *tohunga*, *pukenga*, *wananga*, *tawhito*, *tauira*, but this does not justify the assumption that such persons were considered to be *atua*, though they were certainly regarded with respect and awe amounting to terror. It is more probable that the purpose of such recitation of a genealogy was to emphasize the tribal nature of the particular *karakia*.

In this connection it may be mentioned that when Whakaue had recited the tribal spells to facilitate the birth of Tutanekai, his wife explained their inefficiency by confessing that the father was a chief of a neighbouring tribe. But however the Maori may have regarded his immediate ancestors, there can be no doubt that he delighted to trace his descent back to the superior grade of *atua*, the offspring of *Rangi* and *Papa*.

Fairies

Some of the ancient legends mention, apparently as distinct from *atua*, a race of supernatural beings, *patupaiarehe*, or fairies. The stories describe them as being not specially malevolent, though those who were privileged to see them were usually terrified until

[1] *Maori Religion and Mythology*, p. 30.

assured of their good nature. Where conflict did occur, there seemed to be little difficulty in routing their forces by the recitation of suitable *karakia*, or by a prophylactic daubing of persons and things with *kokowai*, a sort of red ochre. But these fairies would seem to have been quite distinct from the *atua*.

As *atua* of one sort or another came in contact with practically every field of human activity, it is not surprising that there was a large body of *karakia*, or spells. These were often known by specific names, according to the purpose for which each might be used; and examples have been preserved of a number in many of the different classes, many of these examples being known by their own particular names. There were *karakia* for exciting, directing or quenching a woman's love, for producing fertility, for easing childbirth, for use over a mother; several for giving the child a fair start in life, with a chance of excelling in warlike prowess; others for use over weapons before fighting, for fitting the individual warrior, or the band, for the strain of battle, for enabling the returned war-party to resume social relations with those who had stayed at home; *karakia* for felling a tree, for making a canoe, for building a house and for opening it for use; for the fowler, the fisherman, the agriculturalist; for depriving a foe of his sight, or rendering him impotent in pursuit or escape; then, as the enemy would be using a number of these for his own benefit and your downfall, there arose the necessity for the use of a large series of counteracting *karakia*; closely allied to the latter were those which were used for dissipating *tapu* in the numberless cases of its incidence; and this catalogue can make no claim to being exhaustive.

The Tohunga

It is obvious that many of the occasions suggested by our very imperfect list were such that, when the emergency arose, the man would have to recite the *karakia* for himself or go without. But it was desirable to obtain, if possible, the services of an official, while all the more important spells were so potent and so difficult that effective recitation could be made only by the *tohunga*, one specially trained and initiated; and it was not permitted to the rank and file of the populace to attempt the impossible. Before we consider the office and functions of the *tohunga* the meaning of the name should be made clear.

This is necessary, as the term is now applied in New Zealand to any charlatan who professes to heal men's ailments by occult methods, a claim to which the Maori gives as ready an assent as does his ignorant brother in England or elsewhere. The word *tohunga* is commonly rendered in English by "priest," but the offering of sacrifice, if carried out at all, was by no means the most important of the *tohunga's* duties. He presided over the making

of a canoe or the building of a house; he directed every important undertaking, and was the repository of all valuable knowledge; he was, in fact, the one instructed, the skilled man—and we shall have occasion presently to refer to the thorough nature of his course of instruction. In many cases where a rite was to be performed over an individual the account mentions the fact that the *tohunga* took the subject apart from the crowd, and there were certain *karakia* which the *tohunga* would recite only in solitude. In some cases it was necessary for the recitation to be made, with its accompanying rites, beside running water; in others it was necessary to proceed to the *tuaahu* of the tribe. The *tuaahu* was in general a mound, situated at a little distance from habitations and the paths leading to them, and usually screened by trees and shrubs. Here, as we have said, certain rites were performed, and here, as on an altar, objects were laid for presentation to the *atua*. Some of these were supposed to be consumed by the *atua*. Divination in respect of an important undertaking such as a war party was properly conducted at the *tuaahu* (and here, too, would probably be deposited the god-sticks mentioned above). Seclusion was desirable, if not necessary, in a large number of cases; in fact, some of the *karakia* were considered to be of so sacred a nature that it was not permissible for the common people to hear them. In the story of Paoa, given by Sir G. Grey in his *Polynesian Mythology*, but not included in the English translation, the old man, who had been forcibly detained by his elder sons for the practical value of his *karakia*, was rescued by his youngest son while mumbling his charms alone in the *kumara* plantation before dawn. There were, of course, as has been noted above, some *karakia* which a man might, on occasion, be obliged to recite for himself, and there were some which it was always proper for a chief to use, but, human nature being what it is, it is not surprising that the *tohunga* took every opportunity of enhancing his own prestige by emphasizing the importance of his personal services. For example, a special *karakia* must be used over the calabash gourd to make it lie along the ground instead of growing erect as a tree. It is no matter of surprise, then, to find, as reported by most early writers on New Zealand, that the *tohunga* claimed, and was credited with, powers of life and death, which he exercised through a form of witchcraft known as *makutu*. So strong was the belief in the power of *makutu* that many cases have been recorded of a man, apparently in perfect health, lying down and dying in a few hours on hearing, or imagining, that this occult weapon had been employed against him.

Tapu

Closely connected with the office of the *tohunga* was the system of *tapu*, which is rightly described by Frazer as "the most

remarkable and characteristic institution in the life of the Maoris and of the Polynesians in general."[1] He goes on to remark that nowhere in Polynesia was *tapu* developed to a greater extent than in New Zealand. But in spite of the wide geographical distribution of the system, and the enormous importance of its effects upon those who were subject to its influence, the subject of *tapu* has not yet been adequately treated. To attempt such treatment is beyond the scope of this paper, but a few points must be referred to. In the first place, we must endeavour to arrive at a clear understanding of the nature of *tapu*. The word may be used as a noun, but generally occurs as an adjective. A translator wishing to render the words "holy" or "sacred" in Maori would use the word *tapu*; there is nothing else available; but to translate *tapu* by either of these words would be seriously misleading. The idea of "holiness" does not enter into the old Maori conception of *tapu*, and sacredness only in so far as it connotes separation, ceremonial restriction from ordinary uses. No single word in English gives the full force of *tapu*, the practical effect of which was to place a person, place or object under a ban, which made any contact with the ordinary objects or affairs of social life a serious offence. Certain things were inherently *tapu*; with others the *tapu* condition supervened as a necessary consequence of circumstances or of rites which had been performed for some definite object; but it is highly questionable whether the Maori would ever have thought or spoken of "making a thing *tapu*." The present writer can recall only one passage in genuine Maori writing where such an expression occurs, and in that passage the effect of foreign influence may be clearly traced. It is true, as reported by early writers, that an object might be reserved from ordinary use by the process of *tapatapa*—that is, by calling it by the name of a chief or by some similar process, such as *rahui*—but in these cases the reservation would be the leading idea, the *tapu* involved being an inseparable factor in the process; and it is hardly correct to speak of making the thing *tapu* in order to reserve it. No satisfactory explanation has yet been suggested of the origin of this system, which must apparently antedate the dispersal of the Polynesian race among the islands of the Pacific.

The Infringement of Tapu

It would seem that at present we must leave the question of the origin of the institution unanswered. When we turn to the incidence of the system we are on firmer ground. There is no difficulty in showing that *tapu* might apply to persons and their actions, to property, movable or immovable, and to places.

The Maori had to be on his guard against the infringement of *tapu*

[1] *Belief in Immortality*, vol. ii., p. 37.

every day of his life, everywhere he might go, and in almost everything he might be doing. From the moment of his birth the Maori infant, except in the lowest grades of society, was invested with *tapu*, and the higher his rank the stronger its hold upon him. The person of a chief, particularly his head, was *tapu*; so were his name, his dwelling and his property When we say "particularly his head," we suggest an idea which was probably foreign to the Maori philosophy of *tapu*; it is true that the disaster to be expected from the infringement might vary with the nature of the case involved, but it is very doubtful whether it would have occurred to a primitive Maori to say that one thing was *more tapu* than another; both were *tapu*, and that was sufficiently serious, without going further into the matter. Every step in his life involved the application of its own particular *tapu*; the severing of the navel string, the cutting of his hair, the process of tattooing, the setting out with a war party, the successful return, the treatment of a wound, the circumstances of death, the scraping of the bones and their subsequent disposal in the tribal burial cave, were all accompanied with appropriate *karakia*, which should be regarded as concomitants of the condition of *tapu* rather than the cause of that condition. *Tapu* attached to the building of a house, so that, until the proper ceremonies had been performed, it was a most serious offence for a woman or cooked food to pass the threshold; similar restrictions beset the making of a canoe, a garment, a fishing-net or any article of importance. So, too, with the production of foodstuffs; the *kumara* plantations, the fishing-grounds and bird preserves, all had their special *tapu*, and this extended to those who were engaged in cultivation, in fishing or fowling. A very stringent condition of *tapu* invested those who were engaged in war, and if the *taua*, or war-party, was one for *ngaki toto*, or blood vengeance, a near relative of the deceased would dwell apart in a state of *tapu* until the return of the expedition with certain portions of the slain foe to restore the mourner to social intercourse. It is usually stated that the penalty for infringing *tapu* was death, and in general this was so. The person who had unwittingly trodden on forbidden ground, or applied to his own uses some object *tapu* in itself, or rendered so by contact with one in that condition, had committed an offence and incurred the displeasure of the *atua*. The result, as in the case of *makutu*, often was that the offender would lie down and die. If by any chance the *atua* failed in their duty, the community saw to it that there was no miscarriage of justice. But the rules of *tapu* were extremely complicated, and the death-penalty was by no means invariable. Instances may be found in old Maori legends in which the person touching one who was *tapu* simply acquired the contagion; there were doubtless always countervailing conditions, though these might not have been

mentioned. For example, Tuwhakairiora had become *tapu* by virtue of the *tohi* rite which had been performed over him by Te Aotaki to confirm his valour, and when Ruataupare, the latter's daughter, became his wife, she was simply acclaimed as *tapu* by the populace in the morning.[1] Readers of *Old New Zealand* will remember that the writer, Mr. (afterwards Judge) F. E. Maning, was adopted into the tribe with which he was living. On one occasion while out shooting he disturbed in a secluded spot in the forest an aged *tohunga*, stark naked, performing certain sacred rites. The *tohunga* informed him that having broken *tapu* he must die, but later found a way out by suggesting that Maning should be initiated as a *tohunga*, an alternative which he gladly accepted. We shall have occasion to make further reference to this incident. The extenuating circumstance in this case doubtless was the desire to save the life of Maning, to whom he was much attached. The danger arising from *tapu* might apparently be averted by an overdose. But such cases were clearly the exception ; calamity, probably death, was in store for him who had had the misfortune to violate *tapu*. In view, then, of the all-pervading nature of the system, and of the seriousness of the issues involved, *tapu* must have proved a most oppressive burden to the community ; and it is not surprising that means were devised for relief from a part, at least, of the tyranny. As the rites and *karakia* for each special purpose produced the atmosphere of *tapu* peculiar to the case, so there arose classes of incantation appropriate to the various subjects of *tapu*. The recitation of such a *karakia* would render an object *noa*, or free from *tapu*—fit for ordinary uses. Thus a house or canoe, which was, of course, *tapu* during construction, would become *noa* on the recitation of the *kawa* spell. *Pure* was the recognized spell for freeing a human being from the *tapu* resulting from several special *karakia* ; while *whakahoro*, *kaiure*, *mama*, *ngau-paepae*, *taitai*, *takiri*, *tapuiri*, *tau-tane*, *tuperepere* and *uhu* were forms each of which had its special application. All these *karakia* were, as has been said above, in essence allied to those of the protective classes, the intention of both being to avert the assault of some hostile *atua*.

Dreams and Omens

The Maori, besides attributing to the *tohunga* the power of divination, paid a superstitious regard to dreams and omens ; of the latter the two chief classes were drawn from twitchings of the limbs and from involuntary departures from the usual routine in various ordinary occupations. A *takiri*, or twitching, betokened good or ill, according to the direction in which the limb affected moved. A slip in the recitation of a *karakia*, an error in weaving a

[1] *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. xx., p. 20.

garment, a false stroke with a weapon or tool, or any similar mistake, was termed an *aitua*, and almost invariably foreboded ill. The result in any of these cases was considered inevitable.

The forces we have so far considered lay outside the human subject, and, in so far as they touched him, operated upon his body, inflicting disease or death, as the case might be, in punishment for offences against the established code. But the Maori's philosophy in regard to himself was by no means wholly materialistic. He believed his life to be wrapped up in a vital principle, the *mauri*, which was sometimes spoken of as the seat of his emotions, and sometimes as being the very essence of his personality. Closely associated with this life-principle was the *hau*, which was particularly susceptible to attack by occult means, and in this connection was often regarded as representing the man himself. The *mauri* and the *hau* must be considered as quite distinct from the *wairua*, or spirit, which resided in the body during life, but might make temporary excursions to a distance when the subject was asleep, and left it finally at death to take up its abode in the spirit world, which was known by various names, the two most frequently used being, probably, *po* and *reinga*, the former being the usual word for night, and the latter meaning, in the first instance, a leaping-place—the reference being, no doubt, to the spot, near the North Cape of the North Island, from which the spirits were supposed to take their final plunge from the *aomarama*, the world of light. Both words are in general use for the actual abode of the spirits of the dead. It would appear that the Maori had a vague notion that the human race was not originally mortal, but became so through the souls being caught by *Hine-Nui-Te-Po*, the female, who presided over the *reinga*, and that had the demi-god *Maui* succeeded in his attempt to destroy her power, mankind would have been immortal. Even so the Maori did not recognize what we should call " death by natural causes." If a man did not meet his end by violence, it would be due to the act of an *atua*, the secondary cause being *makutu* (witchcraft), or the violation of *tapu*. In the case—which did sometimes occur—of a man dying in his bed, various precautions had to be adopted. In the first place, the dying man must be removed to some place outside the dwelling, lest it should become *tapu* and have to be abandoned—a serious matter when house-building was limited by the conditions of the stone age. Then, if the dying man was a chief, ceremonies had to be performed in order to transfer to his son or nearest representative his *mana*, which involved his moral force, his power, his dignity and possibly other factors. Finally, *karakia* had to be recited to assist the spirit in its escape from the body, a process which was facilitated by resting a twig or a strip of flax leaf against the body to serve as a sort of bridge by which the spirit betook itself to the *reinga*.

The Underworld

In common with many primitive peoples, the Maori spoke, perhaps without stressing the sense of direction, of the *reinga* as being below, an underworld; and in several legends it is reached by a human visitor through a hole in the ground. At the same time, though *po*—night—is a synonym for *reinga*, there is in these legends no suggestion of darkness or horror; on the contrary, as far as the descriptions go, the dead appeared to be leading a life in conditions very similar to those of the upper world. The conception of a spirit world below our own is a not unnatural consequence of the custom of the inhumation of the bodies of the dead. The disembodied spirit was not thought to be wholly purged of the needs and desires of the flesh, and so food, weapons and clothing were often provided, while a slave or a wife would sometimes be killed to minister to the comfort of the deceased. The movements of a spirit were not confined solely to the *reinga*, but it was free to pay occasional visits to living friends in their sleep, or it might be summoned and communication be held with it through a medium, who was styled a *waka* or *kaupapa*. Shortland gives an account of a séance for this purpose at which he was present, from which it may be gathered that the proceedings did not differ greatly from those at a modern spiritist séance.[1] Sometimes a spirit was supposed to return as a ghost, or *kehua*, and annoy the living by its visits. In this condition it was an object of terror to the Maori. But Best regards this belief in *kehua* as inconsistent with the general conception the Maori had formed as to the nature of the spirits of the dead. He says, "These two beliefs are somewhat contradictory, and I have not received any satisfactory explanation thereof."[2] As a partial solution it may be suggested that every *wairua* was not necessarily a *kehua*, just as in the folklore of European countries it is not every spirit which is supposed to walk as a ghost. Further, we may remark that the word *kehua* is under some suspicion. It is not recorded in the first edition of Williams' dictionary (1844), or in the second (1852), while in the third (1871) it is marked as "a modern word." It does not appear, as far as the present writer is aware, in the writings of Taylor or Shortland, who could hardly have failed to mention it if they had found it in ordinary use. It fails also to find a place in *The Lore of the Whare Wananga*, a work to which we shall have presently to refer. It will have been noticed that we have spoken only of the spirit going to the *reinga*, with, in some cases, occasional returns to the upper world, and have entirely ignored the question of ascent to the heavens, on which Sir J. G. Frazer seems to lay great stress. He speaks of "the wish to raise the soul to heaven"; of a

[1] *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 1856, p. 81.
[2] *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. ix., p. 184.

ceremony, in which the feathers of a bird were introduced, as "intended to waft the soul of the dead chief upward"; and of the ascent of the spirits of chiefs and priests "to heaven, there to live for ever."[1] He supports these expressions by references to Shortland and J. White, and by the meaning he reads into the use of feathers in the ceremony referred to. The authorities quoted are not conclusive, and the interpretation of the feathers may be set aside. On the other hand must be set the opinion of Elsdon Best, whose knowledge of the Maori mind and traditions is unrivalled. "All Maori myth and tradition," he says, "bears out the statement that the *wairua* of the dead descended to the *po*—the underworld—and did not ascend to the heavens." He goes on to state that tradition records the ascent of a few demi-gods only, each of whom went for a special purpose and returned to this world.[2] In any case, where ascent to the heavens might appear to be suggested, no method is put forward for discriminating between those who ascend and those who descend.

The above are the most important features of the beliefs held by the bulk of the Maoris in ancient times. Most of the early writers note inconsistencies, and such there probably were, but it is likely that some of those recorded were due to want of scientific accuracy on the part of the native narrator, or failure on that of the European transcriber to appreciate the full meaning of what he was told or had observed; while some may be due to the fact that there may have been local differences of belief in different parts of the islands. But when all these have been allowed for there remains a large body of beliefs held uniformly by the common people throughout New Zealand.

Esoteric Learning

In 1913, however, the Polynesian Society published some papers under the title of *The Lore of the Whare Wananga*, which materially changed our view of the ancient Maori religion.

These papers disclose the existence of a body of esoteric learning, the *wananga*, which was scrupulously transmitted by the senior members of the college of *tohunga*, in a house set apart for the purpose, to carefully selected pupils, who, after a course extending over several years, became, in their turn, *tohunga*, or duly instructed persons.

The most important feature in this system was the teaching in regard to a supreme being known by the name of Io.

Now, without questioning in any way the great importance of the main teaching, it will be necessary to exercise extreme caution when dealing with the details which accompany that teaching.

[1] *Belief in Immortality*, vol. ii., pp. 25, 26, 29.
[2] *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. ix., p. 184.

We must bear in mind that Nepia and Paratene, as their names indicate, had been baptized. Matorohanga may not have been baptized, but he had certainly come under the influence of the wave of Christianity which had swept over the country some fifteen or twenty years before these lessons were delivered, for it is stated that he buried certain stones used in connection with the ancient rites, and only disinterred them for the purposes of this course.[1] Indeed, the question of committing the sacred lore to writing at all could have been entertained only after the ancient religious scruples had been seriously weakened; the oath which Maning had to take was not likely to have been peculiar to the procedure of his northern tribe. With all the best intentions the old *tohunga* who had had contact with Christianity would be unable to avoid assimilating to the new teaching details of the ancient lore, which had become somewhat blurred by long disuse; there would come to his tongue words and phrases which would never have been used by his instructors. The innate polite desire of the Maori to accommodate himself to the ideas of his listener, which is an ever-present pitfall to the European enquirer, may here, perhaps, be ignored. In a number of cases the *tohunga* conducting the lesson—Te Matorohanga or Pohuhu, as the case might be—admitted that he had forgotten some portion, and referred the pupils to his companion for the missing details. Those who have attempted to make a verbatim report of a lecture will realize that in the details of the diction we must often be dependent upon Whatahoro, who has clothed the *tohunga's* ideas in his own words. The position is made worse for the English reader by the fact that the editor has not always been strictly accurate in his translation, or indicated with sufficient clearness whether he is translating or explaining.

The Supreme Being

To come now to the teaching itself. The most important feature is undoubtedly the disclosure of the belief in a supreme being, Io, who was believed to inhabit the highest of a series of twelve heavens. Percy Smith considers this number twelve to be a local variation from the more usual ten which is met with in many myths and legends, but it is more than likely that knowledge of the two highest was reserved expressly for those alone who had been initiated. Each of the heavens had its distinct race of male and female occupants, whose names are given, and none might presume to enter the highest heaven unless summoned at the command of Io by one of his personal satellites who dwelt there with him. It should be noted that none of these dwellers in the heavens is expressly styled an *atua*, and the term is applied but seldom to Io, and that incidentally in passages in which the influence of Christian teaching may be suspected;

[1] T. W. Downes in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. xix., p. 220.

not that they did not regard these beings as gods, but that the term *atua* was properly applicable only to beings of a lower grade. The nature of Io and the position he occupied are to be inferred from the actions attributed and the epithets applied to him. We have alluded to his authority over the beings in the lower heavens, and through them he exercised his sway over all things which he is stated to have made; though any details of creation mentioned, such as the evolution of man, are referred to the subordinate powers. He summons Tane, one of the offspring of Heaven and Earth, to confer upon him certain powers, and to deliver to him the sources of esoteric knowledge to be conveyed to mankind; but in general he dwells aloof from his universe. The name Io is sometimes used alone, but more frequently followed by an epithet, of which sixteen are given in the work under consideration, and another was recorded by the late Mr. C. O. Davis. Some of these epithets are obscure, but from others it may be gathered that he was regarded as great, enduring, the parent, endowed with knowledge, the originator, presiding over the highest heavens, parentless, unseen, immanent. But the whole teaching is very fragmentary. The nature and functions of the subordinate beings are also left with very little definition, but there is a lengthy account of the offspring of *Rangi* (Heaven) and *Papa* (Earth), who appear to have dwelt at first in the world, and not in the heavens. These, as we have seen, were regarded by the common folk as gods, presiding over the various objects and forces of Nature. Te Matorohanga says there were seventy of them, and gives their names, but Pohuhu, who had forgotten twenty-five of them, names one not mentioned by his friend. But it is not of great importance, as the majority have no functions assigned to them. Though probably regarded as gods, these beings are not called *atua*, but are generally referred to as "the family," i.e. of *Rangi* and *Papa*. In the description of a quarrel between the members of this "family," which forms part also of the popular body of myth, it is stated that they fought among themselves "after the manner of *atua*," an expression which suggests that they were not actually *atua*. After this battle we are informed that members of the victorious side were assigned places in the range of heavens, while Whiro, the leader of the vanquished, and his companions retired to the underworld (pp. 152–3).

The Origin of Man

The origin of man is traced, as in the popular mythology, to the union of Tane, one of "the family," with a woman fashioned from red earth and endowed by Io with life. The fate of the spirit is discussed in two passages. In the first Te Matorohanga tells that the spirit, travelling by one of the four winds, entered a four-doored temple called Hawaiki; thence it either ascended the upper path

or passed by the " long descent " to the lower world (p. 113). In the other account, which seems to be from Pohuhu, details are supplied which look like an attempt to reconcile it with the previous account on one side, and on the other with a later theology. The spirit, we are told here, goes at once, apparently on its way to the lower world, to Te Kuwatawata, who presides over the entrance thereto; then the four-doored temple is introduced, from which, in the words of our text, " the bad and wicked spirits are separated off to the *reinga* (lower world), and the good ones " ascend to the heavens. The narrative goes on to inform us that Te Kuwatawata might send the spirit back to complete its life in the body, or allow it to proceed, in which case the process of death becomes complete (pp. 153–4). In the latter paragraph it is explained that Hawaiki, the assembling-place for departed spirits, is identical with *po*, another name for the underworld. It will be noticed that our author has become somewhat confused in his explanations, and we may be pardoned if we regard them with suspicion. This suspicion is increased when we come to weigh the grounds given for dividing the spirits and dispatching them along different roads. If this discrimination between the good and the bad formed a part of the ancient teaching, it is difficult to understand why it should have been excluded from that part which was permitted to the common people. But, apart from that, it is highly questionable whether any Maori would, before the coming of the European, have used the words good and bad in an ethical sense. Our translator has made the matter worse by expanding " bad " into " bad and wicked." A Maori would speak of a thing as *pai* (good) to indicate, not an intrinsic quality, but a quality in relation to himself—that the object was " agreeable, attractive "; and *kino* (bad) would indicate the opposite quality, no moral connotation being attached to either word.

Witchcraft

One further point remains to be noted. Te Matorohanga has nothing good to say of *makutu* (witchcraft) and its potent spells, by means of which disaster and death were inflicted. He says that this formed no part of the training of the regular *tohunga*, but that it was taught in an entirely different school, which, unlike the *Whare Wananga*, was open to others than the sons of the aristocracy. This may have been the case, or it may be that he, not having proceeded to that part of his training, had readily accepted the softening influence of Christianity. However formed, the view he expresses differs widely from that generally held—that the *tohunga* was, by virtue of his training, well versed in the craft of *makutu*, which he did not hesitate to apply in the furtherance of his own ends, to the discomfiture of his enemies. In many

of the ancient legends the application of this power, often for trivial reasons, is recorded without special comment.

It would appear then from the evidence available that the bulk of the Maori race believed in supernatural beings, some of whom controlled the forces of nature, and all of whom were to be feared; that he did not worship or pray to these beings, but recited spells to avert their malignity; he believed that after death his spirit departed to the underworld, where its condition was independent of the moral bearing of his actions during life. In addition to this popular system there was a belief, held by the few initiated, in a supreme being, Io, to whom were attributed many godlike qualities, and who was believed to control the universe, but promulgated no moral laws.

It is by no means easy to estimate the effect of these beliefs upon the life and character of the Maori. Of the *tohunga* class many, no doubt, fearing the inevitable loss of prestige, viewed the newly arrived European, his ways and his religion, with suspicion and hostility; but one of the most intelligent and able of the early Maori clergy in the Poverty Bay district had been a *tohunga* of high standing. The chiefs were not slow to perceive the advantage which the white man enjoyed through his education and the arts of civilization, and made no secret that this was why they invited, as they often did, a missionary to settle in their neighbourhood. The missionary had the friendship of the chief to support his own force of character, and gained a respectful hearing. It is said that a Maori, who was asked why they had accepted the new faith, replied that they could see that the *atua* of the white man's cult must be of greater power than their own.[1] Many of the Maoris subsequently renounced Christianity, mainly in resentment at what they considered unfair treatment by the Government, and evolved a form of religion based mainly on the Old Testament, with a slight flavouring of the ancient beliefs. The adherents of this new religion and the Maori Christian are both conservative in the matter of religious forms.

Leaving the sphere of religion, we may say that in general the Maori shewed the following characteristics: he was improvident, inclined to fatalism, superstitious, respectful to authority, very amenable to discipline, brave and chivalrous in warfare, stoical in his own sufferings and callous to those of others, not over-honest, but having nevertheless a high sense of justice, pertinacious of an idea, and strongly attached to his relatives and fatherland—but it would be rash to attempt to trace in all these qualities the influence of his ancient beliefs.

[1] This must not be interpreted as meaning that the bulk of the Maoris consciously professed Christianity from unworthy motives. A large proportion doubtless acted from honest conviction, while, as in the days of Constantine, fashion and self-interest swayed the remainder.

Beliefs of Some East African Tribes

(With special reference to those of the A-Kikuyu)

By Mr. Richard St. Barbe Baker

(Late Assistant Conservator of Forests, Kenya Colony, Founder-in-Chief of the African Forest Scouts)

THE old conception of Africa as the great Dark Continent, peopled with savages "dwelling in the shadow of death," is an extravagantly false conception. Nevertheless, it is a conception which too often still exists. It may be that, in the past, we have failed to understand because we have not taken pains to study things from the African point of view. It would seem that we have had too many travellers like Stanley, and too few like Livingstone; too many men of the dashing-explorer type, ready to cater for a sensational public, but too few quietly-observing scientists and practical students intent upon knowing the country, its people and their outlook upon life.

The simple inhabitants of the Highlands of Kenya, of whose religion I am to speak to-day, live very close to nature, and if you want to understand them it is absolutely necessary to look at things from their point of view. Little is known to the European of the ancient history of Central Africa, and even now this knowledge is only revealed to those who have been received within the inner circle of the Council of Elders. This ancient intertribal institution is the sole guardian of the history of the past, which has been handed down by word of mouth through its members. It represents the combined intelligence of the Africans. My own experience tends to convince me that all the central tribes have a common origin, with common religious traditions and common ideals. In the past it would appear that there had been a central kingdom to which the whole owed allegiance. The tribes look back upon a golden age, and, as it were, gain from it inspiration which must influence their attitude towards the present and future. As yet, the presence of the white man in their midst they regard as transitory, although their seers prophesied of the coming of the strangers, and counselled the multitude to listen well to their words, for "they are a wise people and will bring you good."

A Medicine Man's Prophecy

As an example of one of these prophecies, I will cite you the story of Munei. Many years ago, not far from Nairobi, the capital of Kenya Colony, there lived a medicine-man of the name of Munei, who was very wise and greatly respected by the tribe. He had been given credit for curing many kinds of diseases, and he was thought to be almost infallible when it came to detecting an evil-doer, if it were necessary to bring him to justice. One day a number of the elders of the tribe came to him with a request that he would use his magic to bring rain, for there had been a long drought and the streams had dried up. Munei agreed to bring rain, and ordered a fat ox to be brought and slain. As was the custom, a feast was being prepared, but, before the meat was cooked, the rain came down in torrents. Munei then hastened the elders back to their homes. That night Munei slept, and dreamt a dream which made such an impression upon him that he sent for the elders, and when they came to him he addressed them as follows: "Listen well to my words. I am an old man, and I have been amongst you from my youth. I have cured many of your sick, and when you had sheep or goats stolen by evil men I have detected the culprits and brought them to justice. Yesterday you came to me to make a request. You asked me for rain, and rain has come. I then slept, and while I slept Ngai (God) told me to tell you that I should die, and that after a time a new people would come into this land—a people with pink faces and pink ears—and when these people come you must listen well to their words and obey them, for they are a wise people and will bring you good."

Soon after delivering this prophecy Munei died, and was buried with all the honours attached to his office. Years afterwards, when the first Europeans arrived, the elders conferred together, and concluded that these were the people referred to by Munei.

The Kikuyu

The tribe I have lived with most recently, and upon whose religious beliefs I shall dwell at length, are the Kikuyu. We have little evidence as to where the ancestors of this tribe lived in remote time, but they now inhabit the Highlands, where much of the white settlement has taken place. Imagine for a moment what a tremendous change has come over the lives of these people. A few decades ago they were living in constant fear of hostile neighbours, their time very much occupied in intertribal manœuvres, when suddenly British civilization entered their country, and hundreds of Englishmen settled amongst them. For good or for bad, at once they were invaded by the latest means of transport and communication. Bicycles became an ordinary means of transport, and

motor-cars came into their midst. Superficially it would appear that their progress had been speeded up in a phenomenal way. A condition of affairs was quickly reached by them which it has taken us hundreds of years to arrive at. It is only the casual observer who would fail to see that most of this is on the surface. Side by side with this new state of affairs old tribal customs and beliefs still hold sway. The coming of the motor-car has not displaced the authority of the witch-doctor. Sacred trees and a belief in ancestral spirits still play a very great part in their lives. They attribute the existence of the world to the great spirit-God, Ngai, who is worshipped in a concrete sort of way. Their religion is very simple and matter-of-fact, and probably there is a tendency, for those of us who have been brought up in a country where the teaching of religions has been elaborated, to read into ceremonies as practised by these people meanings which actually do not exist. We must never forget that these are extremely primitive people, with a very simple and logical outlook on life. They have no literature, but stories of the past are handed down from father to son, and form a rich store of folk-lore. Often when the day's work is done the old men will gather their sons round the camp-fire and relate to them tales of the past in song or story. Most of the stories would appear to be purely secular, but they often have a hidden meaning and a moral attached. This is so prevalent that it is not easy to say where one begins and the other ends; I mean, it is difficult for those who are students of their beliefs and customs to divide their religious and social life, so closely are they connected.

Being Born Again

The ceremony of being born again (*Ko-chi-a-ru-o ke-ri*) sounds as if it might have something to do with a religious revival, and no doubt might be misunderstood. Although the expression itself is familiar to Christians, the custom is, in fact, purely secular, and consists in killing a goat and going through a certain ceremonial which entitles the participant to be admitted into the family. When the child becomes old enough to mind the goats—which they do at a very early age, perhaps four or five years—this ceremony takes place. The mother, sitting on the ground, places her child between her knees, imitating the sounds which a woman might make when giving birth to a child, whereupon the child is handed forth and is presented with symbolic ornaments, and hence has become a member of the family. Without being born again, the young Kikuyu is not in a position to be admitted to the ceremony of circumcision, which is the outward sign of admittance to the nation. In passing, I might mention that great stress is laid on the ceremony of circumcision, and both male and female have to go through with it some time between the ages of ten and fifteen. Such ceremonies

are not only of religious, but of secular, importance. I do not wish to imply that my friends the A-Kikuyu are not religious. They have deep religious feelings, and believe with all their heart in the existence of Ngai, the High God, who dwells above the snow-clad mountain of Kenya. They have a very real belief in that mysterious power or personality, which is greater than human or natural forces, though when asked to give one their conception of this deity they naturally find it difficult. I wonder how many Englishmen would, in fact, be prepared to give a lucid answer when asked to explain the faith that was in them.

Ngai, the Great Spirit

As far as I understand my friends the A-Kikuyu, they believe in a great spirit who lives above the snows of the great mountain which gives its name to the Colony. This great spirit has no beginning and no ending; no father and no mother; he is neither married nor has he any children. Ngai is an independent being who never alters; "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever." He is a white god, mark you, unlike the god of the neighbouring Masai, who is black. The god of the A-Kikuyu is sometimes addressed in solemn sacrifice and prayer as Mwini-nyaga, or Possessor of Whiteness, while the mountain where he dwells is Kiri-nyaga, meaning Place of Whiteness. This, in fact, is the A-Kikuyu name for Mount Kenya. The sun and the rain, the moon and lightning all come from him. These are manifestations of Ngai. Ngai is in his lightning; Ngai is in his rain. Sometimes Ngai is worshipped through these manifestations. There are also sacred trees under which prayers are offered up and at which sacrifices are made. These people have no temples other than clearings in the forests, with blue sky over all. Their prayer is none the less effective for all this. They have a profound belief in prayer, and to be present and witness a solemn gathering is an experience which could not fail to impress the most sceptical.

The Council of Elders

I shall never forget the occasion on which I was admitted into the *Kiama*, or Council of Elders. I had gone to this ceremony quite prepared to be interested, but came away deeply impressed. I wish I could convey to you a little bit of the atmosphere of that solemn gathering. Imagine, for a moment, a clear space in the forest, and a gathering of two or three hundred chiefs and elders. The oldest father of the tribe rose to his feet with the staff of office and a bunch of *muchorawaya* leaves, and called upon Ngai to assist him in the ceremony that he was about to perform. The whole company remained seated, all save the solitary veteran who was, as it were, high-priest for the day. In a clear voice he called upon Ngai to witness that the white man before him was a fit and proper

person to be admitted into the Kiama. At the end of each sentence he brought the bunch of leaves down in front of him, and everyone present replied "*Thai, Thai*" (Hear, Hear). A series of short prayers followed. "That he may have long life." "*Thai.*" "That he may live long with us." "*Thai.*" "I call you all to witness that in time of war his voice shall be heard and there shall be peace." "*Thai.*" "I call you all to witness that the staff of office which I shall give him will be his passport, and he will be received by all other *Kiamas.*" "*Thai.*" "I call you to witness that the *Matati* stick (staff of office) wants him."[1] "*Thai.*" Upon this the staff of office was handed to me.

The whole ceremonial was deeply impressive, and what made it so was their belief in prayer. They took it for granted that even while they were praying their prayer was already answered. The A-Kikuyu have no cringing fear of God, but ask frankly for what they want. To them God is a God of love, though he punishes those who disobey him by disease and death. In time of national distress such as famine or drought, sacrifice is reverently offered up for divine acceptance.

Nothing but good comes from God, they say, but how is it then, you may ask, that some people are suffering and in distress? This has been a problem for less primitive peoples than my friends the A-Kikuyu. How is it that there is so much that is unpleasant in the world? One African tribe explains it in this way. They say that although God is good and wishes good for everybody, unfortunately he has a half-witted brother who is always interfering with what he does. This half-witted brother keeps on interfering, and does not give God a chance. My friends ascribe the ordinary ills of life to the spirits of the departed, but after all, these ills are not without their remedy.

Sacrifices

When I tell you that sacrifices are offered to God, please do not imagine that the A-Kikuyu do this for the purpose of propitiating the Supreme Being. Nothing of the kind. They do this to coax him as it were, not to propitiate him. I have already told you that the A-Kikuyu are not afraid of God, and I cannot too strongly emphasize this. God is not angry, therefore does not need to be propitiated, but, like all of us, he does love presents.

When a sacrifice is made to Ngai, the best is given. If a man has not a very good sheep or goat and he wants to offer sacrifice, he will sell two or three of his goats and buy a perfect one from a neighbour—"one without blemish." Such a present makes it possible for him to ask for something really worth while in return. "O God, you who have many things, give me some, please. Listen.

[1] It is interesting to note that they say "the *matati* stick wants him," looking at it from the point of view of the staff of office.

I want goats; I want sheep; I want children. Listen. I want plenty of them, O my father, that I may be rich. Do you hear, O God my father?" There is something delightfully frank and open about this prayer, which is quite typical.

Those who officiate at the solemn sacrifice are hereditary chiefs or elders, who hold tribal office. Here again we see that the religious and secular institutions blend into one—the Church and State are identical. In addition to this there is a body of medicine-men (a kind of medical profession), who are credited with being endowed with special power from God. However, these latter are practitioners rather than instructors, as the work of religious instruction is left to the elders and fathers of the tribe.

The sacrifice to Ngai is most impressive, and is calculated to convey an awe-inspiring sense of nearness to the Creator. This ceremony is performed in the open under a sacred tree, which, as far as I have observed, is generally a *mugumu* or parasitic fig.

The Kikuyu sacrifice reminds one very much of the Hebrew sacrifices described in the Old Testament. The meat offering and drink offering both enter into it, and often take place at the same time, prayer invariably being offered to Ngai.

A Prayer-Meeting

The drinking of *njohi*, or native beer, made from the sugar-cane, follows the sacrifice two days later, one day being given up to the brewing and preparation of this drink. It is of interest to note that only the old men take part in this religious rite, which is far more like a Methodist prayer-meeting than anything else I can imagine. The participants sit round in a circle in the seclusion of a hut, and each in turn offers up prayer, while at intervals all the company respond, "*ng'ana, ng'ana*" (amen, amen). The *njohi* is passed round in a cup, which is replenished from a large calabash. The prayers offered on such occasions have a very close resemblance to certain of the psalms; for instance, this is a very common kind of request: "That our flocks and herds may be increased; that our wives may be fruitful and our children be healthy, and that we may become rich in our land." That they may have children is a very common request. To them children spell prosperity, and amongst the agricultural tribes, and, in fact, among most of the tribes that I have come across, female children are the more popular. This is readily understood, as each girl is worth about thirty goats. Amongst the Wasanye, or Forest Dwellers of the Coast, the value of a wife is two large tusks of ivory.

The Position of Women

I think Europeans generally have a false impression of the position of African women. They imagine that the African woman

is merely a slave and treated as one of the many goods and chattels. This idea may result from the fact that women are responsible for the cultivation of the crops, and that they fetch wood and water for the household.

In truth, the position of the woman of Africa is higher than that of the woman in England, by reason of the fact that she is head of the family. I have known a case where a black has discussed her position with the wife of a District Commissioner, and has gone to the pains to shew the white lady that her position was inferior to that of the black woman.

Because a man has two or more wives he does not necessarily think less of them. Each wife is head of her own family and has her own establishment, and her children depend on her much more than upon their father. It is considered a great honour to be the first wife, but there is no jealousy when the others enter into the establishment. A man may be married for a year, and his wife will go to him and say, " My dear, I think that it is about time that you married again. Do you not realize that I have much to do ? " The husband may protest, " I am perfectly content, and I do not want anyone but you for the present." Or the husband may ask her if she has anyone in view, and she will remember a friend who perhaps cultivated the next *shamba*, or garden, to her own before she was married, in her home village. If there are a sufficient number of goats, her husband will ask her to see the girl's father and arrange the marriage.

Later on, the original wife may again approach her husband, pointing out that the fields are increasing in size and the herds and the flocks are multiplying, and she must have still further help. Again she is instructed to make an application. There is no jealousy, for they all live in tranquillity in their own houses, and they each have their own tasks. As their respective families grow up the girls assist them in the fields, while the boys herd the cattle and sheep.

Love of Children

But to return to the idea that children are a source of prosperity ; this is not only the case in the Highlands amongst the Kikuyu, but throughout the whole of Central Africa, as far as I know. When I was returning to England I had further proof of this, for I came by way of the Nile, and called at Masindi, in the kingdom of Bunyoro, and my visit was made the occasion for special celebrations, and presents were given and received. Amongst the presents I received was a delightful little charm made from two leopard claws. This had been made by one of the princesses, and was given to me, as they said, to bring me great good fortune. When thanking the king I asked him what good fortune it would bring me, and his

characteristic reply was, "Sir, you will have many children."

But I prefer to regard this love for offspring not merely from an economic point of view. They have the same love for ancestors. In one tribe on the Coast, the people who live in the Nyika, or desert country, I came across an interesting custom. Every time a parent dies the son would carve an effigy on a post varying from three to six feet in height, and plant it in the neighbourhood of his hut. This is called a *kigango*. Once a month it would be his religious duty to sleep outside the hut, hard by this post. If a stranger were to ask him why he did it, his only explanation would be that it was "*dasturi*," or the conventional thing to do. After being some time amongst these people and gaining their confidence, I learnt from them that this was a ceremony of deep significance to them, for when they slept by that shrine of their departed ancestor, they assured me, he came back and spoke to them and was able to give them help to carry on their life. In other words, they gained inspiration in their communion with the departed.

Life after Death

This brings us to the important question as to whether these people believe in life after death. To me, the foregoing is sufficient evidence to conclude that they do believe in existence after death. The Kikuyu talk of good spirits and bad spirits; they say that if a man has done evil in life he is liable to continue doing harm after death, and as I have already pointed out, such evil spirits are blamed for many of the maladies which afflict persons on earth. The whole subject is intensely interesting, and there is room for research on such questions. I should like to see, as an outcome of this Conference, many of those who are interested in such questions drawn together to assist in this work. For this particular kind of research it is important to collect unbiased persons who are first and foremost students rather than teachers.

Judged from our point of view these Africans present a very curious mingling of qualities, both good and bad, but unhappily it must be admitted that, hitherto, contact with the white man has tended more to develop their weak points than to strengthen the good ones of their character. Physically brave but morally feeble, they are easy to lead but hard to drive, as they dread the unknown unless placed under the immediate guidance of one whom they trust. Self-indulgent by custom, habit and nature, they are liable to hanker after the flesh-pots rather than the higher things of civilization. Moral through fear when controlled by tribal custom and use, they are prone to be anything but moral when brought under the comparatively mild jurisdiction of Western civilization. Superstitious and credulous, but quick to learn and eager to understand, they are readily imbued with a wish to advance, though their

instability of temperament often causes them to lose interest before the goal is reached. With vivid imagination as regards things supernatural, they are slow to visualize the possibilities of material change, and reforms can only come about by ocular demonstrations of improved results. Naturally idle, they can only be assisted to improve their conditions by having the results of study and systematized labour brought directly before them. Withal a lovable and trustful people, for whose welfare we have assumed responsibility, and to whom therefore we owe all the care and guidance which it is in our power to give.

Bantu Religious Ideas

By Mr. Albert Thoka

(Pietersburg, South Africa)

IN a study of the religious outlook of the Bantu or any other African race several considerations have to be borne in mind; it has to be remembered that these people were, till quite recently, unacquainted with writing, and for that reason all information concerning them is merely traditional. It follows, therefore, that the most careful investigation is not always immune from error. The next point to consider is of the best method suited to an investigation of the religious outlook of the Bantu under the handicaps occasioned by the lack of native records about themselves; besides, we may observe here, there is no specific system of Bantu religion, although there are current among the people definite religious ideas, faiths and beliefs. It is clearly impossible to appreciate these faiths and beliefs without some knowledge of the general history of the people, their habits of thought and customs, their laws and social institutions so far as these can be gathered by direct enquiry from the natives themselves, or from the recorded observations of travellers who had themselves first acquired a familiar knowledge of the Bantu in these special directions indicated above, when they compiled their records. Above all these particular requisites, a thorough knowledge of at least one native dialect is absolutely indispensable to any student who would pursue a research study of the Bantu religions.

Object of Paper

The primary object of this paper is to throw some light on the religious beliefs of the Bapedi, a Bantu tribe of South Africa; but it may be well to preface this description with a brief survey of the ideas current among the Bantu peoples in general. The religious beliefs of the whole Bantu races are, in the main, based on the same conceptions. They have similar religious notions, and, in some cases, common religious rites and observances. These notions take their rise from the native belief in a certain Supreme Being whom they regard as exercising divine dispensations over the whole universe. This paper will first present the Bantu notions of this Supreme Being and how He affects their existence in this world; and, next, a consideration of those rites and observances.

Modimu, U-Tixo, Unkulunkulu

The Bantu believe in the existence of a Supernatural Power. This Power, they hold, ordained the universe, and created everything within it. From a consideration of the nature and operation of all phenomena within the universe, the Bantu believe that these must have involved some exercise of intelligence residing within the Perfect Knowledge of the Supernatural Power; and, further, they hold that this Power must be the essence of all attributes. They believe that there is very great similarity in the peculiar qualities of both human and supernatural intelligences; but the difference is that the human intelligence is an organic model of the supernatural, working subject to the organization of the latter. By reason of this supposed similarity, the Bantu speak of that Power as a Supreme Being, or God. In their native dialects they call Him Modimu, U-tixo, Unkulunkulu, Chikewe'vu, etc., respectively.

They consider that the peculiar character of God can only be unfolded to mankind in their study and apprehension of natural phenomena. They say that God lives in perfect knowledge; and that He reveals that knowledge to all His creatures alike through the operation of phenomena. If the constitution of these phenomena of the universe were understood, the high character of God could be fully appreciated. They believe that mankind can know God relatively only by means of the different objects which He has created in so far as man's intelligence at its present stage of development can understand them. To understand God, therefore, we must study His works in Nature, as these form the several attributes of His knowledge, and indirectly reveal His character. They regard every element of creation, whether organic or inorganic, as possessing, at least in its inception, some divine element of the knowledge and character of God. It is reasoned from this point of view, therefore, that all created objects are capable of being regarded as beings of equal value in the sight and estimation of God. They regard the human distinction between higher and lower intelligences as being one of mere convenience in the daily affairs of man. Whatever difference may exist, such difference would be due to the presence or absence of such peculiarities as are designed, in the knowledge of God, to give harmony to the operation of phenomena for the attainment of His purpose of creation. God has established laws for the government of Nature; and the Bantu believe that the observance of these laws would be a sufficient compliance with His Will. We learn of His Will from the sanctions of the laws of Nature.

Idea of Religion among the Bantu

In considering the religious ideas of the natives, a few remarks might here be made on the point of view in which the Bantu regard

religion. They believe that religion is a principle of Nature which resides within man for the correct regulation of human conduct in all walks of life. For this reason they consider that there is no need for any special institution of a detached character for the purpose of giving formal instruction in the requirements of that principle. We all are one in nature, and should therefore have no difficulty in understanding the laws of Nature, for they affect us in the same manner.

A point which does matter beyond this is the fuller satisfaction of human spiritual need for a closer touch with God, the source of life. But it is conceived that some provision is made for that purpose; some light is established within the human frame to guide man as to the means he may adopt to attain that satisfaction. The same light which helps him to apprehend the existence of God will direct him to express his particular needs of being associated with God. Religion, therefore, being a principle intended for the right direction of human actions in life, does not require any special sphere of its own, for the idea of righteous acting prevails in every department of man's existence, be it spiritual or moral. As to institutions existing for a formal initiation into its rules of rectitude, the Bantu believe that one's home is a sufficient institution for that purpose. The family religious traditions and influences are easily imparted to children at a tender age, and with their growth their religious outlook develops. The well-being of parents depends on the well-being of their children, and that generally depends on the correct upbringing of the latter. Every home is, therefore, not only a social but also a religious institution. The rules established for the government of the family life are righteous rules, and they must be religiously observed.

A question may here be asked whether there are any special rules obtaining in the home life of the natives which must be particularly observed, seeing that the laws of Nature are so involved and directed to many different departments of the universe wholly unconnected with human life. The answer is that they are concerned with those laws only which directly affect the relations of human beings with one another and with external nature. These laws might be summed up in what is generally called "humanitarianism," though not quite in the common acceptation of the term. The idea involved would seem to be the innate conscience of man impelling him to act with all sincerity and unselfishness in life. Each man is expected to conduct his life in a way to benefit, not only himself, but his fellow-men also; every step in life should be capable of being regarded in this light among the Bantu; and it is hoped that this idea may be apparent to you in the few remarks which will be made in the course of this paper on the native social usages in relation to their religious instinct.

As the ultimate aim of this paper is to deal with religion in reference to one branch of the Bantu in particular, it may here be observed that there are no specific devotional exercises among the Bantu in general excepting such as are connected with totemism (a sort of native belief to be described when we come to deal with the Bapedi, among whom it is most extensively prevalent), thanksgiving ceremonies at harvest season, and also such devotions as are connected with the medical treatment of the sick or the burial of the dead.

The Abode of God

Having so far learnt of the native ideas of God, the next question to consider is where they believe this God dwells or exists. The Bantu believe that God is an indwelling being within the universe. In what part of it is beyond human knowledge. There is, however, a nominal, if imaginary, sphere called in the native dialects Lehodimu, Pezulu, Zulwini, etc., respectively. The literal meaning of these terms is simply " above " ; and the idea conveyed is that of the position which He occupies in the universe as overseer thereof It is true they have been seen to point towards the sky, and, in effect, say that God dwells above the clouds. This specific indication proceeds from a consideration that beyond the clouds might be the highest point of the universe, or at least a point from which He might more conveniently direct and control its course and motions. It is therefore merely a presumption, and no great importance is attached to it. They take it in the same sense as that in which we generally speak of a man as " head of the family." Otherwise they believe that, all attributes being inherent in God, He is capable of residing in every element of Nature, be it organic or inorganic.

They believe that in the same way as He may dwell within the spiritual sanctuary of the human conscience, so may He abide in the other elements of creation, according to His own pleasure. If this point be borne in mind, it will obviate the objections to some ideas which might otherwise appear to be far-fetched.

We have thus far seen that Nature is regarded as the leading light to mankind, and for that reason the natives believe it is given the upper hand over human constitution. It is capable of affecting man through the operation of its laws, while man is unable to affect it. We have seen that the Bantu consider this as a conclusive indication that man is made to live agreeably to Nature by observing and yielding to the authority of its laws in so far as they affect him. We have seen how these laws have been construed as indicative of some object intended in the establishment of the universe ; and how the Bantu believe that God does not seem to require much more than the observance of these laws by man for him to attain

the primary object of creation, which resides in the knowledge of God alone. Man's intelligence is considered to be subject to a very slow process of time for its complete development to a stage in which it will be capable of appreciating that purpose for which it is created together with the universe. Hence the belief in the infinite continuity of life and the possible development to a higher plane of existence in the growth of human intelligence. They hold that our constitution is subject to various stages of evolution, birth being one of these and death another. They do not consider death as the finale of being, but rather as a change of material attributes for the new status of spiritual existence ; one in which we should be much nearer to perfection. They believe that through birth we come into this world for a special development and training of our faculties ; and for that purpose we are given certain difficulties to surmount, and certain responsibilities, in order to be fitted to hold higher ones in the life hereafter. One of these responsibilities is that of our own government ; we learn how to govern ourselves and how to endure the trials of Nature. In proportion to the degree of our proficiency in these directions we shall be given our respective positions in the life hereafter. We learn of the difference between the ideas of right and wrong in this life, so that when the time comes for us to approach the seat of God we should be able to comprehend the special values of our limited knowledge in these respects. Our knowledge is inseparable from our soul, and goes with it when the soul leaves the body. Our soul lives on our knowledge.

Where are their departed Spirits ?

While we are considering the native faith in the infinity of life we may consider also their belief in the whereabouts of their departed spirits or relations. This is just as hard to define as the exact whereabouts of God Himself. The Bantu idea is that their departed relations are somewhere in the sphere allotted to the spirits near to God's own presence. This may or may not be the same sphere in which God resides ; but it is a sphere in which they exercise a subordinate jurisdiction over the different departments of the universe under the immediate supervision of God Himself. The nature of their special offices may not be possible for us to know quite accurately in this world, but it is believed that they can intercede with God for us, and also that they do not all exercise influence over the same sphere. Some may be given responsibility over the animal kingdom, and others over some other kingdoms of the universe. It might be thought doubtful whether these spiritual beings in all cases preserve their human character, or whether the nature of those supposed to preside over the non-human departments of the universe undergoes some change such as would bring them into harmony with their new sphere. But the general belief

seems to be that the spirits of deceased relations continue to exist as human spirits, whatever their particular positions in their spiritual kingdoms; and that they continue to be in touch with their relatives in this world, and, where possible, act as intercessors for them with God. It is conceived that they continue to take interest in the well-being of their relatives, and are still capable of being pleased or displeased by them. The Bantu believe, therefore, that man should act with due consideration, not only for his fellow-men and relatives in this world, but for the wishes of his deceased relations also, as known from their mode of life in this world. In regards the wishes of the deceased, it may here be rightly asked, "What if they led bad lives, should their relatives propitiate them by evil actions?" By no means. The Bantu believe that evil desires are merely inconveniences consequent upon our lack of a correct understanding of the laws of Nature, and that in the life hereafter our understanding becomes wider and our outlook on the course of life becomes more enlightened, whereby we become able to comprehend the real value of righteousness, without being subject to any temptation to do or desire wrong to be done. The spirits are, therefore, considered as being above all desire of evil conduct on the part of their relations on this sphere. Even if in their days on this earth the spirits indulged in evil actions, they are now, on a higher plane of existence, immune from error. This consideration naturally gives rise to a question whether the Bantu do or do not believe in the existence of evil spirits. From the native point of view there are no evil spirits by origin, and there are no other spirits apart from those which were originally human beings in this world. What might be regarded as evil spirits, perhaps, are ghosts. The Bantu believe that these are spirits which have been banished from the spiritual kingdom as a punishment for their misdeeds in this world. They believe that the banishment is for a certain term of years, and that after this term the spirits are then formally admitted into the society of the other spirits. This term may vary in different cases; and tradition gives instances of men who have come back after death as ghosts, some of whom roamed about the neighbourhoods of their villages for more generations than others. Being accursed, they naturally strike terror in those men who are unfortunate enough to meet them; and it is in this sense only that they are regarded as evil spirits, rather than because of any evil influence they have with men. Another belief is in connection with the return after death as ghosts of greedy men who in their life had large possessions in this world. This class of spirit is said to retain its human speech and speak like ordinary persons. They preserve their human characteristics of expression, so that there may not be any doubt or scepticism, in those who knew them as men, that they have, in fact, reappeared in this world after death. They usually visit their relatives, to whom they intimate

their wants ; the request is generally for some provision, out of the personal effects of the deceased, of a portion to be placed in the tomb for the use of the deceased in the next life. Their love for their possessions in this world is considered to be too excessive, and disturbs the peaceful repose of their souls in the life hereafter, and their return is in order to abate it in some measure. Once this request is carried out, the spirits never as a rule come back again. This is quite a universal tradition among the Bantu, even apart from the Bapedi. On this head it remains to add that the only relationship obtaining between mankind and spirits is that founded on their original relations as men and relatives in this world. Death does not remove this connection ; brothers and sisters continue as such, irrespective of their spheres or state of existence.

The Bapedi

Without dealing with the point concerning the channels of communication between mankind and God from man's point of view, or mankind and spirits, we shall now direct our attention to the Bapedi part of this paper. The reason, as will appear herein, is that we have at last arrived at the parting of the ways, a spot from which mankind have ever found it almost impossible to see their prospect exactly eye to eye with one another. It might perhaps lessen the difficulty involved if we tackle the point in reference to one section only of the people ; and, in the case of the Bapedi, it would be more convenient to study the problem from the point of view of their family and social life in relation to their religious instinct.

Among the Bapedi, the law of precedence is of more universal application than among any other branch of the Bantu races. Over the members of a family man is the head, although virtually the woman rules ; next to him comes his wife. Then starts another order of succession, at the head of which stands the eldest child of the family. It is an established usage, from time immemorial, that equals only can keep company. This equality is not determined by possessions, but rather by age in life. It is an understood thing that as soon as a child has reached an age at which it is able to go about unattended it must seek the company of its equals outside the family circle in the corresponding sex. It is very sparingly indulged with the society of its parents beyond the amount necessary for imparting to it an example of good and useful conduct in life. As between the youngsters of a village, boys of the same age associate together, and those below them form their own company, and so on downwards ; the girls, too, do likewise, according to their respective ages, between themselves. The usage entitles the senior to a coercive influence over his juniors. The senior may commandeer the services of his juniors even without

formally consulting the convenience of their parents, for they in turn have a corresponding claim to his services without consulting his interests, excepting, of course, where the exercise of their claim is likely to work some palpable hardship on him. In ordinary life this point may be illustrated by the practice among the Bapedi of herding their stock together. Where two or more men have each got some stock of cattle, and some of them happen to have sons, while others have none, those boys are expected, as a matter of course, to herd these cattle collectively, irrespective of their relationship to their owners, and they must do this free of any expectation of reward from the owners of the stock. If a man who has no son happens to earmark any of his cattle in favour of one of those boys who look after his cattle, such an act would be due to his own charity rather than to any other reason.

The same thing applies in domestic affairs, where the services of girls are particularly in request; as, for instance, where a man's wife is laid up with fever, the husband has simply to inform his neighbour's wife, and she either sends her own daughter to cook for him or she herself comes and does the necessary domestic duties; this without any cost to the man who receives the benefit of the service. A senior is expected to chastise his juniors if he finds them in the act of committing some wrongful offence; that is, of course, if he can do so without being exposed to the danger of being beaten by them. Where there is this danger, boys are always beaten in the presence of several other seniors at the village court. The safeguard is afforded in that all ranks have their respective seniors, who always exercise their rights of coercive influence in the interest and for the protection of those juniors who are exposed to the capricious control of their seniors. The system works out very well, and is held in high respect by the people. They believe that this is the way in which they were originally intended to stand in their relations to one another. The laws of Nature, at least, seem to confirm that view, and, as was pointed out at an early stage of this paper, the Bantu rely solely on Nature for their guidance, both in religious and in social problems. They observe the effect produced by the influence of one element of Nature over another, and notice the less powerful yielding to the superior, and they further observe the effect of patient gentleness in abating violent passions among men, and conclude that it is possible with mankind to live side by side in mutual service to one another, with very orderly and peaceful results. The Bapedi believe that their deceased relations continue their existence in the sphere beyond the grave on the basis of this principle of mutual service and consideration. Their ancestral spirits still enjoy the full amount of consideration by their descendants in this world, as well as by those near them in the same sphere of life. The force of this usage is such that among

the Bapedi no two persons standing in comparative relations by age to each other can enter into a conversation which is likely to end in a contentious argument between them. This being the mental mould of the people, it is obvious that the practice of communication through the agency of intercessors would naturally find much favour with the people. Children represent their wants to their father through their mother; and where the right party to appeal to is the mother, then they use one another as agents between themselves.

It is clear, therefore, that age among the Bapedi is the only factor which determines the relations of men to one another, and the reason of the practice seems quite obvious—that one who has had some experience in life is in a better position to give counsel and example of good conduct to his less experienced fellow-men; and his example is based on some practical knowledge gained by long experience of life. With this meagre sketch of the social relations of the Bapedi it is hoped that the path is beaten smooth to a ready appreciation of the idea involved in Totemism, the form of native belief alluded to at an early stage of this paper.

Definition of Totem

A totem is a natural object, especially animal, assumed as an emblem of a clan or of an individual family among the Bantu races. It is most extensively in use among the Bapedi branch of the Bantu. Every Bapedi family has identified with it some known totem; and, sometimes by coincidence, two different clans or families without being blood relations happen to have the same object as their totem. In such cases their rites and observances in the course of time become similar. The Bapedi believe that totems were originally adopted by the early generations of man as emblems of praise to God for His wondrous works of creation. Apparently one object, or totem, was in each case chosen as symbolic of the whole universe of God; and acts of praise were performed in the light of each particular totem by the respective clans or families. Such praise was, no doubt, in a spirit of devout veneration to God, for it is not only the beauty and wonder to be realized in Nature, but its practical influence with mankind, and all other organic creatures also. This influence is always a beneficial one. The primitive generations of the Bapedi must have realized these different phases of creation to render them grateful to God, the Author of all. They had no means of localizing Him, any more than we have to-day, and they chose to comprehend Him within His universe and in His nature, which they have symbolized in their respective totems. Their faith is that God will appreciate their expression; He will realize the significance of each particular

totem, for He alone knows clearly the special notions which influenced the original members of each clan at the formal adoption of their respective totems. The convenience of the practice must have recommended it to the primitive Bapedi; it is obviously a simpler task than trying to realize the exact meaning of the universe in order to locate its Author. In our daily experience to-day it is quite a common practice of men for one to hand over to another the key of a dwelling-house as a mode of transferring possession of the whole house. No doubt at the moment of such transfer of the key from one hand to another the minds of the two parties are actually centred on the transfer of the house rather than the key to it. The key merely acts as an aid to the mind to appreciate the symbolic transfer of the house itself. Similarly, the minds of the Bapedi are centred on the full meaning of the universe, with a vision of God pervading every creature within it in His glory. This is the meaning of the native totems, and it is the meaning which underlies every act performed in relation to each particular totem by the Bapedi. To those who have no knowledge of the people, their apparent veneration of natural objects is explained in this manner, if you can appreciate it.

As different animals are to be found in different parts of the country in Africa, the respective claimants of such animals as their totems usually identify their local origin with that in which their totems are generally found; for it is thought that that might be the reason why their original claimants chose them in particular. The tendency is generally to regard the extreme point of the district as the local origin of the people and their totems; for instance, the Bakoni, a branch of the Bapedi, speak of their local origin (Bukoni) as being in the extreme south-west of Zoutpansberg, because the *koni*, their bird totem, is found in large numbers in the south-west of that district. It is possible to find this bird even in the north of Zoutpansberg; but their explanation is that the migratory habits of the bird make it possible for it to be found there, and especially in view of the time which has elapsed since it was adopted by the original ancestor. The reason is plausible, and it is possible that it may be correct. From the instance given it will have occurred to you that the clan name is derived from that of the totem. It is not proposed to deal with every totem individually, for in view of their wide range and differences of the rites and observances connected with each, and the doubtful history of some of them, the task might go beyond the aim of this paper. No doubt some of you have perhaps been impatient to hear something about the prayers of the Bapedi, and to learn something about these rites and observances so much alluded to since the commencement of this paper. It is perhaps an error of expression that they should have been spoken of as rites of a religious character, but they are regarded as such by

the Bapedi, and there seems no reason why a different name should now be given to them. One instance only may here be given to illustrate their nature, and we shall consider the case of the Bakwena—that is, those who have the *kwena*, or crocodile, as their totem. It is traditional among these people that they may not use a reed for any purpose but building dwelling-huts or fences. They may not even use it as a walking-stick. It is held in veneration, for it grows on river-beds, and these are appurtenant to the dwelling-sphere of their totem. They form a furniture, as it were, of its native abode. It is permissible to use them for building human dwellings, because that is their essential purpose. They venerate a crocodile, and hold water as being sacred. They believe that if any one of their clan met a crocodile in fording a river in which they are found, he should declare that he is a Mokwena, using the appropriate recitals for that purpose, and the crocodile will do him no harm. This is, of course, based on the belief in the saving-power of God—that He can deliver a man out of any difficulty from which there seems to be no possible escape. This traditional recital has become a proverbial greeting of the clan. If a person meets a member of the Bakwena, the usual mode of greeting him is simply " Mokwena " ; that is, " Hail, hail, worthy member of the Bakwena." In a case where a Mokwena has done something really worthy of praise, the appropriate form is in these words :

Mokwena moila lethlaka,
Moroka' metse a pula,
Modheana modhalabetji,
'Mina tjeka la boroka, etc.

The meaning is generally hidden by the philosophical frame of the recital ; and among the Bapedi there are experts whose duty is merely to frame and disentangle the sense of these recitals. In the above lines the meaning is simple :

Hail, hail, worthy Mokwena !
Hail, you that revere the reed !
Hail, O man of the North,
Who glories in rain water ;
Hail, you that give with two hands ;
Hail, O hail, worthy man of the North.

It may be that these recitals convey no intelligible meaning to you ; but their significance among the Bantu races is very great. Every clan has its own particular recital, part of this being the proverbial greeting of the clansmen. In each case these recitals are still reflective of the spirit in which they were originally framed, and they are still being used in that special meaning. There is,

however, the traditional side of the totem, which can only be explained by a thorough study of the habits of the people in their general lines of thought, as was shewn in the interpretation of the Bakwena declaration, where they are in danger of being attacked by crocodiles. It is hoped that this paper has given you an ample summary of the leading features of the Bantu religious outlook, and that the difficulties besetting the way have been clearly indicated, as also the special points to be considered by every student who would like to gain a comprehensive understanding of the Bantu peoples.

It is hoped, therefore, that the few notes here collected together may stimulate further research by those of you who are in a position to pursue it in order to render available as much information about the Bantu as can be possibly gathered, in spite of the handicaps occasioned by the lack of native records. The amount of labour and patience necessary for that task cannot be too highly estimated. It is not an easy thing to study one totem after another, with their respective incidents. To those who may not be able to pursue the study for themselves it is hoped that the pure significance of Totemism has been clearly explained, and that any misapprehension of the native point of view regarding it has now been obviated.

Some Aspects of the Religion of the West African Negro

By Captain L. W. G. Malcolm, M.Sc. (Cantab.), F.R.A.I.

(Department of Archæology and Ethnology, Bristol Museum)

ONE of the most difficult problems in the examination of West African cultures is the dissection of the various cultural elements.

Bearing in mind the many tribal movements which have taken place, as well as the exterior influences which have helped to produce the cultures as they are at the present day, it is only with great difficulty that we can trace the origin or development in any given element. This is more particularly the case when dealing with the religious beliefs of the various tribes.

Analysis of Cultures

When dealing with a contemporaneous state of superstitions, it is necessary first to reject the late borrowings, as evidenced in specific practices, but more especially in the linguistic derivations, and then similar earlier borrowings must be carefully eliminated, before the original state of a belief may be even hypothetically put. Side by side with religious beliefs the medico-magical science would migrate.[1] There is every reason to believe that for long periods the influence of ancient Egypt was strong all over negro West Africa. Later on came the powerful Islamic infiltration which has influenced, and is influencing, great tracts of people over North and West Africa. The European influence is comparatively recent, but on the coastal regions it is strong at the present time. In some regions where the pagan is influenced both by Islam and Christianity the beliefs of the tribes are being strangely mixed.

What is Fetishism?

The West African religions are often thought to be homogeneous, and have been classed under one term—" fetishism." An examination of the elements of the various tribes, however, shows that there are many diversities.

[1] Wiener, L., *Africa and the Discovery of America*, iii., 1922.

The origin of the word " fetish " is discussed by various writers, one being of opinion that the Portuguese word " should be from the Arabic, since an overwhelming mass of Arabic ' charm ' words have found their way into the European and African languages." Two of the chief authorities on this feature of African religion, Miss Kingsley[1] and Dr. Nassau,[2] are vague in their definitions. In one work Miss Kingsley says that the word " fetish," or " ju-ju," is used to mean the religion of the natives of West Africa. In another place she says that the secret societies are " pure fetish," although they are mainly judicial and not essentially religious in character.

Haddon says :

All cases of fetishism, when examined, show that the worship is paid to an intangible power or spirit incorporated in some visible form, and that the fetish is merely the link between the worshipper and the object of his worship. Any definition, therefore, which takes no account of the spiritual force behind the material object is seen to be incomplete and superficial, as it ignores the essential conception of the worship.

Dr. Tylor[3] enlarges the scope of the word, classing fetishism as a subordinate department of animism, and defining it as the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or conveying influence through, certain material objects. He includes in it the worship of stocks and stones " and thence it passes by an imperceptible gradation into idolatry."

Haddon says that the characteristic features of fetishism, and particularly of West African fetishism, are as follows :

The fetish may consist of any object whatsoever, but the object chosen is generally either a wonderful ornament or curiosity, a symbolic charm with sympathetic properties, or a sign or token representing an ideal notion or thing. It is credited with a mysterious power, owing to its being, temporarily or permanently, the vessel or habitation, vehicle for communication, or instrument of some unseen power or spirit, which is conceived to possess personality and will, and ability to see, hear, understand and act. It may act by the will or force of its own power or spirit, or by force of a foreign power entering it or acting on it from without, and the material object and the power or spirit may be dissociated. It is worshipped, prayed to, sacrificed to, talked with, and petted or ill-treated with regard to its past or future behaviour. In its most characteristic form a fetish must be consecrated by a priest.

[1] Kingsley, M. (Miss), " The Fetish View of the Human Soul," *Folk-Lore*, viii., 1897 ; *West African Studies*, 1899.
[2] Nassau, R. H., *Fetishism in West Africa*, 1904, 97.
[3] Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, 1873, ii., 144.

Fetish Figures

In many of our museums we find a number of figures carved in wood which are labelled "Fetishes." I propose to refer to these but briefly. Taking a characteristic example in West Africa, the Bafiot[1] of the Congo, the so-called fetish practices are fairly uniform, and here we find that there are great numbers of these carved wooden figures. The statuettes are usually very crudely worked and are characteristic of the area. Sometimes the top of the head is furnished with a magical *ngilingili* mixture which supplied the force to the figure. Pechuel-Loesche says that the *ngilingili* was often attached to the head, "but usually in a conspicuous addition in the form of a casket, one or several, to the belly or the chest." In this mixture pieces of glass were embedded as a protective force.

Glass was also inlaid in the eyes, breast, head, back or eyeholes. The figures sometimes are believed to become slack and tired, and for this reason they are given kola-nuts. The stimulating power of the kola-nut is well known to all West Africans. The figure is supplied with pieces of kola-nut, or else the liquid juice is spirted on it by the devotee. Sometimes a mixture of kola-nut and Congo pepper is given to it.[2]

Pechuel-Loesche refers to two main types of "fetishes," the business and private fetishes. The former are controlled by the tribal wizards or sorcerers, whilst the latter are usually amulets of various kinds. Their power is contained in the magical mixture which must be attached to them in some way. An important type of fetish is that used to trace offenders against the tribal customs or individuals. They may be in human form, or else they may represent animals, sometimes with multiple heads.

Tracing an Offender

The fetish is used only when all other means of tracing an offender have failed. It is taken to the place where the crime was committed, and the supposed offender placed before it. If no confession is made the fetish is supposed to strike him dead or else afflict him with an incurable disease. It very often happens that the offender is unknown, and in that case the wizard (*nganga*) places the figure in a prepared place on the ground.[3] After drawing various magical figures on the ground, the wizard and his assistant play on pan-pipes, antelope-horns, rattles and drums. A gun loaded with gunpowder to which some of the magical mixture has

[1] Pechuel-Loesche, E., *Volkskunde von Loango*, 1907; Dennett, R. E., *Seven Years among the Fjort*, 1887; *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*, 1898; *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, 1906.

[2] Bastian, A., "Zum Westafrikanischen Fetischdienst," *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, vi., 1874, 14.

[3] Hall, H. U., "A Congo Fetish," *Mus. Journ.*, Phil., March, 1924, 58–69.

been added, or a shaving from the figure, is then fired into the air. The force of the mixture and the power of the figure are broadcast, and the offender is traced.

If the offender is still at large a heated nail is driven into the figure. As Hall points out, the driving in of a nail or blade into the figure is usually believed to be in the nature of an irritant, which is intended to inflame the fetish against the offender and to ensure his pursuit. He says that "There does not seem here any immediate reason for inflaming the fetish, since whatever injury is to be inflicted is necessarily postponed to an indefinite future. Rather it is a matter of providing an exit for the forces enclosed in the fetish figure and a guide to direct them in following and identifying the malefactor in posse."

Magical Force

Objects of value are believed to possess a magical force or soul-stuff. This force is not awarded to objects because they are fetishes, but because of the soul-stuff they are believed to possess. It may be a root or natural curiosity which attracts the native's attention, by whom it is considered to be a suitable medium for containing soul-essence. It is in this category that perhaps one may place the fetish. The force which is believed to be contained in the object is used for the native's benefit, and his own soul-power is thus increased. Taken in this way the amulet may also be considered as a fetish.

In the same way this force is used in men, animals, plants and even inanimate objects in order to influence each other. We find all over the West African area a belief in the potency of this force. Here we have the explanation of the wearing of leopards' claws, etc., which are worn in order that the ferocity of the animal may be incorporated into the warrior's own body. At Abakaliki in Southern Nigeria the native wrestlers always smear their bodies with the fat of the wild-cat in order to obtain an increased agility. Numerous examples of this belief can be found amongst the West African tribes.

The fear of the unknown is intensified by the tribal wizards, or magicians, who are very often believed to be not only in close contact with the ghosts and spirits, but able to control the soul-power of all objects.

Fetishism not Religion

His influence is enormous and he becomes a veritable tyrant. By his art, not only can he prevail on the ghosts to assist the living, but he can injure them by means of his control over the spirits. Wherever the wizard, or magician, is in complete control there do we often find unparalleled cruelty.

From the foregoing it will be noted that the popular idea of fetishism, that is, the doctrine of a magical power or spirit in

material or inanimate objects, is not to be considered as the "religion" of the West African tribes. The word fetish has been employed for so long a time that it has become a recognized feature of West African religion. In many of the works of the present day it is still being used, and it is high time that it should be dropped, or used only in its right place.

In his recent work on Africa and America, Wiener[1] has evolved the hypothesis that there is a close relationship between the fetishism of the Gold Coast and other areas and Sufism, that is, there is a strong Arabic element in the Ashanti religion. He also says that to this influence may be ascribed the African ecstatic dances and self-castigation, which form an important part of the Sudanic celebrations and initiations. He also considers that the *bori* of Northern Nigeria is closely associated with obsession and epilepsy, and leads to practices generally connected with these, such as mad dances and delirious prophetic utterances. The *boli* becomes the essence of fetishism, and is identified with "amulet" and "medicine," hence the *bolitigi*, "the master of the *boli*," assumes the rôle of priest and doctor, and occupies an important part in the religious conceptions of the Sudanese peoples. It seems, however, that further information on this point is required.

The Deity: Good and Bad

The Bantu-speaking peoples of the Cameroon consider that there are two types of deity.[2] For example, the good principle is called *Niengo* by the Duala[3] *Lobe* by the Bakwiri,[4] *Tusambo* by the Yaunde,[5] and *Obasi* by the Cross River tribes.[6] The other principle, which is evil, may be said to be a personification of the soul, especially of the tribal ancestors. It is called *Ekongole* or *Mungo* by the Duala, *Nkule* by the Bakoko, and *Mukasse* by the Bakwiri. The belief in the evil principle is the most potent, and this is the one which is propitiated. In common with a great number of West African tribes, the ancestral ghosts wander about the forest, especially at night, seeking to harm the living.

Among the Sudan tribes of the Cameroon it appears that one deity is worshipped, but the evidence so far is not very clear. Vogel[7] says that there is a deity composed of a number of souls in some Sudan tribes. In the Benué valley the tribes call their deity "Dodo," and he is propitiated before a stone pillar decorated

[1] Wiener, L., *op. cit.*, 364.
[2] Passarge, S., *Kamerun*, in *Meyer's Deutsche Kolonialreich*, Leipzig und Wien, 1909.
[3] *Korr. Bl. d. deutsch. Gesellsch. für Anthrop. etc.*, 1901, 119.
[4] *Beitr. zur Kol.-pol. und Kol.-wortsch.*, 1902/1903, 193.
[5] *Mitt. aus d. d. Schutzgeb.*, 12, viii. 45.
[6] Mansfeld, A., *Urwald-Dokumente*, Berlin, 1908, 209.
[7] Passarge, S., *Adamaua*, Berlin, 1895, 497.

with bird's feathers. The Eghâp have a belief in one high god who is assisted by numerous lesser beings.[1]

In another place I have recorded the names of the high god for various tribes in the Cameroon. It was shown that *Nyambi*, or its variant, was very widespread, reaching as far as Barotseland and Hereoland. Among the coastal tribes the name of the deity is *O-basi*, or a variant. Various authorities were quoted shewing that there seemed to be some difference of opinion concerning the attributes of the deity. In some cases there is a belief in two high gods, one benevolent and one malevolent. The latter looms large in the beliefs of the Bantu-speaking tribes, the beneficent high god occupying a minor rôle only.

Whilst at Calabar in 1918, I made enquiries about the religious beliefs of the Efik and the neighbouring Cross River tribes. I have to thank the Rev. J. K. Macgregor, of that town, for allowing me to consult his notes, compiled over a period of years, and some of them are incorporated in the present communication.

A High God

The Efik believes in the existence of several deities, but the high god (*Abasi*) is over all the others. He is said to be so far away that he takes little or no interest in the tribe and its doings. He is only attracted by means of the ancestral ghosts and fetishes, or ju-jus. Far more attention is paid to these because they are near at hand. In former times there was always a mud altar in one corner of the native dwellings. It was ornamented with skulls of defeated enemies and several shallow earthenware bowls. This was called "*Iso Abasi*" or "*Iso usan*," or the place of the deity. On a certain day in each week (*aqua ofion*) he was asked to look after the material welfare of the household, and to assist in avenging any wrongs. After the supplication by the head of the household, water was poured into the earthenware bowls and the room was left.

The high god is believed to live in exactly the same way as his devotees. He has many wives, of whom the chief is Atai Abasi. In general the high god is spoken of more by the poorer people. When in trouble, a man lifts his hands towards the sky and says, "*Abasi omukut*" (God has seen). On the other hand, the well-to-do consider that their position is due to the influence of their individual or communal fetish figures, and these are more frequently propitiated by them.

A Creation Myth

The high god is believed to be invisible. After he created the world a number of men were deputed as rulers. They suffered a

[1] Malcolm, L. W. G., "Notes on the Religious Beliefs of the Eghâp, Central Cameroon," *Folk-Lore*, xxxiii., 1922, 354–79.

great deal from illness, and the high god one day sent a dog to a man to tell him that when any member of the tribe was ill he must be taken to some fireside and have ashes thrown over him. Instead of doing as he was told, the dog wandered around the rubbish heaps of the tribe. After waiting some considerable time, the high god sent a simple-minded animal with the instruction that when a man died he was to be placed in a wooden shell and buried. Death thus came about through the disobedience of a dog. Another version which was given was that Atai Abasi gave orders that no planting was to be done. This order was disobeyed, and the chief wife of the high god thereupon pronounced sentence of death upon all mankind.

In addition, the Efik believe in three local gods. The first is *Anansa*, who dwells at Obuton; the second, *Nden Efik*, at Cobham Town; and the third, *Ata Okpo*, at Uduan. These three were river-gods, and responsible for certain stretches of the river. When a man falls into the river he must call on the right god for assistance. The last two gods were responsible for the river upstream from Creek Town.

"*King-God*"

At Umon, about one hundred miles up the Cross River, the high god is called *Surem*, *Onum Surem* or *Onu Surem*, all three terms denoting King-God. The high god dwells alone in the sky. Some say that sky and cloud is the high god, others that the sky is his walking-place. He created the world and also mankind. The human mouth was the last part of man to be made. This was done in order that the high god could keep full control over his subjects. Before the mouth was made the high god asked the first man the following questions:

> Will you at any time decline to obey my orders?
> Will you deny that I am your creator?

The man, being denied the powers of speech, answered by shaking his head. In the early days the high god was in close touch with his people, but in time he retired to the sky and is now invisible. In those days all food was cooked by the heat of the sun's rays. The high god was asked to supply another method. A dog was sent, and shewed them how to make fire by means of rubbing sticks together.

Origin of Death

Death was caused by the action of the *ekpo*. The ghosts of the tribal ancestors, being able to reveal themselves in dreams to the living, found that there were more people on earth than in the home of the dead. The old ghost made representations to the high

god that more people should die, so that there would be more ghosts. On learning this, the living also sent a messenger to the high god asking that this should not be allowed. The messenger from the ghosts reached the high god first and their request was granted.

The high god is the protector of all who are ill or deformed. If a cripple is mocked, the high god will cause the mocker to be also crippled. The name of the high god is never omitted when the fetishes are being propitiated.

The high god is able to see all the people without himself being visible to them. When they wish to approach him they clap their hands once, and then, elevating the palms of their hands towards the sky, say, " God, thou seest."

Another tribal god is the *Obasi Eyen*, which corresponds to the *Efik Ekpenyon*.

Multiple Gods

A fetish (*egan*) is sometimes set up through which the supplications are sent to the high god. These figures are sometimes appropriated by children. If there is already one in the family, this has to serve for all the members.

At Ibana the Ibibio believe in the existence of a great number of gods. There is one high god, a thunder-god (*Abasi obuma*), a god of war (*Abasi ekon*), and a god of the river (*Atabit ? Inyan*), as well as gods of the woods, rivers, families, tribes, etc. The family tribal gods are the most venerated.

The old name for the Ibo high god was *Obasi di nenu* (God above), If an Ibo is asked who made him, he will reply, " *Chi ukwu okike*," or God the Creator (" long ju-ju "). Originally, *Chi uku* was a most powerful deity. He was responsible for the material and spiritual welfare of the tribe. His power extended between the Cross and Niger Rivers.

A sacrifice was made to *Obasi* by means of a white cock and a kola-nut tied to a piece of bamboo. The man carrying the bamboo came out of the hut on the right side of the doorway, and about one foot away from it he made his supplication. The bamboo is raised with both hands towards the sky; after the prayer each member of the household was touched with it. The clothes of any absent member were also touched. The house itself is then touched, after which the bamboo stick is buried at the spot where the prayer was made. The sun was supposed to be the intermediary, and the supplication is always made when it was shining. There is also a belief in an individual god. Everyone has a god representing the high god. Whatever a man's position, his health and so on, the individual god is responsible.[1]

There appears to be a general practice of relegating the high

[1] A similar belief is held by the Eghâp in the Central Cameroon. Each person has an *mbop*, which is created specially by the high god (*Mbomvé*).

god to the background. Although there is a definite belief in deities and demons, they are rarely asked to restrain the activities of the spirits. It is nearly always from the ancestral ghosts that help is expected. It seems that a sense of fear plays the most important part in the religious, and gradually the idea of a beneficent deity is outweighed by the feeling that he is too far away.

God not All-Powerful

Wurm[1] says that "This one God, in whom all peoples believe, is thought of as a good God, but without control of the evil spirits that can injure man, so that men need not apply to Him for deliverance from these spirits, but must work out deliverance for themselves. Hence few sacrifices, or none, are offered to this one God." In the tribe of the coast this appears to be the case. For example, in the Cameroon there is a belief that no evil falling on man comes from the high god (*Loba*); it is caused by the evil spirits or wizards. In time the high god was forgotten and he was no longer approached.[2]

The tribes of the Cross River believe that there are numbers of demons who operate between *Obasi* and men. They are represented in the villages as carved wooden figures in human form, or else as elaborately carved masks. At the time of the new moon, offerings are made to these figures, on stone altars in the tribal meeting-houses, to the accompaniment of propitiatory prayers.

The home of the dead is considered to be under the earth. The Bakoko and Bakundu believe that the ghost of the dead takes nine days to reach its home. This time is occupied with numerous ceremonies, all designed to prevent its return. A goat must be offered at the grave in order that it may accompany the ghost, otherwise it would reappeai as a chimpanzee and roam the forest. Sometimes the dead may reappear, but they then have a white skin.

Death and Burial

As a rule the tribes of West Africa do not believe in a natural death. Death in nearly all cases is due to supernatural forces or sorcery. The power of the wizard is, therefore, very great, and in most of the tribes he is the most feared of all men. The trial by ordeal, so common in West Africa, is closely related to this belief.

The poison ordeal is practised by the Duala and the Bakwiri. Analogous practices are found among the tribes of Liberia, Togoland, the Yoruba and Dahomeians, the Tshi, on the Loango Coast, the

[1] Wurm, P., *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 94.
[2] Wurm, P., *Die Religion der Küstenstamme in Kamerun*, Basel, 1904.

Efik, the Bangala, the Bafiot, in San Salvador, and in Angola. In many cases it is doubtful whether the poison is potent, as it rests with the tribal wizard, who often renders it innocuous on payment of a sufficient bribe. Sometimes the ghost of a dead man is believed to accuse a man, who must drink the poison cup. This is, or was, the case in the Vey and Kuojas of Liberia. In Togoland the body is carried through the streets and the procession halts at the house of the accused. Bosman records a similar custom in the Gold Coast. The Bangala and the tribes in Benguela have similar beliefs.

A great number of the customs concerning mourning appear to be grounded on fear rather than grief. Sometimes, as in the case of the Efik, the corpse is taken from the house, and through a hole broken in the compound-fence, which is immediately repaired so that the ghost may be deceived.

The origin of many of the beliefs of the West African is shrouded in obscurity, but here and there one meets with remarkable features hinting at an external origin.

In several places there are customs which seem to have been derived from Egypt.

Egyptian Influences

Thomas,[1] discussing the burial of West African tribes in relation to Egypt, points out that there exist elements in the burial rites which seem to be of very diverse origins. These include rites exactly similar to those of ancient Egypt; others had them, but gave them up several centuries ago. "Side by side with these rites, but associated with them in a single complex, we find undisguised cannibalism, which we can perhaps explain as an intrusion of older tribal customs on the sphere of a borrowed rite." Again, there is the practice of burial in an underground chamber.

There are also human sacrifice, secondary burials and other forms which cannot be dealt with here.

Among the Ibibio and the Ibo tribes of Southern Nigeria the burial practices resemble those of ancient Egypt.[2] Talbot found that both these tribes had burial rites, including mummification. The body is buried in an underground chamber, and, in the case of the Ibibio, in some prominent spot near the town, arbour-like erections are raised as memorials, and furnished with the favourite property of the dead man. At the back or side of these is placed what we always called a little "*ka*" house, with window or door into the central chamber, provided as in ancient Egypt, for the abode of the dead man's *ka*, or double. Figures of the chief, with favourite wives and slaves, may also be seen—counterparts of the Ushabtiu. The obtrusive design in the funeral shrine—the snake and the sun—are also features which remind one of the Egyptian funerary decoration.

[1] Thomas, N. W., "Burial Rites of West Africa," *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, Pt. i., 7–13.
[2] Smith, G. Elliot, "On the Significance of the Geographical Distribution of Mummification," *Mem. and Proc. Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.*, lix., 1915, No. 10.

Elliot Smith is of opinion that the method of embalming is clearly Egyptian, " and untainted by African influences."

The practice of mummification is found over a widespread area. It is, or was, practised by the Mbaka, the Bangala, the Ibibio and Ibo, the Baule, the Asanti, in Sierra Leone, the Ata of Ida, the Jukun, the Kukuruku, and others. It does not come within the scope of the present paper to discuss the problem of Egyptian influence, because of the many complexes involved.

Disposal of the Dead

Amongst the tribes in the forest-belt of the Cameroon, the custom appears to be that the dead are buried in the earth—sometimes outside and sometimes inside huts. Amongst the *Fulbe*, the *Hausawa* and the *Kanuri*, all three tribes being Muhammadan, the custom is to bury the head in the hut. In many tribes this hut is not lived in, but, again, in others it is used as a dwelling-place. The *Bali* make a grave with a small side-chamber (niche) in which the corpse is laid. The *Paka* bury the dead in one common cemetery. Frobenius[1] has published some very interesting details concerning the preparations for the disposal of the dead in the North Cameroon. Amongst the *Komai*, the corpse of an old man or an old woman is laid on a clay bank in front of the hut door, where it remains until the following morning.

The Grave

The grave is dug about six feet deep by young men. The body is covered with two cloths and then laid in a side gallery in the grave in the extended position, the head to the west, the feet to the east. The gallery is then sealed with a heavy stone, after which the grave pit is filled in with sand and earth.

Amongst the *Bokko*, when a young man dies a bull is slaughtered and the head removed. The body is then skinned and the hide spread out on the ground. The body of the deceased is covered with a great cloth, after it has been placed in the kneeling position ; the palms of the hands are joined together in front of the knees. The corpse is made fast in this position, and then placed on its left side on the damp inner surface of the slaughtered bull's skin, into which it is sewn. It is then laid in a deep grave on the right or left side, with the head towards the south and the face in the direction of the setting sun. The mouth of the grave is sealed by means of a flat stone, with earth round the edges to make it water-tight.

Amongst the *Mandji*, the method of preparing the corpse is somewhat different from that just described. The corpse is placed in the sitting position with the hands between the knees. It is

[1] Frobenius, L.; *Und Afrika sprach*, vol. iii., 1912.

then bound fast with bands and sewn in the damp hide. This is placed on a clay bed near to a fire, where it dries for several days. When the hide is destroyed by the drying it is replaced by another. When the body is considered to have been sufficiently dried it is taken to the grave or vault with an inverted funnel-shaped opening. The shape of this grave is similar to that used by the *Margi*. In the vault are many bones of previous tribespeople. At the graveside the skin covering is cut at the back of the place where the head of the corpse is fastened, and the head is allowed to free itself. Then an iron hook is bored into the *foramen magnum* from below. A cord is attached to the iron hook and the corpse-ball is suspended in the vault ; the free end of the cord is fastened near by to a stone or tree. The vault opening is then sealed with a flat stone.

Amongst the *Durru*, when a man has died, the corpse is washed first of all. If the deceased was a person of high rank an incision is made, if a woman, on the left side, and if a man, on the right side, of the body. The entrails (*njae*) are then removed and buried in a hole behind the hut. The abdominal cavity is rubbed with leaves (*huote*) and the incision sewn up. The corpse is then laid in the extended position, the arms extended over the head with the palms of the hands together. In this position it is placed near a strong fire, and dried. The corpse of a woman dries for four days, that of a man for three days, in front of the fire. During this time the corpse is bound with cotton bands (*sampakke*). A deep grave is dug in the bush to the east of the hut, and the corpse is laid in it with the head and outstretched arms above the edge. The face is adjusted to look towards the setting sun. The grave is then filled in, and a pot is placed over the head and arms. This method of burial is for people of consequence only ; the ordinary corpses are buried in a long grave.

A Family Grave

The *Falli* prepare the corpse for burial in the crouching position, and it is then bound by cotton bands (*djalu*). It is taken to the grave (*verwesungsgrab*), and placed by the side of the remains of the corpses of the relatives of the deceased.

When the body has decomposed, the bones are removed, and reburied with the exception of the skull, which is placed in a skull-hut (*kulimaru*).

The *Dakka* wash the corpse and then smear it all over with red ochre (*kurri*). It is then placed in a contracted position and bound with cotton bands until it is a ball form. It is placed in a family grave with a side gallery, with the face towards the south. If the remains of the last corpse are in the gallery where the new corpse is to be laid, they are placed elsewhere. The skull is not removed as is the case among the *Falli*, *Namdji* and *Bokko*.

The *Chamba* shave the corpse after washing it. In the case of a man, a long, small, median, sagittal crest of hair is left on the head ;

for a woman a round patch is left on the occiput. The corpse of a man is smeared with red ochre, but this is not done in the case of a woman. The knees of the corpse are then drawn high up, and the left hand is placed under the left cheek and the right hand over the right cheek. The corpse is bound in this position by means of woven bands (*jergossa*). The grave is dug outside the town, and here the corpse is brought. It is placed, in the direction of the setting sun, in a gallery which leads from the pit. After some days the corpse is placed so that the left hand remains under the left cheek and the right hand is over the head.

The *Chamba* say, "If the corpse is not laid so that the right hand lies over the head, then the dead person cannot return as a child." The face is oriented to look towards the south. The grave is not filled in, for if this were done the deceased would not hear what is being said when offerings are made. The offerings at the grave include an axe (*burra*), a spear (*dinga*) and a knife (*jerra*). A flat stone is used to seal the mouth of the grave, and over it is a pointed, clay mound.

Amongst the *Baia*, when a chief dies his corpse is washed and then rubbed over with a red earth or wood. It is then placed on its back and an incision is made in the right side. The viscera (*jasawi*) are removed and placed in a pot of cold water, which is later on buried with the corpse. The body is then contracted so that the hands are placed on either side of the face. The head is inclined slightly to the left. The knees are drawn up to the breast. By the corpse, a fire is made, and for a space of nine days it is dried. A deep grave is dug south of the town. At the base a small chamber is constructed on the eastern side, and in this the corpse is laid on its left side, the face being oriented towards the south. Near the corpse is placed the jar containing the viscera. The opening of the pit is then sealed with a large pot which is streaked with earth.

When a man of the ordinary class dies the disposal of the corpse is somewhat different. The hands are placed in position on the buttocks and the knees drawn up to the breast. In this position the corpse is sewn in a mat (*indurru*), and it is then placed, with the head oriented to the south, in a side-chamber which is to the east of the grave pit.

Burial in the Northern Cameroon appears to be a family, and not a tribal, affair. When a young man dies there is a general mourning, but an old man's death is a cause for joy. Some tribal families use a "decomposing grave," from which the skull is taken in due course; in others it is removed from the body by various methods. In several instances the skulls of the ancestors are prayed to, and offerings are made for the purpose of causing their reincarnation.

Life after Death

The belief of existence after death is just as real to the West African as his existence here on earth. He believes that the dead

are able to visit him and he is able to visit the dead in the home of the dead. This belief is a real one to him, and plays a great part in his whole life, in fact, the transition from life to death is considered in much the same way as the transition from one condition of life to another. For this reason death is not regarded with terror; in some cases it appears that death is more in the nature of a state than an event. It is not a definite point of separation, but rather a phase in which man continues his ordinary life in another sphere.

A feature of the religion of several tribes is the uncertainty of the character of the home of the dead and its inhabitants. In many instances, even in the same tribe, there will be different ideas. There are, as a result, numerous inconsequences of thought and action.

For example, belief in the existence of a high god is held, but no one troubles about him; again, the ghosts of the ancestors depend on the gifts supplied by the living, yet they are supplicated as the givers of earthly goods. There are many curious contradictions to be found in the beliefs of these people.

Arabic Influences

In many cases the conception of the home of the dead is directly traceable to the Arabic. The Arabic word *al-g'annah* for "paradise," from *g'an* "to hide or conceal," is responsible for a great number of words amongst West African tribes.[1] Again, *sama*, "the heaven firmament, roof," is to be found in a large number of African languages, in one form or another.

The huts of the ghosts are small buildings, and often replace the pillars and bushes over graves, in which the ghosts are more at home. Frobenius considers that the most primitive type of masks are closely related to these ghost-huts.

Propitiation of the Ghost

The African may propitiate the tribal ghosts by means of elaborate ceremonial and feasting, or else they may be considered unwelcome, and in some tribes there is a ceremonial expulsion. The Efik have such a ceremony called *ndök*. The belief in *ekpo* used to be so strong that when a chief died not only his slaves, but also his treasures, were buried with him. The idea underlying this custom was, of course, to prevent his ghost returning to claim his possessions from the living. At the close of the year all the ghosts of the tribe are believed to return to the towns. Each family prepares sacrifices which are made in the night. The blood of goats and fowls, and broken eggs are sprinkled on sticks in the ground. About midnight, large fires are lighted by the women, and the men load

[1] Wiener, L., *op. cit.*

their guns. When a bird (*asasa*, or *ududu*) is heard singing, the guns are fired, the burning logs thrown into the yard, and all doors banged. The people cry out continually, "My dear mother, my dear father. Depart. Depart. Let me live long. I will make sacrifice to you in the coming year."

The relations between the ghosts and the living are more or less permanent, but the belief in the ability of the ghosts to help or harm is increased by reason of the mystery with which they are regarded.

We are now led to consider the influence of burial customs on the belief in ghosts and the home of the dead. Frazer says that "the attentions bestowed on the dead sprang not so much from the affections as from the fears of the survivors. For, as every one knows, ghosts of unburied dead haunt the earth, and make themselves exceedingly disagreeable, especially to their undutiful relatives."

Reincarnation

The belief in reincarnation is prevalent all over the area. The ghosts of the dead may reappear on earth by being reincarnated in children. The accounts available give little or no description of the method, but it seems that it is the portrait-soul which is reborn. For example, the *n'oli* of the Ewe is the portrait-soul, and also the name of the soul which is born in children.

Nassau says that the natives of the coast between the Ogowe and Sanaga all believe in reincarnation.

> The dead, some of them, return to be born again, either into their own family or into any other family, or even into a beast. When these return, or why they return, is entirely uncertain. Certainly not all are thus born again. Those who in this present life had been good or prominent or rich remain in the spirit-world, and constitute the special class of spirits called "*awiri*" (singular, "*ombwiri*"). Here we have a psychological basis for this belief. Those people, by reason of their position and power, are not forgotten quickly, and therefore remain in the home of the dead. Those who have not been prominent in the tribal life are reborn.

Each of the tribes of the Cross River is considered to have its own stock of ghosts in *Obio ekpo* (home of the dead).

The length of time a ghost remains here varies considerably; sometimes it is reborn at once into its own family, at other times it may be reborn into another tribe. If a ghost does not wish to remain in its own tribe it approaches the ghost of a neighbouring tribe, and is taught the tribal customs, language, etc. All this time it is under the protection of the new tribe until the time comes for it to be reborn. Occasionally a male may be reborn as a female.

Thomas, referring to the *kra*, the "double, or human representative of the genius," of the Gold Coast native, says:

In view of the widespread Egyptian influence traceable in reincarnation beliefs, no less than in burial rites, this word seems to be referable to the Egyptian *ka*. There is a common suffix *li* of uncertain meaning, which often assimilates its vowel to that of the root; the root vowel is not infrequently dropped, and it is therefore clear that *kra* is a regularly formed derivative of *ka*.[1]

Again, there is the Kisi custom of placing statuettes on the grave, representative of the dead man.

The Soul

An examination of the various beliefs as to the nature of the soul leads us to conclude that there is a general idea of a multiple or plural soul. Each man has incorporated in himself a power which disappears at death. It is a double, rendered visible as the shadow, and which exists after death. Ankermann[2] differentiates between two entities for the soul; the first being the embodied living principle, which corresponds to one idea of the soul, and the second a portrait-soul. The embodied or "Life Soul" is very often denoted by words meaning heart or breath. The portrait-soul includes the shadow, likeness, image or drawing of a man. It is also considered to be the memory portrait that remains in the mind of the living.

This belief that a man may be constituted of a number of incorporeal elements, one of which may be a double, is well known in Africa. If space permitted, a great number of examples could be quoted, so I will refer to a few of the more striking.

The Bambala,[3] the chief sub-tribe of the Bushongo, consider that "man is composed of four parts; the body, *lo*; the double, *ilo*; the soul, *n'shanga*; and the shadow, *lumelume*. The eastern Bushongo (Bangongo and Bangendi) designate the body, *modyo*; the mind, *mophuphu*; the double, *ido*; and the shadow, *edidingi*. The dying breath is also called *mophuphu*. Thus, when the *mophuphu*, *ido* and *edidingi* leave a living man he dies. The *n'shanga* and *mophuphu* appear to correspond to the breath-soul. *N'shanga* is reborn as a child, and may remember things known alone to the former owner of the soul. Reference is also made to a *fantôme ordinaire* (*moesi*), and the ghosts of evil men (*moendwa* and *moena*)."

The Basongo Meno believe that a man has a soul called *osangudi*, a term which also denotes god. After death this entity is reborn. The ghosts of the dead are called *edimo*.

[1] Thomas, N. W., *op. cit.*
[2] Ankermann, B., "Totenkult und Seelenglaube bei afrikanischen Völkern," *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1918, 128.
[3] Torday, E., and Joyce, T. A., "Les Bushongo," *Ann. du Mus. du Congo*, iii., 1910.

Body, Soul and Double

Torday and Joyce furnish rather fuller details of the beliefs held by the Ba-Huana,[1] who inhabit the Kwilu, an affluent of the Kasai. A man consists of a body, a soul (*bun*, i.e. heart) and the double (*doshi*). The *doshi* is in the form of a shadowy second self; it can leave the body in sleep and may visit people in dreams. The *doshi* of the dead may appear to the living in a like manner. "All people have *doshi*, but only the adults have *bun*. . . . Animals have *doshi* but not *bun*. At death the *bun* disappears, no one knows whither; but the *doshi* lingers about in the air, visits its friends and haunts its enemies; it will persecute the relations if the body has not received proper burial."

Ankermann,[2] in his analysis, considers that *bun* would be less the embodied soul, rather the intelligence. The evil ghosts are called *Moloki or Molosh*, probably related with *doshi*.

The beliefs of the Ba-Huana are shared by the Batetala and Bankutu.[3] The former believe that a man is composed of two spiritual elements; a shadowy double (Sungu, *oloki*; Olemba, *do*), and a soul (Sungu, *idimu*,) which also means heart. The body is called *dimba* by the Sungu.

The *oloki* or *do* is invisible, may leave the body, or appear in dreams. The *idimu* remains with the body during life, and leaves it only at death. All human beings have souls which are held to be indestructible. Animals and plants do not possess them. The *idimu* of unburied dead, or of a deceased chief, may appear in dreams. "Homeless *idimu* remain in the air and haunt the neighbourhood of the village. It is to provide accommodation for the *idimu* that small huts are built over graves, and a clever device to keep them from wandering at night is to kindle small fires in the huts, for, if this is done, the *idimu* will remain there and warm themselves instead of ranging over the fields."

Reason for Cannibalism

The Bankutu refer to two elements; the soul, *edimo*, and a shadow, *jinjingi*. The former is reborn in the first child which may be born to the sister of the deceased after his death. Seligman compares the *edimo* with the Sungu *idimu*, and the Olemba *ejimo*. The continued existence of the *edimo* appears to be "in some way bound up with the reception of proper burial, since dead slaves are always eaten, but never buried. The reason given for this is that the soul of a slave who has been buried might return and kill the master in revenge for past injuries, whereas if the body had been eaten he could not have done so."

[1] Torday, E., and Joyce, T. A., "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana," *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxvi., 1906.
[2] *op. cit.*, 107.
[3] Seligman, C. G., "Multiple Souls in Negro Africa," *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, Pt. iii. 105–6.

The Bambala,[1] inhabiting the area between Inzia and Kwilu, recognize at least two immaterial elements. The Bambala and Babunda connect the embodied soul with the heart (*mityima*) and liver (*m'tim*) respectively. Another element is believed to be a sort of double which is capable of leaving the body at various times.

Among the Bangala the soul is sometimes called *elimo*,[2] and sometimes *elilingi* or *elili*,[3] the two terms being apparently interchangeable. The first leaves the body during sleep or unconsciousness; at death it leaves through the nose and mouth. The *elilingi* signifies shadow, the likeness in water or a mirror, or any representation. The two words are used frequently to denote the soul, and also the shadow. The *elimo* is never used in connection with the shadow of a tree, house, animal, etc. The dead do not possess a shadow. After death the *elimo* becomes *mongoli*.

The Bakongo,[4] together with neighbouring tribes of the lower Congo, say that a man is composer of the body (*nito*), life (*moyo*), and ghost or soul (*mwanda*). The *mwanda* may leave the body in dreams, but the *moyo* remains. Animals and trees have *moyo* only, but a certain tree, the bark of which is used in the poison ordeal, and also tame dogs and pigs, are said to have *mwanda*. Ankermann points out that *mwanda* can be not only the shadow soul, but may be associated with a secret power, as evidenced by the fact that the *nkasa* tree is said to have this element. According to Bentley,[5] the word for life, spirit, soul, mind or heart is *moyo*; breath, soul, spirit, *mwanda*; and for ghost, sprite, fiend, demon, evil spirit, *nkwiya* or *nkwiyi*. Synonyms for spirit, ghost, sprite, demon or fiend are *etombola* and *kiniumba*. The *moyo* (heart) appears to be a like expression with *mwanda* (breath) to designate the life principle. The element *kiniumba* appears to be related to *kini* (shadow).

The Bavili[6] say that a man is composed of the *ximbindi*, or "revenant," which is visible and stays in a house after death, and then dwells in the bush; the *xidundu*, or shadow; the *nkulu*, "soul," the "guiding voice of the dead"; and the *xilunzi* or *ndunzi*, the "intelligence," which dies with the man.

According to Pechuel-Loesche,[7] in a man there are two kinds of life: "einmal das körperliche, die pulsierende Lebendigkeit—*moyo*, sodann das Leben, das geistige Leben, die Dauer, das Sein—*lusingu*." The man, when dead, is composed of the corpse (*tshivimbu*), and of the ghost (*nitu, nyitu*).

[1] Torday, E., and Joyce, T. A., "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala," *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, XXXV., 1905, 398–426.
[2] Weeks, J. H., *Among Congo Cannibals*, 1913, 262.
[3] Cambier, quoted by van Overbergh, "Les Bangala," *Coll. Mon. Eth. Brux.*, 1907, 278.
[4] Weeks, J. H., *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, 1914, 283.
[5] Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, 1887.
[6] Dennett, R. E., *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, 1906, 79–82.
[7] *op. cit.*, 297 ff.

This latter form, not the *moyo*, but the *lusingu*, is the intangible part of a man. It is his nature, his whole existence (*lupangula*), of which the soul is only a part. It thus appears that the Bavili recognize two definite elements—*moyo* and *lusingu*.

It is probable that the Bavili recognize a part of *lusingu* as the shadow soul, and this element becomes the ghost of the dead (*tuhinyembu*). Pechuel-Loesche says, " mit Bavumbi sind die Toten allesamt, ist alles gemeint, was vom Leibe gelöst, sich in zweiter Lebensform herumtreibt. *Tschinimba* und *tschinyemba* heisst die Seele schlechtin, *tschimbinda* die Seele, die in Erscheinung tritt, und *tschindele*, die, die hellhäutig und manchmal als neuer Mensch wiederkehrt."

Plural Souls

The Bantu tribes of the West Coast, from the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Ogowe to the Sanaga, appear to have a belief in a plural soul. Nassau[1] says that there is some confusion in the minds of the native " as to who and what, or even how many, of these souls are in one human being. Sometimes the native will say, ' I am one, and my soul is also myself. When I die it goes out somewhere else ' ; and others believe in two things—' one is a thing that becomes a spirit when I die, the other is the spirit of the body and dies with it.' "

In another place the name for the human embodied soul is called *mina* (Mpongwe) or *ilina* (Benga). Nassau says :

> This animating soul, whether it be only one, or whether it appear in two, three, or even four forms, is practically the same, that talks, hears and feels, that sometimes goes out of the body in a dream, and that exists as a spirit after the death of the body. That it has its own especial materiality seems to be indicated by the fact that, in the Fang, Bakele and other tribes, the same word, *nsisim*, means not only soul, but also shadow. The shadow of a tree, or any other inanimate object, and of the human body, as cast by the sun, is *nsisim*.

The Mpongwe have several names for the ghosts of the dead. For the " disembodied spirit the word is *nkuku* ; for ghost the general term is *ibambo*; for the family or guardian ghost, *ombwiri* ; the ghost of an ordinary man is *nkinda*, and that of a stranger *oldgâ*."

The Fang differentiate between two entities, one which Tessman[2] calls the " Seelenmaterie " and the other the " Seelenwesen." The latter (*nsisim*) is embodied, and exists for a short time after death.

The soul proper then goes to the high god. The *nsisim* is a component of all the powers of the soul, and is recognized by the actions of the will. After death the soul is called *kun*, a term also used for the dead.

[1] *op. cit.*, 999. [2] Tessmann, G., *Die Pangwe*, Bd. ii.

Largeau[1] gives the names for the soul (life-principle) as *nzisim* (shadow) and refers to it as a kind of shadow-soul. The word *kon* is used for malevolent ghost, apparition or spectre.

Trilles[2] refers to three souls. The first is the life-principle, which accompanies the soul proper at all times. It is independent, and the soul may separate itself from it when it wishes.

The second soul is the "l'âme agissante," and deals with the acts of reasoning and breathing. It is embodied in the shadow.

The third soul is the conscious soul ("l'âme consciente"), and dictates the actions, both good and those to be avoided, but cannot fulfil them.

According to *Nekes*,[3] the Yaunde believe that the word for shadow (*nsisim*) is also used for soul or ghost. He says that at death the *mot* (being) is transformed into a *kon*, an entity both human-like and with a shadow; the body (*nyol mot*) is now called a corpse (*mbim*).

Among the neighbouring Bulu the belief is that some days after an interment a cord comes from *Zobe nya Mebe'e* which reaches the grave. The shadow of the dead man climbs up the cord and goes to *Zobe nya Mebe'e*. The body (*nyul*), which remains in the grave, is the ghost (of the dead, *kon*). The shadow is good, the ghost bad, and plagues the tribespeople.

As regards the Ibo tribes, Parkinson[4] writes that "Everyone is considered to be created in duplicate, and the representative or, as it were, the reflection in the spirit world of the body and of its possessions is the *chi* and its possessions. Besides the *chi* and *aka* (a subordinate spirit), each man has an embodied spirit, called *mon*, entirely distinct from his *chi*. *Mon* is a generic term for spirits. Each individual also possesses an *ikenya*, or personal god of good luck."

Leonard[5] refers to the embodied soul as *nkulobe*. This appears to correspond to the *nkpolobi* referred to by Thomas,[6] and the *unkpuru obi* by Parkinson.

Leonard says that the Ibo believe that in every man there is a soul, called *nkulobe*, and that without this soul a man will die.

The tribes of the Gold and the Slave Coasts have a belief that all things, both living and inanimate, have two individualities, one tangible and one intangible.

[1] Largeau, *Encyclopédie Pahouine*, Paris, 1901.
[2] Trilles, *Le Totémisme chez les Fân*, Münster, 1912.
[3] Nekes, "Totemistische manistische Anschauungen der Jaunde," *Kol. Rundsch.*, 1913, 134 ff.
[4] Parkinson, J., "On the Asaba People of the Niger," *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxvi., 312–14.
[5] Leonard, A. G., *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, 1906.
[6] Thomas, N. W., *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, Pt. ii., Dictionary, 1913.

The latter is considered to be composed of two entities, one an indwelling soul and one an outward, visible shape.

The Tshi believe that everything has a *kra*, or indwelling soul. It protects a man, and looks after him in life. It enters him at birth, and quits him at death, when it becomes *sisa*. The *kra* is able to leave the body in dreams. The shadow, or "ghost-man," is called *srahman*. When seen near the corpse it is clothed in a white cloth. It is the *srahman* which goes to the home of the dead, not the *kra*. In other words, the man is enabled to continue his existence in a shadowy or ghost form. Among the Ewe, the *kra* is called *luwo*, and the *srahman*, *edsieto*. Both the *srahman* and *edsieto* may be reborn in children.[1]

Three Kinds of Ghosts

Osaman is the word given by Christaller[2] for "departed spirit, ghost, goblin, spectre, apparition, skeleton of a man. There are three kinds of ghosts: (1) those who were killed in warfare or accident; (2) common ghosts; (3) lingering ghosts. The last are not admitted to the home of the dead, but linger about behind dwellings. The ghosts of men who were killed do not associate with the others, but wander about wearing white clothes and rubbed with white clay. They are fearless, and do not flee when they see a man, whilst the others flee from him." This idea also corresponds to the Muhammadan belief of the fate of the ghosts of the faithful.

According to Beecham,[3] the soul was like the wind, and Westermann[4] records the word *hun'hum* for breath.

Wiener, discussing the philological evidence, comes to the conclusion that Asante *kara* (soul) exists before birth, and may be the "soul or spirit of a relation or other person already dead that is in heaven or with God, and obtains leave to come again into this world; when he is thus *dismissed* in heaven, he takes with him his *errand*, i.e., his *destination* or *future fate* is fixed beforehand. . . . In life the *kara* is considered partly as the *soul* or *spirit* of a person, partly as a separate being, distinct from the person, who protects him, gives him good or bad advice, causes his undertakings to prosper, or slights and neglects him, and, therefore, in the case of prosperity, receive thanks and thank-offerings like a fetish." In Accra[5] the word for "ghost, spirit, soul, demon, genius, etc., is *kla* or *okla*." It appears to have the same properties as the Asante *kara*, being partly soul, and partly "as a being apart, of and without him, who protects him, gives him good or bad advice, etc., receives thanks and thank-offerings as a fetish."[6]

[1] Ellis, A. B., *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887; *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, 1890.
[2] Christaller, *A Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language called Tshi*, Basel, 1881.
[3] Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, 1841, 180.
[4] Westermann, "Uber den Begriff Seele Geist Schicksal bei den Ewe und Tschivolk," *Arch. Religionswissensch*, viii., 1905, 113.
[5] Wiener, *op. cit.*, 164.
[6] Zimmermann, J., *A Grammatical Sketch of the Akra or Gã Language*, Stuttgart, 1858, ii., 151.

" The Gã-speaking tribes, situated geographically between the Tshi and Ewe tribes . . . assign to each individual two indwelling spirits, called *kla*, one male and one female, the former being of a bad and the latter of a good disposition."

" Each *kla*, like the *kra* and *luwo*, is a guardian spirit, but . . . they give good and bad advice, and prompt good or bad actions, according to their respective dispositions. The Yoruba[1] hold . . . that each man has three spiritual inmates, the first of whom, *olori*, dwells in the head; the second, *ipin ijeun*, in the stomach, and the third, *ipori*, in the great toe." The *olori* is apparently the same as the *kra* or *luwo*, and brings good fortune. " The ghost-man, or soul, the ' vehicle of individual personal existence,' is called *iwin*, or *okan*, but the latter also means ' heart.' "

Another entity is *ojiji*, which refers to ghost, shade or shadow. After death the " ghost-man " goes to the home of the dead, where he continues his existence as on earth.

Fourfold Soul

As regards the external or animal soul, there is the well-known belief of the Efik of Southern Nigeria. According to Miss Kingsley,[2] the belief is that every person is endowed with four distinct souls,[3] one of which is external and dwells in wild-beast form. This external soul may only exist in any wild animal, but never in one domesticated or in a plant.

Concerning the Efik belief in the external soul, Goldie says that[4] the " *ukpong* is the native word we have taken to translate our word ' soul.' It primarily signifies the shadow of a person. It also signifies that which dwells within a man, on which his life depends, but which may detach itself from the body, and, visiting places here and there, again return to its abode in the man. Besides all this, the word is used to designate an animal possessed of an *ukpong*, so connected with a person's *ukpong*, so they mutually act upon each other. When the leopard or crocodile or whatever animal may be a man's *ukpong* gets sick or dies, the like thing happens to him. Many individuals, it is believed, have the power of changing into the animals which are their *ukpong*."

It is possible for a man to have more than one animal *ukpön*; but this is not common, except in the case of chiefs. Bush souls may also be inherited.[5]

[1] Ellis, A. B., *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, 1894, 124 ff.

[2] Kingsley, M. (Miss), *Travels in West Africa*, 1897, 459–61.

[3] Ankermann (*op. cit.*, 112) does not consider that the Efik have four souls. He says, " Ich halte diese Teilung für irrtümlich und verweise demgegenüber auf die zitierte Bemerkung Nassaus über die verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen der Seele; die erste, dritte und vierte Seele Miss Kingsleys sind jedenfalls eine und dasselbe."

[4] Goldie, H., *Calabar and its Mission*, 1901, 51.

[5] Malcolm, L. W. G., " Short Notes on Soul-trapping in Southern Nigeria," *Journ. Amer. Folklore*, xxxv., 1922, 219–22.

Soul Purchase

An *ukpön* may be purchased, but in no case may a man have more than one inherited and one purchased *ukpön*. To purchase an *ukpön* the wizard is approached, and informed of the man's desire, and on the payment of a heavy sum of money this desire is generally gratified. It may be used to make a man strong or rich, or to harm a rival or enemy. For example, the owner of a large flock of sheep or goats is envied by a neighbour, who purchases a leopard *ukpön*, which will result in the real animal destroying them. In this way the power of the purchased *ukpön* may be stronger than that of the inherited one, because it can be chosen for a definite purpose. If a man enjoys good or indifferent health, if he is poor or rich, it is all the result of his having a corresponding *ukpön*. The inherited *ukpön* may die; and in this case the man will weaken, but not die. If the purchased *ukpön* dies, then the man will weaken and die.

Transferable Souls

The animal *ukpön* is transferable. If a man has a bush-cat (*ikiko*) *ukpön* and it is trapped, "medicine" is made in order that the trapper may become forgetful. If the actual animal dies, then its *ukpön* may be transferred to some other animal. I was unable to find out what are the beliefs concerning the duality of the *ukpön* in animals.

Frazer[1] says that when a man dies, then the animal which contains his external soul "becomes insensible and quite unconscious of the approach of danger. Thus a hunter can capture or kill him with ease."

It is believed that everything, both animate and inanimate, is endowed with an *ukpön*.

The explanation of the Efik belief in the bush soul is somewhat difficult to understand. Frazer[2] says that here we seem to have something like the personal totem "on its way to become hereditary, and so grow into the totem of a clan."

Ankermann[3] considers that the evidence at present is insufficient, but that there appear to be traces of sex totemism. Further, if, as Frazer thinks, from information supplied by Mr. Henshaw, a man may only marry a woman with the same sort of bush-soul, then here we have an example of totemic endogamy.

Ancestor Worship

The continuance and active power of the departed is believed by most West African tribes.

[1] Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, "Balder the Beautiful," ii., 1913, 205–6.
[2] *op. cit.*, 222 (note). [3] *op. cit.*

The attitude of the living towards the ghosts of the ancestors is one of reverence and propitiation. Once they are in the home of the dead, the ghosts are credited with supra-normal powers.

In the ancestor-worship there are two conditions which are apparent. The ghosts are propitiated and asked to provide for the material welfare of the family or tribe. On the other hand, the position of the ghosts in the home of the dead is dependent on the prosperity and position of the living. In some tribes there is a real fear amongst the childless, because they will have no one to give them offerings, etc., when they are dead. The success of the belief in the ancestor-cult is bound up with the idea that one's own material welfare is dependent on it. Failure to honour and propitiate the tribal ancestral ghosts may bring disaster.

We find the cult especially strong where the food supply is somewhat precarious, as in the grassland area of the Cameroon. The basis of the worship of the ancestral ghosts appears to be grounded, not in reverence, but fear.

The tribal ancestors are usually represented by means of wooden figures, some of which are carved in a fantastic and grotesque manner. Frobenius[1] considers the gable-pillar (*Giebelpfahl*) as being an important element in the Malayo-Nigritic culture. The skulls of fallen enemies were hung on the posts; and they were also the carriers of the animal representations of totemistic clans. At the place where these posts are set in the ground the dead are buried, and the ghosts take up their habitations in them. A mask of the dead man was then set up on the post as a memorial. Germann[2] considers that the posts in the grassland area of the Cameroon have lost their original meaning. The posts now decorate the doorways of huts.

Carved wooden masks are worn during the numerous ancestor-cult ceremonies of the Cameroon tribes. These may be either human or animal faces. The secret societies so common on the coast also use masks, but not so much in dances performed in connection with the dead.

Representations of animals and reptiles (buffalo, antelope, elephant, etc.) are common objects used by the West Africans in their religious worship. The leopard, as well as the crocodile and snake, is especially venerated on the coast, but not so much in the interior. Birds are mostly represented as "birds of the dead," and lead the way between earth and the home of the dead. The animal cult of the interior appears to be a relic of totemism, which may be found in other parts of the Western Sudan.

In the grassland area of the Cameroon, where the ancestor-cult is strongly in evidence, there are numerous pillars and figures

[1] Frobenius, L., *Ursprung der Kultur*, i., 330.

[2] Germann, P., "Plastisch-figürliche Kunstgewerbe in Graslande von Kamerun." *Jahrb. d. stadt. Mus. zu Leipzig*, iv., 1910.

carved in wood, which appear to be associated with the cult. Germann, who has made a study of the plastic art of the area, considers that the human figures and pillars are typical ancestral forms.

The agricultural tribes of the Cameroon consider that the ancestor-cult and agriculture are closely connected, and at the times of sowing and harvest there are a series of " ceremonies."[1]

Skull Worship

In certain parts of the West African area the skull-cult is well developed. The general belief is that the ghost of the dead dwells in the skull. The body is usually buried, whilst the skull is set apart either in a hut or hung on poles, etc. Sacred trees and fences shelter the bodies of the dead in the coastal area. The tree is considered to be the dwelling-place of the ghosts. If a twig is broken off there is no break of relationship with the ghost. In the same way posts or pillars are set up in the villages and fields to protect the inhabitants and crops. In many places the posts are surmounted by skulls, and these are then endowed with a double power.

There are also customs associated with the removal of the head of a corpse, either before or after burial. The skull may be deposited in a sacred grave, or put in a sacred hut, or else placed in the possession of a chief.

Associated with the skull-cult is the custom of head-hunting.

The best available information concerning skull-cult has been that published by Frobenius concerning the tribes of North Adamawa.[2] Some of the tribes take the corpses to a " decomposing grave " and wait until the body disintegrates, and the skull is then removed. Others remove the heads from the bodies and place them in a skull-hut with those of relatives. At certain times ceremonies are performed and offerings made to these skulls.

A Prayer to a Grandfather

Frobenius says : " Dort verkehrt der *Pater familias* mit den Schädeln im jährlichen Opfergebet gleichwie mit lebenden Menschen. Die patriarchalische Sippe erhofft und nimmt an, dass der Tote möglichst bald in seiner Familie sich widergebären lassen wird. . . ."

The ghosts of the ancestors are supplicated to return. A typical *Mandara* request is : " Grandfather, I implore you to return again. You have been away a long time, and we have very few young people. My son has married a young wife who is very strong. She wishes to have children. I have seen how you have cared for the children of your

[1] Malcolm, L. W. G., " The Ancestor Cult Ceremonies of the Eghâp," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* To be published.

[2] Frobenius, L., *Und Afrika sprach*, iii.

brother. She has a good breast and will give you plenty of milk. I pray you to come again in this young wife, so that my son may have strong children, and that he and I will not have to work any more on the farms."

When such tribes make offerings to the skulls of ancestors, the custom is that, before the prayer is made, sorghum meal is mixed with water and poured on the skull. After the request, the young wife must remove the meal and then rub it on her body. This is done in the belief that the ancestral ghost will enter her body and be reborn in the family. Frobenius refers to the belief that only old men can be reborn, and not young ones.

Graveside Feasts

Amongst the *Komai*, after the corpse has been buried the friends and relatives visit the grave carrying with them bundles of sorghum. At the graveside all these are joined together. The heir of the deceased brews beer (*sao*). Seven days after the burial the family of the deceased and their friends assemble to take part in a feast (*gailifa*). Food and drink are provided, in which all present participate. There is no dancing at this feast.

What use is made of the skulls of ancestors in the Komai religion is not quite certain.

About a year after a burial the *Bokko* reopen the grave by pushing the covering-stone to one side. The hide in which the corpse had been enclosed is opened and the skull removed. This is taken to the hut and cleaned. It is then placed in a small hut (*nahurga*), in which are the bull-roarers, or the voices of the ancestral ghosts.

In earlier times it was the custom to break the skull so that a cup was made of the cranial vault, and beer was offered to the skull when a girl was married into the family. When this was done the father went to the small hut and called the girl, who brought some sorghum meal and water. These the father mixed in the skull-cup and then splashed the mixture on the girl's breast.

At the same time the skull was addressed: "Thou old father, thou hast been dead for a long time. I was born before you died. I have now a daughter. She is yet without a child, although she is married. Thou, old father, give the girl a child." The father then spat once in the mixture in the skull-cup and splashed it over the girl's body. In some of the families the girl also eats some of the mixture. At the present day the skulls are not broken, but the meal is rubbed on to the skull; otherwise the procedure is the same. The girl conceived, and in due time a child is born. This child is believed to be the reincarnation of the ancestor to whom the offerings were made. If the supplications are of no avail, then the girl takes

a fowl, which is offered to the bull-roarer. There seems to be some connection between the skull-cult and the use of the bull-roarer.

Amongst the *Namdji*, the corpse is visited every few days and the string is shaken, so that it swings more or less continuously, suspended from the iron hook through the *foramen magnum*. After two or three months, when the body is disintegrated, the skull is taken out and the iron hook removed from it. The skull is then taken to the hut and a sorghum beer is offered to it, after which it is cleaned and coloured red. It is then placed in a covered jar and taken to a cave in the mountains, where each family has its own. In this respect the *Namdji* do not follow the custom of the *Falli*, *Bokko*, *Durru*, and *Djen*, who keep the ancestral skulls in the village.

When a girl has been married she goes to the place where the skull jars are arranged in rows. The father, after preparing a meal mixture, goes to that of the direct ancestor of the girl, and taking off the lid, says: "I pray you, *Beto* (god), because this girl is now married give her a child." The man spits on the skull and the ceremony is over. The girl is not, as in the case of the *Bokko*, pasted on the body with the meal mixture. After the birth of a child it is believed that the ancestor has been reincarnated, and so its name is given to it.

Amongst the *Durru*, after the burial of the corpse the smith removes the head and encloses it in some leaves. The family of the deceased, called together by the smith, view the removal of the head. The skull is then addressed by the smith as follows: "Your time has come. You have a son, and he is now *Djab*. Come and see that all is going well. Come where the others are." The skull is cleaned and then laid in a calabash and taken home. Here it is cleaned again and painted with red lines. It is finally placed in a hut where the skulls of the ancestors are arranged in rows. Every year when the sorghum is ripe, but not cut, the smith offers a red cock to the skulls, allowing the blood to flow over them.

Frobenius correlates the ancestral skulls of the *Djab* with the wooden figures of the *Dakka-Tshamba*. The skull custom, however, is shared by the *Bokko*, *Namdji*, *Falli*, *Werre*, tribes on the Benué valley, the *Djenn* and the *Tangala*.

After the decomposition of a corpse the *Falli* remove the skull from the grave and clean it, after which it is taken to a hut. Here all the skulls of a family's ancestors are kept in a covered jar. On the outside, iron bull-roarers are kept. Before a girl is married she is taken by her father to the skull-hut. Beer is poured on the skull of one of her ancestors, and the father requests that the girl may bear children. It is believed that a child, when born, is the reincarnation of one of her ancestors. The name of this ancestor

is given to the child when it can walk, or when it is between two and three years old.

The *Dakka* place the skull of an ancestor in a central place in the town. Frobenius says: "Man hebt nicht, wie bei den Splitterstämmen der Mittellinie (*Falli, Namdji, Bokko*) die Schädel in einem Mausoleum auf, sondern man verscharrt sie an einer beliebigen Stelle des Kirchhofes, ohne ihnen weitere Beachtung zu schenken."

A Ghost's Feast

A characteristic feature of the religion of some tribes is the feast for the ghosts of the dead. The time at which the feasts are held varies considerably, but in some places there is a regular period observed for this purpose.

It has been noted that certain periodic rest days are observed as Sabbaths by many West African tribes. We find that particular days of the week are assigned to the gods worshipped by different classes of the community.[1] In the Guinea region the market-day nearly always coincides with the day of rest observed by the entire community. In many cases it is consecrated to a god.

The same practice prevails in respect to the holy days of individuals, families, towns and particular classes of the community. This extensive development of Sabbatarian regulations appears to be peculiar to West Africa.

It appears that the Gold Coast tribes hold a general commemorative festival towards the end of August.[2] There is also a ceremony of demon riddance.

Exorcism

According to the diary of the late Rev. John Martin,[3] the annual custom of driving the evil spirit, "*Abonsam*," out of the town took place on the 8th of October, 1844.

As soon as the eight-o'clock gun was fired in the fort the people began firing muskets in their houses, turning all their furniture out of doors, beating about in every corner of the room with sticks, &c., and screaming as loudly as possible, in order to frighten the devil. Being driven out of the houses, as they imagine, they sallied forth into the streets, throwing lighted torches about, shouting, screaming, beating sticks together, rattling old pans, making the most horrid noise, in order to drive him out of the town into the sea. The custom is preceded by four weeks' dead silence; no gun is allowed to be fired, no drum to be beaten, no palaver to be made between man and man. If, during these weeks, two natives should disagree and make a noise

[1] Webster, H., *Rest Days*, 1916, 113.
[2] Ellis, A. B., *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 227 ff.
[3] Tremearne, A. J. N., "Extracts from Diary of the late Rev. John Martin, Wesleyan Missionary in West Africa, 1843–8," *Man*, xii.

in the town they are immediately taken before the king and fined heavily. If a dog or pig, sheep or goat be found at large in the street it may be killed, or taken by anyone, the former owner not being allowed to demand any compensation. This silence is designed to deceive Abonsam, that, being off his guard, he may be taken by surprise, and frightened out of the place. If anyone die during the silence his relatives are not allowed to weep until the four weeks have been completed.

The Yoruba also celebrate a festival every June, which lasts seven days. It is held in honour of Enungun, who is supposed to have returned from the dead, and after whom a powerful secret society had been named.

Webster[1] says that since in West Africa, as in other parts of the world, secret societies are intimately related to the cult of the dead, it may be that the tabooed days, observed when these organizations hold their ceremonies, were once connected with feasts of the dead for the expulsion of ghosts. For example, the *egbo* society of the Efik forces all business, etc., to be suspended when it visits the town; the time which the society occupies the town varies from one to three days.

A Religion of Fear

The dominating feature of the religion of many West African tribes appears to be fear. The more they fear the ancestral ghosts and demons, the less they fear the power of the high god.

The everyday life of the negro is bound up with this idea. At all stages of their existence, at harvesting, hut-building, war, etc., they have in mind the worship of ghosts and spirits. They are propitiated on all conceivable occasions, hence the numerous feasts, sacrifices and ceremonies.

The time taken by some tribes for their ceremonies is considerable. For example, I witnessed the series of ancestor-cult ceremonies by a tribe in the Cameroon which lasted for six months. At intervals the normal life of the tribe was dislocated for days at a time—and some of the celebrants dropped all work for months.

Perhaps the best definition which would cover the main features in the religion of the West African is that recorded by Zimmermann.[2]

The high god is supreme, being the creator of heaven and earth, and all that is in them; the minor or subsidiary deities to whom he has delegated power over the world, demons, etc., are the heavenly bodies, natural features of the earth (trees, water) and the many varieties of so-called fetishes. There are some such common to all (earth, sea), or to a part of men (rivers, etc.), to a tribe, a town, a family, single person; a person may possess a fetish or demon to be possessed of one. Besides, there are innumerable things holy to,

[1] Webster, H., *Primitive Secret Societies*, 1908, 108 ff. [2] *op. cit.*, 337.

or belonging to, or made effectual by, a fetish, as cords, to be tied about the body or house ; teeth, chains, rings, etc., worn, and the like.

Reference has been made to the many diversities as revealed in the religion of the tribes of West Africa. It will be found that in areas which are classed as homogeneous there are different cultural beliefs. With regard to the word tribe, one finds that it does not refer to a people possessing political cohesion, and this increases our difficulties. Very often there is no common language. What is needed is a systematic and intensive study of the various areas, not only of material cultures, but, as Rivers[1] insists, the study of social and also religious organization is of fundamental importance, if we are to analyse culture-complexes and obtain an index of racial admixture.

[1] Rivers, W. H. R., Presidential Address to Section H, *Rept. Brit. Assoc.*, Portsmouth, 1911, 490 ; *Nature*, lxxxvii., 1911, 356.

PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGIONS

Introductory Note

By the Editor

IN this section the endeavour was to combine a popular appeal with something of scientific order and precision. While the papers of the religious sections were intended to be essentially descriptive, the aim of the scientific papers was to secure an insight into religious origins and issues. Interpretation of the religious process rather than a description of special cults was, therefore, the end in view. The outlook of these scientific papers, though ranging within the field of Comparative Religion, concerned itself rather with ulterior questions than with forms of worship and doctrine. What, for example, are the deep and perennial sources of the religious life? What, in its essence, is the religious process, and how does it work amongst primitive peoples and in civilized communities? In what characteristic ways does the religious life interplay with other aspects (economic and political, moral, intellectual and æsthetic) of human activity? What are the main types of religion, and whither run their tendencies throughout pre-history and history? What can be said as to the rank, scope and purpose of religion in the evolution of humanity? These are some of the larger enigmas that lie at the root of Comparative Religion. And remote as, at present, may be the cultivators of this young science from satisfactory answers, yet it was this sort of question that writers of the scientific papers were asked to keep in view, and to value in the light of their specialized knowledge.

The organizers of the Conference were fortunate in securing, from eminent representatives of science and scholarship, such a series of interpretative papers, each one approaching the subject from some characteristic standpoint, but all so chosen as collectively to present an approximately synthetic survey.

What then are these characteristic fields of modern research that bear upon religious origins and issues? Without professing to be either exhaustive or entirely systematic, the actual selection was as follows: (*a*) Travel; (*b*) Geography; (*c*) Biology; (*d*) Economics and Anthropology; (*e*) History; (*f*) Psychology and Civics; (*g*) Humanist Scholarship; (*h*) Sociology. Approaching the larger issues respectively from each of these more specialized aspects, eight writers, working together more or less as a team, contributed the papers that occupied the two days of the scientific section of

the Conference. The names of these contributors are well known to the studious public, but readers of this volume may care to have a brief note on the personality and works of each writer.

Sir Francis Younghusband, who made the Traveller's Approach to religion, is perhaps best known as the leader of the first expedition to reach the mysterious city of Lhasa, capital of Tibet. But Sir Francis has devoted no small part of a long life to travel in remote regions, more especially in central Asia. His services to science from this standpoint have been recognized in many ways, and most notably in his election to the Presidentship of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1924 he succeeded Lord Balfour in the Presidentship of the Sociological Society. Of his many books, the most recent have dealt with religion, more particularly on its mystical side.

Professor H. J. Fleure, who spoke on the Geographic Approach, is the foremost representative in this country of a school which treats geography from the human rather than from the physical standpoint. This school naturally combines history, anthropology and economics with geography, and therefore gains a more synthetic purview of Man and Earth than do purely physical geographers. Professor Fleure's *Human Geography in Western Europe* is considered something of a classic. He holds the chair of Geography at Aberystwyth (University of Wales).

Professor J. Arthur Thomson, who described a Naturalist's Approach to religion, is best known as editor of the *Outline of Science*, and as the most redoubtable popular exponent of biology since Huxley. But a long list of recondite works stands to his credit. And his two volumes of Gifford Lectures (*The System of Animate Nature*) are not his only book on Science and Religion, for there has been issued this year (1925) a work by him with that very title. Professor Thomson holds the Regius chair of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen.

Mr. Victor Branford's contribution, entitled "The Primitive Occupations: their Ideals and Temptations," is intended to stand for both the Economic and the Anthropological Approach. He has written several works dealing with science and religion, which include a small volume entitled *Living Religions: a Plea for the Larger Modernism*, issued in 1924 immediately antecedent to the Conference. Mr. Branford is Chairman of the Council of the Sociological Society.

Mrs. Rachel Annand Taylor's paper, "The Idea of a Sacred City," combines Psychology with Civics and presents their joint Approach from the standpoint of a Poet. In several volumes of poems Mrs. Taylor has shown how learning and science can be brilliantly united with music of language and inspiration of thought. Her best-known book of poems is, perhaps, *Rose and Vine*. A

remarkable prose work—*Aspects of the Italian Renaissance*—by her has been praised by Professor Gilbert Murray as a masterpiece, " to be judged like a poem or a Platonic rhapsody by the beauty which it discovers or creates."

Mr. Christopher Dawson, who attempts the Historic Approach to religion, is known for a series of remarkable contributions to the better understanding both of early cultures and later civilizations in the light of recent research. Mr. Dawson is an Oxford historian who holds a lectureship in University College, Exeter.

Professor Geddes, who writes mainly from the Sociological Approach, is best known as an initiator and practitioner of Town-planning in its current form. He has reported on a large number of Indian cities to Governors, Rajahs, and municipal authorities, concerned to introduce and apply the Town-planning movement in India. But he enjoys a reputation for brilliant pioneering in many fields both of science and practical affairs. His educational initiatives include the Nature Study movement and the Regional Survey movement. His original professorship (Botany) was in the University of St. Andrew's ; but in 1917 he accepted, for a limited period, a chair of Sociology and Civics especially instituted for him in the University of Bombay. Along with his architectural colleague, Mr. F. C. Mears, he is designer of the Zionist University of Jerusalem, recently opened by Lord Balfour.

The papers by the above-named writers, together with that by the Editor, on " The Ideal Man," make up, adequately and proportionally, the scientific section of the Conference.

W. L. H.

Man and Nature

By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

ANYONE who has travelled much over the earth comes to regard it as a whole. He feels as if he could take it up and look at it as a ball in his hand. Mankind, too, he sees as a whole, but directly connected with the earth in one completer whole—and this not as a thing static, stationary and fixed, but as dynamic, as an incessant activity, a perpetual process seething and surging and ever throwing up new and varied forms. And if the traveller has ventured into the lonely places of the earth, into great deserts and high mountains, and slept for nights in the open, he will have come to look upon the earth as an integral part of the entire stellar universe—upon earth and stars as one connected whole.

High up on the mountain, far distant from any human habitation, he will think of humanity below, struggling, panting, sorrowing, rejoicing, always somewhere tilling the soil, somewhere sowing seed, somewhere reaping the harvest, somewhere gathering fruits, tending flocks and herds, building habitations, enjoying social intercourse, making love, bearing children, seeking the truth, making beauty, worshipping God. But the traveller will not think of men as separate individuals. Mankind will be to him as one, and as organically connected with that Nature he sees spread out before him.

It is about man as he is thus in the mind of a traveller, and of man's relation to that Nature which is seething all round him and in him, that I would speak to-day. For man, widespread as he is over the face of the earth, is indeed one. The most cultured European feels affinity with the most primitive savage in the farthest wilds. And man is indeed one with Nature, for it was Nature which gave him birth, and succours and sustains him. Right from amidst the forests and the animals he emerged, grew and developed. And he ever remains connected with Nature. He breathes the air of Nature every minute of his life, and every few hours he has to refresh himself with food and drink from her. So it is of man as part of Nature that I would speak. And by Nature I would mean not only physical nature. That is the least important part of Nature as a whole. And it is impossible to cut off one part from the other. Right through Nature the physical

and the psychical are interrelated. And the important part of Nature is that inward spiritual power, determining, directing and controlling the whole activity. And physical nature is merely the outward manifestation of this inward spirit. So by Nature I mean the whole—body and soul together.

Man a Triumphant Victor

This is how Nature appears to a traveller. He sees her as a kindred spirit to himself. He meets her soul to soul. And when he has penetrated tropical forests, and seen the actual conditions under which man first appeared—the trees in which he lived; the fruits and berries on which he fed; the animals and insects he had to contend against or compete with—the lions, tigers and leopards, the apes and monkeys, the hornets, wasps, bees, mosquitoes, ants and flies; the weather he had to endure—the rain, drought, thunder, lightning—when a traveller sees all this he realizes that man from the first must have been a highly competent being. He did not make his début as an insipid simpleton. He appeared as the triumphant victor in a million centuries' struggle. By his agility and vigilance, by his courage and endurance, by his skill and cunning, and by his sagacity and intelligence in making use of what Nature had to offer, and in profiting by the alliance of certain animals and birds willing to work with him, he was able to win his way to supreme place on earth.

And even when he had established his ascendency his struggle with Nature did not cease. Not for a moment could he relax his efforts. Laxity would have meant disaster. Nature may have appeared stern and formidable, even cruel and relentless. And often he must have quailed before her. Nevertheless, he had to face her bravely, grapple closely with her and wring gifts from her. Unless he put forth effort and shewed enterprise and resolution she would give him nothing. All was at hand if he would work for it—berries, fruits, seeds and roots for food, fibres and skin for clothing, leaves and branches for shelter. But man had to exert himself to obtain these things, otherwise they would go to his rivals and he would sink below them and disappear. The fruits were not brought to him and dropped into his mouth. He had to seek them at the risk of his life, and in competition with birds and animals and insects who equally wanted them. Clothing was not handed to him and laid over his shoulders. He had to search for the raw material and work it up himself. And he did not find a ready-made hut to walk into. He had to build it and defend it himself. Everything he had to work for. He got nothing for nothing. Nature was a strict taskmaster, and tolerated no slackness or inefficiency. Her penalty was death.

Strength Came With Striving

But as man wrestled hard with Nature for the generous gifts she had to offer, he discovered this remarkable fact: she not only gave him her gifts; she increased his capacity for earning them. The harder he wrestled the stronger he became. By exercising his faculties they became stronger and tenser. The more he tried, the more he was able to do. The history of man's experience in his struggle with Nature is like the story of the Mount Everest Expedition.

For thousands of years man had been content to look up at the mighty peaks of the Himâlaya without ever attempting to climb them. He regarded them with fear and horror. They were far beyond his reach. And the thought of standing on their summits never crossed his mind. In the course of time, however, he had plucked up courage to climb peaks in other parts of the world—in the Alps, the Caucasus and the Andes—not, indeed, peaks as lofty as the giants of the Himâlaya, but still peaks which for centuries had inspired men with terror. And as he came to close quarters with these, and climbed them again and again, familiarity drove away the terror. He was able to climb them with increasing ease, and in the end from sheer and pure enjoyment. And, as his mountaineering skill increased and he became fuller of the joy which exercise of faculties at their highest gives, his spirit rose within him, and at length he aspired to climbing even the loftiest peaks of the Himâlaya.

He had climbed to 23,000 feet; now he would climb to 25,000 feet. He accomplished that, and then turned his ambitions to the highest peak of all. But when, five years ago, he set out to climb Mount Everest, 29,000 feet above sea level, the highest mountain on this earth, he was full of doubts if this were possible. He had nothing to go upon. The air might be so thin, the quantity of oxygen in it so meagre, he might be unable to breathe. Only once had he slept at so great a height as 23,000 feet. At 25,000 feet to sleep might be impossible. And unless he could sleep at that height, or even higher, he could not reach the summit. But two years ago he found that he could carry a camp to 25,000 feet, sleep in it, and then next day reach a height of 27,000 feet; while this year, starting with greater confidence and experience, he was able to carry a camp to 27,000 feet, and the next day climb to 28,200 feet. And he has returned quite sure of his ability to climb the remaining 800 feet and reach the summit of the earth.

Nature Reveals Man's Strength

By trying he has found what he can do—and found that it is more than he expected! He has discovered, not only that the

body gradually adapts itself to the peculiar conditions of high altitude, but that the spirit rises too. He has gained increased confidence in himself. The mountain has proved truly formidable, and he has suffered greatly in wrestling with her. But she has forced him to exert himself to his utmost. And in putting forth his best he has discovered that there is more in him than he knew.

So is it with man in his struggle with Nature as a whole. He finds, as the Everest climbers found, that he has to keep his body pure and fit, his mind alert and keen, his spirit fine and firm. And he finds that no two of them avail without the other. If the spirit flags, the fittest body and the keenest mind will not carry man to the height of his ambitions. If the body is blemished the alertest mind and the finest spirit will be ineffectual. And if the mind is lax the most muscular body and indomitable spirit may only lead to disaster. But if with the whole of himself—a taut and healthy body, a trained, accomplished mind, and a soul refined and pure—be close fast with Nature, he finds to his delight that he rises to the occasion, surpasses himself and sees undreamed-of possibilities ahead.

He discovers, too, that Nature is no *enemy*. She does not force him to wrestle with her in order that she may overcome him. The struggle is no cat-and-dog affair. It is like the struggle of an Englishman with England. England compels Englishmen to work for what she has to give. But in forcing them to struggle she does not seek to overcome them. Rather does she strive to help them make the most of themselves. She knows that it is only by work that they *can* be their best.

Man Must Work with Nature

When they have worked for the gifts she has to offer she has honour and love unbounded to lavish on them. These are there all the time, but they have to be earned. England does demand of the Englishman that he shall *win* what she has to give, and that he should not assume that it will be poured out upon him undeserved. And it is the same with Nature. She makes man work before she delivers her goods. But she is with him all the time he works. She is anxious to increase his proficiency in his work. She would help him to be his best. And the more fully he fulfils himself the more fully he fulfils the inmost purpose of her being.

And slowly it dawns on man that in his own interest it is best not to wage a lone struggle, but to carry Nature with him. A lonely traveller in a strange country finds that if he is to accomplish the object of his journey he must carry the people with him and interest them in his object. Man finds the same in dealing with Nature. From among the animals and plants around him he

selects those which show any inclination to work with him. He provides the conditions under which they may develop and improve, and he looks after their welfare. He domesticates the horse, cow, sheep, donkey, dog, cat, fowl, duck and turkey; and he plants wheat, rice, maize, barley, oats, millet and potatoes; and he grows apples, pears, plums, grapes and oranges for food, cotton and flax for clothing, and oak, pines, firs, etc., for housing. Further, he induces physical forces of Nature, which, uncontrolled, might be his destruction, to work for him. He utilizes the wind for propelling his ships across the seas, falling water for turning mills, and electricity for light, heat and motive power. And he fashions the minerals into implements, machinery and instruments for carrying out his ends. Thus does he carry Nature with him.

A Sharpened Mind, a Quickened Spirit

And this struggling with Nature, working with Nature, getting more and more of Nature to work with him, not only sharpens the mind, but quickens his spirit. A fellowship with Nature springs up. And he develops needs for his soul just as urgent as the needs for the body. He finds he cannot live by bread alone. By the nature within him he is prompted to reach after spiritual things, just as eagerly as he sought after fruit and berries in the forests. But here again he has to work for the spiritual gifts Nature is ready to shower on him if only he will earn them. The man who is carried in a motor to the top of a hill knows nothing of the enjoyment another feels who has climbed the hill and earned the view. In the one the soul is slack and insensitive to impressions. In the other it is freshened into healthy life, and receives impressions not only fine but lasting.

Man has grown and multiplied exceedingly since he first appeared upon the earth. He has maintained and greatly developed his position of supremacy. But just as it was by his wits and not by his brute strength that he first gained ascendency over the beasts of the forest, so it may be by his spirit rather than by his wits that the higher man of the future will gain ascendency over man of to-day. And what may be the forerunners of these higher men we may be seeing in those rare individuals of high sensitiveness of soul who in special moments seem to catch the very essence of the soul of Nature. And in future, when Nature selects, it may be these she will choose as the fittest, not merely to survive, but to carry out her purposes. Natural selection can only mean that Nature has in her mind a criterion of value, and chooses by that. She does not simply dip into a lucky bag. She chooses what she values most. And these men of fine sensibility may be more acutely aware than ordinary men of what Nature values most, and they may be best fitted for achieving it. They would therefore

be more fitting agents for carrying out her purposes, and would be most likely to be chosen by her.

High sensitiveness and activity of soul may therefore be of more importance to man in his dealings with Nature than acute mental capacity. The one may be needed as well as the other. But man may have to put the chief stress on refining the soul within him.

Can We Trust Nature? A Pessimist's View

At this point, however, we must make a pause. Are we safe in trusting Nature and working with her? Or is she cruel and callous, and not worthy of our trust, and ought we therefore to make our way, having as little to do with her as we can? Certainly we ought not to plunge bald-headed into the future. There are plenty of pessimists by our side to warn us of the dangers ahead. And no true traveller launches out into the unknown without taking count of the risks he may run. He would be foolhardy not to examine what they are. And the position is this :

Man is only a very recent product of the processes of Nature, and in a few million years more he and any higher man, and every living creature, may disappear, and the stars roll on as if he had never been. The earth is roughly a thousand million years old. Suppose a cinematograph record were taken of its development from birth up till now, and that this record were projected on to a screen at the rate of one minute for each million years : then sixteen hours and forty minutes would be required for the exhibition of the film, and if the exhibition commenced on Sunday with the birth of this earth, and lasted from 2.30 to 5 p.m. each day, then it would last till the Saturday at 4.10, and it would be only in the last *half-minute* of this exhibition that man would appear, and only for the final *half-second* that the civilized portion of his story would last.

But suppose the cinematograph record went farther back still. Suppose it went back a million million years, to the time when the whole solar system was a fiery mist. And suppose it included, not only the solar system, but the whole stellar world. Then if the record were exhibited for two and a half hours every day, commencing from to-day, it would not be till the last half-minute on April 4th, 1940, that man would appear. But he would not be visible, for even the earth, under the most powerful glasses, would only appear as a speck of dust—if that.

When this is the relation in which man stands to Nature, of what avail would his petty little strivings be? He is but a momentary flicker in the course of Nature. In a twinkle he will be gone, and Nature will pursue her cruel way, unmindful that he had ever existed. So the pessimist would hold.

But the traveller is accustomed to being staggered by Nature,

and he does not lose heart, even when she is most heedless. He receives blow after blow, but his faith in her remains unshaken. He sees his companion carried away in an avalanche, but he returns to the self-same mountain. His love for Nature is unquenchable. And this love of the traveller for Nature is just as much a fact which has to be accounted for as the fact that he is a microscopic inhabitant of an inferior planet of a third-rate star among more than a thousand million other stars. And the only way to account for this fact that the traveller loves Nature is that Nature has in her the capacity for evoking and creating love. Her innate disposition must be lovable. Nature must, in reality, be the highest we know about her—that much at *least*. We do not judge a man by his bony skeleton. The most truly real thing about a man is his highest ambition. That gives the clue to what he really is. And it is the same with Nature. We should not judge her by her physical structure, but by the highest thing we know about her. And that highest thing is the love for her which she provokes in us.

And perhaps it is not illegitimate to assume that if Nature has in her this power of creating love she may have created it elsewhere than on this tiny speck of a planet alone. Figs do not spring from thistles. And if Nature had a heart of stone she could not have produced this love we have for her. But figs do spring from fig-trees—and not from one branch alone. And if Nature has a heart of love she may be bringing forth love in many another part of the Cosmos. So the whole screen of the cinematograph record for its entire run might show somewhere or other in the universe beings as highly developed as man—perhaps more highly developed if only we had glasses powerful enough to detect them.

The Traveller's Approach to Religion

No one would wish to rob the pessimists of that peculiar joy which is theirs in contemplating imaginary disasters. But travellers are hopeful people, or they would never achieve success in travel. So they go forward with full confidence in Nature. Even if they themselves succumb, they know their fellows will follow after. They know the work will go on. They know the sublimest heights will be reached. And they know that it will be by *their* exertions that others will have been enabled to attain them. They believe in Nature. They put their trust in her. And in spite of her severity they love her.

This is the traveller's religion. This is his faith in God. For to him Nature and God are one and the same, and of a lovableness past all possible power of expression. And this strong, determined love of man for Nature and of Nature for man—of man for God and of God for man—should, in the traveller's opinion, be the incentive and the goal of every social effort.

The Naturalist's Approach to Religion

By Professor J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., LL.D.

RELIGIONS there have been many, yet religion is one. In spite of what some experts say, religion has always meant man's appeal to a spiritual order of reality when he found himself straining at the limits of his practical, emotional or intellectual tether. Thus it has taken practical, emotional and intellectual forms according to the nature of the strain-limit. There has often been an appeal for help, for "life-givers"; there has often been worship; there has often been some sort of theology. But there has always been a common note—sending tendrils towards the Absolute.

The form of a religion has varied according to the nature of the experience in which man found the end of his tether. Thus religious activity has often arisen out of Folk-experience, in connection with the trials of the family, the tribe, the nation. The patriotic Hebrew's appeal was as often for Israel as for himself. Or religious activity has arisen from Work-experience, especially from baulked endeavour. When the defiant hero of Hugo's *Toilers of the Sea* had done everything that man could do and had failed, he fell down and, for the first time, prayed. Or, thirdly, religious activity has arisen out of Place-experience, in face of the mountains, the forest, the sea, the sky—Nature. It is with Nature-religion that we have here to do.

Nature-Religion

Before the forces of Nature, unmastered and mysterious, primitive man was afraid. He was overwhelmed with a sense of his weakness. This opened up the practical pathway to religion, sometimes stopping at magic. Placating sacrifices were offered, and supplications were made for help, for mana. To begin with, the appeal was to the more or less personified forces of wind and wave, of flood and fire; after long ages the appeal was made to the Great Mother, or to the Great King—eventually to God. But this practical pathway became less frequented as man's control of Nature grew, and there are few educated wayfarers on this approach to-day. Not merely because man is conquering his kingdom, but because he has grown

away from the idea of a world in which the order of Nature can be providentially interfered with. Even Pope shewed his suspicion, in the line: "Shall gravitation cease when you go by?" Educated farmers do not pray for rain to-day.

The second pathway to Nature-religion was opened up by the wonder and beauty of the world. This was one of the first fruits of a little hard-won leisure; and we—of the leisured class—are apt to forget this to-day. It is easier for us than for the toilers and moilers to have Nature-religion. The star-strewn sky, the march of the seasons, the sea eternally new, the mystery of the mountains, the solitude of the great spaces, the claustrophobia in the forest, the beauty of the meanest flower that blows, the look in a dog's eyes—these illustrate impressions of Nature which tend to arouse the religious feeling. A sympathetic naturalist, who certainly made no claim to be a philosopher, once said over an ant-hill, "I cannot understand anyone seeing that and remaining irreligious." Throughout all Nature, Aristotle said, there is something of the astounding—θαυμαστον. And the recognition of this thaumaston has brought many of us to the footstool of religion. As Coleridge said: All knowledge begins and ends with wonder, but we have to replace the first wonder, which is the child of ignorance, by the larger wonder, which is the parent of adoration.

How is it with this approach to-day? It remains widely open. For while urbanization has made it difficult for many to get the fundamental impressions of Nature—without which man *must* be impoverished—the sense of beauty, the beauty of common things, has been diffused, and the world grows ever more wonderful.

Influence of the Scientific Mood

It must be noted, however, that the scientific mood, now so widely diffused, is essentially non-emotional, and may readily check the expression of feeling. The scientific atmosphere is cold, sometimes approaching freezing-point; and even its most brilliant light is cold light, without any heat-rays, like that of animal luminescence. Nevertheless, the path towards reality through feeling remains a right of way. One need not linger over the obvious point that æsthetic and cognate feelings aroused by the contemplation of Nature are not in themselves religious. The religious reverence or delight is, to use Emerson's expression, an overfilling and overflowing of the slender rill of ordinary human sense.

Confronted by the inexorable forces of Nature, primitive men sought help from above: this practical pathway to religion is rarely trod to-day (we are not speaking of the religious appeal that is made when man is baffled by the practical problems of the moral life). Surrounded by the beauty of Nature, catching whispers of her other wordless voices, men were not long of entering the other pathway of

worship; and this remains widely open. Thirdly, even in early days, man could not evade the perennial questions: whence? whither? why?—and theologies began. This pathway remains open, for science gives us no more than descriptive formulations, and we strain at the limitations of our faculties, when, as Sir Thomas Browne said, we "think of things that thoughts do but tenderly touch." Even when the minor mysteries disappear before science the fundamental mysteriousness of Nature remains, unless we are content, or positivistically compelled, to sink the big questions altogether. Even when we reduce everything measurable or ponderable to the lowest common denominators—the irreducibles of the day, like electrons and protons—our experience is not thereby rationalized. We seek for a synoptic vision, in the light of the Greatest Common Measure. When the half-gods go, the God arrives.

Nature of Religious Activity

I cannot argue the questions, but, to make my personal position clear, I must enter three dissents from views widely held. First, religious activity is not a sublimation of kin-sympathy (still less of the instinct of the herd), nor of sex-emotion, nor of the self-preservative predisposition. These are accessory chords which may vibrate along with the religious, but religion cannot be thus psychologized away. It is, by itself, a mystical adventure. Second, idealization of human relations may determine the *form* of a religion, it does not account for its essence. Third, religion is more than a projection of the best that is in us; what keeps it from being tendril twining on tendril is that it implies an opening of our nature to the best that is outside of us—not least in Nature. It is followed by enrichment, like listening to music.

Three Groups of Nature-Religions

When we think over some of the Nature-religions that we know a little about, we see that they form three groups. First there are those that arose by projecting otherwise attained religious convictions on a world that had awakened no deep interest. Thus, almost all the Christian fathers projected their creed on a Nature which they neither knew nor enjoyed. Hence arose a dismal radical Manichæism which had a pernicious influence for many centuries. Nature was involved in sin, rotten at the core. Even Luther said: "The world is an odd fellow; may God soon make an end of it."

This was at variance with the teaching of the Founder of Christianity, according to which, the order of Nature is a process of divine love and mercy. The exceptional case of St. Francis accentuates the depth of the theological relapse, which involved even Huxley in spite of himself.

Very different, in the second place, is the outlook expressed by

the Nature-psalmists and the author of the Book of Job. There was an exuberant delight in Nature, rising into religious feeling, corroborating and enhancing religious certainties otherwise reached. " God's in His heaven ; all's right with the world " : that was the one side. But Nature is beautiful, thrilling, glorious ; *Vox Naturæ, vox Dei* : that was the other side. We may apply to the Semitic Nature-psalmist Emerson's words : " Nature seems to him not to be silent, but to be eager and striving to break out into music." " Day unto day welleth forth speech ; night unto night breatheth out knowledge. There is no speech and there are no words ; yet their voice reverberates throughout the world."

Highest of all, in the third place, there are those rare cases in which the contemplation of Nature has directly risen into religious feeling—into Nature-worship. Thus, to the Japanese at their best the cult of Nature was the supreme joy, and there arose a pantheon of Nature-gods, long afterwards appropriated as ancestors. Almost unique, we believe, is the Japanese expression of sympathy with Nature—with *Natura naturans*—regarded as struggling to find new and fuller expression of its spirit. Men like Wordsworth and Ruskin shew the same deep Nature-joy, rising into religious feeling.

Now it is not for the Nature-students of to-day to cultivate anything mimetic of the Semitic psalmist or the Japanese beauty-worshipper ; we must, as Emerson said, have " an original relation with Nature." We must allow ourselves to be influenced by its beauty, its drama, its advancement, its mystery. Then, perhaps, we may get a glimpse of the Divine, or a corroboration of a Vision otherwise reached.

Disharmonies

The difficulty, however, is with the disharmonies, which seem to many to exclude all possibility of religious interpretation. Let us refer briefly to the arraignments of Nature by John Stuart Mill, William James and Huxley.

In a famous essay (" On Nature ") Mill bitterly accused Nature of absolute ruthlessness, of diabolical cruelty, of indiscriminateness. But as to ruthlessness, a world where consequences are unpitying is surely preferable to one of caprice. As to cruelty, that is a sheer anthropomorphism. As to indiscriminateness, that is precisely what Nature's sifting is not ; it only applies to catastrophic elimination, which is rare.

James's arraignment of Nature (in his essay, " Is Life worth living ? ") is more penetrating : " Every phenomenon that we would praise there exists cheek by jowl with some contrary phenomenon that cancels all its religious effect upon the mind." " Hideousness " alongside of beauty, he says ; but, as a matter of fact, there is nothing

ugly among free-living organisms. "Cruelty" alongside of kindness, James says; but cruelty is an irrelevant ethical concept, and anything like prolonged pain-giving is extremely rare in Wild Nature. All things are rolled "meaninglessly to a common doom," James says; but, whatever the doom may be, we prefer the view of another philosopher, who discerned in integrative evolution an "onward-advancing melody." We prefer the view of Professor Patrick Geddes, who sees in Nature "a materialized ethical progress." William James's arraignment of Nature was largely based on a nightmare—distorted, one-sided, and, on the whole, fictitious.

In his famous Romanes lecture Huxley painted a very red picture of Animate Nature—"a vast gladiatorial show," "a dismal cock-pit," a "Hobbesian warfare"—and his advice to man in his ethical endeavours was that he should seek to do the opposite of the struggle for existence. But Huxley did not appreciate the breadth and subtlety of Darwin's conception of the struggle for existence; he never did justice to those forms of struggle which consist in increasing parental care and mutual aid, self-subordination and sociality.

It is not very difficult to discover faults of perspective and colour in the Nature-pictures of Mill, James and Huxley. But it is more important to make a scientific picture for ourselves, and to ask if it is congruent with religious interpretation. What must our picture include?

The Modern Scientific Picture

Every year the unity of Nature becomes clearer. All the endless forms of matter are constellations of electrons and protons. Matter tends to be swallowed up by electricity, though no one knows what that is. Einstein has helped towards unification by making it possible to bring gravitation into line with the other energies. All the physical powers of the world are now theoretically connected. So far as experience goes, it is not possible to destroy or to create any particle of matter or quantum of energy; and Einstein has shewn that the Conservation of Mass and the Conservation of Energy may be subsumed in one principle. The physical world is grander to us than to our forefathers, but also much simpler—simpler in spite of its intricacy. What artistry in weaving the complexly patterned fabric out of two or three kinds of thread; for it often seems as though the only mundane realities were Electricity and Mind.

Another scientific impression of Nature is that of orderliness. The world we live in is not a phantasmagoria, but a cosmos. We cannot think of it evolving from a primitive chaos, and there is no warrant for supposing that there ever was any such state of affairs. We dare not, on scientific grounds, say that this is impossible;

but the leaders in physics tell us that they cannot comprehend how the Order of Nature could arise from chaos and chance. The phrase " a fortuitous concourse of atoms " should be buried deep—the primæval nebula was not *that.*

When we include in our picture the realm of organisms, the colours become more invigorating. What insurgence among living creatures—multitudinous, ubiquitous, plastic, defiant of difficulties, always attempting the next-to-impossible, triumphing over materials. What efficiency, what adaptiveness, what interlinking of lives, what advancement from age to age ! After due recognition has been given to non-progressive stocks, such as sponges, which form an eddy of skeletal beauty ; to lost races with no descendants, such as the flying dragons ; and to retrogressive change, as illustrated by parasites and sedentary animals, the big fact stands out clearly that organic evolution has been, on the whole, an integrative advance. As age has succeeded age, there has been an emergence of finer, more masterful, more emancipated forms of life. The biggest fact of all is the growing dominance of the mental aspect ; and it is a great lesson to try to envisage the long inclined plane of behaviour, the gradualness of the dawn of mind—in race as in individual. If we adhere to the Aristotelian principle that, in a continuous process, there is nothing in the end which was not also, *in kind,* in the beginning, we return to the old heresy of pan-psychism that there is nothing, not even a nebula, that is *inanimate* ; we reach rather the old truth : " In the Beginning was Mind."

Does Nature Admit of Religious Interpretation ?

But we may take a further, bolder step. Suppose we have made the religious venture—borne to it by the questions : whence ? whither ? why ? that lie beyond science ; or by the need for rationalizing our experience as a whole ; or by thinking resolutely about human history, with its revelations in noble men and women, and in human achievement, including science—we have then to ask whether Nature can be in any sense discerned as the expression of a Divine Thought, or Will, or Imagination—*sit venia verbis.* Is the world such that the religious man can breathe freely in it ?

A test that may be applied is the human concept of progress—what man at his best has always held to be best. There are two pre-conditions of progress : some health (i.e. positive vigour) and some wealth (i.e. command of natural energies) ; and progress itself is a balanced movement of the social whole towards a fuller embodiment of the supreme values—the true, the beautiful and the good. Now Nature is all for health ; there is practically no constitutional disease in Wild Nature. Likewise, in a sense, Nature is all for wealth, since survival implies effective exploitation of natural energies and some storing for the evil day. Moreover, Nature is

all for beauty. The only ugly organisms are creatures like parasites, branded with ugliness—exceptions that prove the rule. Truth-seeking is an expression of the vigorously clear mind, and Nature is all for healthy-mindedness. Truth-seeking means facing the facts of the case, and Nature is always rewarding her children that find out about things. As for goodness, Nature gives her premier places to creatures like birds and mammals that have learned the lessons of self-subordination and other-regarding goodwill. The great trends of evolution are, on the whole, in line with those movements which man sums up as progress. Nature is not against us, but with us, with us at our best, and Nature is congruent with the religious idea of divine creation. We have got rid of the horror of radical Manichæism.

In conclusion : we cannot by science find out God. From our Nature-experience, however wide and deep, we cannot logically argue to Nature's God. That is the fallacy of transcendent inference. The conclusion is too large for the premises as we know them ; and it belongs to a different universe of discourse. But if, venturing beyond science, we try to think of the institution of the Order of Nature, of the original endowment of the irreducibles with qualities which have admitted of progressive synthesis age after age, we find we are at the end of our intellectual tether, and may be prompted to the religious adventure, which is always mystical. We may get a glimpse of a continued divine creation—*Natura naturans*. When we think of the persistent progressive urge manifested throughout evolution, of the finer and finer emergences, each revealing some new richness in reality, our religious interpretation is confirmed, and perhaps ennobled. When we think of what science philosophically implies, reason answering to reason, we may, perhaps, get some glimpse—would it were a vision—of the God of our fathers, also the God of evolution, whose name, Jehovah, meant not only " I am what I am," but also " I will be what I will be."

The Primitive Occupations:

Their Ideals and Temptations

By Mr. Victor Branford, M.A.

THERE are many reasons that make it convenient to begin an enquiry into religious origins with the life and doings of the wild-game hunter. He of all men is made most familiar, by his very occupation, with that primary source of religion, the contrast of life and death. But the stuff of religion suffuses also the interplay of labour and exploit. Under Nature's conditions, labour and exploit are charged with religious emotion to a less degree only than is the contrast of life and death. And even second-hand experience of prowess in the chase makes us realize that exploit is the breath of the hunter's nostrils. For him labour and exploit are synonymous terms. Finally there is the good reason that, as anthropology tells us and experience confirms, the hunter, with all his instinctive promptings and impulsive desires, lies latent in the mind of every man. This primal being, the wild-game hunter, lurks dormant in each of us males, waiting upon opportunity for Dionysiac outburst. It would seem to be hardly less certain that in the heart of every woman there lightly slumbers a hunter's squaw. Let us begin, therefore, with an endeavour to picture the wild hunter's mode of life and livelihood.

In the forest and uplands the hunter ranges : his tools are primitive ; he runs on foot ; he wins his life by perpetually risking it ; he is in peril when the stag or wild boar turns at bay ; he risks the shuddering horrors of the precipice, and the fierce fangs of the beast of prey. As it is the young man who triumphs at Bisley, or, in war, wins the Victoria Cross, so among hunters the speed and endurance of youth count for more than the cunning and wisdom of age. Hence a perennial tendency to youth's excesses in communities biased towards war, sport, games and other hunting proclivities. It seems probable that women, and not men, invented the noose and the hook, yet inevitably, from sheer necessity and not merely from brutality of men, women in hunting communities are drudges and burden-carriers. The brief beauty of the radiant girl speedily wears into the withered plainness of the squaw prematurely aged. For imagine London with all its restaurants abolished and its ubiquitous tea-shops vanished, the city once more a lonely stretch of swamp, scrub and low hills. The few remaining Londoners are

compelled to get their meals by the capture of wild beasts and birds. Men no longer carry parcels for their womenfolk! From sheer drive of common sense the London woman insists on carrying everything possible; her man must be free, his hands bearing only his missiles, and his muscles fresh and untired, to run swiftly, or creep cautiously, after any eatable creature that comes in sight.

We are still Primitive

The specialism of anthropology is concerned with primitive man as he once was, as he is to-day in remote parts of the world, and in the heart of us all. In his natural state this primitive man is a wild-game Hunter. Now if the hunter can increase his radius twofold, he increases the area of his hunting-ground fourfold. So the hunter is the Expansionist. His territorial longings lie deep at the root of Imperialist ambitions. Should another hunting group appear in the neighbourhood not too near, each will drive the game towards the other. But let the two groups approach more closely, and the game-supply is so far diminished that starvation looms ominously. The remedy is manifest. It is War. And because the hunter's ideal is the successful infliction of death at any cost, he passes naturally from the noble hunt of the stag to the noblest hunt, the hunt of men. So the hunter becomes the War Lord; and the war lord in all subsequent stages remains the Hunter, from ancient Nimrod to modern peer. Lord Kitchener knew that the hunt is indispensable for the training of officers, and he planned accordingly to maintain British prestige in the Sudan. In short, he laid out a great game-park in Khartoum. In Scotland, Skye has been a prolific home of generals, a little Ireland in fact: and in England, Devonshire, the last habitat of the red deer as well as a land of fisher-ports, is also the birthplace of Drake and Hawkins, of Raleigh and Frobisher, of John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough, and of George Monk, Duke of Albermarle.

The Drama of Rural Life

The hunter is not the only inhabitant of the river basin. Farther down, a clearing has been made, agriculture has begun, and by degrees the whole series of primitive occupations, each with its own characteristic modes of life, is evolved. The Shepherd appears upon the downs; poor Peasants plough the foothills and rich peasants cultivate the plains. The Miner is spurred to perilous adventure in quest of metals. On rugged plateau and mountain slope he finds and works the hidden veins and pockets of precious ore. Mystic gleam of gold and silver exerts, for good and ill, its potent spell; and desire of the base metals for war and industry grows imperious with the advance of culture. Now human culture

and rustic culture are a close-knit pair. The Gardener is forerunner of the Citizen. In sheltered and sunny spots fruit frees are planted, and in the rich alluvium intensive gardening develops. The peasant, turning gardener, comes down the valley to be near his urban market. But the Woodman ascends to hillside forest, where he can labour at his sylvan occupation with more facility and less risk to health than in the dense woodlands of the valley floor. As he sets to work upon the felling of trees, more and more does he despoil the wild game of its natural cover. He sends his logs down the river for peasants to build their huts, houses and barns, and for Fishermen to make their boats. Destruction of the primæval woodland proceeds apace. Peasants need new clearances for their crops. The Herdsman's goats eat up seedling trees.

Far-reaching reactions ensue. The forest soil, with its matted roots and age-long accumulation of humus, is nature's reservoir for regulating the flow of rain-water down the valley to feed seas and oceans. Let this self-renewing sponge of moisture be broken up and dispersed, then is the aqueous balance of the river basin upset. An elemental economy of Nature is violated. Man pays a due penalty. His interaction with Nature turns from co-operation to conflict. Evenly flowing rivers are transformed into torrential streams, or dry beds, or marshy flats. Devastating floods break out and recur with increasing frequency. Hillside soil is washed away. The upper slopes of the valley sides are laid bare to their bone of rock. Stones and boulders slide down the hillsides; and are pushed along the valley floor in spate. Fertile soil of croft and farm give place to scant earth of stone-littered fields. Marsh and malaria gather and linger in the lowlands.

Broadly viewed down the vistas of time, historic and pre-historic, Man's handling of his planet would seem, thus far, to have run, in the main, on these devastating lines. Civilization is too much a tale of disharmony between Man and Nature. Religion has invoked the aid of Spirit to restore the harmony. But return to our primitive valley and its occupations and misoccupations. Consider their social reactions. Affliction and debasement increasingly fall upon all the rural types, but most heavily on the hunter. His game-preserves diminished, he becomes not merely the warrior, but the organizer of war. He embroils his valley with the next one, and shepherd and peasant, woodman, miner and fisher, all alike accept his leadership; and for a double reason. Impoverished and disoriented they are ready, even eager, for new chances of livelihood. But there is a deeper reason. It is not only that the hunter is the most efficient man at the war-game; but also that, deep in the subconscious mind, men are all hunters at heart, having behind them countless generations of hunting ancestry. Thus the ploughman watches his opportunity to set a snare for a rabbit, and

takes even more pleasure in catching one than in driving his furrow straight. The leisure activities of artisans in industrial cities might also be cited in illustration. Do not these characteristically give their free afternoons to watch the hunting mimicry of football, though that is not to deny other fascinations of the athletic arena? Seductive rhythms of the primal dance carry an appeal—direct for footballer, vicarious for spectator—perhaps even deeper than the hunting impulse.

The Man of Imagination

Return again to the bedrock of anthropology, i.e. our primitive valley, and reflect now upon mental dispositions. The wild-game hunter inevitably becomes, by habitual preoccupation, the Man of Imagination. The strenuous, vivid life of the chase, the full meal after hours, and perhaps days, of fasting creates a vivid dream-life, and elicits a realistic sense of the other world. As war lord of deracinated populations in disforested valleys, the hunter comes to have his Chaplain. To him is committed, as a sacred office, the task of unveiling the mysteries of that strange and alluring world glimpsed in the dream-life. There results from the meditative interplay of war lord and chaplain a theory of religion relevant to their impulses and interests. A corresponding interpretation of the ideals that stir the inner life of shepherd and peasant emerges. What are these ideals? Well, observe that survival and success in the pastoral and agricultural régime are, of necessity, in terms of quantity and quality of life. Increase of flocks and herds, selection of their breed towards greater yield of wool and meat; the improvement of tillage and seeds towards larger and finer crops—all these aims must needs move rural communities to sustained experiment, continued through generation after generation, in the bettering of life. In pursuit of life-fulfilment, first for herds and flocks and crops, and next for children, families and communities, the shepherd, and, to a less extent perhaps, the peasant, is ready to sacrifice the things of immediate concern. Remoter aims tend to replace present interests. And that, in the language of spirit, signifies the birth of idealism.

How do the hunter and his chaplain interpret those ideals of life made abundant and perfected, which animate the shepherd and the peasant? The hunting interpretation of these pastoral and peasant ideals is that all such ideas and longings are matters of the dream-world, and may very likely be realized in that life after death which is regarded as closely related to the realm of dreams. For illustration of such survivals or renewals in contemporary civilization, recall a circumstance of the Great War. In the fervour of an intensified appeal for recruits antecedent to the enactment of compulsory service, an erudite general spoke

some truths straight from the heart of the hunter. Elaborately he informed the public that religions were invented in order to drive slackers to enlist and cowards to fight. That, no doubt, is a natural and acceptable theory for an age of competitive industry, expansionist politics, and addiction to sport and games by adult males.

> For John P. Robinson, he
> Says they didn't know everything down in Judee.

What they knew in Judee would be good for Sundays: the things they did not know, such as machine guns, poison gas, bombing aeroplanes, the niceties of telegraphic betting, the artifices of adulteration, the tricks of commercial competition, the subtleties of financial manipulation, the manœuvrings of party politics, are real and practical, and the business of week-days.

All Religions are Practical

Into our world of Western humanity, revolving about the twin poles of war and sport, with industry as an irksome third alternative, religion put aside as negligible or sentimental, and politics exalted, comes the anthropologist who follows and develops the Le Play tradition. With a freshening breath of realism he affirms that, as a matter of fact, all religions are practical, and that the best of them spring from the actual life and work of shepherd and peasant, when these, in comparative freedom, develop their own mentality and express their own ideals. From the hills of Palestine, for example, came the pastoral ethic visioned forth as "The Lamb of God" and "The Good Shepherd who giveth His life for the sheep." And this Good Shepherd of tradition is, to the anthropologist as to the religious believer, no mythical personage, but real, actual and contemporary, as one may learn from fresh gravestones to be seen in many a hill community.

All the rural types have, each of them, their natural ethic, rising into natural religion. But it is only in the religion of the pastoral life that self-sacrifice can be seen to develop directly from the occupational disposition, into an impassioned vision of life at the full, personal and social. In other types this tendency runs less strong, indeed, in a descending ratio from peasant to hunter. In the hunting occupation, the conditions of survival tend, as we have seen, in an opposite direction. The idealization they culminate in is not that of self-sacrifice, but of other-sacrifice. Hence an unresolved antinomy in many religious doctrines. The hunting habit of mind, for instance, makes its influence felt in theories of the sacramental office. Exactions and renunciations are stressed. They are represented as tribute to be paid for escape from penalties incurred. On the other hand, pastoral habits of mind emphasize

the ideal of dedication at the heart of every genuine sacrifice. To make life sacred by calling forth its virtues and graces is the pastoral intention of sacrifice. Indications of these unresolved antinomies may be traced in all the higher religions. Do not their characteristic doctrines—as of salvation, atonement, redemption—exhibit a tributary element, at variance with an ennobling impulse? Do we not find doctrines of an Atonement or Salvation that are evocative and redemptive, shot through with elements that suggest a blood-feud conception of vengeance repaid and wrath assuaged?

Hellenic and Hebraic Factors

To the pastoral element in religion, anthropology ascribes the main impulse to sacramental worship. The peasant aspiration looks more to fullness of life and its physical perfection than to its sanctification by inner purifying and enrichment. Consider for instance the vine-growers and olive-cultivators of ancient Greece. Reflect upon their contribution to the culture of personality and community. To their insight, wisdom and practicality we owe the Olympian ideals, and their complementary refinements visioned forth from Parnassus. The Olympian series picture for our delight and encouragement the more physical perfections, bodily and mental; the Parnassian nine portray the soul's aspirations. In the Olympian circle stand Eros, Hermes, Dionysus, Apollo, Hephæstos and Zeus, a Pantheon of patrician ideals for every phase of man's growth, from babe to grandfather. Each of the male series is matched by its female counterpart. In Hebe, Artemis, Aphrodite, Athene, Hera, Demeter, the sculptor's art shows forth an ideal of life as the perfect woman would have it through childhood, youth, maturity and age. Transcending these types of Olympian, or patrician, perfection are the more spiritual idealizations of Muses rhythmic to the lyre of Apollo. The sacred nine express moods and modes of personality enriched to spiritual abundance and attuned to communal harmony. These divine creations—Olympian and Parnassian together—are the poetic perfections, or super-norms, of the human life-cycle in a favoured peasant *milieu*. In contrast to the more pastoral or Hebraic ethic of self-sacrifice, these Hellenic Gods and Muses express the complemental ideals of self-development.

Hence two complementary systems of worship supremely represented in Hebraism and Hellenism. The Hebraic ideal looks upwards to a transcendent deity alighting from the heavens. The Hellenic ideal looks inwards to an immanent divinity quickening in the heart. These two godheads meet and mingle in the pure air of temple-crowned hill-top, whether of Hebraic Zion or Hellenic Acropolis. Common to both types of worship is the religious

concept of a city made sacred by long tradition of ennobled life, personal and communal.

Man is a Countryman

To resume. Modern science, like ancient religion, seeks answer to the question, What is Man? Each specialism of social science, if true to itself, has its own particular reply. The answer of anthropology is becoming plain. Man is a Countryman. He is what he is by reason of age-long addiction to certain rural occupations. Of these the hunting occupation is one main focus, and the other is the shepherd-peasant pair. Round the latter there gathers and concentrates a religion of inner purification, spiritual ennoblement and dedicatory self-sacrifice; round the former a nature-cult in which the temptations of life tend to overmaster its ideals.

View the nature-occupations as a whole, and it is convenient to enumerate them in what may be called geographic order. They are the occupations of mining, wood-craft, hunting, herding, agriculture, fishing. To discover the reason for this serial enumeration, take a walking tour down some well-chosen river-valley from source to sea. In the upmost reaches, more often than not, mineral-bearing rocks expose themselves, and a little lower down you may penetrate the zone of ever-green forest. Next, maybe, the conspicuous features of the landscape are, first, moorland and deciduous forest well stocked with game, then, perhaps, permanent pastures like the downs. At length ploughlands overspread the countryside; and finally you debouch upon the waters that invite to inshore and deep-sea fishing. Here, as the field anthropologist sees the drama of man, are the several theatres of his fashioning. Biologists have familiarized us with the animal, or sub-human, factors in man's pedigree. There is emerging a newer anthropologist who would emphasize the occupational factors, and the human traits they elicit in their practitioners. Without belittling the organic elements of heredity, the newer anthropologist puts his accent on certain traditional elements of our social inheritance.

Man and Nature must Balance

How the qualities of the nature-folk, at work in their particular environments, rise into idealisms of life we have tried to see. But let the balance of interplay between Man and Nature be upset, then do the qualities of life that go with each elemental occupation turn into defects. A situation occurs in which no longer are ideals evoked, but temptations are provoked. The hunter becomes man-hunter, the miner a gambler, woodsmen destroy the forest, shepherds turn bandits, the peasant grows mean and miserly, the fisherman lapses to piracy. To check and avert those temptations, to cultivate and correlate these idealisms—that is the religious office, as the

newer anthropologist reads it. Gaze through his eyes, and what do we see in the mirrored halls of humanity? To-day, as of old, we see priest and prophet labouring in a field bristling with the elemental temptations of a society abased by chronic reversions to the hunting disposition. But also we observe that sacred ideals ever germinate anew. They spring from many a root-stock of human life. Above all they grow and flourish wherever youth and age together restore nature's conditions of the pastoral and peasant life. To characterize these elemental temptations we cannot do without the language of theology and the imagery of poetry. To name them in that fashion of speech is not easy for the anthropologist with his bald terminology. But, crudely, he might describe these elemental temptations as storm-troops held in reserve by the devil incarnate for assault on the souls of men. In like manner the sacred ideals are voices of deity calling, calling, with a sweet insistence, to wise men of the East, and to us of the West, their children or grandchildren in the spirit.

Holy Ways and Holy Places

By Professor H. J. Fleure, D.Sc.

A GENERATION ago we knew very little of the world before classical times, and the Phœnicians were thought by most people to have been the first organized sea-traders; ancient Egypt stood alone out of the darkness of the remoter past, though there were glimmerings of illumination concerning mighty Babylon. A new avenue to knowledge has been opened up by the work of the archæological geographers, who have studied distributions of ancient finds and have shown us that intercourse, even intercourse over long distances by sea, has been a feature of the life of humanity for a longer time than most people imagined. In this field the pioneer work of Déchelette and of George Coffey may be mentioned with special appreciation, while H. Peake in this country has set a fine example of laborious care in the accumulation of accurate data, and Leeds, Crawford and Fox have followed him. Elliot Smith and W. J. Perry have been tempted to make broad generalizations which are much disputed, but we may at least appreciate the stimulus their bold guesses provide.

It is now known that long-distance intercourse by sea and land dates back beyond the spread, even perhaps the origins, of metal culture; that is, in Western Europe, probably centuries beyond 2,000 B.C., and who shall say how far back in the Eastern Mediterranean? Already at that time the early city at Troy (Hissarlik II. of the excavators) had had its day and ceased to be, and Cretan sea-power had already spread the fame of Minos, whose ships were as the gulls of the seashore for multitude.

Since that remote time there have been many changes in the fortunes of routes and stations, but some have persistently held men's feelings in one way or another, and it is largely from among these that the holy ways and holy places of our quadrant of the world have grown.

If we try to glimpse some facts of man's evolution with our thoughts fixed on the matter of holiness in its relation to sites and ways, we proceed from the vaguest of surmises to clearer information before the Stone Age reaches its end.

The Holy Dead

As far back as Mousterian times men already buried their dead with care, and thus, according to many, had some dream of the

personality's survival of bodily death. This may be inferring too much, but when, in the later Palæolithic burials, we find social cemeteries, ornaments and implements set apparently for the use of the dead, and skeletons treated carefully with red ochre, we cannot but infer that men had fairly definite dreams of a life beyond this one, and that they may well have begun to have special feelings of veneration or of fear or of both, for the place where the dead were laid. It is well known that the change from Mousterian times to later Palæolithic times in Western Europe carries with it a change from an older type (*Homo neandertalensis*) who spoke little, according to Elliot Smith, and walked bent and bowed, to the earliest of modern types, who already shewed the enlarged brain with its evidence of capacity for speech and speech-memory, who in most cases walked almost erect, and who shewed a far more varied and far-reaching initiative than their predecessors. We can have little doubt that they had holy places in some of the great caves, where, in dark recesses, modern explorers have found the bold frescoes and sculptures which have excited wonder of late years. But nothing, so far as is at present known, has been handed down concerning these most ancient holy places. The men of those days were hunters on the cold grass lands which occupied much of the surface of Europe while the ice-sheets and glaciers of the Great Ice Age were still lingering near the mountain-ranges of the centre and the high moorlands of the North. With the final retreat of the ice and the sinking of the continental shelf, so that Atlantic water could get far more freely in to the Norway Sea, the North Sea, and, for a time, the Baltic, the old life faced a great crisis. The wet westerly winds were no longer kept out by the cold, heavy air over land ice-sheets, and they got in over the land north of the Alps, and spread forest at the expense of grass land, making life hard, if not impossible, for the men of the time who had been hunters of the great beasts of the grass lands. Archaeology is beginning to give a sketch of decadence of the old life, with survivors for a time here and there living very poorly on shell-fish of the shore and the like. The old caves and the old art were forgotten; it was not these early sanctities that were handed down, so far as we at present know.

The Collective Home

In South-west Asia the climate had been wet and fairly mild; while the furies of the Ice reigned in Europe, and in forests somewhere in that part of the world men were learning other lessons. Pottery was coming into use, though its origins may go back a little beyond this; stone axes with transverse edges useful for wood-splitting, and shaped by grinding, were becoming a general feature. Evidences of the beginning of care of plants, leading to cultivation of cereals,

and, perhaps a little later, to the keeping of animals for future food, begins to be available. The mountain-valleys of Central Europe began to grow forests where once glaciers had ground their way along, and men with the forest-culture began to spread. By and by they made collective homes in the lake villages of Switzerland, and their arts spread over Western Europe bit by bit. In the older time men could chip effectively but few kinds of stone save flint and chert, but now there were many varieties of stone in use ; many hard crystalline rocks could be ground and, if necessary, polished, and the sources of such stone came to have widespread importance. Questing journeys began to have extra importance.

The spread of pottery and the increased use of fire, with abundant wood supplies, seems to have led to the trying of stones in the fire, and somewhere or other, perhaps in more than one place, the discovery was made that stones of certain kinds might be softened by heat, shaped, and then cooled in the desired forms. This was one beginning of the great discovery of metal. Another may well have been due to man's love of glitter ; flakelets of gold in many a stream could be collected on woolly fleeces fixed in the water. Gold and copper, and later tin also, became objects of quests that now took on an immense cultural importance, for the questing travellers came equipped with what, to the natives they met, must have seemed magic skill. The contact between richer and poorer cultures at some early sources of specially hard rocks or metal seems linked with the great stone monuments in some regions, though he would be an over-venturesome speculator who would make metal-seeking the only or even the ruling factor here.

At any rate, from the period when dependence on stone was coming to an end, we have evidence of the spread of cultural influences between the Iberian Peninsula, France, W. Britain and Ireland, S. Sweden, Denmark, and N.W. Germany.

Sacred Stones

The evidence is in the form of the earliest great stone monuments of diverse types, some showing local peculiarities with hints of cultural influences from other lands. That they betoken culture connections between Iberia and Scandinavia no one can well deny. Elliott Smith goes further, and thinks the idea of these monuments came from Egypt, but his views are hotly repudiated by some others. It seems fairly agreed that some great stone monuments, and especially those which are found in Syria, India, the Far East, and the Pacific, are much younger than the first ones of the West. The controversy as to origins hardly concerns us here ; we may turn our thoughts rather to facts of continuity of sanctity, which now begin to take on a great importance. Just as, it may well be, the old culture of the kitchen-midden makers (living on shell-fish) dragged

on almost to the time of the great stone monuments in parts of Western Europe, so also the civilization that gathered round those monuments lingered on, it would seem, to historic times. Early Church Councils condemned and threatened those who worshipped great stones, the Early Church strove to Christianize centres it could not destroy, and we have the strange case of the dolmen at Confolens (W. France), where carved pillars of the early Middle Ages form some of the supports of a dolmen; a church in Wales has around it remains of what was doubtless a circle of great stones, while a great deal could be said concerning strange rites still performed in the twentieth century near great stone monuments or at the places they once occupied. We shall probably not be far wrong if we think of many of the earliest of these monuments as centres of a superior culture spreading awe of mysterious powers in the region round about them. Many of them are near the sea, and may well have been stations of men of superior culture arriving in a far land, centres to which natives would come to trade and to wonder, centres also whence the idea of making such monuments would spread along the ways that led to them, just as in later times subordinate sanctities have so often grown up along the ways to some famed sanctuary. The marking of ancient ways by monuments, whether of stone or of earth, is a very characteristic feature in several regions of Western Europe.

The Meaning of the Altar

In the story of Abram we read of his journey, probably as a shepherd-trader, from Haran through Palestine by way of Sichem, Bethel Hebron and Beersheba, stations of lasting importance, around which many traditions of sanctity gathered in the course of time. Abram built an altar at Bethel, and in a later story we hear of Jacob sleeping there on his way to Haran, and setting up a stone for a pillar in memory of his vision. From a later time we hear of Shechem and Hebron as two of the cities of refuge or sanctuaries appointed by Joshua, and already in the book of Judges another station on this road, namely Shiloh, begins to be mentioned for its sanctity. These are but a few among many indications of sanctity associated with what may be described as stations along a trade route, sanctity which clings to some at any rate of these places, as later history shews. We also glean the idea of stone monuments associated with these holy places.

Mecca and Medina

These considerations help us to understand one of the most famous of all sacred cities of history, namely Mecca. It is a station of special importance on the trade way from Arabia Felix (? Sheba) northward. Near Mecca came, for these traders in frankincense,

the rough contact with the immense Harras or areas of rocky lava near the edge of the high Arabian plateau. To avoid the worst a difficult descent was made down that edge towards the coast with a reascent that led to Medina farther north. From Medina routes diverged in various directions. Mecca is thus a town that has grown up at a point of change in the character of a trade route, a place of multiple exchanges and contacts, and also a place where spiritual protection might well be sought by traders before facing the trials of the northward journey or where thanksgiving might be offered on the return. That the sanctity of Mecca is far older than Islam is well known from the fact that here, at the very heart of Islam, is reverence paid to a material object, the famed black stone, or Kaaba, a feature out of harmony with the ideals of Islam, but obviously so strongly rooted that Islam had to adopt it. Facts concerning other desert stations forbid us to rule out another factor, namely, that not seldom persecuted sectaries or other repositories of enthusiasm have tried to found a *Civitas Dei* according to their own ideas, and in the course of that work have made the desert blossom as the rose. The case of Mecca has its analogies with that of Santiago da Compostela in North-west Spain, the veneration of which has been so fruitful of contributions to European life. In the early Middle Ages it grew to fame as the shrine of St. James the Great in the west of that hill-country which most stoutly resisted the domination of Muhammadan armies, and so became deeply linked with the Christian Church and the Crusades against the Moors. Then crusades led to pilgrimages, and the tales told by crusaders and pilgrims on the way to Santiago are among the prime contributions to French literature. The Route de St. Jacques, with its many minor sanctities and its many evidences of the spread of Gothic architecture, southward from the Paris Basin through Bordeaux, Bayonne and Léon, is one of the best of our western examples of a Holy Way. But pilgrims also came by sea from Ireland via Pembrokeshire, Cornwall and Brittany, using ports at St. David's, St. Catherine's, Tenby, Llanfihangel Abercowin, and Padstow at least.

Santiago

Recent investigations have shown that the veneration of Santiago is associated with reverence for a number of more ancient sanctities, including especially great stones at Padron near by, and it appears that gold ornaments of ancient type are still treasured at Santiago. One must hesitate to assert that the stone monuments immediately concerned date from the earliest period named for those monuments, but North-west Spain is famous for such constructions. Leeds has urged that the Iberian Peninsula is the place where this type of construction originated, though many others would dispute this,

while allowing that the art of building these monuments reached the Peninsula early. Whichever is right, there can be little doubt that in the mediæval and later pilgrimages to Santiago da Compostela we have a late phase of something that goes back to the days of the earlier great stone monuments directly or indirectly. Moreover, North-west Spain is famed for its vein metals, though as yet we know all too little about the locations of early workings. Further, we have evidence in the monuments, and some would say in early legendary history as well, of prehistoric maritime links with Brittany, Cornwall (Padstow), Pembrokeshire, and the east of Ireland, and there may be other convergent lines of evidence as yet hardly worked out at all. Whether there is an approach to continuity or not it is too early to say, but there has at least been a worship of the great stones and what must be either persistence or revival of the sea route concerned. Santiago supersedes Padron as the focus behind a number of ports of which Padron is one. Santiago illustrates very well the idea of a focus behind alternative ports which gave to the little ships of old increased chances of arrival, struggling against wind and tide.

It seems, then, legitimate to think of Padron, and Santiago as the focus behind it, as a centre of great stone monuments with some importance as an entry, from the sea, into this region. St. David's in Wales was recently described in a *Times* article as a sanctuary built in a remote and difficult spot, and this is quite legitimate if we argue merely from modern times. In the days of the early Church, however, Glendalough in Co. Wicklow was a renowned centre whence missions spread, and we know that they came thence to St. David's over the narrowest crossing. The Cathedral is not on the coast, but about a mile inland, at the focus of a number of ways from different landings on the two sides of the westwardly-pointing St. David's Head. Not only so, but we find, on and near the headland, a number of great stone monuments, and once there may have been many more. Also the various landings are known as pilgrim places, and some have chapels connected with the old pilgrimages. A still further line of evidence is folk-tale. These tales in the district concerned deal mostly with traders from the sea who pursued the "silent trade," and who, according to one of the best known tales, had a secret underground store of gold balls in the headland. Here the prehistoric, early Christian and mediæval evidences seem almost continuous with one another; they combine to give the architectural glories of St. David's associations that help the reverent visitor to understand very vividly how a place comes to be holy. St. David's may well have been in the Bronze Age (lasting almost, if not quite, down to Roman times in the west) as well as in early Christian times the gate of entry of a richer culture into Wales.

Canterbury, St. Davids and St. Andrews

One cannot but think that somehow or other this factor operated in the case of Canterbury. That it decided the location of the Archbishopric is clear from history. That it was also one factor of the pilgrimages using the "Old Road" of Belloc's essay is probable, and to credit this we need not dispute in any way the influence of traditions of sanctity that grew around Becket's tomb. Canterbury, like St. David's and like Santiago, is a focus behind a number of ports (Cinque Ports), and through Canterbury, at least since the advent of the Roman Church in England in early Saxon times, have streamed into England the greater portions of our inheritance of civilization from the Mediterranean and from France.

The case of St. Andrew's in Scotland is much disputed. Some think it a case of a famous shrine growing up around an original hermit's cell in a spot chosen because it was remote. Others fancy that St. Andrew's acted as a focus for a number of ports around the Fifeshire coasts, and was entry from the continent in that way. The latter hypothesis would bring St. Andrew's into line with the other places, but evidence is as yet admittedly very weak.

While St. David's, Canterbury, and Santiago are culture-entries from the sea, in the case of Russia we have one sacred city which, appropriately enough, is a culture-entry from the land and the rivers, and that is Kief. It is on the great Dnieper, not far from the south-west border of the forest lands of Muscovy, and it may be said to be the great entrance-gate for Byzantine influences from the south affecting Russian religion and art. It is also important in connection with ways from the west, for on its north-western flank begin almost immediately the immense marshes of the Pripet that so greatly hinder contacts between Russia and Central Europe. To get through to Muscovy one must either go north via Vilna and across the Beresina, as did Napoleon, or turn south and so pass Kief on the way into Muscovy. To a certain extent, Sian (Hsingan-fu) and Peking are analogous as land-entries into China, while ancient Taxila at the foot of the north-western passes played a somewhat analogous part for a while in India.

More in analogy with Mecca than with these other cities is the case of Lhassa in Thibet, the sacred city of lamaism, the important station on the difficult caravan route from Kashmir into Western and North-western China, and many of the caravan routes of East Central Asia have lamaseries as their vital centres. It is worth noting that the Grand Lama of Thibet has claimed a monopoly of gold, an important indication of the association of religion and commerce which we have noted as intertwined in so many other cases.

Kief and Moscow

But to return to Russia: it is significant that the sanctity of Kief has been rivalled, not to say outpassed, by that of Moscow, and here we touch upon other factors. The Russian villager has been wont to think of himself as a colonist fighting the great forest and its isolation, and, just as the place-names chosen by the Pilgrim Fathers tell of their attachment to the homeland they have left for conscience' sake and knew they would not see again, so the Russian villagers tell of attachment to their tradition by venturing journeys back to its centre, which for most of them is still attainable, albeit at considerable cost. The religious interests of the Russian villager doubtless have other contributory factors, but the attitude of the people of the outposts towards their central home is an important element in the situation. The development of sects, so characteristic of Russian life, is a counter-effect easy to understand.

Moscow, with its remarkable situation relatively to waterways and landways, has thus become a focus of popular feeling in Russia, and it is significant that the change from the Tsarist to the Bolshevist government has been marked by the shifting of the main centre from Petrograd to Moscow.

Benares

Benares is, in part somewhat analogously, a centre of Indian popular tradition. Indo-Aryan tradition from the bare lands in the north-west became Aryo-Dravidian as it reached the wealth of the warm forest-lands of the Ganges, and the blend spread through the forests of Central India into the Dravidian and pre-Dravidian south, associated more with religious teaching which helped the blends in spite of caste than with the power of the sword which had its base rather in the north-west. This is but a mention in passing of a few points connected with Benares ; to go seriously into the matter of the holy places of the monsoon lands it would be necessary to work out many human contrasts between those lands and our quadrant of the world.

Rome

Perhaps of all places which have become, in a real and vital fashion, the outward and visible centres of widespread tradition none is more characteristic than Rome ; for, whereas Moscow fulfilled this function almost solely for people of Slavonic speech, Rome has attracted peoples of many tongues. It is a commonplace to state that her Empire made Rome the centre of the then known world : it is well to remember that this carried with it the bringing to Rome of all manner of cults from Africa, Egypt and Greece, so that

she gathered the fragments of old religions and came to express many religious desires for many peoples. The Empire was always ready to welcome another religion provided it could be practised alongside of its predecessors. Christianity, with its many Iranian links, as Strzygowski has been showing, was incongruous with the others, and stood outside the circle for a while. But the establishment of the new capital at Constantinople, where Iranian and Anatolian influences most easily entered Roman Europe, helped to capture the Roman world for Christianity, or, perhaps, rather to capture Christianity as a support for the Roman tradition in its perplexed late-imperial phase. The fall of the Empire and the nominal Christianization of the barbarian conquerors both played their parts in turning men's thoughts to Rome. In the Dark Ages men recalled memories of the peace and law of Rome and sought the advice of the Churchmen, now the only repositories of remnants of the ancient learning. When the light began to return in the Middle Ages, the prestige of Rome was enormous, and long remained so. Rome as centre of law and peace, of learning and guidance, in the minds of the harassed men of the Dark Ages, seems to be a vital factor of the sanctity it acquired and, unfortunately, valued too little.

Jerusalem

But, if Rome grew as a memory, may we not say the same, in still larger measure, of the most holy of all holy cities, Jerusalem, treasured by Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans alike? In so important a matter there must be many factors. It is evident from the reference to Melchisedek in Genesis that the priest-king of Jerusalem had a special position; he ruled the fortress at the side of the trade routes, whether that from Hebron to Bethel and Shechem, or that branch from the Bethel road which led to Jericho and so across Jordan, or that along the western side of the Dead Sea. Later, it was to Moriah that Abram was sent to offer up his son. In the Israelite conquest of Canaan again it is evident that the hostility of Jerusalem was a serious factor finally removed only long afterwards by the victory of David, who thereupon forthwith becomes concerned about building a Temple. Obviously then, Jerusalem, from very early times, had associations which would help us to understand its later history did we but know more. Yet these long associations furnish only the groundwork of the wonderful edifice that grew in men's minds. When the Jews were in exile, Jerusalem became idealized as the home of their beloved tradition, as the sign and mark of everything that kept them from sinking their individuality among the Gentiles. But just as they were at the stage for getting beyond a tangible to an abstract God, so also their minds passed from the actual city of Jerusalem to the idea

of the city not builded with hands. At a later period, as Ramsay has so well shewn, the Jewish colonists in Galilee treasured the thought of Jerusalem, and went as pilgrims to the Holy City, as one sees from the story of Jesus. With the fall of the city it became a memory to Jews in exile; to Christians persecuted, and later in power; to rulers who used that memory to work up popular feeling in favour of capturing what still is a key to control of trade routes important now as in the days of Abram, four thousand years ago. But this political and commercial interest is altogether outclassed by the spiritual one, which has made the old memories of Jerusalem the basis of the ideal of drawing all men into brotherhood and of realizing the ideal on earth. It is the theme of poets, painters and prophets, and is to be understood of all, just as among the factors of its sanctity we think we can trace almost all, perhaps all, the factors which have operated to sanctify its lesser sisters the world over.

Spiritual Stimulus

A place may thus become holy through the working of many and diverse factors affecting both material and spiritual interests, but it seems fair to say that the persistence of an association between men and some one place depends on its making an appeal to their more inward and spiritual side. In many cases the holy place gained its reputation largely through being, for one reason or another, a centre of intercourse identified with a particular cultural tradition, but there may be cases of sanctity of durable type gathering around a lonely spot and transforming it into a centre of intercourse. Alleged cases of this hitherto have usually become suspect when investigations have been made. The idealization of the holy place is a general feature, so that the actual place is less and less considered, and its name comes to stand for such dreams as that of the new Jerusalem.

The Idea of the Sacred City

By Rachel Annand Taylor

NOT so very long ago, when the games of the children, as yet unvexed by the interference of their elders, still kept, like a challenge in a lost language, the echo and image of antiquity, you could hear, through the emerald northern twilight, the come and go of their grave antiphonies:

" How many miles to Babylon ? "
" Three score and ten."
" Can I get there by candlelight ? "
" Yes, and back again."

So they sang, in dreamy advance and retreat; and there was something of the sacramental dance in the movement, something of the liturgy in the chant of these acolytes, so remote, and so unaware of the most legendary of all the Sacred Cities, the vanished place whose very name can transfigure either a curse or a verse into a poem of quality.

In Babylonia and Assyria, in Egypt and India, in Persia and Arabia and China, in the Italies, the Spains, the Sicilies, the Americas, in lands Frankish, Norman, Celtic, Slavonic, humanity has built its altars for the gods, and, by invocation, suppliance and sacrifice, has compelled them to come in from their heavenly hunting and their immortal fields and their unearthly adventure to listen to the litanies in their temples. The gods have heard and have passed. But the places that grew into mysterious beauty round the ambiguous vision of divinity have taken on the likeness of immortality, and names like Babylon, Nineveh, Heliopolis, Jerusalem, Benares, Mecca, Athens, Ephesus, Damascus, Rome, Byzantium are as great chords that seize the ultimate cells of hearing, and their histories have crested waves and soft reluctances like accomplished symphonies.

For, as soon as men, becoming conscious of themselves, are anxiously aware of their need of a god, they begin to prepare, however fumblingly in the darkness of their caves, the foundations of the Sacred City.

The psychic instinct urges the physical from the moment it knows

love and fear, however dimly. The battle has long been set between animist and materialist, and it seems unending. Meanwhile all children, savages, and probably many beasts, are animists, for they will impute a soul to any object. So are women and poets, since their business is intimately concerned with the mere wonder of life. For the miracle is not more miraculous when the processes are not instantaneous, and are only spirally progressive. Is it the less divine because it strove through æon upon æon and shape on shape to become the curious thing it is, half beast, half angel? Why should a little protoplasm turn into sacred cities, into the metaphysic of Plato or Buddha or Spinoza, dreaming of truth and ecstatic love, and justice and eternity? What felt the primal fear? What divined a power in the darkness and a beauty beyond the dawn? Something instigated the elaborate ritual of adoration and the complicated etiquette of propitiation. At least there is a soul now, whether it be a mere expression of the finer material desires or an ethereal flicker, no supersubtle scalpel shall uncover. It exists now, and lives not by bread alone ; but is redeemed by the mystical roses of Isis, like the spirit of the Golden Ass in the antique fable. As for the idea of God, that has become the polar star of the imagination, a condition of thought, a magnificent postulate in all speech. The Divine Idea has saturated human consciousness, as the purple soaks the texture in the dyeing-vat, haunting it like remembered music, disturbing it like a fragrance, leaping terribly upon it in every moment of triumph or defeat.

Before the beginning of years
  There came to the making of man
Time, with a gift of tears ;
  Grief, with a glass that ran ;
Pleasure, with pain for leaven ;
  Summer, with flowers that fell ;
Remembrance fallen from heaven ;
  And madness risen from hell ;
Strength, without hands to smite ;
  Love that endures for a breath ;
Night, the shadow of light ;
  And life, the shadow of death.

And the high gods took in hand
  Fire, and the falling of tears ;
And a measure of sliding sand
  From under the feet of the years ;
And froth and drift of the sea ;
  And dust of the labouring earth ;
And bodies of things to be
  In the houses of death and of birth ;
And wrought with weeping and laughter,
  And fashioned with loathing and love,

With life before and after,
And death beneath and above,
For a day and a night and a morrow,
That his strength might endure for a span
With travail and heavy sorrow,
The holy spirit of man.

—*Swinburne.*

When the cave men began to make their burial places, and to hang round them their incised ornaments and trophies to propitiate the spirits of the dark, and to comfort the dear dead; when, later, folks began to gather for dance and sacrifice round holy tree or holy well, or stark life-giving stone, or built rude altars by destined hill and river, the Sacred Cities had already struck their roots. For light and darkness, and love and death, had begun that indeterminate civil war in eternity, and the centres of mystical excitement were shaken with its pulsations. Mankind demanded not only food and succour, but decoration and drama—beauty and romance, in short. God is not invariably good, according to the laws of earthly justice; but He is invariably exciting. It was the more determined romantics who became the tribesmen of the Sacred City, and their totem was probably the chimæra.

Round the high altars the place becomes a throbbing complex of love and fear. The dwellings of acolytes, and worshippers, and the purveyors of their necessities and their luxuries press around the temples—all the innumerable people concerned with sacrifice and its ritual, all the artists to express its beauty, all the scholars to explain its wisdom. And the pomp of the god is perplexed with the pomp of princes. Kings, courtiers, and counsellors are temple-children too, for the early kings move in an august and golden confusion, themselves gods and priests and even sacrifices. Philosophers and poets, cunning craftsmen and stargazers, captains and musicians, the sweet and the fiery, the dreamers and the cynics, the lovers of splendour and the renunciants, the seekers for miracle and their exploiters, all the servants of the sacred, and, by natural reaction, all the excessive retinue of the profane, are drawn by the capital cities of divinity.

These great cities lie vibrating through human history. Some are magical like Ecbatana of the coloured walls, some are imperial like Rome or Delhi, some are legendary like Camelot, some are light-giving like Athens, some are symbolical like Jerusalem. They hang in the dusk of antiquity like lighted thuribles of sacrifice, they float on the moonlit lapses of Time like mighty nenuphars, they are shaken torches that distortingly illuminate the Very Dream of God. Theirs are the sieges of supreme and ultimate conflict. They are desirable, adorable, detestable, they torture and are tortured, they are worshipped, they are violated; and it is hard to say whether their

idolaters or their iconoclasts, their saints or their heretics, their loyalists or their renegades are the more vivid witnesses to their power. Massed and piled and planned in imitation of the universe itself, they rise in Egypt and Chaldæa ; clear-pillared and friezed with beautiful processionals and divine symposia, they keep the heart of Greece ; assured and puissant and arrogant, they guard the *pax Romana*. Restless like troubled dreamers, they clasp their reliquaries through the turmoil of the Byzantine ages. Castles in pearl and rose and blue, their spirits lie behind the kindled stories of mediæval glass-makers and illuminators, and are lifted in the landscapes of "Primitive" painters like carved holy lodestones, symbols of the heart's desire, places where its treasure is, where it may return from all its adventure to love and sanctuary. Meanwhile the real Sacred Cities, winged and coloured with frenzy, are locked in the strange wars of enemies that should be lovers. They endure magnificent loss and gain in passionate Renaissances: they are shattered and ravished in Revolutions. But their breath is incense and their gods cannot forget their bridal chambers. Their fall is followed by an incredible music of lamentation, chords and fumes of purple colour and sound.

The Sacred Cities are in all the continents, from European East to West, and North to South. They rise from the dead in the Mediterranean lands, they take on new histories in India, they lie locked and shuttered beyond the invincible Himalayas, they are mute in Tibet and jealous in China, and they are re-discovered, enigmatic, in the Americas. The astrologers have built them of the Houses of the Stars. They are fabulous in the sunset skies. They are called Paradise, and lifted like a strong-walled castle on a hill. They are called Hell, and founded on the burning marl, a City of Dreadful Night, sinister under the black pennons of Melancholia. They are called Ys, and sunken under sea for their sweet iniquities ; and still at eventide, by the pearling tides, you may hear the ethereal importunities of their wistful bells.

The Citizens of the Sacred City

Those who would be citizens of the Sacred City must be initiates of a great imaginative experience. They must see the square towers of the temple of Bel-Merodach ascending step-wise through the darkness to the consenting stars, while, in the golden topmost chamber, the dedicated virgin waits the coming of the god ; they must walk in the hanging gardens in the spring, and hear the women wail for Tammuz while Ishtar the lovely goes down to hell for his redemption, yielding piece by piece her brede and mail of potent jewels till she comes stark and agonized before the powers of death. The legendary Semiramis must drive out between the winged bulls and the sumptuous imagery of the date-palm, the tree of life guarded

by eagle-headed genii, and fertilizing kings and gods. They must learn the religion of the Magi in Median Ecbatana of the seven-coloured girdles and the silver and golden roofs. They must inhabit the great colonnades and colossal terraces of solemn Persepolis. The mysterious might of Thoth must lay hold on them until they be atoned with the ageless melancholy and magic of Egypt, where hieratic, sun-descended, sister-wedded kings, and equal queens, move with strict hieratic beauty and enamelled colour and monstrous symbols across the dark, where the sacred tree grows round the gilded coffer of Osiris at Abydos, and the avenue of Sphinxes leads to the mysteries of Isis, and the princess-priestesses lie in rocky death-chambers with amazing pectorals of gryphons and hawks over their swathed breasts, and the Pyramids make their sombre and unavailing protest against the desecrations of Time, and the spirit learns the great ritual of the Book of the Dead. Yet also, branded apostate, theirs must be the heresy of the Disk-worshippers. They must hear the flutes and sistra of the Great Mother complain for Atthis, and the doves moan round the "broidered seat" of Aphrodite. Above all things they must dream of Troy, most sacred of all cities, where beauty, born of Leda and the Swan, walked on the fire-doomed walls, and gods and mortals fought in the windy plains below. They must have unwound labyrinths, Cretan and Egyptian. They must have seen the girls go up in fluted raiment to offer the Panathenaic veil, while their brethren of Platonic youth follow, splendidly controlling their restive horses.

Meanwhile Pericles, the Parthenon-builder, talks with Anaxagoras in the House of Aspasia; and Alcibiades trails his cloak by day and mutilates the images by night, both sceptic and mocker being most at home in a Sacred City. Yet also they must follow the lights along the rocky shore at Eleusis where Demeter is seeking Persephone. They must have been in Antioch, when the king called Epiphanes wandered through the night, rose-crowned, with the wine-cup in his hand; in Ephesus of the marvellous temple, where Diana was still an Asiatic goddess; in Alexandria, when white Hypatia was martyred by the Christians. They will have been part of the leaguers and splendours of Constantinople, and gone with the exarchs to Ravenna of the lily capitals and the gold atmosphere of imperial mosaic; and found in sweet Sicily, land of Persephone, cities like rich orchids, flowers of married East and West. They must be well aware of the gorgeous vicissitudes of Rome. From the North they must have brought a vision of wild-winged helmets and the lights of the strange auroras that flicker over Balder the Beautiful, asleep in the gardens of the snow. They must have been pilgrims to the mosques of Mecca and the river of Benares and the shores of St. Iago da Compostella, and palmers to that Jerusalem which has witnessed the Supreme Passion play of the world. They will have visions of golden and flame-coloured dragons on the black lacquer of the Far East. In mediæval times

they must have known an armoured virgin crown her king in one Sacred City because the angels and the spirits of the faëry tree so commanded, and perish by a tree of flame in another. They will have cast new incense on ancient altars at the Renaissance, and dreamed of a universal religion with its platonizing enthusiasts. They will think that the women of Cyprus still weave the roses of Paphian Aphrodite in their broideries, while the scholars dig up the votive images of her ancient idolaters. And they will not be satisfied till they find the Holy Grail in Sarras, the rose-coloured place, the Spiritual City.

Power of the Sacred City

So the Sacred City remains the heart of each doubting and stricken and apprehensive civilization, its most apparent yet most unanalysable complex of pleasure or pain, its citadel of agonizing yet triumphal life.

What goes to the making of it? The councils and conspiracies of that building are unimaginable. The stars in their azimuth sing it into being. The sun stays his chariot in the heavens to determine its orientations. The planets consider its ways, the moon spilling her most holy silver upon its towers. The Earth-Goddess pauses her lions by its site. The seas and the great rivers make magnificent concessions. The winds come from the waste lands with haunting cries and savours. The vines and the olives and the date-palms make provisions for it. Sometimes the lavish opulence of the region needs the splendid flowering: sometimes the desert will have its rose. The dark merchantmen coming and going in their hollow ships or meditative caravans, bearing gold and frankincense and myrrh, desire to pause at the meeting of water-ways and land-ways, to sacrifice and pray. The daily lives of shepherds and huntsmen and metal-workers have entered into its predestination. So have the tombs of the dead. But whatever the collusions of water and land and sky, whatever the fatalities of human affairs, the Sacred City arises in some place that urgently proclaims the presence of a god, and is in itself but a litany of invocation.

Earthly love has made a city sacred, like Verona of the young lovers, or Agra, with its wonder wrought as by moon-builders, a city risen in the region where Krishna, the beloved flute-player, delighted to linger. Even pleasure may raise a town to unearthly wonder, like Naukratis of old, a rainbow city in the delta of the Nile, famous for the beauty of its women and its flowers. Not often does the life and death of a single person consecrate a city. When the Bithynian favourite of Hadrian died by the green lavers of the Nile a new star appeared in the sky, a new red lotus dreamed on the water, and Besa became Antinoöpolis. When St. Francis fared by the woods and hills of Umbria, disdaining not the souls of birds and wolves, he little imagined that he would die under a double

temple in Assisi. But even the will of Constantine did not create the city that bears his name, and even the astonishing Alexander was the least of the factors in the making of Alexandria.

If mere material circumstance had fashioned the gods, the spirit of wonder, as I have said, woke early, and the delight in miracle and myth. The gods are adventurous, and there is no ennui in the history of the Sacred Cities. They are the set scenes for the Divine Comedy of the ages. Humanity transfers to religion, with all its other unsatisfied desires, its indestructible thirst for romance, that is, for strange and beautiful incident. For religion is not " morality touched by emotion," it is not essentially morality at all, though some kind of ethic is its corollary. Its essence is emotional, imaginative, rapturous, ecstatic. Systems of morality vary with time and place; the vital principle of religion is the same for every time and place. It differs in quality and intensity but not in its nature. The Sacred Cities of the past have rarely been approved by the philosophers and the moralists; but the poets are their thralls. They are all built round the Tree of Life whose roots go down to blood and tears and even to strange corruptions, the Tree of Life that is guarded by mysterious twy-natured angels, and whose fruit is often a crucified god. Since the beginning, when men groped fearfully and found the miracle of fire, the supreme inexhaustible adventure has been the story of the soul and its lord. That dream has never failed to be tinder to their sullen flint. It was strange and beautiful: it still is beautiful and strange, even in those who passionately call their god by names like darkness and annihilation.

The City is Eternal

Once a Sacred City always a Sacred City. It cannot lose that prestige. In the year of Jubilee, 1500, the Borgia was Pope, and Rome was as pagan as in the days of Tiberius. Even Renaissance France and Italy trembled a little at the legend of that Vicar of Christ. Yet the mystical year drew all the world to the city whose excesses could not destroy her divinity.

Once a Sacred City, always a Sacred City. The pollen drifts from one to another, borne by the winds; gods change and pass, and come again to incense-haunted places. But a city that has been set as a seal on the arm of a god cannot perish or lose his image utterly. She may vanish from Time like ancient Carthage or Babylon, but she lives in Eternity. How many gods had faded from Troy before silver-footed Thetis came to comfort her moody son before its walls, and immortal ichor ran down for the sake of Paris? How many civilizations wore down Karhemish of the Hittites. There were Druid stones in baptized Camelot. The Phœnician builders wrought at the Temple of Jerusalem as well as at the shrine of the Cyprian goddess, and wrought remembering their own Ashtaroth. Greek epheboi have sung in that Temple to please a Seleucid king, and the seven-branched Candlestick is lost in the Tiber. The son of Olympias and the Snake has stamped his insolent beauty on the cities of Northern India; but the Master

of Pergamos altered the image of the dying Alexander into the passion of Mithra. The Crusaders have stripped the golden shift from Saint Sophia, and died in flaming pyres at Paris, accused of adoring the religion of Saladin. Christ, like Orpheus in Phrygian cap, became the lutanist of souls in the catacombs. Eros turns monk and founds the Order of the Paraclete. There have been strange reconciliations at Palermo when Frederic was emperor. Mithra has risen and slain the bull again as the son of a Pope. Venus, in the form of Giulia Farnese, lies shameless in St. Peter's. The Iron Pillar of Delhi has been insulted by the mercy of the Slave Emperors, who girt it with their mosques. There are the sacred dancers of the Orient at Eastertide in Salamanca. All the pilgrims of Asia go in to Benares. The great historian of Rome heard the monks chant in the Coliseum, and the most illuminating student of comparative religion has discerned faint bells at Nemi. And now at Luxor they pry into the secrets of the dynasties, and tamper with stones peculiar to the moon-god at immemorial Ur.

The Sacred City is a Culture City

For the Sacred Cities are the supreme culture cities. All that exists of beauty and wisdom has been subdued to the ritual, so that pilgrims may say of each : " *If there be Paradise on Earth it is here, it is here, it is here.*"

Knowledge and art become various and original and mighty in the Sacred City, for two great impulses. They fulfil the ritual—and they criticize it.

Religion has one dangerous child, and its name is Science. Yet the natural sciences are merely the logical developments of the priestly magic that tries to fetter the elements with incantations, and, as time passes, of the inevitable sceptical comment on these. Universities begin with aristocracies of the Magian cult, the colleges of Egyptian priests, the cloisters of the monasteries, the keepers of the sacred books of the East. Sometimes the long-maintained passion for learning in itself makes a city most holy. The very air of Oxford and Cambridge is hushed and sweet with great traditions, and immortal histories in lovely languages that never will die. In such places the bright rebellions and gay seditions of youth are most gracious, for their gestures are sweetly suborned by the genius of the ages. The torches burn clearly in the airs of antiquity, and revolts of one kind of beauty against another can end only in a beautiful reconciliation, when the insurgents recognize that their swords are stolen from the arsenals of the past.

The earlier priests are all medicine men, so the humaner sciences also begin with them. In temples of Isis, and cloisters of Æsculapius, in hospitals of Paris and fountains of Lourdes, to take but a few examples, sufferers have passed, and still pass, into the healing trance, the Truce of God wherein pain is softly divorced and dissolved from mortality. And most curative and purifying processes have some kinship with religion.

But it is too elaborate a business to relate the sciences to the

Sacred City, which is chiefly a culture city because, as a mystical centre, it attracts every kind of artist. There is a fixed belief that the marriage chamber of Earth and Heaven should be beautiful beyond miracle, curiously brocaded with peacocks and cherubim, and winged disks and pomegranates, pine-cones, lilies and lotus, jewelled with flowers and flowered with jewels, painted with visions, rare with frankincense and murmurous with music, all the symbols of life's history repeated in imperishable splendour. Austere and noble minds there are that reject the holier labour of the arts as vanity, and refuse all colour and sound and shape as obstacles to the knowledge of God. But the symbolists and natural idolaters find any kind of beautiful object a key to the House of Ecstasy; and they seem to prevail. The most renunciant religion may begin in the desert; it is soon housed in temples of fantasy.

For all builders find in the service of a god their sovereign opportunity. Temple, basilica, cathedral; what architect does not desire to space those courts, to marshal those pillars, to raise those domes and towers? And a sacred city means not only temples but palaces, palaces for princes or for republics. It means bridges, chantries, gardens, dwellings, that at least try to keep in tune. It means great glories for powers temporal and spiritual, streets for the pageants, abbeys and colleges for the priesthood and the scholars. Then the sculptors and carvers come to figure the stories of gods, demigods and saints. And the embroiderers in blue and purple and scarlet, the gilders and the curious metal-workers, and enamellers. And the dancers and singers and musicians with reed or string.

Most of all is the Sacred City beloved by poets. Comedy and tragedy, which began in Dionysiac worship, are evolved again out of every religious ritual. The lyric note cries through the litanies; and the story of the city's princes, heroes, lovers and saints, her magnificences and her lapses, give the poet his epic when he desires it.

But in all times every Sacred City has wrung a double beauty from day and night. Its "Fortune" is Manichæan; and it gains not merely from the Triumph of Life, but from the Triumph of Death. Still we hang our honourable banners and bury our noblest dead in its cloisters, and near its approaches. Mycenæan kings masked in gold, embalmed Egyptian sun-kings and singing-women, pensive figures on grave Greek stele, slim mediæval princes in wrought brass, and lovely Renaissance youth in marble, great funeral pyres by the water, bear witness to the beauty and dread of mortality. The star-soliciting ziggurats of Babylon, the exquisite parallels of the Parthenon, the thrust and rapture of Gothic cathedrals, the faëry fantastic minarets of Damascus, have alike failed to persuade from any god a true solution of the riddle of death.

All civilization at its best and its worst, then, arises in the magnificent, sweet and sensuous evocation of the Sacred City by its heretical evangelists, the artists, who love to serve one god while remembering all the rest.

The moralists contemplate it with a certain rage of regret. The philosophers turn their eyes to some remote and inimical idea, as Plato to the Sparta that destroyed his own Athens. But the lovers of beauty see the Sacred City white among fumes of rose and emerald, and silver incense-smoke, and are glad. By sacred hill and sacred river, or sacred sea, where the waters are, where the mountains are at least visible, she keeps her compact alike with Nature and the spirit of man, and her very fabrics of stone become protagonists and forces like those hills and rivers.

The Sacred Cities in Utopia

Since the Sacred City is evidently the City of the Heart's Desire, from time to time the individualist thinker has tried to make an Ideal City, to create an impalpable Sacred City in Utopia. But not one has quite succeeded in conferring divinity on his shadowy towns. They are often admirable and noble, but they are so cold that nobody really desires to dwell there. The makers are architects of formulæ; they square the plans for creatures of pure reason. But the gods are not rational. And their worshippers are more—and sometimes less—than rational.

The half-mythical Lycurgus and his successors did something with their Sparta. But Sparta was a real place, with altars to Hyacinthus, and Castor and Pollux, gods of youth. Its ideal was concrete; its disciplines were unflinching, its morality was at once lofty and daring, well justified by the immortal companions who combed their long curls and died at Thermopylæ. But the deliberate restrictions of its jealous temper made for the ruin of Greece, when Sparta of the hilly hollow turned its composed anger against the Sacred City on the sea-coast, mutable, sympathetic and various as her sea.

That something too deliberate in the constitution of the armed camp which was Sparta appealed to the conflicting temper of the Socratic Plato, who has so profoundly troubled the thinking of all philosophers that followed him, so that he inclined to remember the alien city more than his own coloured town when he founded his ideal commonwealth on the abstract idea of Justice. It is impossible to discuss the *Republic* in a sentence; but the impression left by that conception on many sincere Platonists must be confused and dubious. What of a City State that crowns its poets and expels them, where the philosophers are kings, and children are communal property in a more than Spartan way! The writer of the *Phædrus* and the *Symposium* is not often heard in the *Republic*. The soul of incense does

not dwell round the too reasonable place. There is no dream like a sunset behind it. Yet Plato could dream, and himself in later times had incense lit before him.

But applied metaphysic is hardly good building material. The quick glimpses of his true Sacred City are more precious. Better the Athens that gave Socrates the hemlock—not unjustifiably, altogether!

Cicero had his notion of a state, a Romanized version of Plato's. Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic emperor, dreamed of his "dear City of Zeus," an archetypal pattern on which all cities depended, in moods and terms of melancholy Stoic nobility. Augustine, another disciple of Plato, writes his criticism of Rome as his great predecessor did of Athens; but he writes as an indignant theologian, not as a philosopher. For the sack of Rome had shaken the world with horror and amazement. "The City is led captive which led captive the whole world," cried St. Jerome, hardly exultant. The bitter lament of civilization accused the gods of wrath, accused the lovely anarchy of the Christian religion, and its innocent reckless communism. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* is a theological description of a heavenly city existing in perfect parallel with human history, and a defence of the social value of his religion; yet its chief interest lies in its reluctant confession of the power of the city he attacks not so very willingly, for he was once a rhetorician. Yet he builded better than he knew, for the fretted and pinnacled Gothic cities that adorn the mediæval manuscripts of this book were partly prepared by his ardour and occasional angry sweetness.

Well! And Sir Thomas More built Amaurot in Utopia with much kindness and light and justice. It stood by a great river, and the people knew philosophy and music and Greek. They worshipped the sun with sweet savours and great grave courtesy. But there is no rapture in this place. And Bacon's *New Atlantus* is but a fragment. Still his House of Salomon was to be merely a great new college of sciences, for all the promise of bright colours and holy seals at the opening. And Campanella's *City of the Sun* is without warmth. Even Leonardo, when he took to town-planning, forgot his love of beauty for a moment, and merely showed great foresight concerning drains and uncongested ways. Which was admirable. But Hygeia is only a scullery-maid among the divinities, and should be taken for granted. When he simply records that he hears the doves at Urbino, or watches the bell at Siena, or listens to the sweet unisons of the fountain at Rimini, the curiously written page burns clear, for these were cities of mysterious tradition.

In modern days William Morris has made his pictures of ideal places among weltering waters and orchards, and they are sweet enough. Still later, Mr. H. G. Wells has invented stern "scientific" towns that give terror to the future. But in one beautiful book, *The Interpreters*,

a poet who is also a mystic and a worker for humanity has tried to relate political ideas to some eternal significance in a record of the conversation of a group of idealists keyed up by the gaiety of approaching death met in a noble cause. Wisely cautious, he makes no definite image of the Sacred City to come, bright pinnacles in diamond air; but, in harmonizing different modes of idealist emotion in echoing words, in recognizing the necessity for the union of passion with wisdom, he evokes and feeds the creative temper so desperately required by this day.

The Sacred City cannot be built in a day, a year, or a generation. It is made through the centuries by men, women, children and gods. The atmosphere is dark with the suspiria of the Night Obscure, the desideria of wistful souls kneeling too often before implacable altars, and the ironies of the gods who know that prayers fulfilled are often worse than denied.

The City is not made by one intellect, nor by many; it is not, either in foundation or summit, an intellectual matter at all. It is based on the unconsciousness of humanity, and it is shaped by the spirit of imagination, that Euphorion born of wedded emotion and intellect. Religions like Brahmanism in its most philosophic form, Buddhism, Christianity in its ascetic phase, cannot build cities by themselves, for they draw their devotees to solitude, forswearing colour, shape, incense, music, as beautiful slaveries to the material world. But whenever they approach the cities some instinctive power compels them to seek expression. There is a mysticism of the heart, crying that as God expresses himself in his starry systems and hierarchies, so the human soul that resembles Him would create in His name out of its dream-stuff of images.

It is strange matter this dream-stuff—forgotten plunder of obscure pain, unreasonable robberies from curious pleasure, sunken desires and violences, panics and sweet, smouldering hopes, perished illusions, unconfessed betrayals, obscure crucifixions, all the wrack and passion of the Past.

Sins of the Sacred City and their Sublimations

The Sacred City, with its flamens and augurs, has never yet been builded in Utopia. So much of it is reprehensible, and, like much unconscious matter, in need of sublimation. Eastern kings, coming and going with the divine honours of light at the gates, singing women in the courts of Amen-Ra, temple dancers, holy emperors on peacock thrones, holy Popes under peacock fans, they have nothing to do with abstract Utopias. Yet they represent, however grotesquely, some vital principle, some appetite for the gilded banners of an almost wanton beauty. There is the desire for excess in the Sacred City. The people have soft idolatrous eyes. They love extreme, sumptuous and floriated things. They love angels and young, wayward gods like Gabriel and Dionysos and Krishna.

But " the road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom." The blind extravagances of the Sacred City are splendid blunders bringing it nearer, mothlike, to the consuming Heart of God than any of the coldly plotted ways of abstract reason could. Excess is a flame-like quality, and one rare incendiary is worth more to an exhausted generation than the thousands of the children of ashes. Fire can be subdued and purified by noble disciplines into the most superb of beauty's captains and challengers. Therefore the sin of flamboyance should be as valuable as a virtue—at least in comparison with the crime of " the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin."

Also, there is bloodshed in the Sacred City. That is why its crimson is so bright. Human sacrifice has bought strength for its temples and walls ; many souls have been lost and won for love of it, for hate of it, since its very existence is an everlasting seduction and provocation. Its beauty is " terrible as an army with banners." The caves of Mithra honeycomb the foundations of its fantasy ; and Mithra is the god of the legions. When the last Greek emperor died on the walls of stricken Constantinople, he was a symbolic as well as a splendid figure. Fierce flowering of swords and spears, mortal sieges of agony and conflict surround the Sacred Cities that, like legendary women, trouble the soul of man with eternal despair.

But there is no bloodshed, no war in Utopia. Well, the fiery appetite for reckless energy, the dark passion for destruction, the chivalrous desire to die for an ideal which may be an illusion, all have to be satisfied in some way. Those who are not content to accept them as the dreadful enemies of spiritual sloth, as the human parallels of the " tiger burning bright in the forests of the night," and the deadly beautiful lightning from the skies, may cage and divert them to purely spiritual ends.

Again, there is fear in the Sacred City, the fear of the incomprehensible, of the Elder Night, of spiritual danger, of what seems the merciless caprice of immortal tyrants. So the habit of propitiation becomes an instinct ; and there are still few of us who do not at over-fortunate moments make some unconscious gesture to avert or soothe the attention of the presumably jealous gods.

Yet in a certain fear is the beginning, not only of true wisdom, but of courage.

Finally the Sacred City confesses a frank life-worship. The lingam is adored in Benares, the Kaaba is builded into the heart of Mecca, the Black Virgin keeps her power in the cathedral crypts. The reasonable and beautiful ritual of Athene was obscurely supplied by subliminal recognitions of the chthonic deities. Serenely white and golden, the great images in the Greek temples might maintain their heavenly Phidian or Praxitelean gaze. They had dark Asiatic histories behind them. Fleetfoot Artemis, for instance, had many aspects, as they remembered in Ephesus.

For type exists with antitype. Body and soul, once familiar friends, have become most intimate enemies, since the spiritual religions put a sword between them. But the Sacred City, concerned with the mystery of life, remembers, as if in a broken dream, the ancient pact, and seems to mediate some reconciliation.

Antinomies, paradoxes, ironies, yearnings are all stamped in the difficult hieroglyphic story of the unconscious part of humanity, seeking its God and His City. And so are exquisite and delicate chapters, for at the end of the quest, beyond all mortal conquest of good or ill, burns the beautiful spirit of life. If a great love or a great art is the expression of the more unconscious self in a single personality, a Sacred City is the apotheosis of the dreams and desires of the mystical self of a state or society. The individual lives in sorrow if art or love be frustrated : races and peoples must suffer when the holy cities that express their vital reverie fester and perish.

Reconciliation of the Ideal with the Sacred City

But the lights are pale on the altars, and the eyes of the gods are closing on all their roods ; there is dust in the communion-cup. Meanwhile the idealists find their city-creation an abstract and colourless affair, because they leave out from their conclaves the power that dies to rise again.

The dilemma is obvious enough. The new cities of the idealists must be consecrated by some religion of delight and sorrow, or ancient centres of holiness may be purified from profane things that have become obsolete even as expressions of vitality. The emotion of humanity demands an emotional city ; and its imaginative logic has a validity as well as the logic of reason. By parable, myth and symbol it confesses its faith. It is a rich soil of roses alive and dead ; and beauty can flourish there.

It is not impossible to solve the problem in the first way. The rationalists have begun to realize that there is great peril in refusing the imaginative life its due. And, if we endure new miseries to-day, we have learned new compassions, softly bright as the falling stars of September, healing as the dews of morning, subtle as the silver feet of the light that dances on the rainy hills. Moreover, we have our devotions, concentrated and unfailing like religious faiths. Science, for instance, has her priests, her acolytes, her cloisters, her monks, her martyrs, her bigots and her rule. She has also her inquisitions, her Torquemadas and her recusants. And some find religious passion in the white beauty and strict discipline of a noble ethic, and some in the amenities and felicities and tendernesses of human love.

Both compassions and devotions have their consecrating power. But these deliberately chosen attitudes are for a few highly conscious thinkers. The old religions that still persist are, and have

been, truly democratic, in that they have constrained alike king and slave, scholar and peasant, artist and craftsman, man, woman and child. With the witless wisdom of the instinctive, the people turn to the sacred cities of old, where even slavery had more holiday than the new liberties allow, where all the dear paganisms of the kindly earth were blessed and baptised, whose histories are canticles, whose names ring like silver bells through the kindling air of great traditions. So it is better to accept even the terror, the wanton manners, the blood-guiltiness of the olden Sacred City with its live communal religion, and to purify it into the Ideal City. An ancient place becomes wise in the reconciliation of mystical paradoxes, in the solution of the conflict between the gods of light and darkness. It has learnt that victor and victim are one and the same ; and its own remembering and ecstatic soul can help to work out its own fiery sublimations.

The Need of Creative Ecstasy

Religion is a binding power. It binds man to God, the individual to the community, it binds spirit to spirit. But the principle of every undying religion is not found in its ethic or metaphysic, though both may be admirable ; but in its power to give ecstasy, or rapture.

Now ecstasy is a definite recognizable state. It is attained by some through painful initiations ; for others the illuminations are swift and sudden, some symbol letting their fascinated spirits easily through, some symbol like roses or wine or lovers' love. All virtue is negative till it is polarized by ecstasy ; all evil is transfigured by its intensity into the dark star Algol. In that state the fainting soul passes into the life of its God, and, becoming like a god, is, for an instant or for all time, reconciled with its agony, finding it just, necessary, beautiful. And the dreadful resentments and consuming fevers of the unconscious that not all the poppies of oblivion can drug are burningly freed by the miraculous moment, flagrantly and joyously recognized as right and lovely.

There is heavy payment in the dull coin of Accidia for an hour in the House of Ecstasy. Nevertheless, that hour is worth any payment, for it is creative. To the artist it is a kind of frenzy, when wings and flames of great images assail him, and chimes and chords of stricken dulcimers and half-heard violins craze him with uncapturable music till he hears the stars sing together in the rapture of the beginning. The symbol of ecstasy is the mystical Dove from the heavenly eyrie ; and its angel is the Annunciation angel. The spirit discovers in the end that it has ravished from that experience great spoil of dreams, visions and myths—diaphanous, miraculous material for building and making—and so goes to the Sacred City for more labour. The mystic is the finest of all materialists ; he

knows his symbols must be definite and perfect if they are to convey conviction.

The sociologist who seeks to renew the Sacred Cities of the Earth must make friends with the mystic, with the servant of the Creative Hour. He must be intimate with all adoring and myth-making and idolatrous people, like saints and women and poets and the very young.

Of the saint as mystic I need say no more at present. The saints are the burning-glasses of divinity. It is true that, like all great lovers, they are sadly discredited of late. God comes to them like an embrace, says Francis Thompson. Their desperate, reckless imagery makes unlighted intelligences quail. But the saints, having survived the persecutors and the mockers, will probably prevail over the psycho-analysts, confuting them once again with the insufferable beauty of their desire. Saints like St. Catherine of Siena, who had a great sense of cities, are of infinite value. But the isolated contemplative has power.

Saints have their modern parallels. By " saints " I mean those who have the vision of all things in God.

As for the women, they are nearest the gods of all. They are close to them as goddesses and equals ; they are more intimate still as their priestesses, idolaters and unalienable slaves.

" Count not the garlands and girdles of Ishtar," said the ancient Chaldean religion, recognizing the lonely feminine principle, which is distinct from and independent of the masculine, the brooding mystery of passion from which emerge the lovely, dubious figures that in myth are goddesses in their own right, that in human history have been sibyls and saints and queens and legendary lovers. They are expressions of an intelligence more timeless, infinitely more fearless, and more serenely lawless than man can develop, for it has for ever moved subtly and securely in ultra reasonable realms. It is a swift leopard that may be captive awhile to man but is always aware of the jungle. Such an one, goddess or mortal, may sit by a human fire and lie in an earthly bed and hush children on her wondering breast ; but at any moment she may rise and remember her secret dream, and go on her eternal business of inspiring a divine disquiet. Cities rise and fall in the wake of that immoderate, bright behaviour. She is creative Asia to man's Europe. She is Hathor, Lady of Heaven and Queen of all the Gods, and that Isis who is more than Osiris. She is Astarte Syriaca. She is Uranian Aphrodite, and the other Aphrodite who trafficks in " slaves and the souls of men." Judaism makes her a darkly inverted compliment in the legend of Lilith. The strict initiates of Mithra are forced into strange alliance with the priests of Cybele before their god can conquer the West. Christianity must give the Virgin Mother a great assumption among the stars and set the horned moon of Ashtaroth under her feet. The goddess-type is ecstasy itself, Rosa Mystica, Turris Eburnea.

The divine or semi-divine women who are of the stuff of myth are

great powers in the Sacred City; but the secondary kind, those who are the slaves and acolytes of the gods, are stronger still. For they mould the divinity in the cradle of their desire, they do not forsake him at the Cross, and they meet him in the garden of Resurrection. They are the Maenads and the Muses, and the Maries, the spice-bearers and the dirge-makers, the most intimate communicants of the Easter. They control the symbolic rhythm and pattern of the Sacred City, partly by their own love of ritual, partly because they sing into the early hours of their children an ancient song to which their later years can never be wholly renegade.

The Sacred City is always feminine to the prophets; at her best the giver of rapture, at her worst the merchant of frenzy.

The poets who sing the City are so plainly necessary that I need not dwell on them. Since Apollo Citharœdus played the walls of Troy into visible shape, they are bondsmen to the Sacred City. And, because no poet is a pragmatist, being by his nature pledged to arrogant Absolutes, his passion for the Perfect Pattern laid up in Heaven is more redemptive and more reconciling than, say, St. Augustine's. Nor is it desirable that he be conscious of anything but his art and its eternal preoccupations. If his music be victorious his epithalamia and his lamentations must alike quicken the pulses of the Sacred City.

And youth, bright companion of all dreams and divine desires, dear playmate of the gods, whose image is sculptured rarely in all their high places, will hardly forsake them and their cities even in these days, when youth's fashion is often an unlovely cynicism. For Youth, at least, as our only hope, should move as a dazzling conquistador. But if the mysticism of the younger generation seem at present but the mysticism of despair, it has the invaluable qualities of intensity and sincerity. It is the thrilling darkness that hardly knows it is beautifully vexed by the coming of the Morning Star.

The Intellect and the Sacred City

If I have dwelt on the rights of the unconscious and the ecstatic part of personality, I am not unaware that the conscious and intellectual side of the human temper is in desperate need of discipline and arduous activity. We suffer from overwhelming sloth and indolence of mind. Literature, painting, sculpture, have lapsed into the gasps and the blots of savages, simply because it is very easy for them to find originality in this way. Savages are admirable in their stage of progression; but we cannot revert so far in the thirst for renewal. There is the great Hellenic adventure in civilization to remember. The Greek temper could reconcile things Eastern and things Western into immortal harmonies of

beauty. It is possible that Asia may once again be a fountain of life.

"On Ararat there grew a Vine—
When Asia from her bathing rose."

But the Hellenic sense of harmony must also reawaken to subdue the timbrels into the tragic chorus.

Well! The archæologist walks with his divining-rod over the sands and marshes that have buried marvellous places; and the spices that rise from the tombs of the past may become a new excitement, as once before, when the world was weary. The excavators may find the sepulchre of Helen, and release a new incantation from that most enchanted burial.

Pilgrims to the Sacred City

We are an exhausted folk, but we have not lost entirely the hope with which we began, so we think we shall again be pilgrims, and redeem the Holy Places, and plunge the new ideals in an antique ecstasy. We shall join that varied and democratic procession of emperors, popes, peasants, warriors, poets, jongleurs, star-gazers, Arthurian knights going to Camelot or Sarras, Spanish cavaliers to Miraflores, Italian princes to Gerusalemma, sophisticated scholars and great ladies, mystics like Plato and Augustine and St. John, singers of Ilion and of Paradise, Knights Templars and lords of Araby, yellow monks of Buddha, sceptics like Rabelais, Montaigne and Voltaire, all the chivalry dead for Holy Places, all the dreamers whose fantasy has built them, all the gods whose passion was their cause.

Or it may be the antimasque of the defeated that awaits us—the ghosts of those who have died in the desert, having lost the Pilgrim Way, leaving only their desolate Calvaries as mournful remonstrances for other errant souls. Those also have not died in vain.

"Death has no repose
Warmer and deeper than that Orient sand
Which hides the beauty and the bright faith of those
Who made the Golden Journey to Samarkand."

For the City, and more especially the Sacred City, is necessary to the salvation of both individual and community. You may walk alone by the woods and waters, and know their panic and their peace; you may learn that "desolation is a delicate thing" on the barren islands on the edge of the world, where seas of liquid amethyst lie in thin shards on the yellow sands; you may become one with the music of the everlasting hills; but to the cities you must return if you still have courage to be an accomplice of life.

The Christ went to Jerusalem and the Cross. Saint Paul had to see Rome; Saint Peter could not leave it.

It is still easy to find a Sacred City. The fantastic bulb-shaped towers of Moscow yet writhe barbaric and brilliant like the tortured soul of the Slav. The mounts of Jerusalem remember; and the evenings are long in amber-coloured Benares as when Gautama first came there illuminated, and the twilight moved clear and sweet; moreover the river yet keeps its garlands and its dead. The unearthly pillars of the Parthenon still declare their inviolability against all accidents of mortal sacrilege. Nearer home in Paris the Sainte Chapelle asserts that it was built of light, and burning colour redder than wine, while both the hills belong to God and Our Lady in their fashions. Also you may take Holy Water at the noble doors of the king-cathedral of Chartres, in a town where leaves murmur and waters gleam. Or see at Rouen how the mediæval marvel of spires and buttresses floats over the bourgeois birthplace of Madame Bovary. And in our own islands many a great Cathedral looms like a great apocalyptic gryphon over the quiet closes of a more compromising, more mundane devotion, as if waiting for winds of Pentecost.

I might multiply instances. London, however, even London, is a Sacred City. There are brooding cloisters round the great Abbey; and, a week or two ago, I saw the pigeons rifle the new garlands of the heroic dead at St. Paul's, birds as sacrosanct as any privileged things in an ancient temple. On the morning of Holy Saturday they bless the New Fire of the year at the portal of the Catholic cathedral, with a chant of crystalline sweetness. The Sacred City is here and now; and the mystery of God lies taken as simply as any bird in the toils made by a few streets of agonized humanity. I have heard the nightingale sing in the depths of the forest. I have seen the lily-lea beneath an old French castle above the Tay. I have watched the unsubstantial mountains vanish range upon range through rainy light and lighted rain into the kindred peaks of heaven. I have felt the wild cherry-trees sing their epithalamium, and the water-lilies drowse on a faëry loch. And the gods were with all these things, and with others. But, for his very Passion and his Resurrection, the god must enter into a human heart, and tread the Via Dolorosa in a Sacred City. . . .

For all delight is founded on the mystery of pain, and any god must die to rise again for the sake of the Sacred City. It is the will of the one God who is behind all the gods.

Religion and the Life of Civilization

By Mr. Christopher Dawson.

EVER since the rise of the modern scientific movement in the eighteenth century there has been a tendency among sociologists and historians of culture to neglect the study of religion in its fundamental social aspects. The apostles of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment were, above all, intent on deducing the laws of social life and progress from a small number of simple rational principles. They hacked through the luxuriant and deep-rooted growth of traditional belief with the ruthlessness of pioneers in a tropical jungle. They had felt no need to understand the development of the historic religions and their influence on the course of human history, for, to them, historic religion was essentially negative, it was the clogging and obscurantist power ever dragging back the human spirit in its path towards progress and enlightenment. With Condorcet, they traced religious origin no further than to the duplicity of the first knave and the simplicity of the first fool.

And in the nineteenth century, apart from the St. Simonian circle, the same attitude, expressed with less frankness and brutality, it is true, still dominated scientific thought, and found classical expression in England in the culture-history of Buckle and in the sociology of Herbert Spencer. Indeed, to-day, in spite of the reaction of the last thirty years, it has largely become a part of our intellectual heritage, and is taken for granted in much current sociology and anthropology. Religion was conceived of as a complex of ideas and speculations concerning the Unknowable, and thus belonged to a different world to that which was the province of sociology. The social progress, which the latter science studies, is the result of the direct response of man to his material environment and to the growth of positive knowledge concerning the material world. Thus social evolution is a unity which can be studied without reference to the numerous changing systems of religious belief and practice that have risen and fallen during its course. The latter may reflect, in some degree, the cultural circumstances under which they have arisen, but they are secondary, and in no sense a formative element in the production of culture.

And undoubtedly these ideas held good for the age in which they were formed. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the world of secular culture was an autonomous kingdom, where progress owed nothing to the beliefs and sanctions of the existing authoritative religion. But it is dangerous to argue back from the highly specialized conditions of an advanced and complicated civilization to the elementary principles of social development. Indeed, it needs but a moment's thought to realize that that extraordinary age of intellectual political and economic revolution is comparable with no other period in the history of the world. It was at once creative and destructive, but essentially transitional and impermanent, and this instability was due to no other cause than to that very separation and dislocation of the inner and outer worlds of human experience, which the thinkers of the age accepted as a normal condition of existence.

Religion and the Rise of Ancient Civilization

For a social culture, even of the most primitive kind, is never simply a material unity. It involves not only a certain uniformity in social organization and in the way of life, but also a continuous and conscious psychic discipline. Even a common language, one of the first requirements of civilized life, can only be produced by ages of co-operative effort—common thinking as well as common action. From the very dawn of primitive culture men have attempted, in however crude and symbolic a form, to understand the laws of life, and to adapt their social activity to their workings. Primitive man never looked on the world in the modern way, as a passive or, at most, mechanistic system, a background for human energies, mere matter for the human mind to mould. He saw the world as a living world of mysterious forces, greater than his own, in the placation and service of which his life consisted. And the first need for a people, no less vital than food or weapons, was the psychic equipment or armament, by which they fortified themselves against the powerful and mysterious forces that surrounded them. It is impossible for us to draw the line between religion and magic, between law and morals, so intimately is the whole social life of a primitive people bound up with its religion. And the same is true of the earliest civilization. The first development of a higher culture in the Near East, the beginnings of agriculture and irrigation, and the rise of city life were profoundly religious in their conception. Men did not learn to control the forces of nature, to make the earth fruitful, and to raise flocks and herds as a practical task of economic organization in which they relied on their own enterprise and hard work. They viewed it rather as a religious rite by which they co-operated as priests or hierophants in the great cosmic mystery of the fertilization and growth of nature. The mystical drama,

annually renewed, of the mother-goddess and her dying and reviving son and spouse, was, at the same time, the economic cycle of ploughing and seed time and harvest, by which the people lived. And the king was not so much the organizing ruler of a political community, as the priest and religious head of his people, who represented the god himself and stood between the goddess and her people, interpreting to them the divine will, and eventually even offering up his own life for them in a solemn ritual ceremony.

Thus there was a profound sense that man lived not by his own strength and knowledge, but by his acting in harmony with the divine cosmic powers, and this harmony could only be attained by sacrifice and at the price of blood, whether the sacrifice of virility, as in Asia Minor; of the first-born children, as in Syria; or of the life of the king himself, as we seem to see dimly in the very dawn of history throughout the Near East.

It is even possible that agriculture and the domestication of animals were exclusively religious in their beginnings, and had their origin in the ritual observation and imitation of the processes of nature which is so characteristic of this type of religion. Certainly the mimicry of nature was carried to very great lengths, as we can see in the religion of Asia Minor in historic times. Sir William Ramsay has even suggested that the whole organization of the shrine of the great goddess at Ephesus and at other places in Lydia and Phrygia was an elaborate imitation of the life of the bees and the hive; the priestesses being named *mellissae*—the working bees; the priests, or *essenes*, representing the drones; while the goddess herself was the queen-bee, whose behaviour to her temporary partner certainly bears a striking analogy to that of the goddess to Attis in the Phrygian legend.

But it is only in highly conservative regions like Asia Minor that we can see this primitive religion in comparative simplicity. In Babylonia at the very dawn of history, in the fourth millennium B.C., it had already developed a highly specialized theology and temple ritual. The god and goddess of each city had acquired special characteristics and personalities, and had taken their place in a Sumerian pantheon. But Sumerian civilization still remained entirely religious in character. The god and the goddess were the acknowledged rulers of their city, the king was but their high-priest and steward. The temple, the house of the god, was the centre of the life of the community, for the god was the chief landowner, trader and banker, and kept a great staff of servants and administrators. The whole city territory was, moreover, the territory of the god, and the Sumerians spoke not of the boundaries of the city of Kish or the city of Lagash, but of the boundaries of the god Enlil or the god Ningirsu. All that the king did for his city was undertaken at the command of the god and for the god. Thus we read how

Entemena, of Lagash, "made the mighty canal at the boundary of Enlil for Ningirsu, the king whom he loved." At the command of Enlil, Nina and Ningirsu he cut the great canal from the Tigris to the Euphrates—the Shatt el Hai—which was one of the greatest feats of ancient engineering. And the remains of the ancient literature that have come down to us prove that this is not merely the phraseology of the State religion, it represented a profound popular belief in the interdependence and communion of the city and its divinity.

Turning to Egypt, we find a no less intensely religious spirit impregnating the archaic culture.

Never perhaps before or since has a high civilisation attained to the centralization and unification that characterized the Egyptian State in the age of the pyramid-builders. It was more than State Socialism, for it meant the entire absorption of the whole life of the individual, in a cause outside himself. The whole vast bureaucratic and economic organization of the empire was directed to a single end, the glorification of the sun-god and his child, the god-king.

> It is he [the sun-god] who has adorned thee [Egypt].
> It is he who has built thee.
> It is he who has founded thee.
> Thou dost for him everything that he says to thee
> In every place where he goes.
> Thou carriest to him every tree that is in thee.
> Thou carriest to him all food that is in thee.
> Thou carriest to him the gifts that are in thee.
> Thou carriest to him everything that is in thee.
> Thou carriest to him everything that shall be in thee.
> Thou bringest them to him
> To every place where his heart desires to be.[1]

It is indeed one of the most remarkable spectacles in history to see all the resources of a great culture and a powerful State organized, not for war and conquest, not for the enrichment of a dominant class, but simply to provide the sepulchre and to endow the chantries and tomb-temples of the dead kings. And yet it was this very concentration on death and the after-life that gave Egyptian civilization its amazing stability. The sun and the Nile, Re and Osiris, the pyramid and the mummy, as long as these remained, it seemed that Egypt must stand fast, her life bound up in the unending round of prayer and ritual observance. All the great development of Egyptian art and learning—astronomy and mathematics and engineering—grew up in the service of this central religious idea, and when, in the age of final decadence, foreign powers took possession of the sacred kingdom, Libyans and Persians

[1] Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt.* pp. 13-14 :

Greeks and Romans all found it necessary to " take the gifts of Horus " and to disguise their upstart imperialism under the forms of the ancient solar theocracy, in order that the machinery of Egyptian civilization should continue to function.

The Decline of the Archaic Religion-Culture

Yet, both in Egypt and in Western Asia, the primitive theocratic culture had begun to decline by the second half of the third millennium B.C. The rise of the great States in Egypt and Babylonia, had, on the one hand, made man less dependent on the forces of nature, and, on the other hand, had brought him face to face with a new series of problems—moral and intellectual—which appear in a striking form in the early Egyptian literature of the Middle Kingdom. The Song of King Intef, the Admonition of Ipuwer, the Complaint of Khekheperre-Sonbu, and, above all, the so-called Dialogue of One Weary of Life with his own Soul, all bear witness to a profound criticism of life, and an intense spiritual ferment. And at the same period in Babylonia we find a similar attitude expressed in the poem of the Righteous Sufferer, the so-called Babylonian Job. Man no longer accepted the world and the State as they were, as the manifestation of the divine powers. They compared the world they knew, with the social and moral order that they believed in, and condemned the former. Consequently, for the first time we get a sense of dualism between what is and what ought to be, between the way of men and the way of the gods. The State and the kingship are no longer entirely religious in the kings of the new type—those Twelfth-Dynasty monarchs who are among the greatest and most virile monarchs that have ever reigned. We are conscious of a clear realization of human, personal power and responsibility, and at the same time of a profound disillusionment. We see this in the famous inscription which Senusret III set up at the southern boundary of Egypt, bidding his subjects not to worship his statue, but to fight for it ; and yet more intimately in the warning that the founder of the dynasty, Amenemhet I, gave to his son and successor : " Fill not thy heart with a brother, know not a friend, make not for thyself intimates wherein there is no end, harden thyself against subordinates, that thou mayest be king of the earth, that thou mayest be ruler of the lands, that thou mayest increase good."[1]

The same spirit of pride and self-reliance breathes in the fierce leonine faces of Senusret III and Amenemhet III, and distinguishes the sculpture of the twelfth dynasty from that of the Old Kingdom, which, for all its realism, was interpenetrated by a profoundly religious spirit. Hence, perhaps, the premature ending of this

[1] *Cambridge Ancient History*, i., 303 ; Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 303, *A. R. E.*, i., 474–83.

brilliant epoch, and the return, after the Hyksos invasions, to the traditional religiosity of the past, which was inseparable from the survival of the Egyptian State. That the new spirit of criticism and thought continued to be active is, however, proved by the appearance under the eighteenth dynasty, in the fourteenth century B.C., of Akenaten's bold attempt to institute a new solar monotheism as the State religion of Egypt and Syria. Here already, in the fourteenth century B.C., we find the essentials of a world-religion —a religion that is universal in its claims, and which attempts to find the source and first principle which lies behind all the changing phenomena of nature. But the traditional theocratic religion-culture of the Nile Valley was too strong for any such innovation, and the author of the reform went down to history as " the criminal of Akhetaton."

The Coming of the World-Religions

But, in the course of the following millennium B.C., a spiritual change of the most profound significance passed over the world, a change which was not confined to any one people or culture, but which made itself felt from India to the Mediterranean and from China to Persia. And it brought with it a complete revolution in culture, since it involved the destruction of the old religious civilization that was based on a co-operation with the divinized forces of nature, and the discovery of a new world of absolute and unchanging reality beside which the natural world—the world of appearances and of earthly life—paled into a shadow and became dream-like and illusory.

Alike in India and in Greece we can trace a striving towards the conception of an invisible underlying cosmic cause or essence—Atman, Logos, the One—and of the unreality of the continual flux which makes up the phenomenal world, but it was in India that the decisive step was first taken, and it was in India that the new view of reality was followed out unwaveringly in all its practical implications.

" He who, dwelling in the earth," says Yâjnavalkya, " is other than the earth, whom the earth knows not, whose body the earth is, who inwardly rules the earth, is thy Self [Atman], the Inward Ruler, the deathless. He who, dwelling in all beings, is other than all beings, whom all beings know not, whose body all beings are, who inwardly rules all beings, is thy Self, the Inward Ruler, the deathless. He who, dwelling in the mind, is other than the mind, whom the mind knows not, whose body the mind is, who inwardly rules the mind, is thy Self, the Inward Ruler, the deathless. He, unseen, sees; unheard, hears; unthought, thinks; uncomprehended, comprehends. There is no other than he who

sees—hears—thinks—comprehends. He is thy Self, the Inward Ruler, the deathless. All else is fraught with sorrow."[1]

Hence the one end of life, the one task for the wise man, is deliverance—to cross the bridge, to pass the ford from death to life, from appearance to reality, from time to eternity—all the goods of human life in the family or the State are vanity compared with this. "Possessed by delusion, a man toils for wife and child; but, whether he fulfil his purpose or not, he must surrender the enjoyment thereof. When one is blessed with children and flocks and his heart is clinging to them, Death carries him away as doth a tiger a sleeping deer."[2]

How far removed is this attitude from the simple acquiescence in the good things of this world that is shown by the nature-religions and by the archaic culture that was founded on them! The whole spirit of the new teaching is ascetic, whether it is the intellectual asceticism of the Brahman purging his soul by a kind of Socratic discipline, or the bodily asceticism of the *sannyasi*, who seeks deliverance by the gate of *tapas*—bodily penance. And so there arose in India, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., a series of "disciplines of salvation"; that of the Jains, that of the Yoga and many more, culminating in the greatest of them all, the Way of Buddha. Buddhism is perhaps the most characteristic of all the religions of new universalist and absolute type, since it seems to make the fewest metaphysical and theological assumptions, and yet to present the anti-natural, world-denying conception of life in its extremest form. Life is evil, the body is evil, matter is evil. All existence is bound to the wheel of birth and death, of suffering and desire. Not only is this human life an illusion, but the life of the gods is an illusion, too, and behind the whole cosmic process there is no underlying reality—neither Brahman nor Atman nor the Gunas. There is only the torture-wheel of sentient existence and the path of deliverance, the *via negativa* of the extinction of desire which leads to Nirvana—the Eternal Beatific Silence.

At first sight nothing could be further removed from the world-refusal of the Indian ascetic than the Hellenic attitude to life. Yet the Greeks of Ionia and Italy, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., were bent, no less than the Indians, on piercing the veil of appearances and reaching the underlying reality. It is true that the Greeks set out in their quest for the ultimate cosmic principle in a spirit of youthful curiosity and free rational inquiry, and thereby became the creators of natural science. But there was also the purely religious current of Orphic mysticism, with its doctrines of rebirth and immortality, and of the progressive

[1] *Brihadâranyaka Upanishad III*, vii., tr. L. D. Barnett.
[2] *Mahâbharata XII*, ch. 175 and ch. 174, tr. L. D. Barnett.

enlightenment and emancipation of the soul from the defilements of corporeal existence, which had a powerful influence on the Greek mind and even on Greek philosophy, until at last the vision of eternity, which had so long absorbed the mind of India, burst on the Greek world with dazzling power.

It was through the golden mouth of Plato that the vision of the two worlds—the world of appearance and shadows, and the world of timeless, changeless reality—found classic expression in the West. The Greek mind turned, with Plato, away from the many-coloured, changing world of appearance and unreality to that other world of the eternal Forms, " where abides the very Being with which true knowledge is concerned, the colourless, formless, intangible essence, visible only to the mind, the pilot of the soul " ; " a nature which is everlasting, not growing or decaying or waxing or waning, but Beauty only, absolute, separate, simple and everlasting, which, without diminution and without increase or any change in itself, is imparted to the ever-growing and perishing beauties of all other things." " What if man had eyes to see this true Beauty—pure and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality and all the colours and vanities of human life," would not all human and terrestrial things become mean and unimportant to such a one ? And is not the true end of life to return whence we came, " to fly away from earth to heaven," to recover the divine and deific vision which once " we beheld shining in pure light, pure ourselves and not yet enshrined in that living tomb which we carry about, now that we are imprisoned in the body, like the oyster in his shell." This note, so characteristic and so unforgettable, is never afterwards wholly lost in the ancient world, and it is renewed with redoubled emphasis in that final harvest of the Hellenic tradition, which is Neo-Platonism.

The World-Religions and Material Progress

It is easy for us to understand a few exceptional men, philosophers and mystics, adopting this attitude to life, but it is harder to realize how it could become the common possession of a whole society or civilization. Yet, in the course of a few centuries, it became the common possession of practically all the great cultures of the ancient world. It is true that Confucian China was a partial exception, but even China was almost submerged, for a time, by the invasion of Indian mysticism and monasticism, for which the way had already been prepared by the native Taoist tradition.

And each of these cultures had to deal with essentially the same problem—how to reconcile the new attitude to life with the old civilization that they had inherited, a civilization that had been built up so laboriously by the worship and cultivation of the powers of Nature. It is obvious that the new religions were not themselves

productive of a new material civilization; their whole tendency was away from the material and economic side of life towards the life of pure spirit. It is indeed difficult to see how the most extreme examples of this type of religion, such as Manichæanism, were reconcilable with any material social culture whatever. In other cases, however, especially in India, the archaic culture was able to maintain itself almost intact, in spite of the dominance of the new religions. As Professor Slater has well said, it is in the great temple cities of Dravidian India that we can still see before us to-day the vanished civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia.[1]

To the teacher or ascetic of the new religion the ancient rites have acquired an esoteric and symbolic significance, while the common people still find in them their ancient meaning, and seek contact through them with the beneficent or destructive powers of Nature that rule the peasant's life. In yet other cases, above all in Islam, this dualism is impossible, and the whole of life is brought into direct relation with the new religious conception. Terrestrial life loses its intrinsic importance, it is but as " the beat of a gnat's wing " in comparison with the eternal. But it acquires importance as a preparation, a time of training and warfare, of which the discipline and suffering are repaid by the eternal joys of Paradise.

Thus the new religions in these three main types are, on the whole, not favourable to material progress. In some cases they are even retrograde. Sir William Ramsay has shewn, in the case of Asia Minor, how the passing of the old nature-religions had a depressing effect on agriculture, on economic prosperity and even perhaps on hygiene; and the same thing is no doubt true, in some degree, of many different regions. The great achievements of the new culture lie in the domain of literature and art. But, from the material point of view, there is expansion rather than progress. The new culture simply gave a new form and a new spirit to the materials that it had received from the archaic civilization. In all essentials Babylonia, in the time of Hammurabi, and even earlier, had reached a pitch of material civilization which has never since been surpassed in Asia. After the artistic flowering of the early Middle Ages the great religion-cultures became stationary and even decadent. Eternity was changeless, and why should man, who lived for eternity, change?

This is the secret of the " Unchanging East," which has impressed so many Western observers, and which gives to a civilization such as that of Burma its remarkable attractiveness and charm. But such societies are living on the past; they do not advance in power

[1] " In other parts of India, one feels oneself sometimes carried back into the Middle Ages . . . in such a temple as that of Menakshi and Siva in Madura one can only dream of having revisited some great shrine of Isis and Osiris in Egypt, or of Marduk in Babylon."—Slater, *The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, p. 167.

and knowledge, it even seems as though they are retreating step by step before the powers of primitive nature until at last they disappear, as the marvellous achievements of Ankhor and Anuradapura have been swallowed up by the jungle.

The Rise of the Modern Scientific Culture

But a ferment of change, a new principle of movement and progress has entered the world with the civilization of modern Europe.

The development of the European culture was, of course, largely conditioned by religious traditions the consideration of which lie outside the limits of this enquiry. It was, however, not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the new principle, which characterized the rise of modern civilization, made its appearance. It was then that there arose—first in Italy and afterwards throughout Western Europe—the new attitude to life that has been well named Humanism. It was, in fact, a reaction against the whole transcendent spiritualist view of existence, a return from the divine and the absolute to the human and the finite. Man turned away from the pure white light of eternity to the warmth and colour of the earth. He rediscovered Nature, not, indeed, as the divine and mysterious power that men had served and worshipped in the first ages of civilization, but as a reasonable order which he could know by science and art, and which he could use to serve his own purpose.

"Experiment," says Leonardo da Vinci, the great precursor, "is the true interpreter between Nature and man." Experience is never at fault. What is at fault is man's laziness and ignorance. "Thou, O God, dost sell us all good things for the price of work."

This is the essential note of the new European movement; it was applied science, not abstract, speculative knowledge, as with the Greeks. "Mechanics," says Leonardo again, "are the Paradise of the mathematical sciences, for in them the fruits of the latter are reaped." And the same principles of realism and practical reason are applied in political life.

The state was no longer an ideal hierarchy that symbolized and reflected the order of the spiritual world. It was the embodiment of human power, whose only law was Necessity.

Yet no complete break was made with the past. The people remained faithful to the religious tradition. Here and there a Giordano Bruno in philosophy or a Machiavelli in statecraft gave their whole-hearted adhesion to Naturalism, but for the most part both statesmen and philosophers endeavoured to serve two masters, like Descartes or Richelieu. They remained fervent Christians, but at the same time they separated the sphere of religion from the sphere of reason, and made the latter an independent autonomous kingdom in which the greater part of their lives was spent.

It was only in the eighteenth century that this compromise, which so long dominated European culture, broke down before the assaults of the new humanists, the encyclopædists and the men of the Enlightenment in France, England and Germany. We have already described the attitude of that age to religion—its attempt to sweep away the old accumulation of tradition and to refound civilization on a rational and naturalistic basis. And the negative side of this programme was, indeed, successfully carried out. European civilization was thoroughly secularized. The traditional European polity, with its semi-divine royalty, its State Churches and its hereditary aristocratic hierarchy, was swept away and its place was taken by the liberal bourgeois State of the nineteenth century, which aimed, above all, at industrial prosperity and commercial expansion. But the positive side of the achievement was much less secure. It is true that Western Europe and the United States of America advanced enormously in wealth and population, and in control over the forces of nature ; while the type of culture that they had developed spread itself victoriously over the old world of Asia and the new world of Africa and Oceania, first by material conquest, and later by its intellectual and scientific prestige, so that the great Oriental religion-cultures began to lose their age-long, unquestioned dominance over the daily life and thought of the peoples of the East ; at least, among the educated classes.

Progress and Disillusionment the Meaning of Modern Social Unrest

But there was not a corresponding progress in spiritual things. As Comte had foreseen, the progressive civilization of the West, without any unifying spiritual force, and without an intellectual synthesis, tended to fall back into social anarchy. The abandonment of the old religious traditions did not bring humanity together in a natural and moral unity, as the eighteenth-century philosophers had hoped. On the contrary, it allowed the fundamental differences of race and nationality, of class and private interest, to appear in their naked antagonism. The progress in wealth and power did nothing to appease these rivalries ; rather it added fuel to them, by accentuating the contrasts of wealth and poverty, and widening the field of international competition. The new economic imperialism, as it developed in the last generation of the nineteenth century, was as grasping, as unmoral, and as full of dangers of war, as any of the imperialisms of the old order. And, while under the old order the state had recognized its limits as against a spiritual power, and had only extended its claims over a part of human life, the modern state admitted no limitations, and embraced the whole life of the individual citizen in its economic and military organization.

Hence the rise of a new type of social unrest. Political disturbances are as old as human nature; in every age misgovernment and oppression has been met by violence and disorder, but it is a new thing, and perhaps a phenomenon peculiar to our modern Western civilization, that men should work and think and agitate for the complete remodelling of society according to some ideal of social perfection. It belongs to the order of religion, rather than to that of politics, as politics were formerly understood. It finds its only parallel in the past in movements of the most extreme religious type, like that of the Anabaptists in sixteenth-century Germany, and the Levellers and Fifth Monarchy Men of Puritan England. And when we study the lives of the founders of modern Socialism, the great Anarchists and even some of the apostles of Nationalist Liberalism like Mazzini, we feel at once that we are in the presence of religious leaders, whether prophets or heresiarchs, saints or fanatics. Behind the hard rational surface of Karl Marx's materialist and Socialist interpretation of history there burns the flame of an apocalyptic vision. For what was that social revolution in which he put his hope but a nineteenth-century version of the Day of the Lord, in which the rich and the powerful of the earth should be consumed, and the princes of the Gentiles brought low, and the poor and disinherited should reign in a regenerated universe? So, too, Marx, in spite of his professed atheism, looked for the realization of this hope, not, like St. Simon and his fellow idealist Socialists, to the conversion of the individual and to human efforts towards the attainment of a new social ideal, but to " the arm of the Lord," the necessary, ineluctable working-out of the Eternal Law, which human will and human effort are alike powerless to change or stay.

But the religious impulse behind these social movements is not a constructive one. It is as absolute in its demands as that of the old religions, and it admits of no compromise with reality. As soon as the victory is gained, and the phase of destruction and revolution is ended, the inspiration fades away before the tasks of practical realization. We look in vain in the history of United Italy for the religious enthusiasm that sustained Mazzini and his fellows, and it took very few years to transform the Rousseauan idealism of revolutionary France, the Religion of Humanity, into Napoleonic and even Macchiavellian realism.

The revolutionary attitude—and it is perhaps the characteristic religious attitude of modern Europe—is, in fact, but another symptom of the divorce between religion and social life. The nineteenth-century revolutionaries—the Anarchists, the Socialists and, to some extent, the Liberals—were driven to their destructive activities by the sense that actual European society was a mere embodiment of material force and fraud—" *magnum latrocinium*,"

as St. Augustine says—that it was based on no principle of justice, and organized for no spiritual or ideal end; and the more the simpler and more obvious remedies—republicanism, universal suffrage, national self-determination—proved disappointing to the reformers, the deeper became their dissatisfaction with the whole structure of existing society. And finally, when the process of disillusionment is complete, this religious impulse that lies behind the revolutionary attitude may turn itself against social life altogether, or at least against the whole system of civilization that had been built up in the last two centuries. This attitude of mind seems endemic in Russia, partly, perhaps, as an inheritance of the Byzantine religious tradition. We see it appearing in different forms in Tolstoi, in Dostoievski and in the Nihilists, and it is present as a psychic undercurrent in most of the Russian revolutionary movements. It is the spirit which seeks not political reform, not the improvement of social conditions, but escape, liberation—Nirvana. In the words of a modern poet (Francis Adams), it is

> To wreck the great guilty temple,
> And give us Rest.

And in the years since the war, when the failure of the vast machinery of modern civilization has seemed so imminent, this view of life has become more common even in the West. It has inspired the poetry of Albert Ehrenstein and many others.[1]

Mr. D. H. Lawrence has well expressed it in Count Psanek's profession of faith, in *The Ladybird* (pp. 43–4).

> I have found my God. The god of destruction. The god of anger, who throws down the steeples and factory chimneys.
>
> Not the trees, these chestnuts, for example—not these—nor the chattering sorcerers, the squirrels—nor the hawk that comes. Not those.
>
> What grudge have I against a world where even the hedges are full of berries, branches of black berries that hang down and red berries that thrust up? Never would I hate the world. But the world of man—*I hate it.*
>
> I believe in the power of my dark red heart. God has put the hammer in my breast—the little eternal hammer. Hit—hit—hit. It hits on the world of man. It hits, it hits. And it hears the thin sound of cracking.
>
> Oh, may I live long. May I live long, so that my hammer may strike and strike, and the cracks go deeper, deeper. Ah, the world of man. Ah, the joy, the passion in every heart-beat. Strike home,

[1] For instance, the following verse:

> Ich beschwöre euch, zerstamfet die Stadt.
> Ich beschwöre euch, zertrümmert die Stadte.
> Ich beschwöre euch, zerstört die Maschine.
> Ich beschwöre euch, zerstöret den Staat.

strike true, strike sure. Strike to destroy it. Strike. Strike. To destroy the world of man. Ah, God. Ah, God, prisoner of peace.

It may seem to some that these instances are negligible, mere morbid extravagances, but it is impossible to exaggerate the dangers that must inevitably arise when once social life has become separated from the religious impulse.

We have only to look at the history of the ancient world and we shall see how tremendous are these consequences. The Roman Empire, and the Hellenistic civilization of which it was the vehicle, became separated in this way from any living religious basis, which all the efforts of Augustus and his helpers were powerless to restore; and thereby, in spite of its high material and intellectual culture, the dominant civilization became hateful in the eyes of the subject oriental world. Rome was to them not the ideal world-city of Virgil's dream, but the incarnation of all that was anti-spiritual—Babylon the great, the Mother of Abominations, who bewitched and enslaved all the peoples of the earth, and on whom, at last, the slaughter of the saints and the oppression of the poor would be terribly avenged. And so all that was strongest and most living in the moral life of the time separated itself from the life of society and from the service of the State, as from something unworthy and even morally evil. And so we see in Egypt in the fourth century, over against the great Hellenistic city of Alexandria, filled with art and learning and all that made life delightful, a new power growing up, the power of the men of the desert, the naked, fasting monks and ascetics, in whom, however, the new world recognised its masters. When, in the fifth century, the greatest of the late Latin writers summed up the history of the great Roman tradition, it is in a spirit of profound hostility and disillusionment: "*Acceperunt mercedem suam*," says he, in an unforgettable sentence, "*vani vanam.*"

This spiritual alienation of its own greatest minds is the price that every civilization has to pay when it loses its religious foundations, and is contented with a purely material success. We are only just beginning to understand how intimately and profoundly the vitality of a society is bound up with its religion. It is the religious impulse which supplies the cohesive force which unifies a society and a culture. The great civilizations of the world do not produce the great religions as a kind of cultural by-product; in a very real sense, the great religions are the foundations on which the great civilizations rest. A society which has lost its religion becomes sooner or later a society which has lost its culture.

What then is to be the fate of this great modern civilization of ours? A civilization which has gained an extension and a wealth of power and knowledge which the world has never known before.

Is it to waste its forces in the pursuit of selfish and mutually destructive aims, and to perish for lack of vision? Or can we hope that society will once again become animated by a common faith and hope, which will have the power to order our material and intellectual achievements in an enduring spiritual unity?

For the answer to these questions we must wait—who knows how long? But at least during the last week we have learnt to know more of the religious traditions and movements which have moulded the great oriental civilizations of the past, for the lack of knowledge of which our Western interpretations of world-history have so often failed. We, too, possess a great spiritual inheritance, and the deeper go our mutual understanding and comprehension the better are the prospects for the future of civilization. For as a Western philo sopher and poet, Campanella, has said:

Conciliabit amor fraternus cognitus omnes.

The Ideal Man

By Mr. William Loftus Hare

THE task that has been assigned to me, if not an easy one, is at least a pleasant one: I have to find the Ideal Man, and, according to the various methods of approach indicated in the programme, I am permitted to retire to my study, to surround myself with books, there and thus to search for the object of my quest. Yet mine is no cynical and offensive demonstration like that of Diogenes, who, by his pride from the outset, made it almost impossible that any " just man " should emerge from obscurity to warm his hands at the philosopher's lantern. On the contrary, if I find my Ideal Man I shall be enabled to exhibit him, or at least his portrait, without embarrassment or outrage to his modesty. And this is so because he has no name, belongs to no special time or nation, inhabits no one city, but is the possession of humanity at large, and is gifted with terrestrial immortality.

So far as my researches go, the Ideal Man, since his birth or *parousia*, has been a most potent person, alternately cherished and rejected, but exercising, nevertheless, a great influence upon ordinary actual men, who measure themselves beside him. The Ideal Man lives not for himself or for those who have portrayed him, but for the rebuke and edification of those who are invited to contemplate him. In this he may have done much good, and therefore he must have done great harm—which brings me to the edge of the bottomless pit of Relativity, from which danger-spot I must fly, before, like the rest of the moralists, I am engulfed in the abyss.

Two Main Species

In my literary data I distinguish two main species of the Ideal Man ; one whose habitat may be located in Heaven, while the other is found on Earth. There are also, I believe, many amphibians who move comfortably in either sphere, though their place of origin can be determined with relative certainty. Like the *personæ* in Bernard Shaw's dream-play, *Man and Superman*, when weary of too long a residence in one spiritual realm, they cross the frontier which divides heavenly universal society from earthly political society.

It is possible further to differentiate the two species by a reference to their immediate aims. In savage or even primitive civilized

society, the Ideal Man coincided with the actual man upon whom the community depended for its welfare. Generations of such men—hunters, warriors, heroes—came and went until they had established a type of ideality looked for and approved. Such men, however, did not impose *ideal* qualities on the societies which they led and protected. They were *real* concrete qualities, exhibited by *real* men of flesh and blood, whose exploits made the history of the family, the tribe or the nation. Quite apart from questions of historicity, the heroes and sages of antiquity, in this sense, were "real men." Agamemnon, Achilles, Ajax, Ulysses, Moses, David, Judas Maccabæus were single, unique specimens of real men, all endowed with the defects of their qualities. *They were generated by life.* The Ideal Man is generated by reflection on life, by thought, by aspiration. He is built up architectonically by the abstraction and extension of the virtues of real men and the elimination of their vices. Quality by quality is added to him until he becomes rich and attractive. He is decorated with the jewels of perfection and radiates an influence upon the society that has uplifted him from the mass of ordinary men. His function is to uplift them in their turn. Consequently, his value to human society is very great.

The Earthly Ideal Man

We may, I think, designate the first species as the Earthly Ideal Man, because he is primarily occupied with earthly affairs. His ideality—as he is painted by his inventor or inventors—is designed to lend security, permanence, order and beauty to a given historical polity. Though bearing no name, he is strictly a potential citizen —let us say—of Kai-feng, Pâtaliputra, Baghdad, Corinth or the city of London. All political philosophers, from Aristotle to Comte in Europe, and from Confucius to Rabindranath Tagore in Asia, have striven to give reality to this Ideal Man, to multiply him, not exactly to infinity, but to a point limited only by the census returns. Yet, in spite of all their endeavours, it may be doubted if he has founded a great family. The majority of men certainly do not look upon him as their master, and an increasing number of people—to use the meaningful phrase of a Chinese historian—"have developed the courage to show him disrespect."

In fact, the Earthly Ideal Man, to those who respect or despise him, is both an embarrassment and an annoyance. Looking down upon us from the walls upon which his picture hangs, from the antique frame with which he has been surrounded, he is a perpetual menace to our peace—so we are apt to think. His morals are so high, his manners so perfect, his judgment so sound, his ability so general, his difficulties so triumphantly surmounted. If we could but conform to his guidance, value the things he values, see through

his eyes, share his æsthetic appreciations, we should most assuredly act as he acts—wisely, justly, efficiently. Order would come out of chaos; happiness would follow grief: so he seems to say to us, as he nestles into his silken neckcloth, his Elizabethan ruff, his Puritan academical robes, his eighteenth-century stock or his starched Gladstonian collar, in all the portraits of him in all the National Galleries from Peking to Washington, via Petrograd. Indeed, he is the very self of all the statesmen and judges, the generals and administrators, the professors and divines of all times and races. He is the Âtman Vaisvânara, "the self common to all" their personalities. "One is the self of all" these men, we may say with the Upanishad, without irreverence. This One is the Earthly Ideal Man.

The Heavenly Ideal Man

Before endeavouring to delineate in detail this species which I have called the Earthly Ideal Man—because he is essentially humanistic and political in his values—I will now turn to the Heavenly Ideal Man, the second species. There can be little doubt that he is the less ancient branch. His brother must have established himself in the Earth long before it was possible to develop a Heavenly variety. The very idea of a Kingdom of the Heavens or a spiritual super-earthly society sprang as a reaction from long experience of worldly kingdoms.

As we shall see later, the Heavenly Ideal Man has aims that are not identical with those of his worldly confrère. He is weary of Earth and would lead an exodus from it. To govern the world is not his function. The dead may bury their dead; Cæsar may have his own; the Heavenly Ideal Man calls out to his fellows to flee from the world, to keep silence, to pray, to withdraw to the Vihâra, to the mountains of Shangtung, to the desert of Nitria, or to live the simple life in a Derbyshire village.

The Heavenly Ideal Man, then, is the construction of religions, which, while they must and do occupy themselves with men in the world—and consequently with ethics—nevertheless direct their eyes towards that aspect of man which is conceived to be unearthly, untemporal, unpolitical, unnational, uncivic. And because he has this lesser contact with the world, so much the more strict and exalted must his ethical standard be. To enjoy the rights of life here below we must take notice of the Earthly Ideal Man's canon. But, according to religion, these rights and this canon are of a lower order than those enjoyed and enjoined by the Heavenly Ideal Man. His portrait is less seldom painted, but is quite sharply drawn for us in the Taoist Sage, the Bhikkhu, the Yogin, the Christian Monk, the Saint and Sufi.

Like his elder brother of the Earth, so has this younger Ideal Man penetrated the personalities of countless men of the religions,

and drawn them a little away from worldly concerns. He looks at us through their eyes in rebuke, in appeal, in pity, sometimes not without contempt for our base ideals and unworthy interests. Having constructed a standard of spiritual significance, all that we do, and all that we are as mere mortals, must be judged from his immortal standpoint. Consequently, in many respects, a changed scale of values is offered by him which devalues all, or nearly all, things of earthly estimation.

And so, like his Earthly Ideal Brother, the younger, Spiritual Ideal Man is irksome to us. We cannot appreciate, as intensely as he does, his higher values. We follow him afar off, and elude his eye. We remember him at seasons and days he has marked with special sanctity. Now and again we are smitten by his beauty, we envy his freedom to walk on water and on air while we are kept by gravitation to the earth. Many of our race have escaped his control, many persecute him, many hate him, and some add fear to their hatred. Yet the Heavenly Ideal Man persists in spite of all betrayal and apostacy; he hopes against all appearances. He intervenes in our worldly affairs for the sake of our spiritual welfare, and joins with his ethical brother for our redemption.

Thus far the two species: now, lest there should be doubts entertained as to the existence and functions of the Ideal Man; lest his antiquity, his influence, his authority and his beauty and attractiveness should be disputed, I propose to present a series of authentic portraits, making no differentiation into species, but reminding my hearers of what I have already said as to the interchangeable powers that both classes at times possess.

The Superior Man

In my search for the portraiture of the Ideal Man, I will begin in the Far East and travel with rapid strides to Europe.

The sage Confucius had very little reason to think well of his contemporaries, who, for the most part, neglected his teaching; yet, in spite of his rather unhappy experience, K'ung maintained that man was born good and had but to maintain and develop those finer qualities of his character which were given to him at birth, and thus to become a "Superior Man." This is the Confucian ideal, drawn in a hundred passages with the greatest fidelity, precision and charm. No reader of Chinese classics can possibly pass by *The Superior Man* without being struck by the practical and consistent attempt of the great sage to provide his countrymen with a criterion of conduct which should serve for all occasions. The words which follow are taken from the Confucian writings.

The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. He is

sincere. The superior man must make his thoughts sincere. Is it not his absolute sincerity which distinguishes a superior man? And he is truthful.

What the superior man requires is that in what he says there may be nothing inaccurate. The object of the superior man is truth. The superior man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty come upon him. He has mental hospitality. The superior man is catholic and not partisan; the ordinary man is partisan and not catholic. The superior man in the world does not set his mind either for anything or against anything; what is right he will follow. He is not a fanatic or a doctrinaire. The superior man thinks of virtue; the ordinary man thinks of comfort. The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the ordinary man is conversant with gain. The superior man in all things considers righteousness essential. The superior man wishes to be slow in his words and earnest in his conduct. He is prudent.

The superior man has dignified ease without pride; the ordinary man has pride without dignified ease. The superior man is dignified and does not wrangle. The superior man is correctly firm and not merely firm. Looked at from a distance, he appears stern; when approached, he is mild; when he is heard to speak, his language is firm and decided. The superior man is affable but not adulatory; the ordinary man is adulatory but not affable.

The superior man seeks to develop the admirable qualities of men. The ordinary man does the opposite of this. The superior man honours talent and virtue and bears with all. The superior man does not promote a man on account of his words, nor does he put aside good words on account of the lowliness of the man. The superior man conforms with the middle path, and avoids extremes. When one cultivates to the utmost the capabilities of his nature and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the middle path. *What you do not want done to yourself, do not do unto others.* That principle is his constant guide.

The ordinance of Heaven is what we call the law of our being, and to fulfil the law of our being is what we call the moral law. The moral law, when reduced to a system, is what we call religion.

When true moral being and moral order are realized, the universe then becomes a cosmos, and all things attain their full growth and development.

The life of the superior man is the manifestation of the universal moral order. The life of the vulgar person, on the other hand, is a contradiction to the universal moral order.

The superior man's life is an exemplification of the universal order, because he is a moral person who unceasingly cultivates his true self or moral being. The vulgar person's life is a contradiction to the universal order, because he is a vulgar person who, in his inmost heart, has no regard for, or fear of, the moral law. The superior man is ordinate and integral; the vulgar man is inordinate and partial.

Alas! I know now why there is no real moral life. Clever people mistake moral law for something higher than what it really is: and the foolish do not know enough what moral law really is. I know

now why the moral law is not understood. The noble natures want to live too high above their moral ordinary self: and ignoble natures do not live high enough, i.e. not up to their moral, ordinary true self. The fault lies in the extremes.

The truth is there is in the world now really no moral social order at all.

The Man of Perfect Virtue

Confucius was modest in his attempt at ideal portraiture. He did not aim at the superlative but at the comparative, the practical. The Taoists, though clinging to humility, were not satisfied with an ideal which fell short of perfect virtue. In their writings, which date from the third century B.C., this type is described at great length. I cannot afford the space to quote passages textually,[1] but will describe his ethical characteristics as seen from a great distance—hundreds of thousands of years—to " remote antiquity."

The " Man of Perfect Virtue " is, or was, rooted deep in Nature, and entirely free of artificiality. He lives long and dies naturally. He observes no ceremonies except those that are given by Nature—birth, death, day and night, and the seasons. Likewise his social relationships are in harmony with Nature. He has no separate classes, or castes, he claims no property, but has enough and to spare.

So tender is his regard for his mother the Earth that he cuts no footpaths, constructs no dams on the rivers, launches no boats on the lakes. He allows vegetation to grow luxuriant and long, and makes his home in mountain-caves and even in nests aloft in trees. So modest, so apologetic, is the Man of Perfect Virtue that he regards the animals as the primary denizens of the Earth and himself as of lesser importance. So he leaves them undisturbed, learns their language, peeps into the nest of the magpie with interest and affection. How sublime is the picture which our imagination draws of the Man of Perfect Virtue, standing at the door of his arboreal retreat, passing the time of day with a visiting dinosaur.

He follows his own inclinations, which never lead him astray. He has no canons of beauty invented by himself. Nature is his standard. He is not conscious of unfulfilled desires, therefore there is no evil for him—and consequently no good. No one is superior, no one knows what " righteousness and propriety " are.

The Man of Perfect Virtue is grave and calm, without vices or virtues. He injures no one, and is free of fear or suspicion. He makes no plans for his security, having no memories or anticipations. Regarded intellectually, he has no abstract knowledge, no wisdom, no ideas of profit and loss, though he is gifted with sensitive instincts which guide him placidly through life.

[1] See Mr. Hsü-Ti-Shan's paper on Taoism in this volume.

Politically, he has no rulers to command and no servants to obey him, and the harmony of the world is attributed—and very properly so—to the fact that the different states or settlements have nothing to do with each other! In those times perfect good order prevailed, says the historian of the Man of Perfect Virtue. Indeed, he goes further, and disarms our criticism by adding that, so placid and uneventful was their life, "they left no record of their affairs." For what is history but a record of crime? No crime, no history!

One more portrait of the Ideal Man drawn by a Chinese pencil is the *Man of Universal Love* by Mo-tze. He makes no distinctions between man and man. I cannot now describe his charming portrait in detail.

The Samurai

Taking a glance at Japan, and putting aside those Ideal Men who have been, as it were, imported from India and China, and are therefore exotic, we catch sight of the Samurai as the native type of excellence. Here is an outline picture of him:

His ideal is that of absolute, unswerving devotion to a duty undertaken to his ruler and his country. Patriotism is carried by him to the highest degree of consistency. His life, his goods, his welfare are entirely devoted to the cause of his Emperor. He combines a Spartan severity with a Stoic endurance, and values himself less than everything. Shinto, "the way of the gods," is his religion.

The Yogin

We now come to India, and to a situation more complex. In China the ideals offered—the Superior Man, the Man of Perfect Virtue, the Man of Undifferentiated Love—are universal. The ancient civilization of India had produced an order of society composed of many sections, exercising special functions and consequently following specialized ethical canons. Speaking generally, religion provided one group of ideals and secular society another, the difference being the degree of intensity in observance. If, for instance, a layman took five vows, a religious mendicant would take ten. The life of the householder was marked out with certain strictness within his cycle of endeavour, but he who had renounced the household life was expected to aim higher. Such a man was the Yogin.

His picture is faithfully drawn in many of the scriptures, nowhere with more power than in the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, from which I will quote a few stanzas.

> When one, O Prîtha's Son,
> Abandoning desires which shake the mind,
> Finds in his soul full comfort for his soul,
> He hath attained the Yog—that man is such!

In sorrows not dejected, and in joys
Not overjoyed; dwelling outside the stress
Of passion, fear, and anger; fixed in calms
Of lofty contemplation—such an one
Is Muni, is the Sage, the true Recluse!
He who, to none and nowhere overbound
By ties of flesh, takes evil things and good,
Neither desponding nor exulting, such
Bears wisdom's plainest mark! He who shall draw,
As the wise tortoise draws its four feet safe
Under its shield, his five frail senses back
Under the spirit's buckler from the world
Which else assails them, such an one, my Prince,
Hath wisdom's mark!

—*The Song Celestial*, II.

The sovereign soul
Of him who lives self-governed and at peace
Is centred in itself, taking alike
Pleasure and pain; heat, cold; glory and shame.
He is the Yogi, he is Yûkta, glad
With joy of light and truth; dwelling apart
Upon a peak, with senses subjugate,
Whereto the clod, the rock, the glistering gold
Show all as one. By this sign is he known,
Being of equal grace to comrades, friends,
Chance-comers, strangers, lovers, enemies,
Aliens and kinsmen; loving all alike,
Evil or good.
Sequestered should he sit,
Steadfastly meditating, solitary,
His thought controlled, his passions laid away,
Quit of belongings. In a fair, still spot
Having his fixed abode—not too much raised,
Nor yet too low—let him abide, his goods
A cloth, a deerskin and the Kusa-grass.
There, setting hard his mind upon The One,
Restraining heart and senses, silent, calm,
Let him accomplish Yoga, and achieve
Pureness of soul.
. . . . . When the man,
So living, centres on his soul the thought
Straitly restrained—untouched internally
By stress of sense—then is he Yûkta. See!
Steadfast a lamp burns sheltered from the wind;
Such is the likeness of the Yogi's mind
Shut from sense-storms and burning bright to Heaven.
When mind broods placid, soothed with holy wont;
When Self contemplates self, and in itself
Hath comfort; when it knows the nameless joy
Beyond all scope of sense, revealed to soul—
Only to soul! and, knowing, wavers not,

True to the farther Truth; when, holding this,
It deems no other treasure comparable,
But, harboured there, cannot be stirred or shook
By any gravest grief, call that state "peace,"
That happy severance Yoga.
—*The Song Celestial*, VI.

The Sannyâsin

A less specialized, and possibly earlier, ideal is that of the Sannyâsin, who, as the word implies, renounces or "casts off everything from himself" and wanders about a homeless mendicant. He not only casts off all worldly possessions, family and individuality, but, in a formal manner, accompanied by a certain ritual, puts aside all sacrificial duties, of whatever kind, that may have been incumbent upon the caste to which he belonged. A large literature in the Upanishads glorifies the Sannyâsin, and from it we may learn the privileges and freedom of the mendicant. A certain dress was enjoined, and food received only by charity, to maintain a necessary state of health. Being tied to no locality, he may live in a deserted house, a temple, by the roots of a tree, on an island in a river—preferably by the water. I quote the following passage from Dr. Deussen:

The Sannyâsa demands a surrender of all possessions, a resigning the seven upper and seven lower worlds, an abandonment of sons, brothers, relatives, of father, son and wife, of teachers and relatives, of children, friends, wife and relatives, a leaving behind of family.

A Sannyâsin must live by begging; only bread given in charity and broken fruits are to be his food, or water, air and fruits. Food should be asked of all four castes, the distinctions of which have no longer any existence for the Sannyâsin. He should use his food only as medicine, should avoid eating sufficient to put on fat, but should remain thin.

He, on the contrary, who has truly renounced the world should bid farewell to lust, anger, desire, infatuation, deceit, pride, envy, self-will, presumption and falsehood. He is free from the six surges—hunger, thirst, vexation, error, old age and death—and leaves behind him censure, pride, jealousy, deceit, haughtiness, longing, hatred, pleasure, pain, desire, greed, joy, disappointment, self-will and everything of the kind; and, because his own body is regarded by him merely as carcase, he turns away for ever from this body, which is the cause of doubt and perversity, and directs his mind steadfastly to Brahman, makes his home in him, and knows of him who is tranquil, immutable: "*I am that timeless one, consisting wholly of bliss and knowledge, it is I myself, he is my highest state.*"

He is not elated by praise, does not curse when he is reviled. He does not attract and he does not cast off; for him there are no longer Vedic texts, or meditation, or worship, or visible and invisible, or joined and disjoined, or I and thou and the world. . . . Steadfast in pain, in

pleasure, without desire, in longing self-restrained, in all things dependent neither on beauty nor ugliness, free from hatred and free from joy. The motions of every impulse have been stilled, he abides only in knowledge, firmly founded in the Âtman. Then he may enter upon the great journey by abstaining from nourishment throwing himself into the water or the fire, or choosing a hero's death ; or he may betake himself to a hermitage of the aged (*The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, P. Deussen).

It is easy to see that the Sannyâsin and the Yogin, though highly individualistic, must have distributed powerful moral ideals in the midst of the society in which they appeared. We have no data as to how many followed in their steps, but they are inseparable from the life and literature of ancient India.

The Virtuous and Well-conducted Man.

Buddhism began, like other lesser movements before and after it, by calling to the teacher's side such men as would join the Order, or Sangha, which was a retreat or refuge from the world. The literature is so vast that I find it difficult to be sure that I have selected the best passages descriptive of the Holy Disciple or Ideal Man of the Buddhists. It might be sufficient merely to point the finger at the Buddha himself, and say, " Here is the Ideal Man," or to read a discourse in which occurs the Eightfold Noble Path, but in doing so I should be departing from my plan. The life of the Ideal Man according to Buddhism begins by his renunciation of the world and his becoming a member of a community which is a new world in miniature, with its duties, its privileges, its opportunities for spiritual experience and its sociological function towards the outer world from which it has separated itself.

After he has heard the teaching he is filled with confidence in the Perfect One. And, filled with this confidence, he thinks : " A prison house is household life, a refuse heap ; but pilgrim-life is as the open air. Not easy is it when one lives at home to fulfil point by point the rules of the holy life. How if now, with hair and beard cut off, clothed in the yellow robe, how if I go forth from home to the homeless life ? " And in a short time, having given up his more or less extensive possessions, having forsaken a smaller or larger circle of relations, he cuts off hair and beard, puts on the yellow robe and goes forth from home to the homeless life.

And not long had that venerable one been in the Order, when, dwelling alone and apart, untiring, resolute, strenuous, he speedily knew for himself, realized and attained in this present body to that ultimate object of the Holy Life, for sake of which noble youths withdraw from home to homelessness. Perfectly he understood : " All birth is ended, the holy life is lived out, done that which was to do ; no more is this world for me ! "

Thus the familiar and impressive formula! A longer description of the Ideal Man follows.

And now, vowed to the homeless life, wholly devoted to the life and discipline of the monk, he abstains from all taking of life; shuns taking the life of any living thing. Laying aside cudgel and sword, he is mild and merciful, kind and compassionate towards every living creature. He refrains from the taking of what has not been given to him; waiting for such gifts, he abides heart-free from all thievish intent. Refraining from unchastity, he lives the pure, the chaste life.

He refrains from lying, shuns the uttering of untruth. He speaks the truth, holds to the truth; staunch and trustworthy, he is no worldly deceiver. He abstains from tale-bearing, shuns slanderous speech. What he hears in this quarter he does not repeat in that, so as to create trouble for people here; and what he chances to hear in that quarter he does not repeat in this, so as to cause annoyance to the people there. Those at variance he brings together, and those already in union he encourages. Concord pleases him, concord rejoices him, in concord is all his delight. He speaks words that make for concord; he refrains from harsh speech, shuns speaking roughly. Whatsoever words are blameless, pleasant to the ear, loving, heart-moving, courteous, charming and delighting all who hear them—such are the words he speaks. He abstains from idle chatter, shuns unprofitable conversation.

He abstains from trafficking and merchandising. He has naught to do with false balances, false weights or false measures. He shuns the crooked ways of bribery, deception and fraud. He keeps aloof from maiming, murder, abduction, highway robbery, wholesale plundering and every deed of violence. He is contented with the robes he receives for the covering of his body and with the food he receives for the maintenance of his life, and, whithersoever he goeth, he takes with him only such things as are proper and necessary.

Even as the winged bird, whithersoever it flies, bears with it only its wings, so the monk is contented with what he gets of clothing and food, and, journeying, takes with him only needful requisites. By the faithful observance of this noble body of precepts of right conduct he enjoys cloudless happiness within.

Radiating Influence.

I must mention some special excellences of the Ideal Man, one regarding the endurance of pain by non-resistance, another regarding the control of the thoughts and the tongue; and a third, his radiating influence.

Yea, even if one should rebuke thee to thy face, should strike thee with his fists or throw clods of earth at thee, beat thee with his staff or smite thee with his sword; even then thou shalt put from thee the common feelings and considerations of the household life, and thus shalt thou train thyself: "My mind shall remain unsullied, evil words shall not escape my lips. Kindly and compassionate I will abide, loving of heart, nor harbour secret hate." Yea, thus, must thou school and train thyself.

The virtuous and well-conducted man is like a medicine in destroying the poison of human corruption ; is like a healing herb in quieting the disease of human corruption ; is like the magic jewel in giving all good fortune to men ; is like a ship in crossing to the farther shore of the four torrents of human viciousness ; is like a caravan-leader in conducting men through the wilderness of birth ; is like the wind in extinguishing the heart of man's threefold fever ; is like a great cloud satisfying man's longings ; is like a teacher training men in the acquirement of merit ; is like a skilful preceptor in pointing out to men the way to peace. . . . The longer virtuous and noble Bhikkhus and Brahmins live, the more they avail for the welfare of the multitude, for the happiness of the multitude, for compassionating the world, for the advantage, the welfare, the happiness of gods and men.

The Righteous Man.

The Righteous Man is the familiar ideal of the Old Testament. It would have to be included in any adequate portraiture of the Ideal Man. One point which perhaps is of interest is that in its original significance it has a negative import. It means " innocent " in the forensic sense. A defendant in a court of justice is " righteous " if proved to be innocent, and the judge is righteous if he discovers and upholds the innocence. Thus, upon this basis, is built up, quality by quality, virtue by virtue, the picture of the Righteous Man. This kind of righteousness, if preserved intact, leads to santification by the inflow of Divine Grace. It is required of him that he have clean hands and a pure heart. This is perhaps sufficient indication of the Old Testament ideal. Job, " a perfect and upright man," was, in spite of all his trials, *innocent of offence*; he had done no wrong. " In all this Job *sinned* not." It is a remarkable conception, and one may be warranted in sayin,g paradoxically, that "to do good" is not the mark of the Righteous Man—but to have done no evil. What is left is natural, and therefore good.

The Just Man.

The Just Man is the creation of Greek idealism. Socrates and Plato, over a long course of years, chiselled him to perfection from the rough marble of human imperfection. Their vision penetrated to the interior of the mass and perceived what man might be ; their dialectic cut away all that did not belong to him and left him standing in all his interior beauty and dignity, a pattern for all succeeding ages. The Just Man is needed in order to make the Just State. His portrait is painted, says Plato, by the artist who is unable to shew that such a man really exists : not because he is possible, but because an ideal standard is necessary. Here, then, are some of the traits of his character.

It is not his to hurt or injure any human being ; most men help

their friends and harm their foes. But the Just Man has given up this differential treatment. Socrates says in the *Crito*:

Are we to start, in our enquiry, from the doctrine that it is never right, either to do wrong, or to repay wrong with wrong, or to avenge ourselves on any man who harms us, by harming him in return? Or do you disagree with me and dissent from my principle? I myself have believed in it for a long time, and I believe in it still. But if you differ in any way, explain to me how. If you still hold to our former opinions listen to my next point.

In worldly affairs he gets less than the unjust man in mutual contracts; he pays a larger share of public taxes and imposts; he gets less of the public spoil. He reaps the hate of his friends because he will not do injustice for their advantage. The Just Man is not just for fear of being found out, or because he has the public eye upon him; if he wore the ring of Gyges, which made him invisible, he would act rightly. He will even endure to be stripped of his reputation for righteousness and be *considered* unjust, rather than *be* unjust. He may be scourged, racked, fettered, have his eyes burnt out, and, at last, after suffering every kind of torture, will be crucified. Yet, like a skilful runner, he will carry off the prize of life conferred by gods and men; he will attain to all that is claimed for the unjust man. Socrates says:

"Indeed, if we follow my advice, believing the soul to be immortal, and to possess the power of entertaining all evil, as well as all good, we shall ever hold fast the upward road, and devotedly cultivate justice, combined with wisdom, in order that we may be loved by one another and by the gods, not only during our stay on earth, but also when, like conquerors in the games collecting the presents of their admirers, we receive the prizes of virtue; and in order that, both in this life and during the journey of a thousand years, we may never cease to prosper."

Plato's words on Socrates in closing the *Phædo* may be recalled here.

Such was the end of our friend, a man, I think, who was the wisest and best and most just, and the best man that I have ever known.

Aristotle's Good Man

It would not be fair to the Greek genius to omit that part of the construction of the Ideal Man which was performed by Aristotle. It was his task, after the idealization of the Just Man by Socrates and Plato, to indicate how, in a practical way, their pattern might be imitated in the world, and it will be sufficient, without going deeply into his beautiful ethical works, to give a cameo of his Good Man.

Like Confucius and the Buddha, he advocates a middle course. Of the various qualities of character which his observation had shewn him men may be expected to manifest, he notices that some indicate defect and some excess. The central position is his ideal. Thus a man should manifest neither cowardice nor rashness, but courage; neither insensibility nor intemperance, but temperance; neither illiberality nor prodigality, but liberality; neither pettiness nor vulgarity, but munificence. Aristotle does not like the humble-minded man, nor the vainglorious man; he inclines to high-mindedness and a right degree of ambition. Equally he dislikes spiritlessness and irascibility and prefers good temper. Surliness and obsequiousness are rejected in favour of friendly civility; ironical self-depreciation (perhaps he has Socrates in his eye!) and boastfulness, on the other hand, are put aside in favour of sincerity. Boorishness and buffoonery are alike taboo, but wittiness is permitted. Shamelessness and bashfulness are deprecated in favour of modesty, and, with regard to the last quality of character, Aristotle strikes an interesting note. The defect of callousness and the excess of spitefulness are both rejected, but the Good Man is permitted to shew just resentment. Thus it is clear, from this last indication, that Aristotle's Good Man is an Englishman!

The Roman Stoic

No attempt to draw a picture of the Ideal Man would be adequate without at least a reference to the few noble touches added by the Stoics. Like the Epicureans, they occupied themselves with this same question, derived perhaps from Aristotle: How shall a man secure his personal happiness? The Stoic saw the world as good, but looked upon man as ignorant and evil. Thus endurance of whatsoever suffering was directed towards the philosopher was his solution of the search for happiness. His defence was "apathy," so successfully cultivated to protect him against evil surroundings. He was the aristocrat of wisdom and, inasmuch as he did not feel the pain himself, he was doubtful as to whether others, who appeared to feel it, really did so. The noble Epictetus cut his way, with a wonderful dialectic, through all the surrounding discord and suffering of the world, with a convinced optimism that all was well. Such was the Stoic ideal.

The Christian Saint

After the central figure of the Gospels we are accustomed to describe the first generation of apostles as saints. In reality, except in a few cases, we know very little about them personally, but as the Christian movement gradually rose in power in the Græco-Roman world, the Ideal Man of the Christians becomes

clearer and clearer. He is the saint first, and only secondarily—and perhaps not at all—the citizen. In the early days the saint was generally martyred, and during the period of persecution he appeared as one who flies from the world to the desert, there to keep silence in his lonely cell, undisturbed even by the twittering of the birds or the breath of the wind in the reeds. Here the great Anthony and Pachomius drew thousands of men from the world. But the typical Christian saint is of a later generation, one who, though he may live in a monastery, plants that monastery in the midst of the world, and from it radiates whatsoever of piety and charity that is generated within its walls.

The distinguishing mark of the Christian saint, though this may seem surprising, is labour. He does not live, as do the oriental holy men, on mendicancy. On the contrary, he supports the mendicant. The most extraordinary industry was set afoot by organized Christianity in the ages commonly called "dark." The chief function of the Christian saint, after the athletic discipline of the soul, was to manifest brotherly love to his fellows. This love is not *eros*, which attracts us towards others, apart from, or even against, our judgment; it is a matter of the will, and triumphs over our impulses, and even our dislike of other men. This brotherly love, *agape*, was the fundamental rock upon which Christian saint-hood was built in the midst of a pagan society. The saint made women equal to men, ennobled the position of children, redeemed labour, freed the slaves, and, without any peculiar economic theory, distributed riches to the poor. The saint supported widows and orphans, uplifted the oppressed, comforted the captives, the sick, enemies and criminals. The vast literature of Christianity contains so many indications of his qualities that perhaps I need say no more in reference to him.

The True Moslem

Islam is the latest of the great historical religions, and therefore I deal with it last. Its literature is so rich, its real men so numerous that it is hard for me to attempt to indicate its Ideal Man. There are rulers, philosophers, prophets, poets and Sufis in large numbers whose qualities command our admiration and respect. Yet I think I have found in a small book written in the twelfth century, by Ibn Tufail, the ideal Moslem I am looking for.

A child was left on an island to the care of an animal nurse; he was never instructed by human hand or voice. Living with the animals, entirely under the influence of nature, he passed from year to year through the seven septenaries through which the soul travels on its way to the knowledge of God. He heard no *Qur'an* chanted, he made no prayers, he visited no mosque, he attempted no pilgrimage, he knew nothing of the great disputes of the doctors,

but slowly and inevitably, in accordance with the germinal operations within him, he became a perfect Moslem and " turned the face to God." And happily, when at last, an aged man, he came in contact with the world, he found that the content of his spontaneously illuminated mind was similar to the teaching of the Prophet !

Such is the story. We may draw from it the hint, nay, the lesson, that external historical discipline, whether secular or ecclesiastical, is not the essential feature of human ideality. These could do nothing to raise man from being " ordinary " to becoming " superior " if it were not already in man to become so. And further, the philosophical idea presents itself here that this process of unfoldment, of assimilation to the order of the universe, is Religion itself. Consequently the various religions are not necessarily rivals, but mutual aids towards a finer fulfilment of human destiny.

Religion on the Chart of Life

By Professor Patrick Geddes

THE Ascent of Man, in its deeper and higher aspects, is still far from adequately outlined. Biologists agree, in the main, as to main lines of the evolution of plant and animal life ; and even, in a general way, as to the descent of man : but no comparable consensus has yet been reached among the psychologists, even those evolutionary in tendency. Hence, despite all endeavours, and even advances, the evolution of the religious nature of man, with its emotional intensity, its doctrinal and symbolic systems most of all, remains without any generally accepted presentment. Similarly our ideas as to the mathematical, scientific and philosophical endeavours and achievements of humanity are still without an evolutionary consensus. And likewise those of the imaginative endeavours, the æsthetic efforts and achievements of mankind, highly though we value them. For the doctrine of the survival of theologians, of mathematicians and philosophers, of dreamers, poets, artists, as variant forms successfully adapting themselves to the struggle for existence, plainly does not help us far ! How seldom does it help even for the technical inventor !

In short, then, the evolutionist has to search further ; and this despite all his naturalistic clearness, as to the all-essential importance for survival of more and more efficient adaptation of the nutritive and the reproductive processes, the self-maintaining and the species-continuing life. He sees, of course, with the physiological psychologist, the survival-values of better and better senses, of experiences of activity organized as habits, of feelings towards offspring, towards parents, towards herd or tribe. He inquires also into the progressive evolution of the nervous system and its centres, and all in their psychic functioning as well as in their organic structure. But, while all this has become familiar, in general outlines at least, we are plainly far from any corresponding clearness as to the evolutionary origin or survival of any one of the higher fields of man's psychological activity, such as those indicated above.

Mechanism versus Vitalism

All these difficulties are accentuated by the long-continued deadlock between mechanistic and vitalistic doctrines. There is as yet

no adjustment between Professor Jacques Loeb, as conspicuous experimentalist of life's processes, with his " torpisms," physically and chemically determined, and Professor Driesch, as conspicuous exponent of a directive " Entelechy " (though not without experimental work also). The mechanical, physical and chemical researches of the physiologists have for the past century been pushing forward their interpretations of the functional activities of living beings: and their understanding of us, as complex machines, is not to be gainsaid, with our chemical digestion and physical combustion of our food as fuel—source of our work accordingly. Our lungs are the bellows for this process, our hearts the pumps, and even our complex nervous system and its centres are more and more explained by them as a sort of central telephone exchange. The vitalists protest that there are still life-processes unreached or imperfectly explained by this advancing analysis, and thus an unsolved and even insoluble mystery of life. But the mechanist replies: You were saying that not so long ago of the organic chemistry of living beings: but since we first synthetically prepared urea, we have gone on, and are always going on, faster and faster. Your mystery, your " x " of Life, is what we are progressively solving: thus it is we who make all the scientific advances; you, who but maintain the unsolved as insoluble, are ever receding before us: and in any case, even if our progress be never complete, and at best asymptotic, your standfast, by your " x " of Life, as the unknown, is but adherence to ignorance, not science; it is mere conservatism, not progress. You, moreover, are for the most part essentially, if not admittedly, adherents to some philosophy of idealism, if not even to some form of theology: so what claim have you to introduce such historic lines of criticism into our physiological laboratories, when you no longer dare to intrude them upon the astronomer or the geologist, as your predecessors were wont to do?

What is Life?

It is time now to stand back from this long controversy of *mechanists* and *vitalists*, and to be considering whether we cannot somehow make a fresh start. And though at first both combatants may resent this attitude, as a defection from their cause, let us plead with them for a hearing, and of this question: Admitting your wide difference, is there not still something fundamental to life, and on which you are both agreed? Have you not in common some simple concept of life? So habituated are both sides to their respective attitudes and modes of thought, that it is very difficult to get even their briefest consideration for this enquiry. Yet as a matter of fact, whatever they respectively think of life, they do not deny, but in fact, candidly agree, that the life-process is a relation between environment and organism, organism and environment.

Here, however, the mechanist is clear: he knows these as "stimulus and response"; and these in their increasingly complex correlation. But there can hardly now be any philosopher so ultra-vitalistic, as not also in his own language to admit this; indeed, he too often begins with such relation though on his own chosen planes.

Environment conditions organism — witness heat; and this within a certain limited range of temperature; witness also oxygen, water, etc., etc., each with its specific actions on the organism, which the physiologist explores. But the Organism also reacts on its environment, changing this in turn: witness the differences between inspired and expired air. In short, then, if we represent environment by "E," and organism by "O," and interpose "F" as sign of the activity, the functioning between them, we may develop the formula (Life = x) to a fuller and more scientific presentment.

$$x = E \rightarrow F \rightarrow O : O \rightarrow F \rightarrow E.$$

i.e. EFO : OFE

(or, in other notation, $\frac{E\ F\ O}{O\ F\ E.}$)

Proceed now to consider human life; and this not in its merely animal and organic aspect, with the physiologists, but in its social aspect, and from simplest to most civilized. Far apart though these may seem, there is again no denial that man in social life is manifestly so far conditioned by his environment, geographical and other; nor yet that at every level of civilization he spends activity upon this environment in turn, and utilizes it, so far dominates it in turn. So plain is each of these half-aspects of life that it has been insisted on by turns, and even to the excessive subordination of the other: witness, for the dominance of man by his environment, the teaching of Montesquieu or Buckle; yet conversely, for the importance of human groupings and of individual personalities, their historians and biographers without number.

Place, Work, Folk

To formulate these complemental life aspects, let us call our human Environment, our Place, "P," and our human grouping, our folk, "F." And since, in a forest-place, we must hunt or starve, on the plain, plough or starve, and, by the waters or on the sea, either fish or starve, this pressure of place on folk is best summarized as WORK, "W." The Place thus inexorably WORKS the folk: yet the Folk, increasingly, WORK the place. Thus parallel to the formula of organic life we have that of social life.

"x" of Organic Life = E - F - O : O - F - E = EFO : OFE
"x" of Social Life = P - W - F : F - W - P = PWF : FWP

All very elementary so far. Yet it is something to see the fundamental parallelism of the biological and social sciences emerge so clearly. For note that we are thus definitely and from the outset avoiding the confusion of the " organicist " doctrine, into which Spencer and others have too largely fallen : for here we are not searching, as they did, for analogies between an organism and a society, and these even in structural ways. We are but broadly and simply parallelizing, in the above general way, the process of organic life with that of society.

Elementary though all this is, it is something to see that the left-hand sides of both formulæ express the determinist aspect of life organic and social ; while on the right-hand sides we have similarly the case for freedom. And thus our parallel life-formulæ, at first sight seeming simple, even to mere common-place, are suddenly bringing sharply before us a broad presentment of the age-long conflict and struggle of philosophies ; and with these even the corresponding doctrinal emphases of religions, on one side or other, and of controversies accordingly within these—often with the origin of sects accordingly.

Geography, Economics and Anthropology

Let us continue, however, as simply as may be, postponing these great questions until preliminaries are clearer. Taking, then, as to P W F—the first half of our social formula, (P W F), we cannot but agree that the study of place is what we know as Geography, that of work as Economics, and that of folk as Anthropology ; and that each of these has its specialized groups of investigators and teachers, in their learned societies, their university departments. Yet note also, and clearly, that these three are not yet to any adequate extent in co-operation. They have as yet advanced mainly as dis-specialized groups : i.e., each conceived with its subject substantially distinct, and so as isolated from others. But hence their studies of each " science " have been in its static aspects especially. Hence it is that the geographer's main contribution is his atlas, essentially of earth-forms—" Geo-morphology." And since Folk, apart from place and work, are dead, the anthropologist's main achievements have long been in archæology, racial anatomy, craniology, ethnography, etc. and of tools, weapons, etc. ; and as all this can be presented in museums. Moreover, long indifferent as the economist has been to local conditions and to concrete human life, his " Place " has mainly been vaguely abstracted, as " the Market " : and his " Folk " similarly abstracted into " Labour " and " Capital," and with ready assurance of " immutable laws " accordingly, as of " Supply and Demand." Yet all these are still too much abstractions, and of a nature not readily carrying much conviction, to minds of either physical or biological

training, much less of evolutionary or other idealistic trend.

Yet, no doubt, the geographer, at his best, of course, and as traveller, sets forth for us the conditions of economic activity, and of human types; the anthropologist, too, is increasingly active in the living human field; and even the economist sometimes utilizes illustrations from these. Still these three are as yet far from integrated. But now they are so integrated here, on schema as in life; by help of their elemental chord of Place, work, folk, into a single, and henceforth unified, field of study. That study, as it develops, is our elementary Sociology. A Sociological Society thus, in fact, largely arises as geographers, economists, and anthropologists begin to come together: and the sociologist, fundamentally, is he to whom all their contributions are plainly unified within the life-process of a region or village, town or city; and whether its community be more or less simple, as in Polynesia, or industrialized, as with ourselves.

Psychology of Place, Work, Folk

Furthermore, with this union of these three studies in their social unison—their coming into real life, in short—Psychology at once claims and obtains a hearing. The geographer has always observed his place, with senses alert. The anthropologist, as he leaves his museum collections for direct studies of man in his natural surroundings, is roused to sympathetic feeling and insight accordingly. And the economist is nowadays far less insistent upon his tradition of utilitarian hedonism—a doctrine defunct for all extant schools of psychology—and more open to experience, directly obtained from the various kinds of work before him. Our formula has thus its parallel psychological side.

PLACE
WORK
FOLK
.....
FEELING
EXPERIENCE
SENSE

To the everyday material Acts of life, we have thus added its everyday mental Facts. The simple working household, village or town, has thus its accompanying school of elemental mental life, in which every child is developing towards its mature participation in its community, and this apart from formal schooling of any literate character.

Note also that this simple graphic presentment puts explicitly the " materialistic " view of the psychologic process. Life, so far as we have yet gone, is Bio-psychosis. Its human sense, experience and feeling—seen and charted in outline and in principle so far—are but environmental, functional, and organismal, just as for the simpler animal life. In Huxley's phrase, our psychologic aspect of life, so far, is plainly but " epi-phenomenal."

Religion on the Chart

Not a very promising opening, it may be said, towards any placing of religions and their deeper and higher elements of the psychic life upon our growing chart ! And so indeed it has long seemed. Let us see, however, whether these do not next find place.
cannot remember any stage of our development so infantile as not to have clear images of man and horse, and these two quite distinct from one another, whether apart or with man mounted. Similarly for man and bull, for woman and tigress, for horse and bird, and so on. Yet long ago—stirred doubtless by vivid horsemanship, when this was new to man—there arose in some forceful mind a vision of the man that is also horse, the horse that is also man—even superman ; and he, not on, but as, super-horse—since which the Centaur has galloped gaily through the ages, ineffaceably vivid to the inward eye, however impossible to the outer. So, too, the man-headed Bull of Assyria took colossal sculptural form ; likewise the Sphinx of Egypt, with her feminine beauty, her latent terrors. The poet finds his winged Pegasus, and more. Thus, from the plain straightforward impressions of sense, the imagination creates enduring and glorious images.

So the peasant from time immemorial has patiently drawn one straight line after another with his plough, and thus covered a large rectangle by the day's close : and to these field-areas in time were laid down regular landmarks, set by measure. Thus the simple land-surveying of ancient Egypt : but some day, to the keener Greek mind especially, it became plain that we do not need a plough to draw straight lines, nor yet earth to make a rectangle. Thus from geo-metry was born our pure geometry ; the essential matriculation demanded by Plato over his Lyceum gate, as opening to his world of pure ideas.

That the arousal of the imaginative (and by and by the artistic) mind is thus intelligible : and that of the scientific mind similarly also, is surely a matter not only of history and biography, but also of personal experience ; for to deny this would be to forget our own dreams, which rearrange our impressions of sense, our own reflections upon our concrete experience. But what now of the life of feeling—what is its corresponding further development ?

Emotion, Ideation and Imagination

The mother lavishes her care and affection month after month upon her babe; and some day—after about three months, child-students tell us—she is rewarded by its returning smile. With this, the infant's folk-feeling has begun to emerge to life and light. And this process goes on, through long years of growth, with mutually deepening ties of affection, and onwards into adolescence, and, as should be, into maturity, even to loving and grateful memories in old age. Yet, one day, the gentlest of sons says to his gentlest and most loving of mothers the most terrible thing son can ever say to mother: "*Woman! what have I to do with thee?*" Why does he say this?—"*I must be about my father's business!*" Here, typically presented, is the great life-crisis of feeling. In this the old ties are strained, well-nigh to breaking, and that if needs must: since by a newly developed yet maturer range of feeling—say now a widened and deepened emotion and into new intensity the youth is opening out a new social outlook and relation—that of inspiring and compelling sympathies outside and beyond the old family ties, and thence leading into the widening world. Thus too Buddha forsakes his wife and child, his father and his kingdom. Thus also Moses breaks his Egyptian ties, though strong and great and full of promise from earliest infancy; thus Muhammad separates from his kindred; and so, too, on the vastest scale in all history, we have seen the youth of well-nigh all the nations going out to war, leaving weeping mothers behind them. From highest types to simplest, we have here the same development—from natural and elemental folk-feeling to a new and even intenser common emotion.

What shall we call this? There seems, strangely enough, to be no established psychological term; and it is not easy to devise one. Will Com-Emotion be useful?—or shall we not simply use Emotion, here, in that definite sense; various though be its meanings in current psychology?

In summary then we have

(Folk) Feeling	➡	(Com) Emotion
(Work) Experience	➡	Ideation
(Place) Sense	➡	Imagination

Here then are three transmutations, of simpler to deeper or higher —whichever we choose to say, since actually both. In fact, why not say three "Conversions"? For is not the first of the very essence of religious conversion, as not only in supreme examples as above, but widely evidenced throughout the spiritual experience

of adolescence; and this more or less among races and cultures at very different levels, from savagery to civilization?

Notice, moreover, that as we started by seeing the unity of Place-Work-People as the elemental chord of human life, so also manifestly for its psychologic correlate, of Sense-Experience-Feeling. We are thus keeping quite clear of any relapse into the old "Faculty-psychology." Thus so again with this latest triad—Emotion-Ideation-Imagination. Here now is that full and unified development of the inner life, in which its simple everyday endowment, of common-sense-experience-feeling, becomes raised to that high quality and intensity of being for which are needed, in every language, its terms of spirit, even of soul; since in this way the spirit wakes, the soul attains.

In a recent paper[1] the earlier triads of this presentment have been traced into their essential inter-relations: for this charting of life is capable of elaboration into fuller and clearer detail, and this even more coherently than have been the sub-sciences of geography, economics or anthropology heretofore. And similarly with the associated psychology.

So here is nothing short of a claim broadly to overtake and map out the whole "universe of discourse" which arises with the development of our social life; and this with a fuller logical clearness, since now with graphic precision; and this to whatever extent may be required for each particular view-point throughout the whole outline. Let us test this claim; and from the outset.

Place, modified by work and folk, thus gives the geographers (as town-planners, for instance) work-Place and folk-Place; and it also modifies Work and Folk in turn. Thus emerge the concepts of place-Work ("natural advantages") and place-Folk (neighbours and natives). Similarly for work: the economist has to consider not only place-Work, and work-Place, as before, but also work-Folk, and folk-Work (i.e. occupation, even cumulative through generations, as "caste"). So for Folk, the anthropologist has also to do with place-Folk and work-Folk, and with folk-Place and folk-Work. The three too-long independent specialisms (geography, economics and anthropology) are thus seen to form a close-knit web of social life, in which each is compenetrant with others. And similarly for their related elemental psychology, which now treats Sense, Experience and Feeling with their similarly associated inter-relations. Reference to the diagrams of the paper above referred to will make this clear: but the method will also become plain as we now proceed to compound the fields of Emotion, Ideation and Imagination.

[1] *Sociological Review*, January, 1924.

Synthesis

In general principle, for each triad alike, its three essential elements are compounded as may be A, B, C. Thus

A			A	aB	aC
	B	gives us	bA	B	bC
		C	cA	cB	C

Thus from

Emotion

Ideation

Imagination

we obtain their inter-related fields, as follows:

EMOTION	Emotioned IDEATION (*PHILOSOPHY*)	Emotioned IMAGERY (*POESY*)
Ideated EMOTION (*DOCTRINE*)	IDEATION	Ideated IMAGERY (*DESIGN*)
Imaged EMOTION (*SYMBOL*)	Imaged IDEATION (*NOTATION*) (Graphics, Mathematics)	IMAGINATION

We are here, of course, assuming the three essentials of our main triad, the three notes of this psychic chord, as developing towards their utmost. Emotion deepens beyond the old feelings of simple kin and fellowship; it may be to mystic intensity, even of union with the Ideal, the Divine. Ideation strengthens, and thus extends its field towards interpreting the range of experience; until we have the sciences in progress; and these even towards Synthesis, our Pro-synthesis at least. Imagination is no mere wandering fancy, but may acquire ever-increasing power and range, and towards vivid presentment of our whole range of thought. So far then our three main notes, but these not only combine, but interact. How? How precisely?

Is it not by applying such vigorous ideation to emotional uprush at its deepest, that the Theologians of each religion have ever formulated their various and characteristic Doctrines, and at length systematized them into creeds? And with the corresponding intensity of imagery has not their appropriate Symbolism taken its long-enduring forms? Indeed this often earlier of the two; thus Moses' mystic vision of the Divine, and his resultant enduring

symbol of " the burning bush," long preceded the formulation of his Law; yet the bush endures, and fundamental commandments also took symbolic form as stone tables. The essential fields of the religious consciousness—its deeply emotioned fellowship and mystic union, with the appropriate doctrinal and symbolic presentments—are thus clearly charted upon our scheme.

Yet this must include the reciprocals of these also; for Ideation is itself no mere coldly isolated intellectual process, as too many suppose, yet only of the studies and sciences they have not themselves vitally entered; each and all fields of ideation are thrilled by emotion, as every true thinker's and investigator's " living interest " so plainly shews. Yet the apparent calm, and self-control, with which the ideative process works its way, transmuting its past experience into science—and by and by, with co-ordination with the best results of others, even to such pro-synthesis as the given individual may reach—is yet open to further transmutation. The emotional urge of a powerful mind may also seize upon this intellectual pro-synthesis, and raise it to a fuller sublimation; and thus we have the arousal of the philosopher, the emergence of his Philosophy—these very names rightly expressing the emotional re-valuation of this general Knowledge; indeed, and literally, the love that is in true learning, and this increasing with the full-fillment of each.

Again, to reach clearness of ideation, and especially in science, we have increasingly to be imaging our ideas, and as clearly as may be. Thus it is that a Notation of our ideas arises; and this not only in imaged words, but even in visualized signs; and thus graphic. Hence early notations were picture-writings, as not only with Egyptians or Chinese, but simpler peoples also. But increasingly these notations become more general, even abstract; and thus opened into the vast and ever-growing sign-language of Mathematics: and next into the graphic presentments of every science: so normally in the present paper.

Our second column is thus clear; of Ideation, not only developing as science, but clarifying, by help of the imaging powers, to Mathematics (hence rightly claimed as most imaginative, and thus most powerful of the sciences), yet also emotionalizing, as we have seen, its pro-synthesis of ideas to Philosophy.

What now of the third note of our psychic chord—Imagination? We may indeed imagine, say the Centaur of our first illustration; but to embody and express this with clearness, and to others, is no easy matter. It is found to involve not a little effort of ideation; and this meditative effort is evidently that of Design—which may be of course descriptive in verbal expression, with the poet, or visually creative, as with the artist. Our activity, moreover, is here by turns passive as well as active—receptive, critical and

appreciative, as well as creative and constructive: so here in fact we have the essential field of Æsthetics. It is thus no mere "department of philosophy," but also "self-standing," as far as any of our other fields of thought may be.

Yet this imaginative activity, controlled and qualified by ideation, would be cold, as "mere æsthetes" tend to be, and "mere designers" also. Yet as design becomes perfected, and Imagination is thus becoming more and more adequately expressed, the urge of Emotion flows—even surges—into it: and the result thus reaches the level of Poesy. Not only poetry of language, but also the poesy which may be in music or in colour, in marble or in bronze, in statue or in edifice; and even, with combinations of all these, as ritual, as drama.

The Three Vows

It thus becomes plain that our central triad has now yielded us a ninefold scheme. This may now stand, indeed, as plan of the cloister of the inward life, and in its fullness and variety throughout the great past of humanity; yet plainly open to us in our own day, and in the measure of our emotive urge, of aspirations, of highest intuitions, of fullest insights also.

In this Cloister of the soul, the emotional, the intellectual and the imaginative life are clearly reassociated, since seen in their clearness of inter-relation, their veritable compenetrance; yet without confusion, in unity, and as Harmony.

For each historic culture of the past—with its characteristic place, work and people, and their distinctive sense, experience and feeling—its emotional, intellectual, and imaginative achievements may now be presented, in the same orderly fashion. That is to say, our general charting of life is applicable to the analysis of the essentials of each civilization, and this in the regular and parallel ways of the comparative sciences. Comparative Religion opens the series; yet beside this we may compare Philosophies, and Scientific presentments also. Plainly, too, we cannot but enter upon the criticism of the Arts, with their aptitudes, their productivities and powers. Our scheme is thus in principle an *apparatus criticus*, a form at least of psychoscope.

Our conditions of time and space do not here allow such comparative treatment; but a single concrete example may be given, of interest for not a few religions. If this scientific approach be sound, and this charting accordingly be really and truly what it claims—an outline of the cloistered retreat of the spirit from the everyday world of acts and facts, and into its higher activities, religious, intellectual and artistic, and thus embracing the essential inner world of faiths, of sciences and philosophies, and of the imaginative and poetic life also—we may now conveniently test

all this, by its application to the actually cloistered life, that of the various monasticisms throughout history, from Buddhist and Hindu to Essene, Christian and Moslem. All these have agreed, often indeed to their mutual surprise, in the taking of three vows: of purity, obedience and poverty. How so? For the passage from simple folk-feeling to the high emotional intensity of the community life and its ideals, the essential requisite is obviously the subordination and sublimination of sex; as religious literature, historic experience, and modern bio-psychology perfectly agree. What next is the vow of obedience? That obviously, is to the given pro-synthesis, with its associated doctrine and philosophy. And that of poverty? Obviously of simplification of environment in its sensuous aspect, in its comfort of folk-place, as home. Poverty, moreover, is now the very condition of our wealth—as spiritual weal-th; for it is needed to keep our cloistered environment clear for its imaginative task; hence plain walls, alike of monk's cell, scientist's laboratory, or artist's studio. These vows then are the very tuning and bracing of the emotional, the intellectual and the imaginative powers: they are disciplinary for each: and they are thus rightly organismal, functional, and environmental respectively. They are needed to protect us from return to our old folk, work and place, with its too simple feeling, experience and sense accordingly. Our vows thus become "irrevocable."

But religions deteriorate, as their best spirits in each age so often ruefully avow. The vital teaching of their founders—commonly elaborated by their most authoritative successors into fuller doctrine, more and more definite creeds—becomes chilled for the successors of these in turn. So they are soon subtly discussing doctrines as intellectual propositions, rather than as inspirations of spirit and conduct. Agreement upon these, as the exact "truth," thus becomes more important than their emotive guidance towards a common and intensifying love. Doctrines thus fix, to dogmas. Correspondingly, Symbols crystallize. Some of these lapse from meaning and use, save often as ornaments, and these in time little more than conventional; yet others take form and rank as icons, it may be in time as veritable idols, at least to the mass of congealing minds. As these stages of decadence advance, the original moral and spiritual essence is less and less generally realized. The established dogmatic system discourages further intellectual discussion, and especially that from later view-points. The interference of the scientific mind becomes especially dreaded and discouraged, and at length is even repressed, as positive heresy. Imagination is no longer allowed its first creative play; its initial forms of art are maintained as norms to which the artist must henceforth conform, and conventions he must strictly follow. The age of the prophetic and mystic founder, and of his inspired disciples,

thus increasingly gives place to the régime of an increasingly formalistic monkhood or priesthood, increasingly concentrated upon their ritual, and its dogma, codified into law, and itself inexorably literal. In time all this may fade back into the obscurity of a dead language, and more or less leave the ritual as main presentment of the religion, with even this chilled into routine for most, if never quite for all.

" The letter killeth ; but the spirit giveth life." A new prophet may arise, for whom the full chord of emotion, ideation and imagery is again active ; yet his golden time, of renewed love, faith and hope, may again suffer the same processes of arrest, even to fossilization.

We see, then, how each religion is ever menaced from within. Its deterioration is thus largely unconscious to its own faithful. But this becomes increasingly manifest to external faiths, since it is always easy to discern the errors and faults of others ; while we may " rationalize," and thus justify, our own. The mutual intolerance of historic religions is thus intelligible ; the rarity of their mutual conversions also. And hence the study of comparative religion too often readily gives an impression of coldness, as if it were but the latest form of palæontography and palæography. For each and every religion can only be studied from within. However strange to us, we must enter into it, and heartily, that is, not only intelligently and respectfully, but even lovingly. The poet, the dramatist who cannot sympathize with, enter into, each of the characters he presents has so far failed. No wonder, then, our encyclopædic science is still so chilly.

Psycho-Social Diagnosis

But we are now living in an increasingly active movement of psychology, to which mere organic biology, however evolutionary in its ambitions, is rightly yielding the foremost place. Conspicuous nowadays accordingly is the rising psychologic criticism of each and all the many defects of our present age ; and this gains peculiar penetration and clearness when it studies this age and its ways of thinking in terms of its " mental dissociation," so manifest throughout its manifold and dispersive activities.[1] The prevalent dis-specialism of its many scientific workers is but a familiar and salient instance of this ; our whole social ferment is of the same heterogeneous and even conflicting character. Our urban aggregates —we cannot call them cities—are thus too much each a witch-pot, in which fragments taken from all past and present cultures are intermingled into its medley. But the mental pathologist more

[1] See Bernard Hart's *Insanity* (Cambridge University Series) and Victor Branford's *Science and Sanctity*, p. 168, Mental Dissociation under the Pecuniary Culture (Williams and Norgate).

and more sees his patients as but extreme cases of a mental disharmony from which we all are suffering more or less. And as such " social analysis " begins to claim its place beside " psychoanalysis," this diagnosis of the prevalent social malady, the dissociation of the mind, becomes plainer than ever. The current separation of economics from art, and of politics from morals, though so long justified by would-be " utilitarians," are now seen as but salient instances of this most self-deceptive and widely diffused of mental diseases. From this, indeed, we are coming to see each great capital as now peculiarly suffering. Yet also the provincial centres, the rural areas. These are more commonly neurasthenic, as the great capitals more hysteric—using these terms in no mere metaphoric way, but concretely, and interpreting them as intensified by widespread social causes, beyond individual ones.[1]

Towards a World-Eutopia

Grave though is such psycho-social diagnosis, it points to treatment ; and this alike for individuals and their groupings. Our problem is no longer merely to work out our own specialism, and to insist upon its value, in indifference to that of others : it is to co-ordinate our thought, not simply with such cognate endeavours as may be, but towards the whole essential chord of mental life —as emotive, ideative, and imaging. Here the poet, the artist, are specially calling to our sick community, however imperfectly healed themselves we may sometimes think them. Hence the revival of poetry, apparently in all countries, from amid the strife of war, is of real significance. Such appeals have been of too fragmentary vision ; yet they help us towards the larger proposition —essential to our would-be Reconstruction movement after War— that some larger and more harmonious vision of a better society is needed, indeed indispensable, if any real progress towards a better moral and social order is to be attained. Hence the wide hearing for political and social Utopias, so world-conspicuous and attractive during President Wilson's bright moment of appeal. Bolshevism, Communism and other panaceas, are similarly having their day. More encouragingly the League of Nations, though hampered alike by the repudiation of its founder and by the limitations of those by whom his vast but too vague dream was limited into its present working form. Yet, towards the world-understanding, and even World-Eutopia, it is honestly labouring, for more science, more psycho-social science very manifestly, is also needed, whatever else may be.

Since each can best speak within the experience of his own thought and work, it is here for the sociologist to magnify his office ;

[1] P. Geddes, *Public Health in the Industrial Age* (in Papers for the Present). (Leplay House Press).

and this especially as a student of cities. For these are our human hives, and (as all bee-citizens should be) the sociologist is concerned with their improvement. Moreover, he may claim that here peculiarly the problem and the task are of no mere scientific or technical specialism (as larvæ or drones may think) but alike socially comprehensive and unifying; hence of service towards abating the prevalent mental dissociation, both of intellectual interests and of practical aims. For here place, work and people have to be surveyed in their variety, yet co-ordinated towards more of unity. How is this unity to be discerned? By the nature of the civic task, our survey is a diagnosis, and towards treatment. A "Survey" thus leads towards a "Report," and this needs "plans," which thus gradually emerge towards clearness of design, and fitness for execution accordingly. Yet execution lies not within the designer, but with the city itself, and not merely with its rulers, but also with its citizens; hence no mere architectural planning can suffice. Towards any real success, we have thus to re-emotionalize as many as may be of our citizens and their groupings, towards a renewed civic sympathy; and correspondingly (a yet harder task) to make such contribution as we can towards abating their dissociation of ideas, and towards con-sociation of these also, as far as may be. In the first part of our task, our appeal may thus well be towards the various religious bodies, each to take their part in citizenship; and why not in generous rivalry, without waiting for fuller agreement? In the second part, our appeal is often towards educational groupings, and to the schools and the University. But to this conceived as no mere towering Babel of dis-specialisms, but increasingly as a cloister of re-synthesis; for this is here and there already incipient. Only in the measure of our success in all these respects can our civic design begin to be realized, and its architects and artists set to work to carry out its execution, and thus it may be beyond our draft, and even dream.

That we are still but in the day of small things is manifest: our plans as yet outrun execution. Yet we have no reason to be wholly discouraged; we are at length attaining something of a technique, towards replacing the vague Utopias of the past and present by definite and realizable Eutopias, regional and civic. Hence, here and there, men of goodwill and helpwill, men of observant and reasoning social intelligence, men of artistic sympathy and even creative power, come in to join with us; and last, but not least, women of social outlook and insight. So, and before long, we shall be challenging the utilitarian economist more definitely than did Ruskin, or even Morris; and challenging even the politician, with his party platform, by help of our more comprehensive civic purpose. The "individuals" of the present order—say rather dissociated disorder—are thus called to be *socians*, and in a sense as

definite as that in which they went to war; but now for the waging of a peace-campaign, and this even more definite than that of the war-game, since here the plan is open, and intelligible to ordinary intelligence, so far as awakened to social interest, and purpose.

Remaking the City

In such civic studies, then, with their attempts towards practice—despite continual disappointments, even repulses—courage persists, and confidence in the future grows. Thus, though the Dublin Cities and Town-Planning Exhibition of 1911 bore no particular fruit, another, three years later, had more result. Surrounding slums were cleared and dotted with playgrounds and patches of garden; whole streets were brightened; and a dockers' village designed. An international town-planning competition was opened; and even a Cathedral plan, devised on no mere conventional lines, but in fuller renewal of the old civic spirit, was adopted by the Catholic hierarchy, and its site even purchased. True, the declaration of war arrested all this; and little has since been done, though much undone. Indeed, there are only too many indications that discouragement after such civic hopes contributed to make matters worse than before in 1916, if not also in 1920. Yet some results of these sowings are still in progress.

It was a gratifying surprise to the planner of this cathedral—since not of its historic and dogmatic faith, yet reviving the tradition of the cathedrals of the past in their spirit of civic fellowship, with their regional comprehensiveness of appeal, their definite association also with the best educational methods available, and with the recognition and utilization of contemporary art—to find its design congenial to, and even cordially accepted by, the responsible hierarchy. Nor is the reason of this agreement far to seek: for here was no mere archæological revival of a past "style" of architecture, but a fresh and simple design inspired by the renewing chord of the inward life, in general terms akin in lay designer and in men of religion, since alike aroused to comprehensively emotioned and ideated imagery.

And the University

So next with the planning of Universities; as notably that for Jerusalem, again a peculiarly inspiring task; alike from historic traditions and modern purpose. The emotional appeal of this city, in so many ways world-central, and in its time and tide of returning idealism, is here obviously of fundamental urge and intensity. The pressing need of the modern University everywhere—to progress from the prevalent medley of dissociated specialisms, and towards the recovery of the synthetic spirit—can nowhere be more prominent than here; in planning for the central University of the people to whom the world so peculiarly owes the idea of unity:

with this unity as not merely intellectual, but also moral and social; indeed these above all. Hence, while of course providing for all the specialisms of the modern University, the more synthetic studies are arranged upon the sides of the central court, itself enclosing the great hall of the University, appropriately domed; and this with its external ambulatory adapted for the singers, on high occasions, of that great psalm (Ps. civ.) of the unity of the whole phenomenal world, in all its cosmic and human variety—unity at once spiritual, moral, and intellectual, and realized in beauty as well.

That the University of the opening future must be no mere examination-machine all are practically agreed. Yet not merely a heterogeneous grouping of departments of specialized research, as with the nineteenth-century dispersive tradition of Germanic Universities, now too tardily finding authority throughout the British Empire, at a time when it is realized as insufficient in Germany itself.. The unity, the veritable orchestration, of our specialisms is thus here emphasized: and as a reunion of the greatest traditions of Jerusalem with those of Athens, greatest since each of unifying wisdom, and in spirit increasingly at one.

Thus, again, for other University designs, as notably for Rabindranath Tagore's, the same problem arises. And so also for the Osmania University of H.E.H. the Nizam at Hyderabad; and others: the task is everywhere the same in principle, though with diversities of adaptation in treatment. For what is a comprehensive University if not as complete a cloister of the spirit as may be, as in the love of good, the faith in truth, the hope of beauty; and thus open to all studies, and to students of all faiths alike, since infused with the spirit of vital religion?

And the Temple

Thus, though without definite confessional adhesion, the designer may work by turns for many faiths; since so far entering into the spirit of each as the supreme creation of its time, and still of vital appeal; and realizing, with each new experience, the lesson given to Peter from his vision of the net; that "in every nation, he that feareth God and doeth righteousness, is accepted of Him."

As a final illustration of this many-sided renewal of the religious life, and along with advance of intellectual harmony, may be here cited the design for the central temple of the Bahai faith for India. For here my able colleague, Mr. Frank Mears, has peculiarly succeeded in giving lucid form and expression to its essential doctrine of peculiarly sympathetic (not simply tolerant) appreciation of other faiths, of which it is not necessary to abandon membership. Hence nine entrances for these, each with its domed chapel, and symbolic pool of pure water, as appreciative symbol of the enduring values recognized in older faiths. These all have entrances to the

central dome ; of which the inner roof is supported by a central pillar—symbol of unity—and enclosing a stairway, open to all to ascend to the ambulatory above. The emotional life of brotherhood, and in intellectual unity, thus here finds a fresh symbolic expression in architectural form : the full chord of inner life is thus presented fully in this new cloister, even cathedral, of the ever-renewing spirit.

The Cloister of the Spirit

Enough, however, of architectural plannings, which have but been introduced to give concrete evidence and illustration that our schema of the inner and deeper intellectual life, as a triple—and thence ninefold—cloister of the spirit is thus no mere dream ; but a working concept, and that applicable alike to the demands of religion, the requirements of education, and in the returning life of architecture and the arts.

So let us now draw this presentment towards a conclusion upon the lines on which it began, that of the evolutionary, and so far naturalistic, question of the ascent of man : and so of the enquiries in which naturalistic treatments have so far hitherto failed, viz. in presenting an adequate view of the origin and development of the higher and deeper faculties of humanity at its best. Has not our charting of life made the processes and progresses of this ascent appreciably clearer ? And if so, with social hope ? It is of course open to the theologian here, as indeed over the entire field of nature and humanity, to invoke higher powers, and to think of these as transcendent, immanent, or both in highest harmony : but the more limited task of each and every scientific treatment of the phenomena and processes of life is not thereby affected, in its presentment of these with such intellectual clearness as may be.

Yet it remains to ask a grave question : If this triadic chord of the inner life, that of emotion, ideation and imagery, be after all so simply and naturally related to that of the everyday factual existence, of folk-feeling, work-experience, and sense-activities, how comes it that things so largely go wrong—that religions wither, dessicate, and decay ; that intellectual disharmonies so readily arise ; and that the imaginative life becomes so arrested in most of us, and so perverted in too many ? Primarily, as has been suggested, through dissociation, hence to be guarded against by all possible means. Yet are there not great grounds for thinking that these evils arise through errors in education ?

As educators, we desire to pass on to our successors our great heritage, and in all its main fields. We would fain have them appreciate the heritage of literature, both sacred and profane. We would communicate our knowledge, alike of the humanities and of the sciences. And we seek to transmit and continue the heritage of art.

What then seems more natural than to utilize the books in which

this heritage is so especially summed and contained? So numerous are they that we must choose out good reading for our young successors. And how are we to know that they have read and understood and remembered these, unless we ask them—that is, examine them? Again, since we have gathered great art museums and galleries, what more natural than to encourage observation, and what observation so good as that of drawing from these great examples?

But alas for the result. Our art schools become essentially of copy! Their graduates, as teachers, go out to teach more copying, even to copies of copies. And similarly for the schools of learning, from simplest to highest. Cram, and for exam., has come to dominate well-nigh all. Bureaucracy arises, examining bodies wholesale, for which the maintenance of this system becomes a powerful vested interest. How curious and tragic a repetition of the old decadence of priesthoods and their peoples, and so largely by kindred methods!

Happily, of course, a change towards better things is beginning, and seems now progressing more rapidly, since the war. But can we not clarify its psychology, upon the scheme before us? It is not a question of following here the authority of Rousseau or Pestalozzi, of Montessori or Baden Powell. It is that of releasing, reviving, intensifying, the essential psychologic life. And what is this but, as we have seen, to rouse senses to observation, yet also to imagination? To impart real work-experience, yet to arouse the reflective ideation of this? And, after the fullest encouragement of the simple, healthy, normal folk-feeling in family, village and neighbourhood life, to arouse to the larger regional and civic social and human life beyond?

So far well; our education is thus reviving, and at many points. Yet our theory—and practice—must go a step further. Imagination, aroused from sense-impressions, returns to these, and enriches them anew. Ideation upon experience must proceed to further experience, and enrich it. And social emotion above all must return into the simple family and village life, deepening and ennobling that. And so on, "*da capo*," indefinitely, day by day, and while life lasts. Our facts give rise to thoughts, which must be able to handle facts anew, as these to rouse thoughts anew.

Recall now from the outset the course of this whole charting; so far as essentially of

Place
Work
Folk

. . . . . .

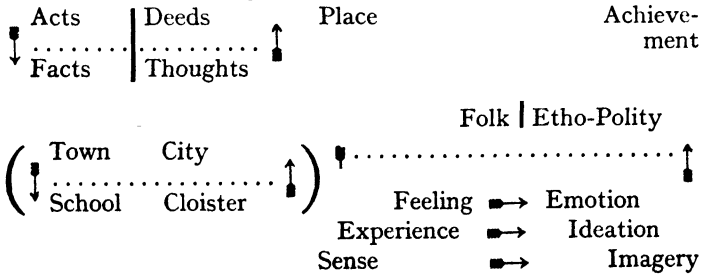
Feeling → Emotion
Experience → Ideation
Sense → Imagery

But thus this schema is seen to look incomplete. It has its first objective field, of the life of everyday acts, with its associated everyday facts. From this simplest mental life—but a more developed form of what we see in the higher animals around us—we have passed to the deeper and inner chord of mental life, and even with its inter-relations, as ninefold. But must not this also have its objective expression? And if so, of no less orderly and intelligible character?

An Etho-Polity

Here, again, it is the charting of religion which may best help us. Every great initiator has had his retreat, to wilderness, forest or hermitage—in short, his own cloister of meditation: and he has impressed this need, this duty upon his disciples; indeed, sometimes only too fully; as the history of asceticism, and of the cloistered life, so largely show. Yet as initiator, he must emerge from his retreat; he comes forth into the world; and with a new and full intensity of emotional appeal he forms his group of disciples. A new type of community is thus born: no mere folk-group, but of it matters not what folk-origins: the essential bond being "not according to the flesh but to the spirit." This new type of group thus needs a type-name; and as fundamentally of ethic bond, yet social purpose, let us call this an Etho-Polity. Its inspiring moral purpose unites it around its leader, indeed often all the more strongly when his bodily presence passes away; since his influence remains, and even grows. The Etho-Polity thus increases, and acts upon the social world, bringing over new members from the folk into its fold.

But as Emotion arouses Ideation, and this even to a Synthesis of its ideas, so the Etho-Polity in action must be a co-operation of these, an active Synergy. And towards what? Towards realizing in actual life, and in its material environment, the emotioned and ideated Imagery of its founder and inspirer, and thus towards concrete Achievement. Our thought-system in the cloister was in a real sense but one of day-"dreams," as indeed folk in the every-day world are ever wont to call them: but now these take form, in deeds. Thus in summary:



SANCTITY SACRIFICE TRACEDY DEATH Achieved Etho-Polity	DANCE MUSIC RHYTHM Achieved Synergy	ACHIEVEMENT
CAREER Synergised Etho-Polity	SYNERGY	SUCCESS Synergised Achievement.
ETHO-POLITY	WISDOM COUNCIL, COUNSEL Etho-politized Synergy	ART Etho-politized Achievement
COM EMOTION Mysticism	Emotioned Pro-Synthesis PHILOSOPHY	Emotioned Imagination POESY
Ideated Emotion DOCTRINE	IDEATION	Ideated Imagination DESIGN
Imaged Emotion SYMBOL	Imaged Ideation NOTATION (Mathematics)	IMAGINATION (Vision)

Inner Thought and the Outer World

Our schema is now in principle completed. The inner thought—as emotioned ideated imagery—projects itself into the outer world: a New Society is born. The religion has entered upon its mission: its history develops accordingly. In the familiar everyday world, place and work essentially control the folk, constrain them to their everyday economic life, their common experience and feeling accordingly. But now the situation is fully reversed; the new Etho-Polity, in its active synergy, attains its achievement; or at least sets out for this, as for its "Promised Land," its "Kingdom of Heaven upon earth." From the simply organo-psychic life, in which environment essentially dominates organism, we have now the psych-organic life, dominating environment despite its difficulties. Here at length we have come to a simple formulation of life in evolution, and this even towards its highest.

How high? How far can we trace this social evolution—and into detailed fields of objectivity, like those already outlined for the subjective life?

The preceding graphic logic cannot but apply; each factor of our new triad will be seen to modify the other two. Take the first two elements. Etho-Polity and Synergy. We must thus synergize our Etho-Polity, on one hand, and etho-politize our Synergy on the other. A moment of reflection will show that the first of these processes, the synergizing of our Etho-Polity, means Career, and for each and all its members and their sub-groupings (and this indeed for the work-Folk upon the Folk side of the triad; thus witness the Galilean fishermen, and other humble folk who became "apostles"). This career, too, is in the measure of our Doctrine, brought into practice from the corresponding cloister square below. Again, we evidently must inspire synergy fully into our Etho-Polity; and that soon involves us into making it something of a Council; i.e. to evoke good Counsel, practical Wisdom. And is not Wisdom, in the objective life, the true correlate of Philosophy, bringing in this from its cloister-court, its square immediately below this in the subjective field? Too true it is, no doubt, that these are seldom equally developed in the same mind, or even in the same people; thus the Greeks had more of philosophy than of wisdom, and the Jews have had more of wisdom than philosophy. Still, with all such deductions, the correlation remains reasonable; and it is certainly the ideal one.

We may now similarly correlate Synergy with Achievement. Synergized Achievement—is not that plainly Success; and the happy culmination of our Career? Next, what is achieved Synergy? Is not this in Rhythm, in Music—indeed for Greeks, and for simpler civilizations,

even in Dance? The sacredness of Dance, in so many civilizations is thus recalled.[1]

Only two squares now remain to be filled, yet of high importance, one for the full etho-politizing of Achievement, the other for the ideal achieving of Etho-Polity. Take the first of these. Of the Etho-Polity of Jerusalem, when Solomon in his wisdom rules, what is then the Achievement? The building of the Temple. And in the Etho-Polity of Athens, headed by Pericles the wise? The building of the Parthenon. In brief, then, Sacred Art! Here, too, is the realization of the spirit of Poesy; see its appropriate cloister square below. Yet the greatest Temple is, after all, but the culminant folk-Place; as so conspicuously for Jews and Greeks throughout their history, as for simpler people too; in fact, for every village of East or West.

Next the space most related, yet seeming remotest; for Etho-Polity as finally achieved. What is the culmination of Etho-Polity, and indeed of Career as well? Not now success, nor achievement in conquered or transformed environment, but death; as always for its individuals, often for its groups, sometimes even its whole. Yet death, alike for each and all, may be ennobled as Tragedy; as so notably for the Greek spirit. But Tragedy is ennobled in the measure of its element of Sacrifice; and this may transcend death, and ever seeks to do so. The literal sense of the word is too often obscured for us—it is *making sacred*. The correlation of Sacrifice with Symbolism in its position in the cloister below is also appropriate—since so deep in the history of religions, as from earliest Jewish or other burnt-offerings to the cross of Calvary. Again, the sequence Sacrifice-Rhythm-Achievement is vividly significant. The "Unknown Soldier;" has become our supreme type of victory in the Great War; the sacrifice of martyrs is commemorated by other faiths as well as by Christianity.

This paper must here come to a close; and significantly, in times still so much of prevalent Wardom, with this brief reference to war and war-spirit, although to this latter mainly at its best. Yet the reader may fairly ask: "Even if the preceding be something of a charting of religion upon the chequers of life, why not attempt a charting of the particular religions? If this general schema be at all a sound presentment, more specific charting should have been attempted." Admittedly true; and, if circumstances permit, something of this will be submitted at the next Conference of Living Religions. Enough, then, for the present here, if the above-outlined elemental concept of religion be clear, in its most general and fundamental psychological and ethico-social terms as the bringing and binding together of men, by bonds of sympathy, and of synthesis, into a community of fellowship and of doctrine, appropriately imaged.

[1] Havelock Ellis, *The Dance of Life*, London, 1923.

CLOSING CEREMONY

General Survey

By Mr. Victor Branford, M.A.

IT cannot be that the many who have attended our Conference, day after day, are all of them moved by fleeting impulse or heedless curiosity. Not a few, it may be assumed, are seeking a way of life for which there is no better name than religious. The way of life they would find is one that imparts an emotion of fulfilment sustained through the ups and downs of daily existence. To what extent can we reasonably hope that some at least of such seekers have been led in course of these ten days towards the path of fulfilment? That is a hard question. Let us try to frame it in more manageable form. Viewed as a whole, do the papers presented to the Conference compose into some semblance of a religious ideal for our times? And, by way of giving precision to the notion of a current religious ideal, we will conceive it as a vision of life at the full, personal and communal, approximately realizable in the here and now. That is the query which insistently arises in the general view now to be attempted.

A reasoned survey of our ten days' activity and discussion is hardly possible within the limits of a short speech. Let me choose, by way of sample, two aspects of the Conference and present them as symptomatic.

Note first that every reader of a paper, through all the ten days, has been, with one single and superb exception, a man. Yet we owe to womanly influence and activity no small share in the inception, preliminary organization and actual handling of the Conference. For instance, the startling transformation of this gallery from a bare barrack of a hall into a temple-like auditorium was the collective performance of three women, Miss Sharples (who, indeed, is the mother of the Conference, as Mr. Loftus Hare is the father), Mrs. Roche and Mrs. Robinson, aided, to be sure, by the artistic hands of Mr. Gott and Mr. Joynson-Powell. The concert, which animated our opening proceedings with a quickening touch of ritual, we owe to Lady Ross, and the musicians she gathered. Finally, there are the ladies who have given a service of patient labour and courtesy at the bookstalls.

Does not this contrast of men reading papers addressed to the mind, and women, aided by artists and musicians, doing things which appeal to the heart, represent the cleavage which cuts through

contemporary life and frustrates its religious endeavour? Accept that reading of the situation, and the prime question is, How to restore vital unity to our fractured society? How can we heal this devastating schism between emotional and intellectual interests? What, if anything, can we claim that the Conference has contributed towards this crucial issue? Well, recall our general scheme. The first part of the Conference was intended to be descriptive, in the main, of the oriental religions within the Empire, and, to a less extent, of its primitive or nature-religions. The second or sociological part was intended to be interpretative rather than descriptive. It was contrived in an ambitious hope of pooling the scientific resources available for religious illumination.

In order visually to illustrate the aims, scope and method of the sociological, or, as we may say, synthetic approach to religion, the exhibits that hang on the walls of the antechamber to our auditorium were assembled and arranged. Collectively these exhibits present a scheme, or rather the first draft or outline of a scheme, towards the furnishing and equipment of a Hall of Vision. Now, " vision " is a hackneyed word of many and varied meanings. Let us be precise as to the meaning here in view, and for that purpose consider where we are at this moment. We occupy a gallery in the Imperial Institute, and the Imperial Institute is really a museum. It is one amongst a whole constellation of museums. This great group of museums constitutes a considerable quarter of the City of Westminster–Kensington. Adjacent and contiguous to this museum quarter is another institutional group of a different yet related kind. Immediately to the west are an Anglican church and a Roman Catholic oratory, with their associated buildings. A glance into either of these sacred edifices shows manifestly a definite scheme of presenting the things that count for life-fulfilment. Each building is richly equipped with works of craftsmen, material of history and objects of art. They all gather and concentrate in an altar oriented to the world at large, and conveying a meaning for the mind and a message for the heart. Together these furnishings tell a tale of civilization, depict it as Drama, and show it forth as a Vision of Life. There are, to be sure, those to whom these particular presentations do not appeal. But the point is that the contents and equipment of these sacred buildings do express an ordered unity of Man and Nature and the Ideal. Here, then, is a synthetic something which, in the language of religious tradition, shows forth a vision of life-fulfilment.

Pass now to the secular buildings. Penetrate two representative institutions of the museum group. Let one be of the more emotional and the other of the more intellectual type. Go first to the Victoria and Albert Museum in order to observe and discover the modern and contemporary view of art in its relation to life. On entering

this vast pile of ornate architecture, you find yourself amid a bewildering array of marble halls, courts and corridors. Objects and works of art surround you on all sides. They are clearly labelled. Scan a dozen or so of these labels chosen at random in the first hall. The intention is to discover what scheme and order of presentation (if any) animates the whole immense collection. A visit paid yesterday for this purpose yielded the following first fruits. Within a few yards of the entrance one saw the " Bronze Model of a Lion," a " Lacquer Teapot," " Lao-tze riding a Bull," the " Head of a West African Negress," the " Model of a Carpet loom," the " Sacrifice of Isaac," the " Stairway from an Old House," the " Statue of the Duke of Wellington recumbent," a " Plaster Cast of a Nude Woman," a " Silk Tablecloth," " King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra opening Paliament." The impression is assuredly less that of unity than of confusion carried to the limit of dispersiveness.

Visit next, with like intention, a representative institution of the scientific world. The sumptuous building that houses the vast Natural History Museum attracts the eye. Enter its precincts. Without moving more than a few yards from its portal, observe some sample cases of exhibits. Here is a list fairly and squarely chosen from the first section in all that spreading array of courts, halls and corridors. There is a case of " Blood-sucking Flies," a " Dove-cot," a " Set of Bible Plants," a " Clothes Louse enlarged to 50 diameters," " Fossil Trunk of a Coniferous Tree," " Carrion Crows in Winter," the " Skeleton of a Bony Fish," a " Young Chimpanzee," the " Ovaries of a Mature Eel," a " Stuffed Elephant," " Wild Ducks in Sexual Plumage," and so forth and so on. It would seem that the men of science are as remote from unity as the *savants* of art. We are surely bound to assume that this confusion of science and that disarray of art do but indicate different aspects of a single disorder.

Do not our visits to representative museums of science and of art begin to make clear a defect, perhaps the central defect, of this age? We have multiplied knowledge and amassed treasures of art. Yet these products of the modern mind, because they lack unity, fail to compose into anything resembling a drama of civilization and a vision of life. The data of science speak to the intellect, and the works of art convey a message to the feelings. But what is spoken to the intellect and uttered to the emotions are alike defective in the vital stuff which inspires drama and creates vision. And what is the consequence? Confusion and disorder grow rampant on all sides, and, for lack of the needed vision of life at the full, we perish. But need we despair? Not at all. There is emerging a scientific approach to religion, which deliberately sets out to seek a remedy for this crippling defect of contemporary civilization. And the

exhibits gathered together by way of illustrating the scientific papers of our Conference signalize a type of study and scheming towards an order and a vision true to current knowledge and loyal to contemporary aspiration, yet continuous with religious tradition and harmonious with its ideals. Our mural exhibition is, in short, a rough and ready first approximation towards the furnishing and equipment of a Hall of Modern Vision fit to stand alongside the Temples of Ancient Faith.

Summing Up

By the Rev. Tyssul Davis, B.A.

IN ten days the whole field of religion has been roughly traversed. Its beginning traced in primitive man's struggle with Nature, when her behests carried a cruel accent—" Hunt or starve," " Fish or starve "—we followed it to nobler goals. Reacting as a fear of unknown powers, it softened into a wonder and an awe. But still there were unintelligible doings, apparently inimical to man, requiring, for their explanation, demons ; God's half-witted brother, Ahriman ; Satan. Then comes the understanding that all manifestation implies the law of polarity ; negative and positive, darkness and light, male and female, spirit and matter. But the sage discovered that he could transcend these pairs of opposites, reach a stage of consciousness in which they are reconciled. This is the experience echoed by the poet : " The evil is nought, is silence implying sound." On the same mountain where, metaphorically, the avalanche destroys the traveller, Wordsworth reads in the faces of the clouds the look of unutterable love, and Whitman finds the forces of Nature benign and gains a glimpse of cosmic consciousness.

Upon this plane the great religions are born. They interpret the World-process as the operation not only of an Intelligible Mind, but of a Purpose and Will to which they applied the highest human terms of tenderness and of love. " Can a mother forget her sucking child ? Yea, she may forget. But I will not forget. Behold, I have engraven thee on the palm of my hand."

It is to those who have attained the highest range of consciousness that we owe our religions. It is to those who have come nearest to the heart of Nature, where, they say, dwells the Immanent God. Here, then, is the truest testimony.

Yet, even in their testimony to the Highest, they speak the language of their time, of their people, of their country. Always the personal equation has to be eliminated. It is they, indeed, who warn us most solemnly that the word of their testimony, the letter, killeth, but the spirit giveth life ; and that the way to God they won must be travelled by us, before we see and adore.

Among their followers, differences of message have too often been emphasized, and the identity of spirit forgotten, with the result that nothing has divided men so widely as religion. Here, however,

the representatives of differing religions have sat together in peace, have shaken each other's hands, looked kindly into each other's eyes.

In the Indian section of this Imperial Institute there is a curio of profound interest to this Conference. It relates to the first Conference of Religions ever held. It is a replica of the pillar on which rested the throne of Akbar, presiding over a meeting like this, 330 years ago. This great and wise emperor not only welcomed into his country representatives of the great religions and placed them under the ægis of his protection, he did more. He built a Hall of Audience, a Diwan Khass, where members of those living religions could confer, could exchange views, could learn from each other. Akbar gave an example of a positive desire to effect harmony between the religions of the world, to effect mutual understanding, mutual goodwill.

Every student of comparative religion knows that the same truths are taught in the great religions; that the fundamental principles are the same. This Conference has again brought that out. We have been helped to see that the men of the West and the men of the East are troubled by the same spiritual hunger, are racked by the same passion for Righteousness, are stricken with the same longing for the Ineffable Beauty and the Supreme Good—that they are brothers, Kith and Kin of one and the same family of God.

This does not mean that we are blind to our differences. More than ever we see the greater need of difference. Everybody who has realized the operation of the law of diversity in unity, seeing no two faces are alike, no two dispositions or characters alike, will recognize the necessity of the greatest possible variety of rite and creed and custom in order to meet the wide variety of human needs.

> "In things essential, unity;
> In things non-essential, liberty;
> In all things, charity."

An eloquent example was furnished by the totally distinct temper in which the two spokesmen for Southern Buddhism presented their case. One had the experience of age, the prudence of the years, the training of practical science, and gave a reasonable, matter-of-fact account: the other had the outlook of youth, romance and vision, and gave a poetic and inspiring account. One convinced with the appeal of logic, the other kindled with the logic of the heart.

That was one illustration of the fact that there are not only many religions, but there are as many religions as there are individuals. Even agreement upon the same statement of a principle leaves room for difference in the connotation and content of the terms.

The experience of many who have closely attended this Conference will tally in one respect. While at one moment cordially answering in quick agreement, at another they have stood aside, irresponsive and indifferent. While the great principle was enunciated, their heart burned within them, but while a claim was set up for reverence for some temporal and historical expression of it, it left them cold.

We may agree with the Hindu, the Ahmadiyyi, the Bahaist, that there is a succession of prophets, that God sends His messengers in every age, and yet find it difficult to be convinced of the superior radiance, of this or that Avatar, this or that likeness or embodiment of the light and truth and grace of God.

Side by side with testimonies delivered that actual appearances in human bodies of divine essences of holiness have recently been made, two Western speakers made similar promises for the future. Sir Francis Younghusband believes that "men of the highest religious genius are as likely to appear in the future as in the past." Mrs. Rhys Davids suggests that "there may be in this altered world a need for more light and guidance than those old teachers gave to the world. It seems, sometimes, as if nothing but a new, an even greater, helper of men can ever raise the world."

We have been enabled in this Conference to see that it is a sign of vitality when a religion puts forth fresh branches, creates new sects, gives rise to new movements. The more schools of thought, the more fellowships and groups, by the same token, the more fertile, virile and enduring the stock from which they spring.

A difference of climate, a difference of root-race, a difference in conditions of living (desert, city; mountain, valley; agriculture, seafaring) has compelled every living religion to create or permit the creation of new forms to meet the diversity of needs among its followers. But over-emphasis upon these differences has led to strife. It was a happiness to perceive upon what friendly terms Pandit Shankar, representing orthodox Hinduism, stood toward Mr. N. C. Sen, representing the rebellious child, the Brâhma-Samâj. He would like to believe this is an omen of the future relations between Hinduism and the reform movements of India.

In Islam also, Sunnah, Shi'ah, Ahmadiyyah and Sufi are within the same comprehensive fold; each claims to be a true Moslem, and they emulate each other in reverence for the great teacher and in adoration of the One and Only, Allah. A way out of strife has been offered, a new form of rivalry—"a fellowship in which the chief rivalry will be in height of spiritual achievement." We should all desire that the best shall be established and the truest followed.

Men should be judged, not by their tint of skin,
The Gods they serve, the vintage that they drink,
Nor by the way they fight, or love, or sin,
But by the quality of thought they think.

In Sacred Books, in the records of Great Personalities, it is the "quality of thought" and fineness of spirit that will secure survival after the wear and tear of the ages. It is significant that the higher the thought presented to us, the wider the view revealed to us in this Conference, the more closely we agreed, the more readily we responded, the more ardently we became one. Does not this furnish a token of the way in which the peace of the world is to be brought about? Is it not by emphasizing the universal elements in our religion that we make it acceptable, and weakening the stress on the points of difference?

It is remarkable that the Parsî paper, the Bahâ'i, the Brâhma-Samâj and the papers of the recent offshoots of Islam, with varying justice, advanced claims for recognition as a *Universal Religion*.

That all religions feel the influence of the Time-spirit is obvious from the strong line taken by most of them on practical efficiency, doing God's work in the world, rather than turning one's back on it. Zoroastrian, Sikh and Mussulman pressed this home. To the Bantu also every home is a temple; not only a social, but a religious institution.

Moreover, the rationalist idea and practical duties do not exhaust the religious content. Mysticism also meets an undeniable need of human nature. Human nature is very diverse, and is becoming more so in the process of evolution. Religion must extend, not restrict, its area. It must annex the whole of life. The world of humanity is growing closer. Whether religion is going to help or not, the desire is deepening for ending strife and division, for bringing the peoples together, and welding them in one Brotherhood.

What is to unite the races, if religion will not unite? We have been reminded in this Conference that there is no limit to the possibilities of human nature. Man will not remain content with less than the full range of knowledge, the full gamut of experience. He will ask to drink of all wells, and climb all the summits.

His spirit is already too adventurous, his heart is growing too large to be shut up in one fold; or consent to one label; or be hall-marked by one sectarian sign.

Music hath no fatherland. Art knows no limitations of time and race. Why should religion? Why should not the best of all the scriptures be in our Bible, and the saints and sages of all the faiths be in our calendar?

The great prophets and founders of religion are not rivals. In all things of the spirit they speak the same language, they strike the same note. All the Christs, the Buddhas, the Muhammads, the Gurus, the Rishis, the Avatars belong to the human family, and are the common possession of humanity. They belong to us as men. No tribe has a monopoly of this or that teacher. To some of us it seems that the hour has struck when religious devotees shall no

longer compete, striving against each other, one to win the world for Christ, another to win the world for Muhammad, another to win the world for Buddha or Bhishma or Siva, but they shall work together in concord and harmony, in speech and act, in mind and heart, to win the world for Righteousness and Peace, for Fellowship and Brotherly Love—to win the world for God.