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THE SEMITIC GOD OF TAHPANHES. •

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## THE SEMITIC GOD OF TAHPANHES.

PROBABLY AN ANCIENT RELIEF OF YAHVEH.

BY PROF. W. MAX MÜLLER, PH.D.

IN the autumn of 1907 a great sensation was caused by the discovery of the Aramaic papyri at Assuan, which gave, for the first time, full details about the temple of Yahveh built by the large Jewish colony on the frontier-island Elephantine.<sup>1</sup> The first batch of Assuan papyri, previously published by Sayce and Cowley, had mentioned a "chapel (*agûrâ*) of Yahveh" on Elephantine, to the great surprise of scholars, but more recent discoveries disclosed the fact that this "chapel" was a fine sanctuary of not inconsiderable size, equipped in a very sumptuous way. The Jews describe it as possessing stone pillars and "five gates built of hewn stones," the walls ornamented with alabaster-slabs and brass nails, the ceiling of cedar planks, the sacrificial vessels of gold and silver. This magnificent sanctuary, destroyed by the Egyptians, (owing to the jealousy of the priests of Khnûm or Khnûb, as the Jews claim) in the year 14 of Darius II (404 B. C.), already existed before the Persian conquest in 525 B. C., "in the days of the kings of Egypt"; and Cambyses, "when he entered Egypt and destroyed all temples of the gods of Egypt," did not touch it. The Jews state, when writing to the Persian governor, that during the conquest of Cambyses "in that temple nobody ruined anything." Susprising as the existence of such an elaborate cult on the frontier of Nubia appeared to most scholars, yet it was in perfect agreement with Biblical statements. Did not Isaiah (xix. 18 ff.) joyfully predict the worship

<sup>1</sup> See Sachau, "Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine," *Transactions of the Berlin Academy*, 1907. Compare also "Yedonya's Letter Concerning the Yahu Temple," in *The Open Court*, of June, 1908, and Mr. Kampmeier's review of an article by Gunkel in the same number.

of Yahveh, not only in "five cities in the land of Egypt" which "shall speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts," but throughout Egypt, so that "in that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord" (verse 19)? He seems to have been acquainted with some existent Jewish cults on Egyptian soil, similar to that temple at Elephantine or to the Jewish sanctuary at Leontopolis. The latter, according to Josephus, had been erected by Onias, in the time of Ptolemy VI, Philometor (c. 155 B. C.), and of Judas Maccabæus. Recent critics, considering the temple of Leontopolis as an unprecedented late heresy, often suspected the antiquity of Isaiah xix. 18 ff., and saw in this passage a contemporary allusion to that heresy. This theory is now completely set aside by the Elephantine papyri. Such cults are shown to have existed in very ancient times and to have been more frequent. Onias simply followed early precedents when he established a sanctuary of Yahveh. We may only question whether his bold economy in rebuilding a ruined temple of the Egyptian divinity Sokhmet,<sup>2</sup> the lion-headed, for his temple had any earlier parallels. This shows, indeed, a surprising freedom from scruples with regard to the Jewish laws of purity, but the Egyptian Jews always seem to have been more emancipated and less orthodox than their coreligionists in any part of the world. The literature of the Alexandrian Jews shows this clearly enough. The ordinary Bible reader who is accustomed only to the strict orthodoxy of Judea as represented in the canonical books, must be shocked by this heretical liberalism and view it with the same suspicion and dislike as did the Jerusalemite orthodoxy, at least in a later, stricter time. The total disregard of the claim that Mount Zion was the only place to worship the Lord, is the acme of heresy from that standpoint.

Now I believe, I can add another instance of this liberalism, an instance remarkable in various ways.

In the summer of 1904, while studying the rich collections of the great Egyptian museum, at that time just transferred from Gizeh to the new building at Cairo, my interest was aroused by a limestone stele with a very unusual representation of a worshipping scene from a Semitic temple, in a style which is pronouncedly late Babylonian

<sup>2</sup> Josephus uses the name "wild Bubastis." The Egyptian texts, comparing and identifying the cat-headed Bubastis and the lion-headed Sokhmet, state that the first is the beneficent aspect of the latter, which they explain as the warlike, fierce manifestation of Bubastis. The name Leontopolis confirms that Sokhmet (a name erroneously read Sekhet by earlier Egyptologists) was meant.

(6th century B. C.), notwithstanding some Egyptian influences. The place where it had been discovered, according to the accounts of the amiable conservator, Mr. Daressy, added much to the interest of this curious monument. It was found at Tell Defenneh, the locality identified with the Biblical Tahpanhes even before Petrie's excavations. I photographed the stele and published it, as Plate 40 of my *Egyptological Researches* (Washington, 1906; publication 53 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.) The liberality of the Carnegie Institution allowed me to give an especially good reproduction in heliotype of that precious stele; it is reproduced here with the permission of the Institution.

The chief interest of the representation, as I have said above, lies in the locality. Tell Defenneh (or Defneh? Petrie, *Ten Years Digging*, p. 50), is a place situated in the extreme northeast of the Delta, southeast of Tanis, on the ancient Pelusiac branch of the Nile and the great caravan road to Syria. At this important spot, guarding the entrance into Egypt, the kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty erected forts and located a strong garrison of mercenaries from Greece and Asia Minor. The quarter occupied by these foreign soldiers was explored by Petrie; the other parts, not yet touched by his spade, must have contained the civilian quarter, especially of the foreign merchants who had settled in this frontier town because of its great facilities for commerce with Asia. The identification of Defenneh with Daphnæ of the Greeks and the Biblical Tahpanhes, an identification which has no direct epigraphic evidence but has been admitted by all Egyptologists, agrees excellently with the fact that Tahpanhes, according to Jer. xliii. 7; xlv. 1; xlv. 14, was one of the places where the Jews had flocked in great numbers when fleeing to Egypt before the Chaldæans. Always gaining their livelihood principally by trading, they had to seek places of a similarly advantageous character for their settlements.

On page 30 of the above-mentioned publication, I called the god represented on the stele "the local Semitic god of the Biblical Tahpanhes" and left the determination of his name and functions as much as possible undecided. Recently, the question has more and more come to my mind, whether we may not venture to determine the identity of the god after the only fact which we know about the non-military foreign population of Tahpanhes, namely its strongly Jewish character. True, we may assume that, together with the Jews, there was, as I expressed it, "a similarly considerable colony of Phœnicians, Aramæans, etc." (*loc. cit.* p. 30) and so leave the whole Syrian pantheon open for comparison with that unknown

god. However, on the other hand, it is not quite certain that the Jewish quarter of Tahpanhes corresponded to similar colonies of other Syrian nationalities in the same place. Exactly as we see in the United States the foreign immigrants preferring certain states and cities, crowding together by hundreds of thousands in one place and being very scarce in other cities, so it may have been in Egypt during the time of Jeremiah. The Tyrians, numerous at Memphis, according to Herodotus, may not have had any "bazar" at Tahpanhes, etc. Thus no god is so likely to be the principal Semitic god of that frontier city as the deity worshiped by the element which must anyhow have been most numerous of all foreigners, owing to the situation and political conditions, i. e., the Jews. It is only a chance, but a very good one.

Now can our stele represent the sanctuary of Yahveh, the Lord of Hosts, the temple in which the Jews prayed for the deliverance of Jerusalem from Nebuchadnezzar, and later for her restoration? (The two ears on the stele express hope that the god will hear the prayer of his worshipers.) Of course, we have to admit that a statue of the God of Israel, worshiped there, would have been an abomination from the standpoint of Jerusalemite orthodoxy. It would, however, have been much less offensive to the latter than the "calves" of Bethel etc., which, as scholars are now agreed, attempted to represent Yahveh in the form of the heavenly bull. These "calves" were worshiped so long and so generally by Israel that a representation of God in worthy human form, as it has been attempted so often by Christian art, would appear comparatively orthodox. Furthermore, the Egyptian Jews, as we have seen, were always more or less heretical. Granting this, there is nothing which would militate against explaining our representation as an adoration of Yahveh.

The sanctuary in which he dwells must be expected to have been built in the Egyptian style (which, by the way, was that also of Solomon's temple according to the Biblical descriptions). The Egyptian symbol of the winged disk, used twice as an ornamentation at the top, would simply indicate that the temple belonged to the "Lord of Heaven," a fact which our stele expresses also by picturing sun and moon (the latter repeatedly, i. e., in various phases). The mixture of attributes, namely the tiara of Asiatic gods, the common scepter of Egyptian divinities and the "*Iagobolon*" (originally the throwing stick) of Assyro-Babylonian gods, is easily understood in such a locality where East and West combined their various customs and beliefs. Instead of the lion, on which the statue stands, the

Cherubim would be more appropriate, but the variation could easily be explained by the Biblical symbolism of the lion. The forms of worship are Jewish as well as pagan—at any rate, they are not Egyptian: the little brazen altar for smaller burnt sacrifices and the high sacred pole (*masseba*) on which the priest smears sacrificial blood and oil, standing on an object which I should rather understand as a sacred chest than as an ordinary footstool. The priest's costume looks Babylonian, but the Jewish priests may well have been dressed thus in the sixth century B. C. We must expect some oddities in such a place, in general. It is not the temple at Jerusalem which we see represented here, but an imitation of it on a smaller scale, adapted to the foreign locality in a more or less bold style.

Regarded thus, the stele of Tahpanhes would gain much in interest. It would confirm Isaiah's prophecy about the five Egyptian cities speaking the language of Canaan and worshipping the Lord, as well as the claim of the Jews of Elephantine with regard to the antiquity of their temple. It would illustrate at least the great freedom of earlier Egyptian Judaism most positively, furnishing the first known attempt of Old Testament times to represent God in human form and the only attempt at such a representation available in the original.

Of course, all these conclusions rest on an assumption which can not yet be proved decisively. It must remain a matter of belief and preference whether we have here a Jewish or a pagan representation, although personally I consider the former explanation as possessing much greater probability.<sup>8</sup> It deserves, at least, full consideration by scholars.

<sup>8</sup> I made this statement for the first time, in a lecture delivered before the Soc. of Bibl. Lit., December, 1907.

## THE PREFACE TO "LES MISERABLES."

BY R. T. HOUSE.

"HE being dead yet speaketh." Victor Hugo left this world in 1885, yet bulky volumes of his writings have appeared at intervals ever since, and are still coming. The latest addition to his posthumous works is the elaborate preface which was written to accompany his most considerable novel, *Les Misérables*, but which is now in print for the first time at the head of the new edition of that story issued from the Imprimerie Nationale of Paris.

Why did Victor Hugo write so profound and extended a preface—it fills more than a hundred and twenty pages—for a novel? And why, when it was written, did he not publish it with the story it was intended to introduce? An attempt to answer these questions involves some discussion of the circumstances under which the novel was written, and the author's aim in writing it.

*Les Misérables* was Hugo's life-work. There is evidence that the plan of the story was in his mind before 1830, and the enterprising young Belgian publisher Albert Lacroix published the last volume of the original ten-volume edition in 1862. Hugo thought his plan over well for years, collecting information on the penal laws and the life of convicts; and in 1845 he began writing. In 1848 came the Revolution, calling forth a mass of political literature that left the novelist no time or thought for Jean Valjean.

But in 1860, the exile drew out his manuscript of *Les Misérables* and re-read it. It was now that a fear seems to have come over him for the first time. (I translate from Gustave Simon, his literary executor.) "He did not wish the public to consider the actors in the drama as simple marionettes, whose strings he held and worked at will. The moral idea of his work was the thing of supreme importance to him; this idea seemed to him to outweigh all combinations, all artifices of narration, all inventions, all creations of the imagination. What authority would these characters have if



instead of representing ideas, they only incarnated heroes of romance?"

Jean Valjean, Fantine and Cosette were types of all mankind, with mankind's weaknesses and miseries. Their experiences confront the reader with the great problems of the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. *Les Misérables* was to be a religious book, and its preface was most fittingly to be the author's profession of faith. So he set about investigating the history of religion. Volume after volume of biography was carefully studied, and the preface which its author somewhat clumsily termed "a quasi-record of my philosophy of religion," became an exhaustive treatise in two parts; the first intended to "establish (prove) God" and the second to "establish the soul." Victor Hugo never erred by setting his mark too low.

But now that his introduction was complete, it became necessary to revise the story in the spirit of its ambitious preface. This re-reading and revision occupied seven or eight months, and on December 6, 1861, the section of the story entitled "Fantine" was sent to the printer. But the preface did not accompany it.

The months passed, and no preface. Lacroix became impatient. At the very last moment, when the book was ready and delay was no longer possible, Victor Hugo hastily sent a preface of a dozen lines on to Brussels. The discarded philosophical preface is tagged with the suggestion: "The enclosed might very well be added to a volume of Memoirs dealing with my intellectual life,"—a volume which never appeared, as it was never written.

If we are to accept M. Simon's theory, Hugo came to the conclusion that so profound a philosophical dissertation was unsuitable as an entrance door to a romance—an idea which, one might think, could easily have occurred to him earlier. He had feared, and with good reason, that his purpose in writing the book might be misconstrued. He was accused, as he had expected, of anarchy and atheism. Barbey d'Aurevilly called him "a great materialist," and Lamartine bewailed his lack of ideals. But it is probable that adverse criticisms would have been as numerous and as unreasonable if the dissertation had appeared with the novel.

The following note is written along the margin of the manuscript containing the *Préface*:

"Before the reader undertakes this book, he should be warned. The book he holds in his hands is a religious book."

The first paragraphs of the treatise are a fuller statement of its character:

"The book you are about to read is a religious book.

"Religious? From what point of view? From a point of view which is ideal, but absolute; indefinite, but immovable.

"Allow us to explain this statement in the fewest words possible.

"The spiritual attitude of the author of a book affects the book and appears in its pages.

"Moreover, it is not inappropriate that a study of this character, which has humanity for its object, should be preceded by a sort of preliminary meditation in which the reader takes part.

"The author of this book believes that his personal liberty permits him to say that he is a stranger to all the religions actually prevailing, and that at the same time, while combating their abuses, while suspicious of their purely human part, which is as it were the wrong side of their divine part, he admits them all and respects them all.

"If it were to come about that their divine side were in the end to absorb and destroy their human side, he would do more than respect them; he would reverence them.

"These restrictions made, the author—and he declares it aloud on the threshold of this sad book—is of those who believe and pray."

And later on comes the sweeping key-statement:

"There is not on earth a thinking being in whom the spectacle of the universe does not operate a slow construction of Deity."

There follow several characteristic passages from the first part of the preface:

\* \* \*

Religion is only the shadow cast by the universe on the intelligence of man.

The form of the shadow varies according to the varying angle of human civilization, it varies according to the greater or less degree of rectitude in the souls that receive it; but whatever its appearance may be, this shadow is always identical with itself. It comes from the Whole. It is this identity that gives religions their common foundation.

With this shadow,—for the moral law never loses its analogy with the physical law, which is only its symbol,—with this shadow are mingled half lights and penumbrae. They are idolatries and superstitions.

The visible or latent grandeur of reality oppresses the human mind and engenders visions involving more or less of truth. These chimeras are the theogonies. If you wish to gain an idea of the

modifications which natural realities undergo in traversing the ignorant imagination of man, if you wish to appreciate the aberrations which this refraction may produce, one or two examples may suffice for the purpose:

The first marvel which stupefied men was the earth. They called it the Great Goddess, the Goddess with the Great Breasts (Eurusernon), Titeria, Ops, Tellus, Gea, Vesta, Cybele, Ceres, Demeter; and behind the cloud which filled the temples, at Thebes, where her priests wore the masks of beasts, at Delphos, where, according to Pausanias, the earth gave oracles before Apollo, in Achaia, near the River Crathis, at Sparta, in the strange sanctuary called Garepton, she is represented as straight and upright in a stone robe with flutings like a column, symbol of the terrestrial foundation, with a horse's head signifying patent force, a head-dress of serpents which signified the hidden powers, holding in her right hand a dolphin which symbolized the water and in her left hand a dove which represented the air.

And in this form, false or true, she was adored.

As for the sun of which we have spoken above, all cults, as we have said addressed themselves to him. Paganism saw in the sun a god and Christianity an archangel. Apollo is Michael. The radical *Hel-* is found in Michael, as in Helios. Typhon is Satan. One might say that Saint Michael destroys Typhon and that Apollo crushes Satan. The quiver of the Olympian One is full of lightning shafts, as the scabbard of the angel is filled with flame. The religions have taken this star and made of it a hero of Heaven.

The German Illuminism, represented by Swinden, locates Hell in the sun; it is there that Michael guards Lucifer. The angel-guardian of Hell, who shows the damned to Alberic, monk of Mount Cassin, is named Helos. Of the pagan god and the Christian angel, the Orient had first made a *genius*. Bhael, Baal, Bel, Belus, Belenus, is still Hel, is still Helios. The sun has become a sort of grandiose human figure. He is placed in a chariot and given four horses whom Homer calls Pyroeis, Eoüs, Aethon, Phlegon, that is to say, something like Redness-from-above, Light, Heat, Redness-from-below; and whom Fulgentius names Erythreus, Acteon, Lampas, Philogeus, which names mean nearly the Red, the Luminous, the Flaming, the Friend of Earth, or the Return to the Stable. Thus does the piecing together of mythologies proceed.

So Nature teaches man and at the same time leads him astray. These contagions of naturalism, let us insist, have not spared the sages. The universe contemplated becomes easily the universe vis-

ioned. Many a genius has swayed from its balance under the weight of this fixed idea: Nature. Plato sees the dance of the spheres; Pythagoras hears their music. As for Aristotle, he doubts. Pythagoras, creator of music, as he is qualified in the wood-work of the Cathedral of Ulm by the great Gothic builder George Seirlin, *Pythagoras musicae inventor*. Pythagoras assigns between the sun and the moon and between the sun and Saturn musical intervals of a fourth, and defines the tone of the moon, which is, he says, the highest in pitch, and the sound of Saturn, which he asserts is the lowest. Others venture to be more definite still. For them the heavens are a lyre and the solar system the musical scale; the sun gives *do*, Mars gives *re*, Jupiter *mi*, Saturn *fa*, the moon *sol*, Venus *la*, Mercury *si*; as you see, the gamut, starting with the sun, reaches Saturn by way of Mars and Jupiter, and returns by the moon, Mercury and Venus, to the sun. They hear all this; they affirm it. Who are these madmen? The name of the first is Nicomachus; the name of the second is Cicero.

\* \* \*

What leads the sages astray is sure to lead the mob astray as well, and even farther astray.

A host of phenomena, even terrestrial phenomena, even of those which we can, so to speak, touch with our hands, remain unexplained. This is the source of fetishes and idolatries.

Great souls yield only to the great Whole, and many of them would resist even here if they were not crushed by the mass of prodigies. These heroes of free thought are, I may say, vanquished by superior numbers. They yield to the convergence of sublimities. All Nature agrees with God; were the agreement not universal, such men would not bow. The feeble imagination of certain primitive peoples is not so exacting. The first local phenomenon they light on serves as a pretext for a dogma. Shall I give examples?

There are in Africa two winds: the Arabian samiel, and the harmattan from the coast of Guinea.

A whistling is heard, the travelers throw themselves to the earth, with their faces in the dust; the horses hide their heads between their legs; a sort of fire passes crackling through the air, whose breath is death; if the recently dead are touched, they are found decayed already, their flesh comes loose and falls off; it is not a wind that blew, it is a gangrene. This terrible something is called the samiel. As for the harmattan, it comes in a fog; everything grows indistinct, it is night; the leaves fall, the plants shrivel up,

man is tormented with thirst, his nose swells, his lips break, his eyes weep, his skin cracks off, and though the air is hot, he is frozen with cold; but here begins the mystery; the sick sit up and breathe; fevers, small-pox, dysenteries, stop short; inoculation becomes useless, plagues are extinguished, epidemics vanish, the whole country is cured. This wind which has passed is a wind of healing.

Naturally, the harmattan and the samiel have their priests; a religion is born of this Armus and Arimane of winds.

If it were necessary, one might find a scientific explanation of the singing rock of Druidism and the phonolith of Egypt. That one of the two statues of Memnon which breathes a sound at dawn, the colossus Tama, forty feet high, who regarded the East with his hands on his knees, can be explained, not by the automaton of the Jesuit Kircher, but by that Chinese column a hundred verges high, called *Misee*, that is, "the bell-sound stone," which is to be seen on a mountain near Tancham, and which, touched with the tip of the finger, roars like twenty drums. It would simply be a sort of stone very rich in metallic molecules crystallized in such a way that the least dilation or the least percussion makes it vibrate. We may consider in the same connection and consequently despoil of all mystery the various phonoliths of the Haute-Loire and the Puy-en-Velay, and that famous church built to the Virgin with sonorous stones of alternating black and white, and the stone door to the cave of the Free Judges of Baden, which when opening gave the sound of C flat.

\* \* \*

Other phenomena present themselves, more difficult to explain, and always accompanied by mythological appendices added by man. What was that echo, heard by Roger Bacon in the hills at the confluence of the Marne and the Seine, which changed *s* to *v* and which, when one called out "*Satan*," answered "*va l'en*" (go away)?

What is that Devil's Mountain, near the Cape, where at certain hours a great voice is heard and a great light appears? You are in Finland; this porch at the back of which you see a well, like a throat at the back of a mouth, is the Smellic grot. Throw in a dog, a sheep, any living animal, and you will hear something stupefying and hideous like the thousand cries of a hydra devouring its prey. Who is there, at the edge of the cavern, paralysed with terror? It is Olaüs Magnus. Hence a religion. We are in the Orcades; here, with its Æolian solfeggio, with its millions of columns like pipes where a drop of water plays a symphony, is the grotto of Staffa, the colossal ocean organ. The Gaelic bards listen charmed

and trembling. The grotto, like a thinking being, sings day and night. Hence a religion.

A Hollander named Haafner traveled in 1783, alone and on foot, across the Island of Ceylon. He was a curious and thoughtful person. He had been told of the mysterious solitudes of the Island, and the extraordinary noises heard there. These noises were attested by the fishermen of the Mabeagonga River, a water-course full of rocks that impede navigation. A Mecklenburg German, named Wolf, who had lived for twenty years on the plains of Jafnapatam, affirmed that he had been awakened one night by a terrible thing currently called "the voice." His wife, awakened as he had been, had been frightened into an illness. One of their neighbors, a European like themselves, declared that he had heard the same noise. Haafner wished to verify the fact, if it was possible, and in any case to see these strange deserts of which the natives spoke only with lowered voices. When the rainy season was over, he penetrated the forests to the mountains. He went alone, as we have said. Several weeks passed, and Haafner pushed straight forward; nothing singular had happened; the thickets were like thickets anywhere else, and these rocks were not different from other rocks. One day, after the sun had set, Haafner was on a peak of the Bancol range, the moon had risen, night was approaching; a hole in the rock opened before him; these alcoves are precious at such hours and in such places. Haafner lay down in it. He was dropping off to sleep, when suddenly he heard near him the barking of a dog. A melancholy, powerful barking, the bark of a dog surely, but of a dog that must be as large as a lion. Haafner looked around. No dog, no lion. But the barking continued, and grew louder; it was still a bark, but it was becoming thunder; a dog that could howl like that must be two hundred feet tall. There was a silence, then the howling began again. This time it was accompanied by a mixture of inexpressible voices, now like a coughing, which seemed to come from all points of the horizon at once, near at hand, at a distance, from a tree, from a cloud, sometimes from the tops of the mountains, sometimes from the depths of the earth; mingled with this sound was a very distinct conversation of human voices, now talking in turn, now all speaking at once, now and then laughing hideously. Haafner, exasperated and brave, rushed out of his cave and looked all around him. Nothing. The moon lighted the deserted mountain peaks. This indescribable tumult came from a gigantic motionless earth. Who then made these noises? The mountains. Haafner was surrounded by mountains that barked, by

mountains that coughed, and by mountains that carried on dialogues, and now and then this mountain solitude burst out into laughter.

Another traveler, an Englishman named Burckhardt, explored the coast of the Red Sea in 1816. He was investigating the reports of Katsner concerning the incomprehensible sounds which are heard in the mountains near the Gulf of Haifan. He sought out that sepulchral Mount of Bells, the Ghebel-Nakus, so called from the Arabic *Elnakus*, bell-tower; a mount which covers, according to local tradition, a divinely punished monastery, from which, at certain hours, one can hear distinctly the ringing of the bells under the mass of the mountain.

As he walked through these solitudes, Burckhardt came to a very elevated peak named Onschomar. There, suddenly, in broad daylight, at a moment when no surprise was possible, he heard a tremendous intermittent bellowing, a clamor that could have been caused by no beats of this earth, a sort of stormy howling like the noise of brass and the noise of thunder. Six hundred feet above him an inaccessible peak stood out; the bellowing came from there. There was no sign of subterranean commotion; neither basalt nor lava. The noise was unexplainable. On a neighboring height there is a monastery; Burckhardt visited it and questioned the monks; they told him that they had heard the same sounds, five years before, at midday. The steward, who had grown old in the convent, remembered that he had been surprised and terrified by these unknown sounds at irregular periods, four or five times in the space of forty years. Now, what is Mount Onschomar? It is the highest peak of the Sinai group, and (strange light on the story of the Bible!) the hoarse bursts of the voice that this peak throws out on the solitude well into the nineteenth century, are the terrible summons that Moses heard.

A religion issued from Ceylon; the religion of Buddhism. A religion came from Sinai; the religion of Moses.

The academies attribute these prodigies to acoustic effects; the people are more inclined to believe in God.

They believe in Him crudely; but they believe in Him.

\* \* \*

Yes, fanaticism is infamous; yes, superstitions are hideous; yes, there is a leprous blight on the august face of truth; yes, Innocent III, Charles IX, Borgia, Pius V; yes, impotence and brutishness, the stake, the *quemadero* of Seville, the inquisition of Goa, the

Jews tracked to death, the Albigenses massacred, the Moors exterminated, the Protestants tortured, the strappado, the dragonnades, Bossuet applauding Louvois, Torquemada at Saragossa, and Cromwell also at Drogheda, and Calvin also at Geneva, darkness, darkness, darkness! yes, it makes me tremble with horror. Superstition is a sad malady. Will you cure it by the suppression, pure and simple, of religion? Try it. Very good. You have done it well. You have lacerated the Talmuds, destroyed the Gemaras, pulverized the Vedas, burned the Korans. Palpable reality reigns alone; mystery is driven out; there is no longer anything in society whose commencement and end are not visible. Are you delivered? Is the work complete? No. See that mother. She has lost her child. What is she doing now, the unhappy creature? She falls on her knees. Before you? No. Before whom, then? Before the Unknown. She is praying.

The mystery has seized you again.

Yes, more truly, it has never left you.

Religion is not the Church; it is the opening rose, the brightening dawn, the bird busy at building his nest. Religion is sacred, eternal Nature. Placard your social philosophy so that it may hide the sun! Your economic problems are among the glorious preoccupations of the nineteenth century. I who speak have consecrated to their investigation, if not their solution, all my atomic strength, and I know few questions more serious and more noble; let us suppose them settled; behold the creation of material prosperity, a significant advance. Is that all? You give bread to the body; but the soul rises and says to you: "I am hungry too."

What have you to give the soul?

To be well dressed, well fed and well lodged, to live cheaply and well, to buy salmon at a sou a pound thanks to the well-stocked rivers, to eat white bread, to have a good fire to warm you and a good bed to sleep in, to owe all this honestly to your own labor, to send the rays of your prosperity out beyond you, to see the smile of your prettily-dressed wife, to see your healthy children growing up about you, never to lack anything, to prosper in what you do and by what you do, to drink well and eat well, all this is much, indeed; but if it is all it is nothing.

Let us go further.

Realize on this earth all the Edens, all the Elysiums, all the Atlantides, all the triumphs of matter, all the glorifications of enjoyment, all the Walhallas of the flesh, all the gardens of delight, Catholic, Hindoo and pagan; set the paradise of Mahomet in the



paradise of Anne of Austria; a naked houri in robes of batiste. What do you need? Four meals a day? Here they are. And you? As much champagne as you can drink? Hold your glass, and drink. Palaces of marble, gilded halls, parks full of swans and peacocks, symphonies, festival joys, who wishes them? What servants will you have? All the forces of Nature? Come, forces. Obey man. Steam drives his ships, the wind pushes his aerostats, the lightning carries his letters. Very well; and here is science to offer him a potent hygiene, to restore his stomach, to strengthen his vertebral column, to bring his longevity back to the normal; so that if Nature wills it, youth endures for seventy years, and a man is a century. Better and better. Let us drink and eat. Luxury, pleasure, ecstasy, drunkenness, felicity, health. And concord as well. Peace on earth, and universal fraternity.

One restriction only; my ego will die. The tomb is a door. The circle of eternity is a zero. I shall never see again the children who are my own body; I shall never see again the helpmeet who is my life. Away with you! Your Eden horrifies me. I tremble.

I have sold my soul to my flesh. No. I will have none of such a bargain. Nothing but the soul can satisfy the heart.

Ah! you offer me meat and annihilation. Ah! you have nothing for this flame alive within me, heating and lighting me, burning me, thinking, hoping, loving within me. Very well! then let me alone.

Your satisfied stomach fills me with horror.

I would rather have black bread and a blue sky.

Ah! let us take care. There are tombs, there are mounds where the grass grows above those we love, there are old men who die and go we know not whither, there are children who are born to us we know not whence, there are waves on the sea, there are breaths of wind in the trees; let us take care! Take care; this flower becomes a fruit, this butterfly flutters about with millions of plumes on its wings, this coal and this diamond are the same material, this planet turns, this woman weeps; there are matters we do not understand, I tell you! And do you know what the other world is, the unknown world? I know; it is the necessary world.

Let us combat fanaticism, let us unmask imposture, let us censure hypocrisy, let us stand up stubbornly against the ferocity of dogmas, let us crush all that looks askance and all that lies, let us stamp out idolatry; but let us respect prayer. Prayer is the outgrowth of Immensity.

"I have nothing to do with your science," says the weeping

mother; "I will not eat your bread, I care not for your comfort, I want my child!"

And she goes to Him who can give her back a soul. And as long as there are mothers it will be so. And as long as there are eyes open to the daylight, as long as there are breasts, as long as there are mouths waiting for the eternal kiss, as long as half-naked babies play before the doors, as long as lovers walk in the evening under the shady murmuring leaves, as long as men and women live, it will be so.

Oh human impotence, and what a sad problem, to suppress this evil without wounding the good! No, no, fight religions to your last breath, and I am with you, but respect religion. In any case, I promise you that you are wasting your effort. Close the parish church, if you will. Stop the lark's song, the fly's buzzing, the lion's roaring, the ass's braying, the oak's leafing, the salt's crystallizing, the water's flowing, the wind's blowing, the unknown fearful mass it repeats in the depths. You have torn in pieces this hideous book where so many monstrous things were mingled with a few bits of inspiration. Up there above our heads is a great blue book full of flame; in this book the zodiac is a sentence; now tear this book in pieces.

Although we have no wish to connect matters which have no relation, permit us here a remark which has its significance. The attack being made on God is like the attack being made on man. There is the same inconsistency and the same prejudice. The reactionary proceeds exactly like the skeptic. One treats the Revolution as the other treats the Creation. Refusal to see the whole; limiting of the premises; negation of the infinite in one case, of democracy in the other. Attempt to overthrow the ensemble by attacking the detail. What does this mean? Explain the contradiction for me. This is what disgusts me. '93. Marat. The second of September. Why the blood? Why this crime? Then, after the indignation, the mockery. This is ugly, this is grotesque, this is foul, etc. Success seems easy, but nothing results. Victory,—not at all. Neither the people nor God destroyed. One secure in their right, the other in His Heaven.

\* \* \*

Certain philosophers, some from excess of love, are obstinate in their doubt and reason thus:

"Explain evil to us, and we will believe. Tell us the reason for the tiger, the reason for the spider, the reason for the hemlock, the reason for Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, the reason for

the 18th Brumaire, the reason for Lacenaire, the reason for war, the reason for night, the reason why life must be fed by death; tell us the reason for suffering and sin; and we will believe. A God who creates or who permits evil is incomprehensible. Evil exists; then God is not."

I admit that a God who creates or permits evil is incomprehensible.

Now let us have an understanding as to the relation between incomprehensibility and non-existence.

If it is sufficient for a thing to be incomprehensible in order that it be impossible, the negators are right.

But if the incomprehensible can exist, they are wrong.

Let us examine:

Infinity is scientifically demonstrable. Ask algebra.

Now what is infinity? It is the incomprehensible.

Then the incomprehensible can exist, since it does exist.

Raise your eyes to the starry Heaven, and see it. Take up a fly, and you touch it.

If the incomprehensible exists, what does the argument prove: God is incomprehensible; hence he cannot exist?

Nothing.

Evil, being merely incomprehensible, proves nothing against God.

Not to understand is no more reason for denying than for believing.

Knowledge of God is given to no one; a notion of God is given to all.

Each one has his drop of water; no one has the ocean.

If I could explain evil, I could explain God; if I could explain God, I should be God.

Put a blind man in the sunlight; he will not see the sun, but he will feel it.

"I am warm," he will say.

It is thus that we feel the absolute Being, without seeing. There is a warmth that comes from God.

The argument from evil, then, can not reasonably be invoked: it is part of the incomprehensible. When you explain the infinite to me, I can explain the incomprehensible to you.

Prove God, yes. Explain Him, no.

## THE HOLM-NESTORIAN EXPEDITION TO SIAN MCMVII.\*

BY FRITS V. HOLM, M.R.A.S.

IT is with the greatest regret that I have not been able to enjoy the honor extended to me by the President of the Congress to accept his invitation to be present at the deliberations of the Congress and there exhibit and lecture on the replica of the Nestorian Stone of Sianfu; but I have thought fit to submit a brief statement of my work to the Council, to be dealt with as the President and his Council may decide.

After several months of constant study in the British Museum's library, and due to a keen interest I have always taken in matters Chinese from my former residence in that great empire, I decided to undertake an expedition to the capital of the province of Shensi, Sian-fu, known generally as the place of refuge of the Chinese Court during and after the Boxer troubles. I was fortunate enough to obtain the necessary financial means in London and New York, where I arrived in February, 1907, from Europe, and I likewise found much moral support from several university professors, scientists and museum authorities in various countries.

The chief aim of the expedition was to proceed to Sianfu and there on the spot examine the local and outer relations of the Nestorian Stone of A. D. 781, with a possible view of purchasing the ancient monument or obtaining a true copy or monolith replica of the same.

I copy the following paragraphs from my book-manuscript (part I):

"Of all the historical monuments near and in Sianfu, the famous Nestorian Stone, or *Chingchiaopei* as the natives call it, undoubtedly ranks as the very first. It is perhaps not too much to say, that while these lines are being written on the river Han in

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FRITS V. HOLM, M.R.A.S.  
Standing by the Nestorian Stone before its removal.



THE ORIGINAL NESTORIAN STONE.  
As it now stands in the *Peilin* or "Forest of Tablets."

Hupeh province *medio* July, 1907, the Nestorian Tablet, as it stands outside the west gate of Sian, unheeded and neglected, although known to science, is the most valuable historical monument in the world, that has not, as yet, been acquired by any museum or scientific society or corporation.

"It is true that prints and photographs have been taken of the famous inscription and that translations have been made and published of the same,—but the stone stands there, lonely, in all kinds of weather, and only the very rare traveler, who gets as far as Sianfu, or an occasional missionary, pays the Chingchiaopei a visit of short duration.

"As already formerly alluded to, Christianity first came to China in the beginning of the sixth century in its Nestorian form and was allowed to flourish during some three centuries under the protection of the early emperors of the famous Tang dynasty. Still Nestorians were found in Cathay and Manji, i. e., North and South China, by Marco Polo, when he traveled in these regions towards the end of the eighth century.

"The priests of Nestorianism enjoyed the favor of the court and were allowed to erect churches and monasteries. The Nestorian Tablet proves above all suspicion the early existence of Christianity in the Middle Kingdom.

"The Chingchiaopei is dated A. D. 781 and was accidentally found by some laborers in 1625, when it was placed on a "fair pedestal" by the governor of Shensi. It was early visited by many Chinese who took an interest in the ancient monument's inscription, which is marvelously well preserved.

"For decades after, the stone was little thought of and rarely visited, and the arch which had been built over it disappeared. Towards the end of the last century (1891) a small roof was erected over the stone at the instigation of the *corps diplomatique* at Peking, which had induced the Tsungli Yamen, the then Foreign Office, to guard the monument against injury. One hundred taels were sent to Sianfu from Peking; but in those days there was no post office, and only five taels reached Sian in safety, the balance having been mysteriously absorbed underway. Thus the shed erected was of a very inferior kind and to-day has quite disappeared. Mr. W. W. Rockill, the U. S. Minister to China, who made a name for himself by journeying in the Koko Nor Lake district some fifteen years ago, told me, while in Peking, that "the Chinese thought quite a good deal of the stone and had a shed erected to protect it some time ago"; but I am afraid the honorable gentleman would

be very disappointed to see the precious old monument stand as naked and unprotected as its innumerable fellow-stones of minor

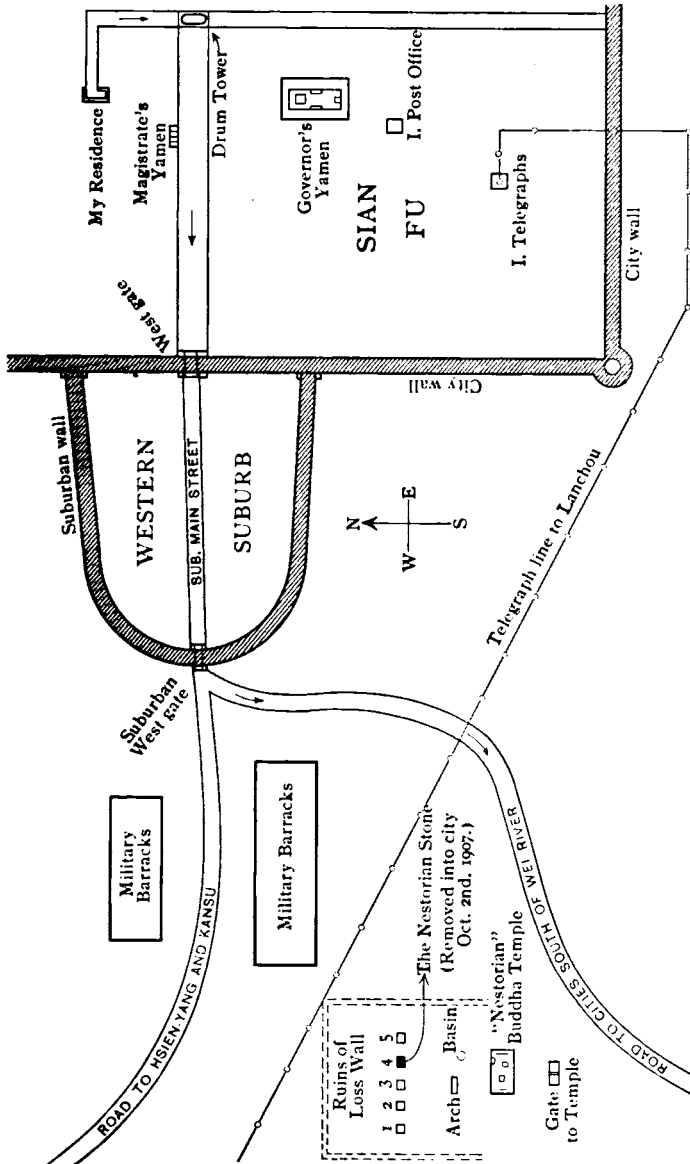


REMOVAL OF THE ORIGINAL NESTORIAN TABLET, OCTOBER, 2, 1907.  
Photograph by Holm.

value, which are to be found by the score in the vicinity of the ancient capital. Several translations, more or less correct, more or



less complete, of the Chinese and Syriac inscriptions have been published. The task of translating the ca. 2000 characters on the



SKETCH-MAP OF THE POSITION OF THE NESTORIAN TABLET.  
From a sketch by Mr. Holm.

stone is a very difficult one, but the translation by the well-known sinologist Dr. Wylie,\* is generally considered the best.

\* Dr. Wylie's translation appears on page 35 of this issue, taken from the second part of Dr. S. Wells Williams's great work, *The Middle Kingdom*.

On the 10th of June, 1907, I first visited the resting-place of the unique monument. I went out alone on horseback through the west gate, traversed the western suburb and, having passed some military barracks outside the western suburban gate, had no difficulty in finding the old Buddha temple, on the premises of which the stone is situated. A large brick entrance in ruins and some remnants of a decayed Löss wall show the former large extent of the temple. But to-day we only find a comparatively modern center building, which is more of a farm than a temple. Everybody was busy with the wheat harvest, even the three Buddhist priests, and nobody interfered with me as I walked about snapshooting and wondering at the ruinous surroundings of such an invaluable monument.

"Behind the farm-temple is a piece of ground where a large stone arch and several memorial slabs are situated. In a row of five stones, the Chingchiaopei is the fourth, counting towards the East. Like most stones of a similar kind it stands on the back of a clumsily worked stone-tortoise, but nothing is left of a protecting shed, and nothing indicates, as some authors most likely wrongly, assert, that the stone and its neighbors, which do not even stand in a straight line, have ever been built into a brick wall. An old picture of the stone shows it encased in a kind of brick niche, and it is by no means impossible that this has given rise to the wrongful idea concerning a brick wall. But there is no trace of any niche around the tablet, nor of any later wooden shed, and the 74 years old chief priest, who has been constantly on the spot for over 50 years, only remembers the stone standing free and frank and lonely—looking apart from the ramshackle shed of 1891.

"The much-discussed cross on the stone is not very plain and must almost be searched after before found, but the characters are beautifully preserved with the exception of one or two which are said to have been wilfully injured by the Bonzes, who thought that too much attention was being paid to this ancient relic of Christian fame. Still this is hardly probable.

"The other stones on the temple ground are of no immediate value or interest, their inscriptions giving the history of the farm-temple and the names and titles of the various donors.

"As will be noted from the photographs (which I have the honor to submit with this paper) the slab is a very large one, being 10 feet high, its weight being two tons. The difficulties in connection with the transport of the original or a replica were consequently appalling, as it would be necessary to transport the stone on a

specially constructed cart nearly 350 miles to the nearest railway station, Chêngchow."....

Laying aside the manuscript, I may shortly mention that I did everything in my power to obtain the original by applying to the local authorities etc.; but although the Chinese do not care more



YÜ SHOW, THE CHINESE HIGH PRIEST.

Seated where the Nestorian stone had stood before its removal.

Photograph by Holm.

to-day for the stone than for any ordinary brick, they at once got suspicious; and I might as well have endeavored to "lift" the Rosetta Stone out of the British Museum, or take the Moabite Stone from the Louvre, as to carry away the Chingchiaopei from Sian.

I shall not here dwell on the apparently unsurmountable difficulties the officials and even the foreign missionaries laid in my way when I decided to confine my efforts to obtain and carry home to Europe or America a replica of the venerable tablet. Suffice it to say that both the local, the transport and eventually the customs difficulties were all overcome in due course, and after eleven months on Chinese soil I was able to leave Shanghai on the last day of February, 1908, bound for New York.

The replica is one of the most beautiful pieces of Chinese workmanship I have ever seen. In the first place there is not a measure, not a character, not a detail that differs from the original tablet—even the weight is the same. In the second place this piece of art was executed by four native stone-cutters in eleven days, including



THE CROSS ON THE NESTORIAN STONE.

It is believed to be a copy from memory of the Roman papal cross of the sixth century.

polishing, after the huge slab had been brought from the Fuping quarries to Sian. In the third place the Chinese artisans have been able to accomplish the miracle of carving the cross and chiseling the Syriac characters, which they did of course not know, to absolute perfection.

On the 16th of June, 1908, in accordance with arrangement with Sir Purdon Clarke, Director, the replica was deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the City of New York.

Although the replica is not yet the property of the museum, there is a probability that it may never leave its new abode again; but the fact should not be overlooked that all museums and universities of the world can now be supplied, if so desired, with plaster casts

of the Nestorian tablet, casts which would not be more accurate, had they be taken from the original itself.

Once more to quote my manuscript (II. part) :



NESTORIAN REPLICA BEING UNLOADED FROM A FREIGHT CAR AT HAN-KOW, JANUARY, 1908.

Photograph by Holm.

“The second day of October, 1907, saw, at Sianfu, the fulfilment of an act which ought to have taken place nearly 300 years ago.

"Being the day previous to the final departure of the replica, I rode out to the farm-temple in order to supervise various arrangements concerning the packing of the stone etc., and in order to "square" my account with the old chief priest Yü Show. Nearing the temple grounds I noticed with feelings that can easier be imagined than described, that the original Nestorian Tablet had disappeared!

"I galloped up to its former resting-place, and all I saw, was a hole in the ground, where the monument's pedestal, the sad-looking stone-tortoise had been left. The stone itself had certainly gone, and I wondered whether any harm had befallen the replica in the temple-barn. Half a minute brought me to the temple where I found the replica in prime condition.

"The chief priest said that the officials had caused the tablet to be moved—he did not know its destination. So, my business over, I rode back through the western suburb, promising to come back the next day to see the replica off.

"About half way between the suburb and the city gates I overtook the Nestorian Tablet, which was being slowly carried by no less than 48 coolies towards the city. They carried it, hanging under a multitude of bamboo yokes, in the same way heavy coffins are usually transported.

"The 'Peilin,' or 'forest of tablets,' a place where innumerable small and large tablets with inscriptions of great age are kept, was the destination of the Chingchiaopei. The 'Peilin' is a place of great interest, and it is well-nigh incredible that the officials on the spot had never thought of moving the stone thither.

"The repeated, earnest representations of the *corps diplomatique* and the missionary bodies in Peking for the preservation of the ancient Christian relic had, through years, proved futile. The missionaries on the spot had done next to nothing to preserve "their" venerable tablet. It was therefore a great satisfaction to me to know that my expedition had been the direct cause for the removal of the stone to a place, where it will not be exposed to wind and weather, and where it will stand a fair chance of being able to adequately fight a long, long battle against age and time."

THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE NESTORIAN  
TABLET.



景教流 粵若常然真寂先  
 行中國 先而元元窅然靈  
 碑頌并 虛後後而妙有挖  
 序大 玄樞而造化妙眾  
 泰寺僧 聖以元尊者其惟  
 景淨述 我三一妙身無  
 元真主阿羅阿敷  
 判十字以定四方鼓元風而生  
 二氣暗空易而天地開日月運  
 而晝夜作匠成萬物然立初人  
 別賜良和令鎮化海渾元之性  
 虛而不盈素蕩之心本無希嗜  
 泊千娑殫施妾鈿飾純精間平  
 大於此是之中隙冥同於彼非





惟道非聖不宏。聖非道不大。道聖符契。天下文明。太宗文皇帝  
光華啟運。明聖臨人。大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本。占青雲而載真經。  
望風律以馳艱險。貞觀九祀。至於長安。帝使宰臣房公玄齡。摠伏  
西郊。賓迎入內。翻經書殿。問道禁闈。深知正真。特令傳授。貞觀十  
有二年。秋七月。詔曰。道無常名。聖無常體。隨方設教。密濟羣生。太  
秦國大德阿羅本。遠特經像。來獻上京。祥其教旨。玄妙無爲。觀其  
元宗。生成立要。

辭無繁說。理有忘筌。濟物利人。宜行天下。所司卽於京義寧坊造  
大秦寺一所。度僧廿一人。宗周德喪。青駕西昇。巨唐道光。景風東  
扇。旋令有司。將帝寫真。轉摸寺壁。天姿汎彩。英朗景門。聖蹟騰祥。  
永輝法界。按西域圖記。及漢魏史策。大秦國南統珊瑚之海。北極  
鼠寶之山。西望仙境花林。東接長風弱水。其土出火統布。返魂香  
明月珠。夜光璧。俗無侵盜。人有樂康。法非景不行。主非德不立。土  
宇廣闊。

文物昌明。高宗大帝。克恭續祖。潤色真宗。而於諸州各置景寺。仍崇阿羅本爲鎮國大法主。法流十道。國富元休。寺滿百城。家殷景福。聖歷年。釋子用壯。騰口於東周。先天末。下士大笑。訕謗於西。鎬有若僧首羅舍。大德及烈。並金方貴緒。物外高僧。共振玄綱。俱維絕紐。玄宗至道。皇帝。令寧國等五王親臨福宇。建立壇場。法棟暫撓。而更崇道石。時傾而復正。天寶初。令大將軍高力士。送五聖寫。

真寺內安置。賜絹百匹。奉慶睿圖。龍髯雖遠。弓劍可攀。日角舒光。天顏咫尺。三載大秦國。有僧佶和。瞻星向化。望日朝尊。詔僧羅含。僧普論等一七人。與大德佶和。於興慶宮修功德。於是天題寺榜額。載龍書。寶裝璀璨。灼爍丹霞。睿扎宏空。騰凌激日。龍賚比南山。峻極沛澤。與東海齊深。道無不可。所可名。聖無不作。所作可述。肅宗文明皇帝。於靈武等五郡。重立景寺。元善資而福祚。開大慶臨。而皇業建。

代宗文武皇帝。恢張聖運。從事無爲。每於降誕之辰。錫天香以告成功。頒御饌以光景照。且乾以美利。故能廣生。聖以體元。故能亨壽。我建中聖神文武皇帝。披八政以黜陟幽明。闡九疇以維新景命。化通玄理。祝無愧心。至於方大而虛。靜專而恕。廣慈救衆。苦善貨被羣生者。我修行之大猷。汲引之階漸也。若使風雨時。天下靜人能理。物能清。存能昌。歿能樂。念生響應。情發自誠者。我景力能事之功用也。大施主金紫光祿大夫。同朔方節度副使。試殿中監。賜紫袈裟。僧伊斯。和而好惠。聞道勤行。遠自王舍之城。聿來中夏。術高三代。藝傳十全。始効節於丹廷。乃策名於上帳。中書令汾陽郡王。郭公子儀。初揔戎於朔方也。肅宗俾之從邁。雖見親於卧內。不自異於行間。爲公爪牙。作軍耳目。能散祿賜。不積於家。獻臨恩之頗黎。布辭憩之金闕。或仍其舊寺。或重廣法堂。崇飾廊宇。如翬斯飛。更効景門。依仁施利。每歲集四寺僧徒。虔事精供。備諸五旬。餒者來而飯之。寒者來而衣之。病者療而起之。死者葬而安之。



## INSCRIPTION OF THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT.

TRANSLATED BY A. WYLIE.

*Tablet Eulogizing the Propagation of the Illustrious Religion in China, With a Preface; Composed by King-Tsing, A Priest of the Syrian Church.*

**B**EHOLD the unchangeably true and invisible, who existed through all eternity without origin; the far-seeing perfect intelligence, whose mysterious existence is everlasting; operating on primordial substance he created the universe, being more excellent than all holy intelligences, inasmuch as he is the source of all that is honorable. This is our eternal true lord God, triune and mysterious in substance. He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points, he moved the original spirit, and produced the two principles of nature; the sombre void was changed, and heaven and earth were opened out; the sun and moon revolved, and day and night commenced; having perfected all inferior objects, he then made the first man; upon him he bestowed an excellent disposition, giving him in charge the government of all created beings; man, acting out the original principles of his nature, was pure and unostentatious; his unsullied and expansive mind was free from the least inordinate desire; until Satan introduced the seeds of falsehood, to deteriorate his purity of principle; the opening thus commenced in his virtue gradually enlarged, and by this crevice in his nature was obscured and rendered vicious; hence three hundred and sixty-five sects followed each other in continuous track, inventing every species of doctrinal complexity; while some pointed to material objects as the source of their faith, others reduced all to vacancy, even to the annihilation of the two primeval principles; some sought to call down blessings by prayers and supplications, while others by an assumption of excellence held themselves up as superior to their fellows; their

intellects and thoughts continually wavering, their minds and affections incessantly on the move, they never obtained their vast desires, but being exhausted and distressed they revolved in their own heated atmosphere; till by an accumulation of obscurity they lost their path, and after long groping in darkness they were unable to return. Thereupon, our Trinity being divided in nature, the illustrious and honorable Messiah, veiling his true dignity, appeared in the world as a man; angelic powers promulgated the glad tidings, a virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Syria; a bright star announced the felicitous event, and Persians<sup>1</sup> observing the splendor came to present tribute; the ancient dispensation, as declared by the twenty-four holy men,<sup>2</sup> was then fulfilled, and he laid down great principles for the government of families and kingdoms; he established the new religion of the silent operation of the pure spirit of the Triune; he rendered virtue subservient to direct faith; he fixed the extent of the eight boundaries,<sup>3</sup> thus completing the truth and freeing it from dross; he opened the gate of the three constant principles,<sup>4</sup> introducing life and destroying death; he suspended the bright sun to invade the chambers of darkness, and the falsehoods of the devil were thereupon defeated; he set in motion the vessel of mercy by which to ascend to the bright mansions, whereupon rational beings were then released, having thus completed the manifestation of his power, in clear day he ascended to his true station. Twenty-seven sacred books<sup>5</sup> have been left, which disseminate intelligence by unfolding the original transforming principles. By the rule for admission, it is the custom to apply the water of baptism, to wash away all superficial show and to cleanse and purify the neophytes. As a seal, they hold the cross, whose influence is reflected in every direction, uniting all without distinction. As they strike the wood, the fame of their benevolence is diffused abroad; worshiping toward the east, they hasten on the way to life and glory; they preserve the beard to symbolize their outward actions, they shave the crown to

<sup>1</sup> *Po-sz'*, "Persians." This name was well known to the Chinese at that time, being the designation of an extensive sect then located in the Empire, and the name of a nation with which they had held commercial and political intercourse for several centuries. The statement here is in admirable harmony with the general tradition of the early Church, that the Magi or wise men mentioned in Matthew's Gospel were no other than philosophers of the Parsee sect.

<sup>2</sup> The "holy men" denote the writers of the books of the Old Testament.

<sup>3</sup> The "eight boundaries" are inexplicable; some refer them to the beatitudes.

<sup>4</sup> The "three constant principles" may perhaps mean faith, hope, and charity.

<sup>5</sup> Exactly the number we have in the New Testament.

indicate the absence of inward affections; they do not keep slaves, but put noble and mean all on an equality; they do not amass wealth, but cast all their property into the common stock; they fast, in order to perfect themselves by self-inspection; they submit to restraints, in order to strengthen themselves by silent watchfulness; seven times a day they have worship and praise for the benefit of the living and the dead; once in seven days they sacrifice, to cleanse the heart and return to purity.

It is difficult to find a name to express the excellence of the true and unchangeable doctrine; but as its meritorious operations are manifestly displayed, by accommodation it is named the Illustrious Religion. Now without holy men, principles cannot become expanded; without principles, holy men cannot become magnified; but with holy men and right principles, united as the two parts of a signet, the world becomes civilized and enlightened.

In the time of the accomplished Emperor Taitsung, the illustrious and magnificent founder of the dynasty, among the enlightened and holy men who arrived was the Most-virtuous Olopun, from the country of Syria. Observing the azure clouds, he bore the true sacred books; beholding the direction of the winds, he braved difficulties and dangers. In the year A. D. 635 he arrived at Chang-an; the Emperor sent his Prime Minister, Duke Fang Hiuen-ling; who, carrying the official staff to the west border, conducted his guest into the interior; the sacred books were translated in the imperial library, the sovereign investigated the subject in his private apartments; when becoming deeply impressed with the rectitude and truth of the religion, he gave special orders for its dissemination. In the seventh month of the year A. D. 638 the following imperial proclamation was issued:

“Right principles have no invariable name, holy men have no invariable station; instruction is established in accordance with the locality, with the object of benefiting the people at large. The Greatly-virtuous Olopun, of the kingdom of Syria, has brought his sacred books and images from that distant part, and has presented them at our chief capital. Having examined the principles of this religion, we find them to be purely excellent and natural; investigating its originating source, we find it has taken its rise from the establishment of important truths; its ritual is free from perplexing expressions, its principles will survive when the framework is forgot; it is beneficial to all creatures; it is advantageous to mankind. Let it be published throughout the Empire, and let the proper authority build a Syrian church in the capital in the I-ning May, which shall

be governed by twenty-one priests. When the virtue of the Chau dynasty declined, the rider on the azure ox ascended to the west; the principles of the great Tang becoming resplendent, the Illustrious breezes have come to fan the East."

Orders were then issued to the authorities to have a true portrait of the Emperor taken; when it was transferred to the wall of the church, the dazzling splendor of the celestial visage irradiated the Illustrious portals. The sacred traces emitted a felicitous influence, and shed a perpetual splendor over the holy precincts. According to the Illustrated Memoir of the Western Regions, and the historical books of the Han and Wei dynasties, the kingdom of Syria reaches south to the Coral Sea; on the north it joins the Gem Mountains; on the west it extends toward the borders of the immortals and the flowery forests; on the east it lies open to the violent winds and tideless waters. The country produces fire-proof cloth, life-restoring incense, bright moon-pearls, and night-lustre gems. Brigands and robbers are unknown, but the people enjoy happiness and peace. None but Illustrious laws prevail; none but the virtuous are raised to sovereign power. The land is broad and ample, and its literary productions are perspicuous and clear.

The Emperor Kautsung respectfully succeeded his ancestor, and was still more beneficent toward the institution of truth. In every province he caused Illustrious churches to be erected, and ratified the honor conferred upon Olopun, making him the great conservator of doctrine for the preservation of the State. While this doctrine pervaded every channel, the State became enriched and tranquility abounded. Every city was full of churches, and the royal family enjoyed lustre and happiness. In the year A. D. 699 the Buddhists, gaining power, raised their voices in the eastern metropolis;<sup>9</sup> in the year A. D. 713, some low fellows excited ridicule and spread slanders in the western capital. At that time there was the chief priest Lohan, the Greatly-virtuous Kie-leih, and others of noble estate from the golden regions, lofty-minded priests, having abandoned all worldly interests; who unitedly maintained the grand principles and preserved them entire to the end.

The high-principled Emperor Hiuentung caused the Prince of Ning and others, five princes in all, personally to visit the felicitous edifice; he established the place of worship; he restored the con-

<sup>9</sup> "Eastern metropolis" is *Tung Chau*, literally "Eastern Chau." The Empire was at this time under the government of the Empress Wu Tsih-tien, who had removed her residence from Chang-an to Lohyang in Honan.



secrated timbers which had been temporarily thrown down; and re-erected the sacred stones which for a time had been desecrated.

In 742 orders were given to the great general Kau Lih-sz', to send the five sacred portraits and have them placed in the church, and a gift of a hundred pieces of silk accompanied these pictures of intelligence. Although the dragon's beard was then remote, their bows and swords were still within reach; while the solar horns sent forth their rays, and celestial visages seemed close at hand.<sup>7</sup>

In 744 the priest Kih-ho, in the kingdom of Syria, looking toward the star (of China), was attracted by its transforming influence, and observing the sun (i. e., Emperor), came to pay court to the most honorable. The Emperor commanded the priest Lo-han, the priest Pu-lun, and others, seven in all, together with the Greatly-virtuous Kih-ho, to perform a service of merit in the Hing-king palace. Thereupon the Emperor composed mottoes for the sides of the church, and the tablets were graced with the royal inscriptions; the accumulated gems emitted their effulgence, while their sparkling brightness vied with the ruby clouds; the transcripts of intelligence suspended in the void shot forth their rays as reflected by the sun; the bountiful gifts exceeded the height of the southern hills; the bedewing favors were deep as the eastern sea. Nothing is beyond the range of the right principle, and what is permissible may be identified; nothing is beyond the power of the holy man, and that which is practicable may be related.

The accomplished and enlightened Emperor Suhtsung rebuilt the Illustrious churches in Ling-wu and four other places; great benefits were conferred, and felicity began to increase; great munificence was displayed, and the imperial State became established.

The accomplished and military Emperor Taitsung magnified the sacred succession, and honored the latent principle of nature; always, on the incarnation-day, he bestowed celestial incense, and ordered the performance of a service of merit; he distributed of the imperial viands, in order to shed a glory on the Illustrious Congregation. Heaven is munificent in the dissemination of blessings, whereby the benefits of life are extended; the holy man embodies the original principle of virtue, whence he is able to counteract noxious influences.

Our sacred and sage-like, accomplished and military Emperor Kienchung appointed the eight branches of government, according

<sup>7</sup> These personages are the first five emperors of the Tang dynasty, Hiuentung's predecessors. Their portraits were so admirably painted that they seemed to be present, their arms could almost be handled, and their foreheads, or "horns of the sun," radiated their intelligence.

to which he advanced or degraded the intelligent and dull ; he opened up the nine categories, by means of which he renovated the illustrious decrees ; his transforming influence pervaded the most abstruse principles, while openness of heart distinguished his devotions. Thus, by correct and enlarged purity of principle, and undeviating consistency in sympathy with others ; by extended commiseration rescuing multitudes from misery, while disseminating blessings on all around, the cultivation of our doctrine gained a grand basis, and by gradual advances its influence was diffused. If the winds and rains are seasonable, the world will be at rest ; men will be guided by principle, inferior objects will be pure ; the living will be at ease, and the dead will rejoice ; the thoughts will produce their appropriate response, the affections will be free, and the eyes will be sincere ; such is the laudable condition which we of the Illustrious Religion are laboring to attain.

Our great benefactor, the Imperially-conferred-purple-gown priest,<sup>8</sup> I-sz', titular Great Statesman of the Banqueting-house, Associated Secondary Military Commissioner for the Northern Region, and Examination-palace Overseer, was naturally mild and graciously disposed ; his mind susceptible of sound doctrine, he was diligent in the performance ; from the distant city of Râjagriha,<sup>9</sup> he came to visit China ; his principles more lofty than those of the three dynasties, his practice was perfect in every department ; at first he applied himself to duties pertaining to the palace, eventually his name was inscribed on the military roll. When the Duke Koh Tsz'-i, Secondary Minister of State and Prince of Făn-yang, at first conducted the military in the northern region, the Emperor Suhsung made him (I-sz') his attendant on his travels ; although he was a private chamberlain, he assumed no distinction on the march ; he was as claws and teeth to the duke, and in rousing the military he was as ears and eyes ; he distributed the wealth conferred upon him, not accumulating treasure for his private use ; he made offerings of the jewelry which had been given by imperial favor, he spread out a golden

<sup>8</sup> It was no rare occurrence for priests to occupy civil and military offices in the State during the Tang and preceding dynasties. Of the three titles here given, the first is merely an indication of rank, by which the bearer is entitled to a certain emolument from the State ; the second is his title as an officer actively engaged in the imperial service ; and the third is an honorary title, which gives to the possessor a certain status in the capital, without any duties or emolument connected therewith.

<sup>9</sup> *Wang-shih*, literally "Royal residence," which is also the translation of the Sanskrit word Râjagriha, is the name of a city on the banks of the Ganges, which occurs in several Buddhist works. As this was one of the most important of the Buddhist cities in India, it is natural to suppose that I-sz' was a Buddhist priest.

carpet for devotion ; now he repaired the old churches, anon he increased the number of religious establishments ; he honored and decorated the various edifices, till they resembled the plumage of the pheasant in its flight ; moreover, practising the discipline of the Illustrious Religion, he distributed his riches in deeds of benevolence ; every year he assembled those in the sacred office from four churches, and respectfully engaged them for fifty days in purification and preparation ; the naked came and were clothed ; the sick were attended to and restored ; the dead were buried in repose ; even among the most pure and self-denying of the Buddhists, such excellence was never heard of ; the white-clad members of the Illustrious Congregation, now considering these men, have desired to engrave a broad tablet, in order to set forth a eulogy of their magnanimous deeds.

## ODE.

The true Lord is without origin,  
 Profound, invisible, and unchangeable ;  
 With power and capacity to perfect and transform,  
 He raised up the earth and established the heavens.

Divided in nature, he entered the world,  
 To save and to help without bounds ;  
 The sun arose, and darkness was dispelled,  
 All bearing witness to his true original.

The glorious and resplendent, accomplished Emperor,  
 Whose principles embraced those of preceding monarchs,  
 Taking advantage of the occasion, suppressed turbulence.  
 Heaven was spread out and the earth was enlarged.

When the pure, bright Illustrious Religion  
 Was introduced to our Tang dynasty,  
 The Scriptures were translated, and churches built,  
 And the vessel set in motion for the living and the dead :  
 Every kind of blessing was then obtained,  
 And all the kingdoms enjoyed a state of peace.

When Kautsung succeeded to his ancestral estate,  
 He rebuilt the edifices of purity ;  
 Palaces of concord, large and light,  
 Covered the length and breadth of the land.

The true doctrine was clearly announced,  
Overseers of the church were appointed in due form;  
The people enjoyed happiness and peace,  
While all creatures were exempt from calamity and distress.

When Hiuentsung commenced his sacred career,  
He applied himself to the cultivation of truth and rectitude;  
His imperial tablets shot forth their effulgence,  
And the celestial writings mutually reflected their splendors.

The imperial domain was rich and luxuriant,  
While the whole land rendered exalted homage;  
Every business was flourishing throughout,  
And the people all enjoyed prosperity.

Then came Suhtsung, who commenced anew,  
And celestial dignity marked the imperial movements.  
Sacred as the moon's unsullied expanse,  
While felicity was wafted like nocturnal gales.

Happiness reverted to the imperial household,  
The autumnal influences were long removed;  
Ebullitions were allayed, and risings suppressed,  
And thus our dynasty was firmly built up.

Taitsung the filial and just  
Combined in virtue with heaven and earth;  
By his liberal bequests the living were satisfied,  
And property formed the channel of imparting succor.

By fragrant mementoes he rewarded the meritorious,  
With benevolence he dispensed his donations;  
The solar concave appeared in dignity,  
And the lunar retreat was decorated to extreme.

When Kienchung succeeded to the throne,  
He began the cultivation of intelligent virtue;  
His military vigilance extended to the four seas,  
And his accomplished purity influenced all lands.

His light penetrated the secrecies of men,  
 And to him the diversities of objects were seen as in a mirror;  
 He shed a vivifying influence through the whole realm of nature,  
 And all outer nations took him for example.

The true doctrine how expansive!  
 Its responses are minute;  
 How difficult to name it!  
 To elucidate the three in one.

The sovereign has the power to act!  
 While the ministers record;  
 We raise this noble monument!  
 To the praise of great felicity.

This was erected in the 2d year of Kienchung, of the Tang dynasty (A. D. 781), on the 7th day of the 1st month, being Sunday.

Written by Lu Siu-yen, Secretary to Council, formerly Military Superintendent for Taichau; while the Bishop Ning-shu had the charge of the congregations of the Illustrious in the East.

[The two lines of Syriac are in the Estrangelo character, and run down the right and left sides of the Chinese respectively. Kircher translates this as follows:]

“Adam, Deacon, Vicar-episcopal and Pope of China.

In the time of the Father of Fathers, the Lord John Joshua, the Universal Patriarch.”

[The translation of the Syriac at the foot of the stone is given here on the authority of Kircher:]

“In the year of the Greeks one thousand and ninety-two, the Lord Jazedbuzid, Priest and Vicar-episcopal of Cumdan the royal city, son of the enlightened Mailas, Priest of Balach a city of Turkestan, set up this tablet, whereon is inscribed the Dispensation of our Redeemer, and the preaching of the apostolic missionaries to the King of China.”

[After this, in Chinese characters, is]

“The Priest Lingpau.”

[Then follows:]

“Adam the Deacon, son of Jazedbuzid, Vicar-episcopal.  
 The Lord Sergius, Priest and Vicar-episcopal.

Sabar Jesus, Priest.

Gabriel, Priest, Archdeacon, and Ecclesiarch of Cumdan and Sarag."

[The following subscription is appended in Chinese:]

"Assistant Examiner: the High Statesman of the Sacred rites, the Imperially-conferred-purple-gown Chief Presbyter and Priest Yi-li."

[On the left-hand edge are the Syriac names of sixty-seven priests, and sixty-one are given in Chinese.]

## THE NESTORIANS IN CHINA.

ACCORDING TO THE LATE S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

[S. Wells Williams, late professor of the Chinese Language and Literature at Yale College, in his valuable work *The Middle Kingdom*, Vol. II, Chapter XIX, speaks of the Christian missions in China, and since the book is not very accessible to our readers we collect here those portions which refer to the Nestorians in China. Bracketed passages are a condensation. The other paragraphs are direct quotations from *The Middle Kingdom*.—Ed.]

THE time of the arrival of the Nestorians in China cannot be specified certainly, but there are grounds for placing it as early as A. D. 505: Ebedjesus Sobiensis remarks that "the Catholicos Salibazacha created the metropolitan sees of Sina and Samarcand, though some say they were constituted by Achæus and Silas." Silas was patriarch of the Nestorians from A. D. 505 to 520; and Achæus was archbishop at Seleucia in 415. The metropolitan bishop of Sina is also mentioned in a list of those subject to this patriarch, published by Amro, and it is placed in the list after that of India, according to the priority of foundation.

The only record yet found in China itself of the labors of the Nestorians is the celebrated monument which was discovered at Si-ngan fu in Shensi, in 1625; and though the discussion regarding its authenticity has been rather warm between the Jesuits and their opponents, the weight of evidence, both internal and external, leaves no doubt regarding its verity. It has been found quite recently to be in good preservation, and rubbings taken from it are nearly perfect. The Syriac characters composing the signatures of Olopun and his associates have made it an object of much interest to the natives; these, as well as the singular cross on its top, have doubtless contributed to its preservation. It was set up in 1859 by a Chinese who had so much regard for it as to rebuild it in the brick wall

where it had once stood outside of the city.<sup>1</sup> The stone seems to be a coarse marble.

It has been often translated since the first attempt by Boime, published with the original by Kircher in Holland. In 1845 Dr. E. C. Bridgman published Kircher's Latin translation with the French version of Dalquié, and another of his own, which brought it more into notice. The style is very terse, and the exact meaning not easily perceived even by learned natives. As Dr. Bridgman says, "Were a hundred Chinese students employed on the document they would probably each give a different view of the meaning in some parts of the inscription." This is apparent when four or five of them are compared. The last one, by A. Wylie, of the London Mission at Shanghai, goes over the whole subject with a fulness and care which leaves little to be desired.<sup>2</sup>

Timothy, a patriarch, sent Subchal-Jesus in 780, who labored in Tartary and China for many years, and lost his life on his return, when his place was supplied by Davidis, who was consecrated metropolitan. In the year 845 an edict of Wu-tsung commanded the priests that belonged to the sect that came from Ta Tsin, amounting to no less than three thousand persons, to retire to private life. The two Arabian travelers in the ninth century report that many Christians perished in the siege of Canfu. Marco Polo's frequent allusions lead us to conclude that the Nestorians were both numerous and respected.

He mentions the existence of a church at Hangchau, and two at Chinkiang, built by the prefect Marsarchis, who was himself a member of that church, and alludes to their residence in most of the towns and countries of Central Asia.

The existence of a Christian prince called Prester John, in Central Asia, is spoken of by Marco Polo and Montecorvino. The exact position of his dominions, and the extent of his influence in favor of that faith, have been examined by Col. Yule and M. Pau-thier in their editions of the Venetian, and the glamor which once surrounded him has been found to have arisen mostly from hearsay reports, and from confounding different persons under one name.

<sup>1</sup> This statement appears to be a mistake as pointed out by Mr. Frits V. Holm. See p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Visdelou in *Bibliothèque Oriental*, Vol. IV. Kircher's *China Illustrata*, Part I, Antwerp, 1667. *Chinese Repository*, XIV, pp. 201-229. Huc, *Christianity in China*, I, pp. 49-58. Wylie, *North China Herald*, 1855, reprinted in *Journal of Am. Oriental Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 277. Archimandrite Palladius published a Russian version. Williamson, *Journeys in North China*, I, p. 382. *Le Catholicisme en Chine au VIIIe Siècle de notre ère avec une nouvelle traduction de l'inscription de Sy-nganfou*, par P. D. de Thiersant, Paris, 1877.



When the conquests of Genghis khan and his descendants threw all Asia into commotion, this Prester John, ruler of the Kara Kitai Tartars in northern China, fell before him, A. D. 1203. The Nestorians suffered much, but maintained a precarious footing in China during the time of the Yuen dynasty, having been cut off from all help and intercourse with the mother church since the rise of the Moslems. They had ceased long before this period to maintain the purity of the faith, however, and had apparently done nothing to teach and diffuse the Bible, which the tablet intimates was in part or in whole translated by Olopun, under the Emperor's auspices.

At the present time no works composed by their priests, or remains of any churches belonging to them or buildings erected by them, are known to exist in the Empire, though perhaps some books may yet be found. The buildings erected by the Nestorians for churches and dwellings were, of course, no better built than other Chinese edifices, and would not long remain when deserted; while, to account still further for the absence of books, the Buddhists and other opposers may have sought out and destroyed such as existed, which even if carefully kept would not last many generations. The notices of the tablet in Chinese authors, which Mr. Wylie has brought together, prove that those writers had confounded the *King kiao* with Zoroastrianism and Manicheism, and such a confusion is not surprising. The records of futurity alone will disclose to us the names and labors of the devoted disciples and teachers of true Christianity in the Nestorian church, who lived and died for the gospel among the Chinese.

[Williams further states that during the thirteenth century Roman Catholic missionaries came to China and the history of their zealous and successful work can be learned from their own writings, especially their *Lettres Edifiantes* and *Annales de la foi* as well as in the works of Huc and Marshall in later times. Corvino, a Roman Catholic missionary, arrived in India in 1291 and thence proceeded in 1292 with a caravan to China where he was kindly received by Kublai Khan. He came in contact with the native Chinese Christians, but they were by no means pleased at his arrival. The Nestorians opposed his progress for eleven years and hampered him in his work whenever they could, but he built churches and baptized nearly 6000 persons in spite of their opposition.

Little or nothing is known concerning the further history of the Nestorians. The Roman Catholics made some progress, and the last Mongol Emperor Shun Ti sent a European by the name of André as ambassador to the Pope with a letter from the Alain

Christians asking for a bishop to take Corvino's place. Pope Benedict XII responded by sending four nuntios.]

It would seem that during the sway of the Mongol princes these missionaries carried on their work chiefly among their tribes. It is, if such was the case, less surprising, therefore, that we hear nothing of them and their converts after the Chinese troops had expelled Kublai's weak descendants from the country in 1368, since they would naturally follow them into Central Asia. After the final establishment of the Ming dynasty almost nothing is known concerning either them or the Nestorians, and it is probable that during the wanderings of the defeated Mongols the adherents of both sects gradually lapsed into ignorance and thence easily into Moham-  
medanism and Buddhism. There is no reasonable doubt, however, that during the three centuries ending with the accession of Hungwu the greater part of Central Asia and Northern China was the scene of many flourishing Christian communities.

## JAPAN'S SEVEN JOLLY GODS.

BY THE EDITOR.

JAPAN is a happy country, not because her people are wealthier or more powerful than others, but because they are more contented with the simple life they lead. It is true they are not so far advanced in industry and some pursuits of civilization as the Europeans and Americans, but they have proved that in whatever line they wish to excel, they can accomplish as much as the Indo-Germanic races. During the last war they have shown that their guns can shoot as well as German artillery, and that their naval officers can guide a ship with the same ability as those of the British navy. It is these feats of warfare that have gained the respect of the world, but it would seem better for the Japanese if they would not be as hasty in accepting the habits and customs of the white race in other lines, because in many respects they are actually better off in their simpler conditions.

The religion of the Japanese is more primitive than ours, and the ancient notions and traditions of pagan origin are suffered to continue. While the educated classes who have become emancipated, have accepted a philosophy based either on Confucian ideals of ethical culture or upon the Buddhist world-conception, the common people still continue to practice what in the eyes of Europeans appears as idolatry. Their view of the world is perhaps neither better nor worse than that of the uncultured masses of Europeans and Americans, for we have also our superstitions. Volumes may be written on inveterate folklore notions which are founded on traditions of ancient beliefs, many of which date back to pre-Christian ages, but they are mostly silly or unpleasant, while the mythology in which the uneducated Japanese still indulge is quite poetical. They have their Shinto festivals and they have their gods, and among their deities the most popular and prominent ones are the Seven Gods of Bliss, who spread, as it were, sunshine upon the daily monotony of the drudgery of life.

It is peculiar that these seven gods of bliss agree at least in one point with our own hoary traditions, in so far as they are seven in number. In ancient Babylon seven gods were selected to correspond to what in those days was considered the seven planets, and these seven stellar deities presided consecutively over the days of man's life. Thus the week of seven days originated, and even at the present day we call our days after these gods, the names of which have been translated from Babylonian into Latin, and from Latin into Saxon.

The seven gods of bliss in Japan do not correspond to the seven gods of ancient Babylon except in number, and there is also this peculiar similarity, that in each set we have one goddess, who is the goddess of beauty and love. The Aryan gods are represented as vigorous men, most of them combative and great fighters. Such are Jupiter, the god of thunder, the Saxon Thor, whose day is Thursday; and Tiu, the Saxon Mars whose day is Tuesday. Even Mercury, identified with the Saxon Wodan, is a god of battle. Saturn is grim and of a sour disposition. He is the god who lacks so much in parental love that he is reported to have eaten his own offspring, and it was customary in ancient Babylon to abstain on his day from undertaking any kind of work because whatever was done on Saturday was inauspicious. This habit continued among the Jews, and Saturday was their day for abstaining from labor for the sake of spiritual rest and religious contemplation.

How different are the Japanese gods! They are a jolly and peaceful set of fellows, and their festival days too are celebrated by jollification. Some of them are the gods of special professions. There is Bishamon,\* the god of strength and wealth. He is perhaps nearest to our own warlike deities of ancient date. He is dignified in appearance and deportment and is represented as a

\* The pronunciation of the names of the seven gods of bliss is as follows:

1. Bish'amon. Short *i*, short *a*, short *o*, accent on the first syllable.
2. Benzai'ten. Both *e* short, both *a* (as in "father") and *i* (as in "hit") distinctly heard, accent on the second syllable.
3. Dai'koku. In the diphthong *ai* the *a* (pronounced as in "father") and the short *i* (as in "hit") are both distinctly heard; the *o* is short, and the *u* at the end is scarcely audible. The accent is on the first syllable.
4. Eb'isu. *E* and *i* are short and *u* scarcely sounded; the accent is on the first syllable.
5. Fu-*ku*-rok'*u*-ju. The first *u* and the last *u* are long, as *u* in "rude," the two *u* in the syllables "*ku*" (here italicized) are very short, the *o* is short, and the accent is on *rok*.
6. Ju'rôjin. The first *u* is accented and long, the other two vowels *o* and *i* are short.
7. Hotêi. The *o* is long but unaccented. The diphthong *ei* consists of a long and here accented *ê* (pronounced like *a* in "fate"), followed by a short *i* as in "hit."



**BISHAMON, THE GOD OF STRENGTH AND VICTORY, STANDING  
ON A CONQUERED FOE.**

stately knight carrying arms. He is the god of the warrior class as well as the wealthy merchant, the gentleman. Since Bishamon is the god of strength, he is also commonly worshiped as the protector of towns and castles. He carries the model of a castle in his left hand. He is surrounded by a halo consisting of a wheel blazing up in flames of passion.

Very different in appearance is the god of the well-to-do farmer. His name is Daikoku. He carries a hammer and is seated on two



DAIKOKU WITH HIS HAMMER.

bags of rice. When he shakes his mallet money drops down, and thereby increases the wealth of his devotees. His picture is frequently found at the entrance doors to the houses even where the people have ceased to believe in the old Shintoism.

Traders worship Ebisu, a smiling good-natured man who carries a fish, or is represented with a rod by which he has just caught a fish.

Benzaiten (also in an abbreviated form called Benten) cor-

responds to Venus in Roman mythology. She is the goddess of love and beauty and everything that adorns life. In addition she



DAIKOKU.



EBISU.



BENZAITEN.



FUKUROKUJU.



JURŌJIN.

is invoked by sailors and all people who travel in ships, and this too constitutes a similarity to Venus who is believed to have risen

from the sea. As the goddess who carries across the waters she has become the goddess of bridges.

The three gods that are left do not belong to a special class, but shower their blessings upon mankind in general so far as they succeed in earning it. There are two gods who promote the length of our days. Fukurokuju is easily distinguished from the rest by an especially tall head, the forehead being at least twice as long as his face, sometimes even longer. His companion Jurôjin is frequently accompanied either by a white stag or a crane, both emblems of longevity. The stag in Chinese is called *loh* which is a homophone of the word longevity. The latter is written with a different character but is pronounced *loh* the same as stag. This accidental agreement of sound has led to symbolize the blessings of a long happy life under the picture of a stag, and in China the god of



HOTÊI.



BISHAMON.

longevity is also sometimes represented as riding on a stag. The seventh god, Hotêi, is the god of mirth. He is pictured as a stout jolly fellow, bald-headed and carrying a bag on his back. He loves children, and he is frequently represented as being surrounded by them.

A drawing by Hokusai, which is here reproduced, is characteristic of the influences which these divinities exercise upon Japan. It represents four of the gods of bliss. Ebisu with the fish is uppermost at the right hand, while underneath we see Daikoku who has just thrown his mantle over a carrot-like plant with two roots. It is a *daikong* (literally translated "horse radish") a typically Japanese plant, which is one of the most popular vegetables. In English it is called "the gigantic Japanese radish." The shape of the daikong, when possessed of two roots, reminds one of the human body,



and is regarded as especially lucky, not unlike the European mandrake. In Daikoku's company is a little mouse, which is never far from where there is a bag of rice. Next to the mouse is seen Fukurokūju, with his head covered with a kerchief, and he carries a paper lantern indicating that he is going to a masquerade.

The fourth god is Hotēi who laughs and makes laugh. He has painted a face on his belly as if he were making a big jack-o-lantern of himself for the amusement of others. How he enjoys the merriment of the children who clap their hands in glee, and so the general disposition of this god is laughter and spreading laughter.



LAUGH AND LET LAUGH: FOUR GODS OF BLISS SPREADING JOY.

(Ebisu, Daikoku, Fukurokūju and Hotēi.)

By Hokusai.

Another picture of four gods of the seven shows a carriage drawn by two dappled stags. Jurōjin is the charioteer and blows a big trumpet. Bishamon gallantly helps the goddess Benzaiten to enter the carriage. The god Ebisu flies high in the air on his fish smiling with glee upon some poor fellows who are in desperate pursuit after good fortune. One of them is turned over in the blizzard, while the other one gesticulates wildly with his hands in despair at not being able to reach the god of luck. Everything typifies the spirit of good humor for which Ebisu has been especially famous.

All these pictures are characteristic of ancient Japan, and it may be a pity that the modern era is sweeping away many of the good



FOUR GODS OF BLISS (EBISU, JURŌJIN, BISHAMON AND BENZAITEN.)

features of bygone days, among them perhaps also the ancient Japanese contentedness and merry humor of its simple life.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE ANCIENT SYMBOL OF THE DOUBLE EAGLE.

With reference to the article on "The Persistence of Symbols," which appeared in the July *Open Court*, Prof. Albert Grünwedel of Berlin sends us the reproduction of a double eagle which he discovered on the great expedition under his leadership sent out by Germany into Central Asia. Innumerable treasures of rare value, interesting to the historian, the anthropologist, the ethnologist, the archæologist, the artist, and above all the student of religion, are now safely stored away in the Ethnological Museum of Berlin, and the



present painting, here reproduced in outlines, is but one specimen of tens of thousands of illustrations. The original represents what Buddhists call a "Garuda" and was found on a ceiling in one of the very oldest caves near Qyzyl, in the mountain range near the city of Kutcha. It is difficult to determine the exact date of this figure, and we do not venture to decide whether an historical connection of this form can be traced back to the double eagle found in Boghaz Kõi, Phrygia, or whether we are here confronted with a parallel formation which would indeed be a remarkable coincidence. We will state at the same time that it is by no means impossible that both formations, the one in ancient Phrygia as well as its counterpart in Central Asia, might date back to some more primitive common form, every trace of which has been

lost. In the Phrygian monument two goddesses are standing upon the double eagle, which seems to indicate that the double eagle is a religious symbol sacred to some twin divinity, and we are inclined to think that the symbol also existed in other countries. The idea may be a parallel formation to the *dioscuri*, and we may assume that it existed in one shape or another among



MONUMENT FROM BOGHAZ-KÖI.

Reproduced from *The Open Court*, Vol. XXII, p. 393.

the primitive races of mankind, which would render it by no means improbable that scattered representations of the symbol might be found in distant places and that its appearance in Europe might be due to primitive reminiscences as much as in Phrygia and Central Asia.

#### THE EXPLOITS OF MR. FRITS V. HOLM.

Mr. Holm, the enterprising young Danish traveler who on another page gives an account of his recent Nestorian expedition to Sian-fu, certainly deserved heartiest congratulations on the success of his very notable achievement. Although the rare value of his prize, the earliest Christian monument in China dating from 781 A. D., has long been acknowledged by students and missionaries, he is the first who has had the enterprise to cause a copy to be made and conveyed to the Western world. Casts of this facsimile may now be made as frequently as there is any demand for them, with as absolute accuracy as if made from the original stone which is now jealously guarded in the most remote quarter of the earth.

Mr. Holm was formerly a correspondent of the *London Tribune* in China, prior to which period he had received an officer's education in the Danish Navy, and so was already a traveler and explorer of repute when he entered on this latest mission. It was in London in the early part of 1907 that he formed the idea of procuring a replica of the famous tablet with the scientific and historical value of which he had made himself acquainted during his previous residence in China. Obtaining the support of some friends, whom he persuaded of the feasibility of his plans, he came out to China again, and proceeded to Tientsin, where he completed his final preparations for the expedition. He left Tientsin in company with two Chinese attendants, an interpreter and a boy, on the 2d of May, 1907, and traveled in a house-boat to Takou, where the Peking Syndicate had an establishment, and thence con-

tinued his journey on horseback westward to Weichingfu and Honanfu, where he organized a regular little caravan. Setting out again when all was ready, he reached his destination, Sianfu, on the 30th of May, and then proceeded cautiously to put his long-cherished plan into execution.

Taking up his quarters as unostentatiously as possible he engaged the services of a skilled Chinese draughtsman and four stone-cutters, explained to them what he wanted, and made a bargain to pay them 150 taels (about \$100) for an exact copy of the famous tablet. The contractors, as they may be called, were obliged to proceed with the task very cautiously indeed. First of all a suitable piece of stone had to be procured. Mr. Holm stipulating for a slab of the same material and dimensions as the original. This being procured, it had to be conveyed to a shed without attracting notice, which was done; it then had to be shaped and dressed, and afterward the stone-cutters, chiseling from the marvelously accurate drawings of the Chinese draughtsman, slowly and tediously proceeded with the task of carving it.

It is said that the foreigners in Sian, missionaries all with one exception, did not view the enterprise with any great favor; still no opposition was offered and at length it was finished.

Mr. Holm was then in Hankow, having gone there for various reasons, among them ill-health, after the work had been fairly started in Sian. On hearing of the completion of the undertaking, he hastened back to the Shensi capital, invited the Chinese officials to inspect the replica, which they did, and finally, after much negotiation, succeeded in obtaining permission to take it away. Mr. Holm, it may be mentioned, is the only foreigner so far, who has been received by the officials of the Shensi Foreign Office in their yamen, where he was most courteously and considerately treated by the President and members of the Provincial Board of Foreign Affairs.

The conveyance of the great stone from Sian to Hankow was an immense undertaking. First of all it took 64 coolies to lift it from the ground and place it on the heavy cart which had been specially constructed to carry it to Chengshow, Honan, where it was put on a railway truck and by that means taken to Hankow.

Here, according to statements made by Mr. Holm himself, his troubles really began, and strange to relate, it was not from Chinese officials they proceeded, but from the foreign Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Aglen. For some unexplained reason this gentleman seized the stone and impounded it, instructing Messrs. Jardine Matheson & Co. not to let it leave their premises on any account until they heard further from him.

Sir Robert Hart, who knew of Mr. Holm's enterprise, issued instructions that the stone was to be restored to the owner, for him to do what he liked with it.

Mr. Holm then returned to Hankow, obtained possession of the great piece of work once more, shipped it on board the "Loongwo" and took it to Shanghai, where it was put on board the s. s. "Kennebec" for final conveyance to New York via the Suez Canal.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY. By *I. Woodbridge Riley, Ph. D.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1907. Pp. 595.

Alexis de Tocqueville, a French writer, claims that "in no country in the

civilized world is less attention paid to philosophy than in the United States. The Americans have no philosophical schools of their own; and they care but little for all the schools into which Europe is divided, the very names of which are scarcely known to them." This is a mistake, for America has developed philosophical thought partly through European philosophies, partly repeating them in a parallel development without strictly imitating them, and we may claim at present that the interest in philosophy is not less in the United States than in Europe. The present volume is a protest against this view, and if we should measure philosophical thought according to its ponderous presentation we must confess that the author has succeeded in impressing us with the fact that M. de Tocqueville is mistaken. The present volume is only the beginning of a larger work. It contains 584 pages and treats of Samuel Johnson, Jonathan Edwards, the tendency of the several colleges, Cadwallader Colden, Joseph Buchanan, Joseph Priestley, Thomas Cooper, John Witherspoon, Samuel Stanhope Smith, Samuel Miller, Frederick Beasley, and several minor lights.

The author says concerning his work: "Written almost wholly from first-hand sources, a large part of which exists only in manuscript, it attempts to reconstruct a period of philosophy but little studied and imperfectly understood. Its aim being both historical and biographical, the work seeks to present tendencies and movements through their personal channels. Hence there are given, in order, the psychological characteristics and intellectual development of each of the more important thinkers, an exposition of his system under the proper metaphysical captions, a summary of his doctrines, and the transitional relations to predecessors and successors, both at home and abroad. Here it is necessary to quote copiously the writers discussed, to let each man speak for himself, for, in the absence of any source book of American philosophy, it has been found necessary to present, in their original form, materials scattered, inaccessible, or almost unknown."

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THE INWARD LIGHT. By *H. Fielding Hall*. New York: Macmillan, 1908.  
Pp. 228. Price \$1.75 net.

Mr. Hall is widely known for his sympathetic studies of Oriental life and thought, notably *The Soul of a People* the object of which was "not to explain what the Buddha taught but what the people believe." The present work aims to tell what Buddhism really is, and "to explain as clearly as may be that conception of the world, man's life, the past, the present and the future which finds its latest, not its last, expression in Buddhism." Mr. Hall feels that he understands much more of the spirit of the Eastern people than when he wrote the former book. He feels that the errors of Western writers lie not in their knowledge of the facts, but in their interpretation. "To take an illustration: the East believes in the transmigration of the soul. We think this means that the unchanged, unchangeable entity of the soul of man is incarnated now in a beast, now in one man, now in another, as a lighted candle might glow moved through a series of lamps. We cannot understand such an idea, for it seems to us absurd. Indeed it is so, but the absurdity is not in what the East believes, but the way the West understands it. Transmigration means a very different thing from this, because the soul is not to them what it is to us.

"Then take Nirvana... It seems to us only another way of expressing annihilation and death. It has no attraction but fills us rather with fear and

distrust. Because we misunderstand its meaning; we read it in terms of our own premises.

"But when you have abandoned these ideas, when you have learnt what to Eastern eyes the soul of man is now, and may be, you are then enabled to understand the strength and beauty of the conception, surely the most wonderful the world has known. Then alone can you understand them when they say that this Nirvana of which they speak is not annihilation, it is not death.

"It is the opposite of all these things. It is the realization of self in a greater, grander self than ever we have dreamed of; it means a fuller, more glorious life than this world gives us now. That is what Nirvana means to those who understand it rightly."

Mr. Hall characterizes Buddhism as follows: "Buddhism is a very simple faith. It is not made of dreams nor revelations, nor founded upon the supernatural. It is the science of the evolution of the soul within the body. It is what men have seen and feel and know. It has ideals, beautiful ideals. They are not sunset clouds hung far in space remote from us: their base is on the earth, the spires ascend from the strong and sure foundations of the things that are. It has a theory of this world that agrees with all that science has discovered. It has a promise of Immortality, the only beautiful and reasonable Immortality the world has known. It is a study of man, not as he impossibly 'ought' to be but as he is, and of what he may be judged from what he has been. . . Never does it consider it has found the absolute. Its thoughts and its ideas are but a step. It seeks always new truths to add, new steps to climb towards an infinite."

The author of *The Inward Light* seems to have breathed very deeply of the spirit of the East. He has an earnest message to deliver to the world and he couches it in exotic imagery and truly Oriental beauty of expression. Were it not for its lesson the book would be a charming and restful book to read, and he who reads it in a thoughtful mood will feel that he has come into close communion with the inner life of a hitherto strange and unknown people.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMMON SENSE. By *Frederic Harrison*. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. 418. Price \$1.75 net.

This book is designed to furnish the philosophical grounds on which is based the author's former work, *The Creed of a Layman*. The author defends his title by the statement that "rational philosophy indeed, from the time of the early Greek sages down to Auguste Comte, has never been anything but the common sense of the best minds systematized and correlated to a righteous life." To Frederic Harrison himself, however, the "philosophy of common sense" is synonymous with the philosophy of Auguste Comte as interpreted according to his own view. To his mind Comte's position is the golden mean between the extreme limits of orthodoxy on the one hand as represented by Arthur Balfour, and scientific radicalism on the other, whose apostle is Herbert Spencer. "For some sixty years I have studied competing systems of philosophy," Mr. Harrison says in his Introduction, and their culmination he finds in Auguste Comte whose influence he traces in every line of thought: "After five-and-twenty years of continuous study of the historical theory of Auguste Comte, we have come for our part to believe that there is none other with which it can be compared." "It is now a quarter of a century since Auguste Comte declared that the end of true philosophy was to organize

human life in all its aspects collectively, whether intellectual, affective, or active. And a stimulus has thereby been given to all the higher thought of the generation, even amongst those who were willing to accept nothing from the founder of positivism."

The book is written in Mr. Harrison's clear, forceful and charming style, and his essays on "The Soul Before and After Death," and "Heaven" will be welcome to many thoughtful people who have been obliged to abandon the traditional views of a soul entity but who have not as yet formulated any sufficient reason for the faith that is in them. "If I thought as you do on these matters, I should go and drown myself forthwith," Mr. Harrison was told by an eminent member of the Metaphysical Society, and many others have met with the same experience when they have tried to show a sufficient motive for living in the possibilities of life on earth. "I would try if I could clear off a little of that gloom which seems to hang over views that so many persist in calling Materialist, and then explain why those who maintain what I prefer to call the rational and satisfying view of human life do not take refuge in the nearest pool." Against the epithet "materialistic" Mr. Harrison says: "In a word, the reality and the supremacy of the spiritual life have never been carried further than by men who have departed most widely from the popular hypotheses of the immaterial entity."

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TALKS ON RELIGION. A Collective Inquiry Recorded by *Henry Bedinger Mitchell*. New York: Longmans, 1908. Pp. 325. Price \$1.50 net.

These nine talks are given in dialogue form on different phases of the subject of the fundamentals in religion. The book differs from many others cast in the same literary form in that it is not the work or thought of one man put in argumentative form for further elucidation, but is a faithful transcript of actual conversations between fifteen men whose names are withheld but whose occupations are given. "The company, drawn partly from among the professors of a great university, partly from the business, literary, and ecclesiastic life of a city at large, represented many widely varying types of character and mental outlook. Not a few bore international reputations and nearly all had attained distinction in their own fields; all had known the discipline of exact thinking."

A few personalities may be distinguished in the description given of the participants, a number being members of the faculty of Columbia University, but on the whole to the general public the incognito has been well preserved. The results reached by this varied and distinguished coterie may well be considered significant. The subjects of the series of discussions are as follows: Aspects of Religion; Christianity and Nature; Evolution and Ethics; Power, Worth and Reality; Mysticism and Faith; The Historian's View; Organization and Religion; The Renaissance of Religion; Has the Church Failed?

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THE RIDDLE OF PERSONALITY. By *H. Addington Bruce*. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1908. Pp. 247.

In this book the author has received important assistance from Professor James and Professor Hyslop, Dr. Boris Sidis, and Dr. Morton Prince, Prof. Pierre Janet and other prominent men in the lines of psychical and psychopathic investigation. His object has been to correlate the discoveries of the



psychical researchers and psychopathologists in the effort to show that the results of their inquiries confirm the long-cherished faith in the immortality of man. He has dealt at some length with the remedial possibilities of hypnosis. Mr. Bruce also reviews the "Evidence for Survival" including a summary of the details of the Mrs. Piper case ending with the control of Dr. Hodgson which Professor James considers "extremely baffling." The author thinks the natural conclusion from the data of the Society for Psychical Research would be that spirit communication has been definitely proved, but on the other hand has much to say of telepathy and its possibilities, and takes the side of the defence in his final chapter on "Spiritism vs. Telepathy."

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POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS. By *Frederic Rowland Marvin*. Troy: Pafraets, 1907. Pp. 164.

Mr. Marvin, a Congregational minister, has here collected a number of fugitive verses of an exceedingly miscellaneous character and of various merit. Perhaps the most pleasing of all is the message with which the author sends out his verses:

"Go, little book,  
And be to other men  
What thou hast been to me—  
Communion, fellowship, and hope!  
Say to other men:  
'In these brief lines  
A living man was housed,  
And here he breathed desire and faith;  
Not such as schools and chapels teach,  
But such as God approves.'  
Go, little book,  
And rest your heart  
Against some heart to me unknown,  
And cry: Hail brother! evermore to you  
Glad fellowship, and kindly love,  
And pleasant journey home!"

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SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS, Vol. III. By *G. Archdall Reid* and others. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. 383. Price \$3.25 net.

The papers included in the present volume were read at meetings of the Sociological Society of London during its third session from October, 1905, to April, 1906. The volume contains many valuable papers with regard to the accomplishment of this science in its various phases. Dr. G. Archdall Reid's contribution on "The Biological Foundations of Sociology" is an endeavor to elucidate the questions of human heredity and variability. Mr. W. McDougall gives "A Practical Eugenic Suggestion"; Dr. J. Lionel Tayler writes on "The Study of Individuals and Their Natural Groupings," which is also a study in biological sociology, and advances the theory that the fundamental social formations are determined by the native characteristics of individuals. Of even greater interest to the general student of sociology is Prof. J. Arthur Thomson's paper on "The Sociological Appeal to Biology," which goes far to clear up the confusion which characterizes the relation of these two sciences. The

other topics treated in this volume are: "A Suggested Plan for a Civic Museum and its Associated Studies," by Prof. Patrick Geddes; "The Origin and Function of Religion," by A. E. Crawley; "Sociology as an Academic Subject," by Prof. R. M. Wenley; "The Russian Revolution," by Mr. G. De Wesselitzky; "The Problem of the Unemployed," by W. H. Beveridge; "The Methods of Investigation," by Mrs. Sidney Webb; and "The So-Called Science of Sociology," by H. G. Wells.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INSPIRATION. By *George Lansing Raymond*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1908. Pp. 340.

This book by a veteran professor of George Washington University (formerly Columbian) of Washington, D. C., being "an attempt to distinguish religious from scientific truth and to harmonize Christianity with modern thought," is another contribution to the great mass of literature which assumes the fancied existence of a conflict between religion and science and strives to placate both parties. "It is the outgrowth of an endeavor—exceptional, as is thought, in its processes, though not in its purposes—to find a way in which all that is essential to the methods and results of scientific and historic research can be accepted, while, at the same time, nothing that is essential to the theory or practice of religion need be rejected." The psychological aspect of the book as well as its "exceptional" method seems to lie mainly in the consideration of suggestion as applied to spiritual truth.

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LECTURES ON HUMANISM. By *J. S. Mackenzie*. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. 243. Price, \$1.25 net.

Professor Mackenzie of University College, Cardiff, Wales, writes these lectures with special reference to the bearing of humanism upon sociology. They discuss the meaning and growth of humanism, its limitations and implications, and also the part it plays at present in philosophy, politics, economics, education and religion. This book is one of the series called "The Ethical Library" which is edited by Prof. J. H. Muirhead of the University of Birmingham.

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THE BIBLE IN EUROPE. An Inquiry into the Contribution of the Christian Religion to Civilization. By *Joseph McCabe*. London: Watts, 1907. Pp. 224.

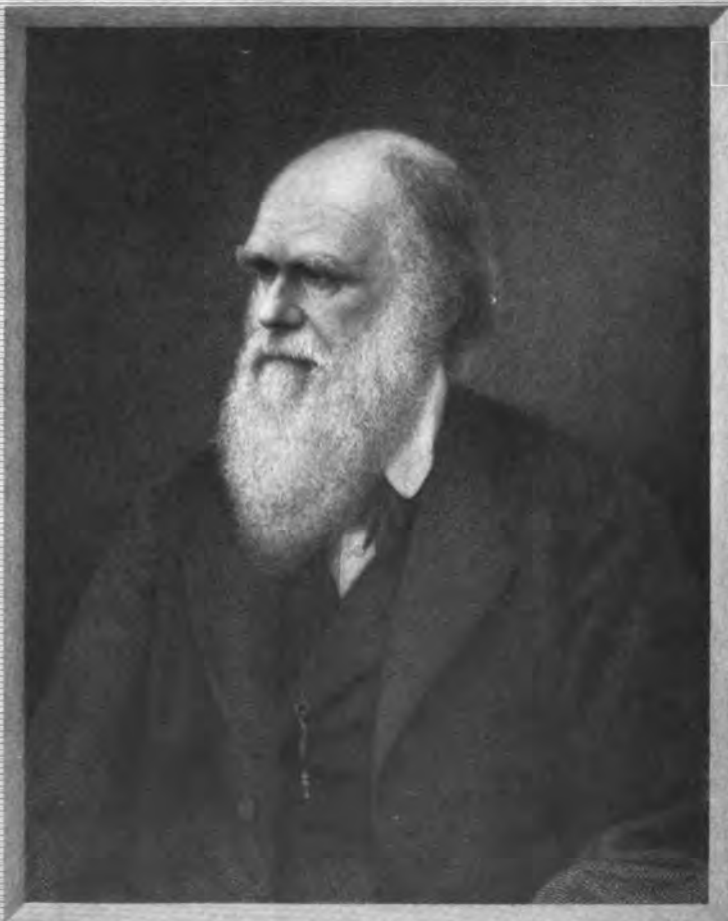
So much has been said by the apologists of Christianity in behalf of its great service to the civilization of the West that Mr. McCabe thinks a more impartial view of the facts should be given to the public. That there are two sides to the question he considers to be duly established by the leading historians of the world, and devotes himself to the side of the development of European institutions which he thinks is too generally ignored.

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HISTOIRE DES MATHÉMATIQUES. Par *W. W. Rouse Ball*. Tr. par *L. Freund*. Paris: A. Hermann, 1907. Pp. 270. Price 8 fr.

The second French edition of W. W. Rouse Ball's *History of Mathematics*, translated into French by L. Freund, now lies before us and contains some valuable additions by M. de Montessus.





Charles Darwin.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and  
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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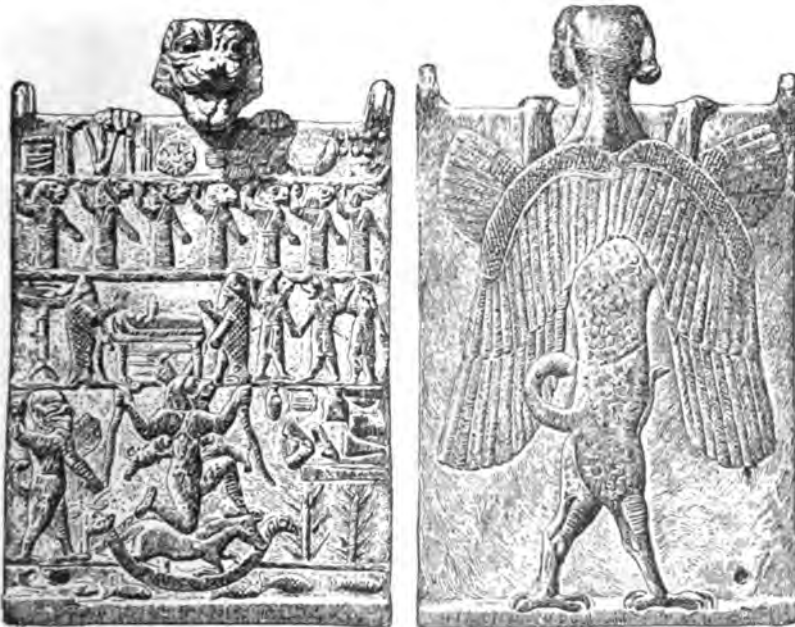
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## HEALING BY CONJURATION IN ANCIENT BABYLON.

BY THE EDITOR.

ONE of the most interesting monuments of Babylonian antiquity is a little bronze placque, held in the paws of a monster and representing on the front side some scenes which are not



CONJURATION TABLET TO CURE FEVER PATIENTS.

easily interpreted. When discovered the little tablet was regarded as containing a description of the soul's descent to the underworld,

whence it received the name "Hades Relief." It consists of four divisions. The uppermost contains symbols of gods; the second, seven figures with animal heads; the third, a man lying on a couch attended by men dressed in fish skins, and three fighting demons; the lowest one, the most horrible of all, represents an ugly monster with two cubs, either lions or dogs or some other quadrupeds, at her breasts. She kneels on an ass which rests in a ship. Reeds indicate the shore and fishes the water in which the ship is moving. A scorpion-tailed monster with raised hands stands behind the leading figure, while the upper corner on the other side is filled with

diverse objects which look like limbs and pieces of meat. The central figure in this lowest division was formerly supposed to be Erish Kigal, the goddess of the nether world, while the man on the couch was considered to represent a dead body at the moment of the funeral.

Recent investigations have given us a better insight into this most remarkable relief, and Dr. Karl Frank in the *Leipziger Semitische Studien* (III, 3) publishes an essay which rejects the old interpretation and offers a new one based upon quotations from cuneiform inscriptions which seems to offer the right explanation of the tablet.

The monster which holds the tablet in its claws bears a great resemblance to a number of figures which have been identified as the south wind by their inscriptions. Following Frank's translation (*L.*



THE DEMON OF THE SOUTHWEST  
WIND.

Statue in the Louvre.

*Sem. St.*, III, 3, p. 81) we render as follows the lines inscribed upon one of these statues which is now in the Louvre and which we have here reproduced:

*Conjuration.*

"Be conjured.....  
son of the god...be conjured.

King of the wicked Lilus  
 .....strong hero (?).....  
 ....may he carry away (?)....  
 the winds which attack (?) man  
 the southwest wind....  
 its blast may he ward off.”

Another inscription (*ib.* p. 82) is quite similar. It reads thus:

*Conjuration.*

“Thou art strong....opposing....terrible wind,  
 whose onslaught is dread[ful]..,  
 horrible one, who irresist[ibly movest], Thou the destroyer of  
 the world’s quarters,  
 who layest waste (?) high mountains, who breakest down....  
 its reeds,  
 throwest down....trees....  
 .....  
 to the river he descends. Showers he pours out;  
 upon the (dry) land he marches. Desolation he spreads abroad;  
 he strikes man and lays low his stature.  
 He approaches woman and kicks her in the belly.  
 When thou appearest in thy storm,  
 then quake the quarters of the earth.  
 Diseases of men, headache....  
 to the house [of man]....let him not approach!  
 To the....let him not approach.”

These lines indicate that this figure of an evil demon was used to ward off the approach of other demons. It was a common idea in Babylon that devils can be used to expel devils, and that it takes the art of magic or exorcism to utilize the power of one demon against another. We have quite a number of bas reliefs which show demons pitted against other demons striking or rather threatening each other with their daggers, and the obvious idea that is expressed herein is the hope of letting these monsters mutually slay or exterminate one another.

Dr. Frank points out that our relief represents a conjuration scene. The man lying on the couch is not a dead body prepared for a funeral, but a sick man, and this is obviously true, for he raises his hands in prayer, a fact so apparent that it is difficult to understand how the patient on the sick-bed could have ever been mistaken for a dead man. A candelabrum stands on the left-hand

corner bearing a lamp, sacred to the god Nusku. At either end of the couch stands a priest or conjurer dressed in a fish skin. We know that the fish was an emblem of the god Ea (the second person of the Babylonian trinity) whose home is the ocean, and who is supposed to be endowed with magic powers.

On the top of this scene we see seven figures which are at once recognizable as the seven evil spritis called in Babylonian *utukke*



DEMONS FIGHTING EACH OTHER.

In the British Museum.

*limnuti*, i. e., the bad demons. They are frequently enumerated and are always seven, although their names are sometimes different. Every one of them bears the epithet *limnu* "evil" and they stand in contrast to the seven good spirits whose constellation is the Pleiades, the seven stars. In a text (published in C. T. XVI, 44 "K" 83,



lines 85 ff.) the questions are raised, Where were they born and where do they grow up? The answer reads as follows:

“The Seven were born on the mountains of the west,  
 the Seven grew up on the mountain of the east;  
 in the hollow of the earth they sit around,  
 in the deserts of the earth they are housed (?).  
 In heaven and on earth they are not found out, they are covered  
 with the glamor of fright,  
 among the wise gods they are not known,  
 their name existed neither in heaven nor on earth;  
 the seven roam in the mountains of the West,  
 the seven enjoy (?) themselves upon the mountains of the East;  
 in the hollow of the earth they creep about;  
 in the waste places of the earth they make their abode (?),  
 in all possible things they remain unknown, in heaven and on  
 earth they can not be found out.”

Similar texts show the seven demons to be formidable spirits with animal heads. We read for instance (in C. T. XVI, 19 Ut. limn. XVI, 13 ff. Frank *loc. cit.*, pp. 22-23):

“Of the seven the first one is a powerful (?) south wind...;  
 The second is a dragon (?) whose open jaws no [mouth  
 equals?]  
 the third is a panther, terrible are his jaws, [he knows no pity].  
 the fourth one is a frightful *shibbu*-snake...  
 the fifth is a horrible *appu* who would never turn back,  
 the sixth is an aggressive... who against God and King [ad-  
 vances?],  
 the seventh one is a terrible cloud-burst, that...”

The seven evil spirits attack different parts of the body. We read in C. T. XVII, 9 (Frank, *loc. cit.*, p. 32) the following text:

“Ashakku attacks the head of man,  
 Namtaru attacks the throat of man,  
 the wicked Utukku attacks his neck,  
 the wicked Alu attacks his breast,  
 the wicked Etimmu attacks his belly,  
 the wicked Gallu attacks his hand,  
 the wicked Ilu\* attacks his foot.”

We observe here as elsewhere the significance of the number seven as a magic number, and in conjuration its use occurs again

\* *Ilu* means “god.”

and again. There is one conjuration which invokes the seven evil spirits seven times. It reads thus (Frank, p. 16):

“Seven gods of the wide heavens,  
 seven gods of the wide country,  
 seven violent (?) gods,  
 seven gods of might,  
 seven evil gods,  
 seven evil Labartus,  
 seven evil fever-Labartus.”

Labartu is the goddess of fever, but here the word is used as a collective term, a kind of family name, for the seven evil demons are the brothers of Labartu. From the tablets called Labartu-texts we can form a conception of the character and appearance of Labartu. She is called the daughter of Anu, and the seven evil spirits are also called the sons of Anu. But for further identification we find also the expression “sister of the storm gods” which is another name for the seven evil spirits. She is described as pale, and carrying “serpents in her hands.”

The top line of the relief presents symbols of gods which, beginning at the left, appear as follows:

We see first a crown ornamented with horns which seems to be the emblem of Anu, the god of heaven. The next symbol is a ram's head on a staff which represents Ea, the god of the water. The third emblem showing three diverging rods represents the thunder-bolt of Adad, the god of thunder-storms. Next follow the lance of Marduk the slayer of Tiamat, and the double rod of Nabu, the god of writing and of measuring. In the center directly under the head of the monster we see the three symbols which are never missing in any invocation of the gods. These are the eight-rayed star of Istar, i. e., Venus, the morning star; the winged solar disk which is the emblem of Shamash, the sun-god; and the crescent, the symbol of the moon-god. The seven dots in the right corner are the seven stars of the Pleiades, or the seven good spirits.

One of the texts (C. T. XVII, 4 ff., Tab. N. quoted by Frank, *loc. cit.*, pp. 59-60) will throw some light upon our tablet. It reads:

“A kurkizannu swine [thou shalt slaughter]...  
 the head of the sick...  
 His [the swine's] heart tear out...  
 Upon the diseased man's... [place it.]  
 His [the swine's] blood smear (?) on the side of the bed....  
 Dissect the pig into its members,

spread them over the diseased man.

This same person purify with the consecrated water of Apsu, and cleanse him;

then let the censer and the torch be brought to him, leavened (?) loaves, twice seven, place at the *kamu*-door, offer the swine as a substitute for him (the patient) flesh in the place of his (the patient's) flesh, blood in the place of his (the patient's) blood, offer it, let them [the demons] take it.

The heart [of the swine] which thou hast placed upon the patient, in the place of his heart, offer it; let them take it."

Food and drink are offered to Labartu and a pot of seed as well as a flask filled with oil is also mentioned. The ritual of the Labartu texts also mentions the hide of a horse, and in some of the texts (See Frank, *loc. cit.*, p. 78) we find a request to make an ass of clay. We do not know what connection the ass has with Labartu, but she must stand in some mystical relation to this animal for it is stated that she has the teeth of an ass. In some representations we find Labartu kneeling on the ass, who in his turn kneels in a ship. In other pictures she stands directly in the ship.

The ship is also mentioned in the Labartu texts. In one of them we read that a sailing vessel was especially made for her, and here the suggestion was made that Labartu should leave in a ship. While Labartu is said to live in the mountains she is also mentioned as coming out of the reeds, and in our relief we notice the reeds which grow on the bank of the river. In one of our texts we read of the Ulai River and the seas.

The animals mentioned in connection with Labartu are the dog and the swine. Some of the Labartu illustrations are too indistinct to form a definite idea of the cubs she suckles, but Layard's Labartu Relief shows plainly that they are a dog and a pig. In one place mention is made that the heart of a swine is placed in her mouth. The group in the lower part of the tablet takes most space and its interpretation has presented many difficulties, but since the Labartu texts have been discovered and deciphered we can with certainty identify the monster in the center with Labartu, the deadly fever demon.

It is probable that the several limbs in the upper corner of this lower group represent offerings made to Labartu. They are most likely the limbs of an animal, offered to her in substitution for the

diseased limbs of the patient, and among them we see also two vessels, a vase, and a kind of flask which may very well represent a pot of seed and a flask of oil, as mentioned in the texts. The monster behind Labartu in the left corner has not yet been identified. He looks somewhat like the scorpion-men which guard the horizon. We do not know enough to explain his presence in this connection. Dr. Frank (*loc. cit.*, p. 84) believes him to be Lilu who is frequently mentioned in connection with Labartu, but so long as we do not know more about Lilu we have simply a nameless figure without any definite meaning. Whether he is a spirit who helps to send Labartu off on the river and thus forms part of



LABARTU RELIEF.  
After Layard's *Culte de Vénus*.



LABARTU AMULET  
In the deClercq collection, Paris,

the conjuration or whether he belongs to Labartu's retinue, it is difficult to say. The former seems the more probable since the scorpion-tailed demon remains on the shore. He appears to have a lion's head and his feet are the claws of an eagle or some other bird of prey.

A number of similar representations have been discovered but the plate here reproduced is the best preserved. Dr. Karl Frank publishes another one which in all essentials represents the same events and differs only in details.

The lionheaded monster with serpents in her hands and cubs at her breasts is also represented in a relief published by Layard in his *Culte de Vénus*, Plate XVII, the original copy of which, however, has been lost.

A little tablet of apparently very ancient origin is so similar in appearance that we must look upon it as representing the same kind of a demon. It consists of outlines only but shows the two cubs plainly. The one is like a dog, the other too indistinct for recognition. The snakes are missing, unless we identify them with two curved lines above the monster's outstretched hands.

Conjuration for the sake of healing the patient is done mainly through the ceremony of laying on of hands. We read for instance in the texts that the priest says: "In laying my hand upon the head of the sick" (*loc. cit.*, p. 41), and also "when pronouncing over the sick the conjuration." In addition, however, there are many detailed symbols used for the exorcism of demons. The priests carry birds in their hands and they swing a whip. Censers are put up and torches are lit.

The following text (C. T., XVI, 28 Ut. Limm. tablet "B" 63 ff.—Frank, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38-39) offers us an insight into these ceremonies. We read:

"Seven censers, according to the holy command he (Ea) has given into my hands,  
The raven, the watch(?)-bird of the gods, I hold in my right hand,  
the falcon, the soaring (?) bird, I pass over thy diseased face with my left;  
in the red garment of reverence I dress myself for thy sake,  
in the red coat, the coat of splendor, I clothe my purified body for thee.  
The *khulu* I hang upon the lintel (?) of the door,  
the shoot of a *baltu* plant I hang upon a peg.  
With the lash I beat thy body like a stubborn (?) ass."

In summing up the results of these facts we come to the conclusion that the tablet is a talisman made to protect a patient against the fever demon. It presents the sick man on his couch with the officiating conjurers dressed in fish skins. On the top line the gods are represented in a similar way as on *kudurrus*, and the seven evil spirits are arrayed against the fever demon. The latter departs from the sick man in a boat on the river.

The whole conception here represented is characteristic of the

Babylonian religion in a certain phase of its development. It is the idea of magic which cured diseases by casting out demons and through the assistance of other demons forcing them to turn back and spare their victim.

Any one reared in the atmosphere of scientific thought will find it difficult to understand what an important part at a certain phase of history the notion of magic must have played in the religious development of mankind. Yet we possess the historical evidence, and the belief in magic is still lingering with us, for it has left its traces in our religious dogmas, traditions, and institutions; indeed it celebrates its revival in Christian science, faith cure and mental healing.

Some of the ancient Babylonian notions of magic and with them the ancient method of healing by the laying on of hands were preserved down to the time of the Christian era. We read in the Acts of the Apostles viii. 8; in Mark vi. 5; vii. 32; xvi. 18; in Luke iv. 40 etc. that the sick are cured by the laying on of hands, and we can not doubt that the laying on of hands as still practiced in the several Christian churches for the ordination of priests, in baptism, and in the confirmation ritual, and generally for blessing, signifies in its original meaning a mystical transfer of spirit from one person to another. It is thought to be not merely an emblematic act, conveying a spiritual meaning, but the communication of a mysterious power, and assuredly we cannot deny that ideas are potent actualities. Thus we can readily understand that, whenever believed in, they possess a certain power. As the ceremony of ordination conveys the power to perform certain priestly functions recognized by the Church, so in ancient Babylon the impressive ritual of healing in spite of the many superstitious notions connected therewith, may frequently have had the desired result upon the patient who believed in its efficacy.

It appears that in past ages misfortunes and diseases have done much to make people religious, and magical conjurations of the goddess of fever as well as of the spirits of the ailments of the several parts of the body (seven in number) were resorted to in ancient Babylon as a well-recommended cure in cases of illness. What a gulf between then and now, and yet we can trace step by step the progress made from the ancient magical medicine to modern therapeutics, which having reached at last a scientific conception of the nature of life and its functions on the basis of an accumulated experience of generation after generation, adapts the medical treatment to a diagnosis of the disease.

## THE MODERN GANDHARA.

BY THOMAS P. HUGHES.

**I**T is now pretty generally admitted that Peshawur, on the north-west frontier of British India, stands on the site of the ancient Buddhist city of Gandhara. It is about fifty miles from Attock on



AFGHANS OF PESHAWUR VALLEY.

the river Indus, and about two hundred miles from the city of Kabul. The elevated part of the city, known as the Gurkhatri, covers the sites of ancient Hindu and Buddhist temples, and is now enclosed

as a caravansary. In a corner of the *sarai* is the Church of England Mission House where I had the honor of entertaining His Highness



A BUDDHIST TOPE IN THE KHYBAR PASS.

Ameer Shere Ali Khan of Cabul in the spring of 1869. The ruins of a large Buddhist tope are still standing in the center of the Khybar



Pass not far from the historic fort of Ali Masjid. The ruins of Takt-i-Bhai near Murdan, the headquarters of the King's own Corps of Guides are even more extensive. There are also interesting remains at Kapurghari. Both of them are in the district of Yusufzai. Peshawur is the most intensely Afghan province of the old Dawrani kingdom, but for political reasons its distinctively Afghan character is ignored by the British government, as it became part of the empire when taken from Rangeet Singh, the ruler of the Punjab.

The natives of the valley all speak Pushto, the language of the Afghans, and Abdur Rahman, the national poet, was born within



ALI MASJID—ANCIENT FORT IN KHYBAR PASS.

two miles of the city. They claim to be of Israelitish descent, but there is no trace of Hebrew in the language except in the religious terminology which is inherent in all Muslim peoples. Their features and character are however singularly Jewish. In the pieces of Buddhist sculpture you usually find all noses broken, for the fanatical army of Mahmud of Ghuzni considered it a sacred duty to disfigure the graven images. There are no Buddhists in these regions at the present time. The preaching of the personal "Allah" commanding the armies of Islam, the atheism of the Buddhist rulers could not resist.

The city of Peshawur has a mixed population of Muslims, Sikhs

and Hindus numbering about 80,000. Outside the city is one of the largest cantonments in India. There is a very fine Gothic church erected for the troops, and in the city the native Christians worship in a mosque-like Saracenic structure dedicated to All Saints, of which the Rev. Iman Shah is the vicar. There are also large mission and government schools. Peshawur is the capital of the Trans-Indus province and is at the terminus of the railway, which crosses the river Indus at Attock.

## AN EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF A MEDIUM.

COMMUNICATED BY GEORGE C. BARTLETT.

**T**HERE appears to be an increasing interest at present in occult or mediumistic phenomena, and their investigation has become quite respectable. In the year 1870 when I first met Mr. Charles H. Foster and began to investigate so-called spiritual manifestations I was looked upon by many of my acquaintances as one sold out to Satan.

In my search of thirty-seven years I have not met a person, or read any account of seances, that in my judgment have equaled Mr. Foster's. His conferences were given in broad day-light and without the possibility of trickery or deception.

I quote the following selected at random from many, published in Boston, Dec., 28, 1885.

### AN AWFUL VISION.

*Conjured up by Foster in a Southern Hotel—He Describes the Terrible Death of a Man Alone on the Plains—A Strange Seance by the man of Many Weird Secrets.*

NEW YORK, Dec. 27.—I knew Charles Foster, the medium, who died last week, very well indeed, says a writer in the *New York World*. I spent one winter—that of 1873-4, I think—down South. I was traveling from town to town, and every once in a while I found that I was putting up at the same hotel with Foster. We used to meet under such conditions every evening in the bar-room. He was an exceptionally sociable fellow, who never "talked shop," and, without drinking very much, loved to be convivial with cheerful company. He was on a professional tour, giving seances at five dollars a head, and even in the impoverished South thought nothing of \$200 or \$300 as a day's income.

While we were talking one night, Foster and I, there came a knock at the door. Bartlett arose and opened it, disclosing as he

did so two young men plainly dressed, of marked provincial aspect. They were ordinary middle-class Southerners. I saw at once that they were clients, and arose to go. Foster restrained me.

"Sit down," he said. "I'll try and get rid of them, for I'm not in the humor to be disturbed. In any case they are only commonplace chaps, and I'll soon be through with them."

I stayed, and it was the first and only seance of Foster's that I, in my character of unbeliever, ever took part in.

By this time the young men had ascertained from the courteous Bartlett that the great medium was disengaged, and they entered. Foster hinted that he had no particular inclination to gratify them then and there, but they protested that they had come some distance, and, with a characteristically good-natured smile, he gave in. What followed I shall describe as minutely as I can, for the whole seance is to this day as vividly impressed upon my memory as if it had taken place only yesterday.

In the room I have pictured, Foster sat as far from the table with the marble top as two feet at least. Bartlett had returned to his sofa and to his newspaper. I sat by the door and the two young men, with awestricken faces, sat by the table, one of them resting his arm on it. Foster lolled back in his chair, voluptuously watching the smoke of his cigar. His left hand was in his trousers pocket, his right was free and toying constantly with his mustache. One leg was thrown over the other. On the table were several long, narrow strips of paper, about the width of the margin of a newspaper, and a couple of short pencils. The young men looked furtively round the room and at Foster. It was easy to see that one of them was inclined to unbelief.

"Now," said Foster, in his usual indolent manner, "it will be necessary for you (to the skeptic) to think of some person, now in the spirit world, in whom you have confidence. Ah! as I speak to you some one has arrived. It is a woman—perhaps your mother. She is going to communicate with you."

And at that instant there came a rap upon the table, apparently in the lower edge of the marble, so loud and so distinct that three of us started—the young strangers and myself.

"Take this card," proceeded Foster, his eyes shut and his expression one of delicious drowsiness. "It contains all the letters of the alphabet. Spell out, letter by letter, in silence, the name of any spirit you may expect."

Then followed what to me seemed a most extraordinary inci-

dent of telegraphy. As fast as the young man struck the right letter an invisible something smote the marble with a ringing tap.

"Do you recognize the spirit," inquired Foster, still drowsy and uninterested.

"It's my aunt, sir," replied the countryman, very white, but with a resolute face, as became a brave young fellow who was bound to stand any revelation, no matter how tremendous.

"You are sure of it?"

"That's her name."

"She is standing between us looking at you. She is tall and thin, dark hair, mixed with gray, very wrinkled, and her smile is very gentle."

"It's my aunt!" cried the lad, with eyes dilated.

"Take one of those slips of paper," continued Foster, twisting his cigar in his mouth. "Write on it whatever question you want to ask of her. Then roll it up in your fingers as small as possible and give it to me."

It took the young man a few minutes to think out and then compose his question—a task in which he was aided by his friend. Then he rolled it up into a ball about the size of a pea, and handed it to the medium. Foster took it indifferently, held it against his forehead just as he received it, and without a moment's delay, but in rather hesitating voice, said:

"You have asked your aunt whether in her judgment it would be a safe speculation for you to go as a partner in the butcher business with So-and-So (mentioning a name) in Algiers." Algiers, by the way, is the Brooklyn of New Orleans.

"Yes, sir," gasped the young man.

"Your aunt says to you in reply," drawled Foster, "that she does not like to interfere with your plans, but you must be very careful in your dealings with So-and-So. His reputation is a very bad one, and he has cheated everybody he ever was in business with."

A flock of other questions followed, all expressed in the same way. The more he replied the drowsier and more indolent grew Foster. I thought he was tired of the interview and was feigning sleep to end it. All of a sudden he sprang to his feet with such an expression of horror and consternation as an actor playing Macbeth would have given a good deal to imitate. His eyes glared, his breast heaved, his hands clenched. It seemed as if some horrible spectacle fascinated him. I could have sworn he saw a raw and bloody spectre standing beside the young man from Algiers. The lad, on

his part, arose stupidly a moment after, his eyes fixed with an anxious stare on the medium.

"Why did you come here?" cried Foster, in a wail that seemed to come from the bottom of his soul. "Why do you come here to torment me with such a sight? Oh, God! It's horrible! It's horrible!" And he clasped his two hands before his face, shuddering as if to shut out the vision which dismayed him, but which none other of us beheld.

Incredulous as I was, the sincerity of his distress troubled me. Even on Bartlett it had such an effect that he dropped his paper and sat bolt upright. As for the young men, they fairly trembled.

"It is your father I see!" cried Foster, in the same wailing tone of anguish and repulsion. "He died fearfully! He died fearfully! He was in Texas—on a horse—with cattle. He was alone. It is the prairies! Alone! The horse fell! He was under it! His thigh was broken—horribly broken! The horse ran away and left him! He lay there stunned! Then he came to his senses! Oh! his thigh was dreadful! Such agony! My God! Such agony!"

Foster fairly screamed at this. The younger of the men from Algiers broke into violent sobs. His companion wept, too, and the pair of them clasped hands. Bartlett looked on concerned. As for me, I was astounded.

"He was four days dying—four days dying—of starvation and thirst," Foster went on, as if deciphering some terrible hieroglyphs written on the air. "His thigh swelled to the size of his body. Clouds of flies settled on him—flies and vermin—and he chewed his own arm and drank his own blood. He died mad. And my God! he crawled three miles in those four days! Man! man! that's how your father died!"

So saying, with a great sob, Foster dropped into his chair, his cheeks purple, and tears running down them in rivers. The younger man from Algiers burst into a wild cry of grief and sank upon the neck of his friend. He, too, was sobbing as if his own heart would break. Bartlett stood over Foster, wiping his forehead with a handkerchief. I sat stock still in my chair, the vivid scene of human anguish and desperation which had been conjured up slowly vanishing like the illusion of a magic lantern.

"It's true," said the younger man's friend; "his father was a stockraiser in Texas, and after he had been missing from his drove for over a week, they found him dead and swollen with his leg broken. They tracked him a good distance from where he must have fallen. But nobody ever heard till now how he died."

Perhaps these two young men are still alive in New Orleans. I believe that Bartlett survives. If they read this they will affirm that plainly and with absolute accuracy I have described the only seance I ever saw conducted by Charles Foster.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

George C. Bartlett's communication of "An Episode in the Life of a Medium" tells us a most striking but after all typical case of a medium's mode of procedure. We must remember that for many years Mr. Bartlett took a great interest in the phenomena of occultism and has endeavored to study them in the company of one of the most renowned mediums of this country, the well-known Charles H. Foster. He was so overwhelmed with his belief in Mr. Foster's extraordinary psychic powers that he became his follower and joined him on his professional journeys. We can understand that a believer who had an implicit faith in his master and expected verifications only, would not be the right man to watch the traveling medium critically or to look behind the scenes of his performances. Accordingly Mr. Bartlett states facts only, yet even these in the present case are but the report of an anonymous writer. For all that they are interesting and may be true in all their details. Certainly, they are told most dramatically by the anonymous writer whom Mr. Bartlett quotes.

Mr. Foster's revelations must have made a very great impression upon his visitors, but judging merely from the report as it lies before us we see nothing impossible or extraordinary in the performance. A critical reader will notice that the writer says of Mr. Foster, "We used to meet every evening in the bar-room. He was an exceptionally sociable fellow who never talked shop and, without drinking very much, loved to be convivial with cheerful company."

Mr. Foster would have been a poor medium if he had not been able to turn the bar room into a gold mine from which he dug up the valuable materials for his seances. We can very well understand that he never "talked shop," for he was busy gathering the much-needed information concerning the people of the towns visited so as to spring it afterwards unawares upon his patrons.

Any one who is familiar with mediumistic operations will be convinced that Mr. Foster did not go for pleasure to the bar room, which to a man who is not specially given to drink is by no means a very pleasant place. It is expressly stated that Mr. Foster drank

very little, perhaps just enough to be tolerated in the bar room, or to stay there without attracting attention.

It is not possible that such a horrible disaster as Mr. Foster recapitulated in his seance reported by Mr. Bartlett, should have escaped his attention while posting himself on significant occurrences of the place; and would not any one of his bar room acquaintances have also added that the son of this man who died such a horrible death on the prairie was just contemplating to establish himself in business in Algiers near New Orleans, and that it was rather a pity if he did so, for the man with whom he intended to associate was a shrewd man with a bad business reputation?

Unsophisticated people, when confronted by a stranger whom they never met, would naturally be overwhelmed with astonishment and gruesome awe if the tragic events of their life were thus suddenly revealed to them; and we see in this story a confirmation of how easy it is to work upon the sentiments of people who are not on their guard and not familiar with mediumistic methods. P. C.



# THE NECROMANCY OF NUMBERS AND LETTERS.

BY H. R. EVANS.

“Now this was the key in question: A hieroglyphic and numeral alphabet, expressing by characters and numbers a series of universal and absolute ideas; then a scale of ten numbers, multiplied by four symbols, and connected with twelve figures representing the twelve signs of the zodiac, plus the four genii of the cardinal points.”—ELIPHAS LEVI: *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie*.

## I.

THERE is a philosophy of numbers and letters well worthy the lover of the bizarre and curious. The repository of this lore is the cabala. Read the works of Levi. But I do not propose to delve into this esoteric doctrine. I shall content myself with certain peculiar, fantastic and seemingly necromantic properties of numbers and letters. Scholars in all ages have pondered upon the magic of numbers. “Number,” said Pythagoras, “is the essence of reality.”

Certain numbers were regarded as sacred by the ancients. One, or the monad, is the symbol of *unity*—that “sublime center to which the chain of causes necessarily ascends.” Hence One represents God, the creative principle, the Supreme Intelligence of the universe. Two, or the duad, is the symbol of antagonism; of good and evil; light and darkness. Three, or the triad, is the symbol of the Trinity of Deity, which in some form or other has figured in most of the religions. In that of Egypt we have Osiris, Isis and Horus; in India, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva; in that of Christianity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Seven was especially venerated. There were seven planets, presided over by seven archangels; seven colors in the rainbow; seven days in the week, etc. Ten includes all the other numbers. It is especially *seven* and *three*, and is called the number of perfection. Thirteen has always been regarded as

an unlucky number. This superstition probably arose from the fact that there were thirteen at the Last Supper of Christ.

Says a writer in the *Wizard*, London:

"Have you ever noticed that the number three possesses many peculiar properties worth looking into? It is no matter of surprise that the ancients came to look upon *three* with a sense of profound admiration.

"In a paper lately published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a few mysterious and unaccountable properties of the number are described. In themselves they are sufficient to surround the figure 3 with an atmosphere of superstition. To begin with, when any number is multiplied by three or any multiple of three, as six, nine, twelve, etc., the separate figures in the result, if added together, give a total of three, or a multiple of three, thus:

4 multiplied by 3 gives 12, and  $1+2=3$   
 5 multiplied by 3 gives 15, and  $1+5=6$   
 17 multiplied by 9 gives 153, and  $1+5+3=9$   
 22 multiplied by 12 gives 264, and  $2+6+4=12$

"Peculiarities of this kind make three a remarkable digit. Even mathematicians admit so and it is not surprising that the number plays an important part in traditions everywhere, and more especially in Asiatic countries.

"It is a curious fact that the product of 9 invariably comes to 9, whatever the multiplier may be. Thus twice 9 is 18; add the digits together and 1 and 8 make 9. Three times 9 is 27, and 2 and 7 make 9. Four times 9 is 36; 3 and 6 make 9. Nine times 9 is 81, and 8 and 1 make 9. It is impossible to get away from this figure even if we take figures at random. Thus, 11 times 9 is 99; add 9 and 9, and we get 18, and 1 and 8 make 9. Nine times 339 is 3051; add the figures together and we get 9.

"Another curious power of 9 was discovered by an eminent mathematician, who hit on the extraordinary fact that if one takes any row of figures and reverses their order and subtracts the one from the other, the final result added together will always be 9.

|                            |      |
|----------------------------|------|
| Thus we take .....         | 2941 |
| Reverse and subtract ..... | 1492 |
|                            | 1449 |

which, added together, makes 18, and 1 and 8 are 9.

“Here is another peculiarity. Write down any row of figures at hazard, subtract the sum of the digits and no matter what sum you start with, the product will always be 9.

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Thus we take} \dots\dots\dots 7,549,132 \\ \text{Subtract the sum} \dots\dots\dots \quad 31 \\ \hline 7,549,101 \end{array}$$

which added together, total 27, and 2 and 7 make 9.”

Very pretty and curious in its effect is this vagary of the nimble nine:

$$\begin{array}{l} 0 \times 9 + 1 = 1 \\ 1 \times 9 + 2 = 11 \\ 12 \times 9 + 3 = 111 \\ 123 \times 9 + 4 = 1111 \\ 1234 \times 9 + 5 = 11111 \\ 12345 \times 9 + 6 = 111111 \\ 123456 \times 9 + 7 = 1111111 \\ 1234567 \times 9 + 8 = 11111111 \\ 12345678 \times 9 + 9 = 111111111 \\ 123456789 \times 9 + 10 = 1111111111 \end{array}$$

The following is a curious puzzle: Take the number of your living brothers, double the amount, add to it three, multiply by five, add to it the number of your living sisters, multiply the result by ten, add the number of deaths of brothers and subtract 150 from the result. The right figure will be the number of deaths, the middle will be the number of living sisters, and the left will show the number of living brothers. Try this cabalistic puzzle, dear reader, and wonder at the Sphinx result.

Much wit, ingenuity, and patience have been expended upon occult combinations of numbers, especially in relation to historical events. In my scrap-book of newspaper clippings I find the following necromantic effusion, by a Dr. James P. Campbell, of New York City, printed in the *New York World* some twenty years ago, where it was offered as “Interesting, Curious and Astounding Calculations Concerning the Downfall of Louis Philippe, the Last King of the French, and Napoleon III, the Last French Emperor. The Really Wonderful Calculation Actually Verified by Time and Events which Have Occurred. Had this Royal King or Imperial Emperor only Married Older Women, the Downfall of Both Might Have Been Postponed Many Years, and Perhaps Averted Altogether.”

It reads thus:

Add to the date of either ascending the throne the date of his birth, or the date of his wife's birth, or the date of his marriage, the figures reached in either case, when grouped in the manner indicated below, predict the year of his downfall!

The House of Orleans Table is as follows:

Louis Philippe (last king of the French) was born in 1773  
 Ascended the throne in ..... 1830  
 Married Marie Amelie in ..... 1809  
 Marie Amelie was born in ..... 1782  
 Louis Philippe fell (deposed, Revolution of '48) ... 1848

Taking 1830 (the year Louis Philippe ascended the throne of France) as the basis of the table, we find that by adding the date of the King's birth (the figures that comprise the year of birth being arranged one after the other, as in subjoined table), we arrive at the date of his fall, 1848.

|  |      |   |      |
|--|------|---|------|
| Louis Philippe ascended the throne ..... | 1830 |   |      |
|  |      | } | 1    |
| Date of Louis Philippe's birth           |      |   | 7    |
|  |      |   | 7    |
|  |      |   | 3    |
|  |      |   | 1848 |

The same result is also reached by adding the date of Marie Amelie's birth in the same manner:

And again by adding date of marriage the same fatal result is produced:

Louis Philippe ascended the throne ..... 1830  
 Date of Marie Amelie's birth } { 1  
 } { 7  
 } { 8  
 } { 2

Louis Philippe ascended the throne ..... 1830  
 Louis Philippe married to Marie Amelie } { 1  
 } { 8  
 } { 0  
 } { 9  
 Louis Philippe deposed .. 1848

Louis Philippe deposed .. 1848

Now for the Napoleonic Table:

Napoleon III was born in ..... 1808  
 Ascended the throne in ..... 1853  
 Married Eugénie in ..... 1853  
 Eugénie was born in ..... 1826  
 Napoleon fell (deposed after Sedan, Sept. 1, 1870) .. 1870

Take as basis of the Napoleonic Table:

Date of ascension of throne by Napoleon III 1853

|                 |   |   |   |
|-----------------|---|---|---|
| Add date of     | } | { | 1 |
| Emperor's birth |   |   | 8 |
|                 |   |   | 0 |
|                 |   |   | 8 |

Fall of Napoleon III (deposed) ..... 1870

The same result is also reached by adding the date of Eugénie's birth in the same manner:

Date of Napoleon's ascension to the throne .... 1853

|           |   |   |   |
|-----------|---|---|---|
| Eugénie's | } | { | 1 |
| birth     |   |   | 8 |
|           |   |   | 2 |
|           |   |   | 6 |

Fall of Napoleon III ... 1870

And again by adding date of marriage the same fatal result is produced as in the case of Louis Philippe:

Date of ascension to throne 1853

|         |   |   |   |
|---------|---|---|---|
| Married | } | { | 1 |
| Eugénie |   |   | 8 |
|         |   |   | 5 |
|         |   |   | 3 |

Fall of Napoleon III ... 1870

The following enigmatic passage in the Revelation (xiii. 18) has given birth to endless prophetic calculations: "Here is wisdom; let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred three score and six." Some have imagined that this mystical number refers to a king, some to a pope, and others to a kingdom. William Jones, in his *Credulities Past and Present* (London, 1880), says that "it is usual, in the attempts to unravel the mysterious meaning of the number of the beast, to suppose that every letter in the name of the beast was to be taken as a numeral, and that these numerals were to be added together, in order to make the amount to 666, the number required. . . . Among the many absurdities connected with the mystical numbers of 7 and 666, is that contained in a collection of broadsides in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, relating to Napoleon I. It is addressed to Mr. Urban: 'The following singular coincidences may furnish matter for reflection to the curious. It has been generally admitted that the French Empire, after passing under *seven* different forms of government (or *seven* heads), was divided into *ten* kingdoms in Europe (the *ten* horns of Daniel and John), and that, notwithstanding the various changes Europe has undergone, the number of kingdoms was generally about ten. It is

not a little surprising that the *Heads of the family of Napoleon*, who have effected such a change in the same empire *are exactly seven*, viz., Napoleon; Joseph, King of Italy; Louis, King of Holland; Jerome; Murat, Duke of Berg and Cleves; Cardinal Fesch; Beauharnais, the adopted son of Napoleon. And also, that the *members of the New Federation are just ten*, viz., Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Darmstadt, Nassau, Ysembourg, Hohenzollern, Aremberg, Solm, Leyen.

"It is also remarkable that in the man's name, Napoleon Buona-  
parte, there are precisely three times six letters; Napole (6), on Buon  
(6), Aparte (6)—666. And in his name is contained the name  
given by John to the king of the locusts, who is called *Apoleon*, or  
the Destroyer."

Count Leo Tolstoy, in *War and Peace*, makes one of his characters interpret the prophecy as follows: "The letters of the French alphabet when disposed in accordance with the Hebrew enumeration, which gives the first nine letters the value of units, and the rest that of tens, have the following significance:

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| a | b | c | d | e | f | g | h | i | k  | l  | m  | n  | o  | p  | q  |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 |

|    |    |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| r  | s  | t   | u   | v   | w   | x   | y   | z   |
| 80 | 90 | 100 | 110 | 120 | 130 | 140 | 150 | 160 |

"If the words *l'Empereur Napoleon* are written letter for letter, with this cypher, the result is that the sum of these letters amounts to six hundred and sixty-six, and that therefore Napoleon is the beast described in the Apocalypse. Moreover, if you apply to this same alphabetic cypher the words *Quarante-deux*, that is the time—forty-two months—during which authority was given to the beast to speak great things and blaspheme; the sum of these letters according to the same scheme will amount to six hundred and sixty-six—whence it results that Napoleon's power was to be allowed to last until the year 1812, when he would have reached the age of forty-two."

The Magic Opera Glass is an extraordinary illusion performed with cards, and based upon an arithmetical combination of great ingenuity. Combined with sleight-of-hand, it can be made still more effective, as I have frequently demonstrated in drawing-room entertainments. Begin by preparing a table of figures as follows:

|       |        |        |
|-------|--------|--------|
| 1,131 | 10,132 | 19,133 |
| 2,231 | 11,232 | 20,233 |
| 3,331 | 12,332 | 21,333 |
| 4,121 | 13,122 | 22,123 |
| 5,221 | 14,222 | 23,223 |
| 6,321 | 15,322 | 24,323 |
| 7,111 | 16,112 | 25,113 |
| 8,211 | 17,212 | 26,213 |
| 9,311 | 18,312 | 27,313 |

This magical table you may fix in an opera-glass, or the crown of your hat, as occasion may serve. Take a pack of cards, consisting of twenty-seven only, and give them to a person; desire him to fix on any one, then shuffle and return the pack to you. Place the twenty-seven cards in three heaps, by laying down one alternately on each heap; but before you put each card down, show it to the person, without seeing it yourself. When the three equal heaps are completed, ask him at what number from twenty-seven he will have his card appear, and in which heap it then is. Now look at your table, and if the first of three numbers which stand against that number it is to appear at be one, put that heap *at top*; if the number be two, put it in the middle, and if three, put it at the bottom. Divide the cards into three heaps in the same manner a second and a third time, and his card will be at the number he chose. For the sake of making the elucidation clear, we give an example: Suppose it is desired that the card shall be the twentieth from the top, and the first time of making the heaps you are told it is in the third heap. Look through your opera-glass at the magic table, and see that the first figure against the number twenty is two. You therefore put that heap in the middle of the pack. The second and third times you in like manner put the heap in which you are told it is at the bottom, the succeeding numbers both being three. Now, laying the cards down one by one, the twentieth card will be that fixed on. You may, of course, in like manner show the person the card without asking at what number it shall appear, by fixing on any number yourself. By the same table a variety of tricks equally surprising can be performed, only requiring the exercise of a little ingenuity.

The adept after gathering up the cards after the last deal can give them a false shuffle, thereby deceiving the knowing spectator who may suspect some arithmetical combination. I seldom produce the card at a required number, but discover it in other ways, for

example, bringing it to light in some gentleman's pocket, or between locked slates, etc. I call it the Egyptian Trick, and excuse the three dealings of the cards on the ground that *three* is the mystical number, sacred to Osiris, Isis and Horus; therefore I deal *three* times as an offering to the gods. The idea of planetary influences might be used as effective patter, the cards being supposedly dealt three times in honor of the sun, moon, and Mars, etc.

It is really surprising what excellent effects can be secured through simple means. But after all it is the clever and convincing patter that makes a trick.

## II.

The mathematical curios known as "Magic Squares" have exercised the minds of many learned men. Benjamin Franklin amused his leisure hours constructing them. Truly was he the many-sided Franklin. Magic squares is a term applied to square arrays of numbers possessing the property that the sums of the various columns and rows, and of the two diagonals are equal. A magic square is represented in Albert Dürer's copper plate, entitled *Melancholia*, engraved in 1514. These mathematical diagrams were known to the ancient Egyptians, from whose priests Pythagoras learned many things. The Arab astrologers claimed for them supernatural powers, and recommended them as amulets and talismans. Mr. Andrews, in his notable work on *Magic Squares*, has gone into the subject in a masterly manner. I shall but touch upon it here, as an introduction to the "word squares" and other combinations.

Among the Moors 78 is a mystic number. The following is a magic square to which this number is the key:

|    |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|----|
| 40 | 10 | 20 | 8  |
| 7  | 21 | 9  | 41 |
| 12 | 42 | 6  | 18 |
| 19 | 5  | 43 | 11 |

The number 78 can be arrived at in twenty-three different combinations—namely, ten rows, columns, or diagonals; four corner squares of four cells; one central square of four cells; the four corner cells; two sets of corresponding diagonal cells next to the



corners; and two sets of central cells on the top and bottom rows, and on the outside columns.

These are two curious magic squares found on an antique gong, at Caius College, Cambridge, England:

|    |    |    |
|----|----|----|
| 6  | 13 | 8  |
| 11 | 9  | 7  |
| 10 | 5  | 12 |

|    |    |    |
|----|----|----|
| 7  | 14 | 9  |
| 12 | 20 | 8  |
| 11 | 6  | 13 |

In the one nine numbers are so arranged that they count up to 27 in every direction; and in the other the outer rows total 30, while the central rows and diagonals make 40.

We have not only magic squares of numbers but words. Considerable skill has been displayed in the formation of the latter. The puzzle columns of magazines are full of word squares, some of great ingenuity. The *squarest* is said to be the following, of which there are four distinct readings of each word:

D E L F  
E V I L  
L I V E  
F L E D

The mathematical problem of "squaring the circle" may be accomplished with great ease, as follows:

C I R C L E  
I N U R E S  
R U L E S T  
C R E A S E  
L E S S E E  
E S T E E M

A masterpiece is this, consisting of words of seven letters:

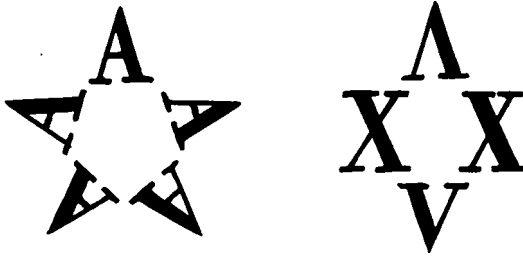
P A L A T E D  
A N E M O N E  
L E V A N T S  
A M A S S E S  
T O N S U R E  
E N T E R E R  
D E S S E R T

While on the subject of Palindromes, let me give a few other examples. A Latin one: "*Roma, ibi tibi sedes, ibi tibi amor,*" which may be translated, "At Rome you live, at Rome you love." And here we have fine English ones: "Egad, a base tone denotes a bad age"; "No, it is opposed, art sees trades opposition"; and "Repel evil as a live leper." All of these sentences read backwards as well as forwards.

Divination by *words or characters* is very ancient indeed. The Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Romans were greatly addicted to the practice. It descended to the Christians. The Jews had many superstitions regarding the name of Deity. The correct pronunciation of the Ineffable Name was said to make the earth tremble and the very angels of Heaven to quake with fear. In the Middle Ages the Jewish cabalists discovered "a world of mystery in the letters of the sacred text." Under their inspiration, the Bible became an esoteric work very different in character from the ordinary literal treatise of the masses. The Gnostics carried talismans engraved upon rings and gems. A famous amulet among them was the word "Abraxas." But all talismans pale into insignificance beside the mystical word "Abracadabra," which Baronius, in his *Annals* (An. 120), attributes to Serenus, a physician of the third century, a follower of the heretic Basilides. It hath charms to ward off demoniacal influences, to heal physical ailments, etc. Eliphas Levi discourses upon it as follows: "The magic triangle of pagan theosophists was the celebrated Abracadabra, to which they attributed extraordinary virtues, and represented as follows:

ABRACADABRA  
 ABRACADABR  
 ABRACADAB  
 ABRACADA  
 ABRACAD  
 ABRACA  
 ABRAC  
 ABRA  
 ABR  
 AB  
 A

"This combination of letters is a key of the pentagram. The initial A is repeated five and reproduced thirty times, thus giving the elements of the two following figures:



“The isolated A represents the unity of the first principle, otherwise, the intellectual or active, agent. A united to B represents the fertilization of the duad by the monad. R is the sign of the triad, because it represents the progeny which results from the union of the two principles. The number 11, which is that of the letters of the word, combines the unity of the initiate with the denary of Pythagoras, and the number 66, the added total of all the letters, cabalistically forms the number 12, which is the square of the circle. We may remark, in passing, that the author of the Apocalypse, that key of the Christian cabala, composed the number of the beast, that is to say, of idolatry, by adding a 6 to the double senary of ABRA-CADABRA, which gives 18 cabalistically, the number attributed in the Tasot to the hieroglyphic sign of night and of the profane—the moon, together with the towers, dog, wolf and crab—a mysterious and obscure number, the cabalistic key of which is 9, the number of initiation. On this subject the sacred Cabalist says expressly: ‘He that hath understanding (that is, the key of cabalistic numbers) let him count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man, and the number of him is 666.’ It is, in fact, the decade of Pythagoras multiplied by itself and added to the sum of the triangular pantacle of Abracadabra; it is thus the sum of all magic of the ancient world, the entire program of human genius of the Gospel sought to absorb or transplant.”

Levi holds, as do the great majority of occultists, that St. John was a cabalist and his Apocalypse a treatise on the esoteric doctrine of the cabala. I am inclined to the same opinion.

The mystical power attributed to letters and words opens up an interesting field of research to the student of superstitions.

## REMINISCENCES OF A FAMOUS MAGICIAN.

### THE WONDERFUL FEATS OF DR. LYNN.

BY H. J. BURLINGAME.

OF all the most ingenious and clever modern magicians not even one has excelled the witty, original and famous Dr. Lynn, known in all countries as the "Talkee-Talkee" man.

Little is known of his early youth or his birthplace, it has been claimed that he was of American birth and that his real name was Simmons. He himself states in his naive manner, that his home was the world and he was known by everybody everywhere. Like the heroes of all romantic stories he went to sea, entering the British Navy, and added to his store of experience by the knowledge of many new tricks picked up in divers lands. He soon became such an acquisition on board, that his brother officers would keep the watch for him at any time, in return for the exhibition of a conjuring trick, such as "disappearing a watch" for them.

After leaving the Navy in 1862, he started on a tour of the world, commencing his performances in Melbourne and playing in all the cities of Australia, China and Japan. At Shanghai his chief pianist, Mr. Chisholm, first saw the famous Chinese giant Chang and afterwards brought him to this country.

Dr. Lynn reached San Francisco from Japan in December, 1863, and opened at the Metropolitan Theater, performing to immense audiences for three weeks. At San Francisco while staying at the Russ House he first met the renowned Mr. Charles Browne, "Artemas Ward," and his manager, Mr. E. P. Hingston. Artemas Ward was then on a lecture tour and while touring the country they were often together, and consequently became great friends. They both arrived at Salt Lake City in February 1864. Dr. Lynn had not been there long before he had a visit from Mr. Hiram Clawson, son-in-law of Brigham Young, and manager of the theater.

As the fame of the Doctor had preceded him, the Prophet wished to see him, and an appointment was made to call on him the next day. He called at the time appointed and spent nearly three hours with the President, finding him a very affable gentleman. He gave the Doctor the free use of his immense theater, where the entertainment was given to nearly 4000 Mormons. Brigham Young sat in a rocking chair in the center of the parquet, and his numerous wives and a good percentage of his family occupied a fair share of the auditorium.

During the performance our conjurer borrowed Mr. Young's hat for the purpose of covering the flower pot in the trick of "instantaneous growth of flowers," but on reaching the stage turned round and asked Mr. Young if he was a married man. He replied "Rather," amidst universal tittering, whereupon the Doctor immediately produced a large baby from the hat, much to the amusement and astonishment of the audience.

Artemas Ward and Dr. Lynn had the use of the theater on alternate nights, and on the last evening in the course of his lecture, Artemas made allusion to the Doctor's tricks, and explained to the people that what he had done was nothing to what he could do, assuring them that he had seen the Doctor climb up a pole, and then pull the pole up after him and swallow it. Referring to this on a subsequent occasion, the Doctor said: "I had Artemas Ward upon the stage of one of the cities I visited recently, and took the top of his head off and removed his brain which I forgot to replace, this being the cause of his many eccentricities. Brigham Young jumped up and said we must not quarrel, as we might meet again. I told Artemas about this the next time we met, and we had a hearty laugh."

During the sojourn of these two famous entertainers in Salt Lake City something occurred that gave the Doctor an opportunity to produce a most astounding trick, the secret of which Brigham Young was never able to ascertain. We will let our conjurer tell it in his own words:

#### DR. LYNN'S STORY.

One morning, Artemas, Hingston, and myself called, according to appointment, to spend a short time with Brigham at his house. We were ushered into a well furnished room, the walls being plentifully supplied with pictures. We had a long conversation with the great Prophet. He appeared much struck with many of

my tricks, and I endeavored with my accustomed readiness, to show him "how it is done."

Brigham Young has a habit when talking with any one, of leaning on the back of a chair, while one knee rests upon the seat of it; he then swings backwards and forwards until the leg upon which he is standing is tired, when he places that one upon the chair, and, standing upon the other, resumes his swinging motion and his conversation. While I was busy explaining(?) to the Prophet one of my illusions, Hingston and Artemas were examining the numerous pictures upon the wall, until Hingston's innate love of mischief prompted him to lay the foundation for a capital practical joke. Brigham had on a new pair of patent leather boots, the clean sole of which was invitingly displayed as he knelt with one leg upon the chair. Hingston took up a pen from the table, and, motioning to Artemas that he was going to write something on the "Prophet's sole," he came and stood beside Brigham Young, apparently to watch more particularly what I was doing, but actually to cover Hingston's operations. Seizing the exact moment, Hingston wrote in red ink my name upon Brigham's boot, upon the clean leather between the sole and the heel, and waiting till the Prophet changed his knee, he accomplished the same feat upon the other boot. It was not until we left the Mormon's reception room that I was aware of what had been done; so telling Hingston that I would have some fun about it on the following day, requested him to keep the affair secret. The next day I called upon the Prophet, sending a message that I had a most important matter to consult him upon, and requesting an immediate audience. With some surprise Brigham Young invited me in, and asked the cause of my sudden visit.

"Sir," I began, "I have debated with myself for a considerable time as to the propriety of my visit, and in order to do nothing rashly, I have taken the advice of my friends, the gentlemen who were with me yesterday. . . ."

"Just so," said Brigham.

"Therefore you will pardon me, I am sure, if it appear strange to you. The object of my visit—the—in fact—the boots."

"The what," cried he, "the boots?"

"Yes," I continued, "I may as well come to the point at once; I have lost a pair of boots, and I think I lost them in this house."

"How could you?" asked the chief of all the Mormons.

"That's where I seek an explanation," said I. "The boots I had with me when I came yesterday, and I could not find them when I left you, and as, you will remember, you were busy when

we left, I did not trouble you about the matter. But now I shall require the boots to wear this evening, as I want to send these I now have on to be soled."

"But surely you can buy or borrow another pair," said the Prophet.

"That's not the point, it is the principle I look at. I had the boots; I haven't them now. Where are they?"

"I'm not a Lost Property Office, nor yet a Spirit Medium," added he, significantly, "and you are a great deal more capable of discovering the whereabouts of your boots than I am. What sort of boots were they?"

"Why quite new; patent leather, worn once." (Here I pretended to examine his boots very minutely.) "In fact, as much like those you have on as any other pair, not the incidental boots in question, could be."

"Oh! these ain't them," said Brigham quickly.

"I wouldn't suppose for a moment they were," I exclaimed, apologetically; "still, the more I look at them, the more I feel convinced they are the boots."

"Sir," said Brigham warmly, "these boots were made for me. I was measured for them. There is not another pair like them in Utah."

"If they are *mine* I'll back the truth of your last remark against any prophecy you can invent. My boots had *my name written on the sole in blood red writing.*"

"Then one minute will suffice to prove the fallacy of your assertions," said Brigham, bringing down his heel with a bang upon the fender, and sending the boot flying to the other side of the room. "I am sure you'll not want to see them both," he continued, as he stooped to pick it up, "when I show you your mistake." Here his eyes opened, and his jaw dropped, as he gazed at the writing upon the boot. For fully a minute not a sound was heard. Then he sat down, and crossing his leg over his knee, he examined the sole of the other boot.

"This is a miracle, nothing less than a miracle. You are a wonderful man. You are beyond my comprehension. I could make you most valuable to me. Let me persuade you to embrace our faith. I see that your powers are miraculous, and, if turned into a proper channel, might be the means of assisting the Church very significantly. What can I offer you to induce you to stay? You shall have a high post near me. I will create for you a position of honor and profit. I will at once bestow three of my daughters upon you

for wives, and if you answer my expectations, and are deserving, you shall have as many more as you please in three months."

This was too, *too* much. The Prophet spoke in strict earnestness, but I was not to be led away by these inducements(?).

I battled long and furiously against his temptations, and cannot call to memory one-half the good things he promised me if I would, to use his own words, "stay and work miracles for the glory of God and the good of the Church."

And this was the man who, a few days after my departure from Salt Lake City, as I was informed, called a special prayer meeting at the Tabernacle, and publicly thanked the Lord that he was rid of the Devil."

\* \* \*

So far Dr. Lynn. He remained for some time in Salt Lake City after Artemas Ward and his manager had departed, but again met them at Denver. By traveling the same route as Artemas, it appeared that he was following their footsteps, and raised a little professional jealousy, which made his then firm friend Hingston a little sarcastic and quarrelsome, so that they were anything but friendly for some time, and Artemas on one occasion threatened to become a "blood-red writist" himself if the Doctor followed him so persistently.

On reaching New York Dr. Lynn put up at the Metropolitan Hotel, and held spiritual seances in all parts of the city during the time the Davenport Brothers were creating their great sensation at the Cooper Institute. One evening, while he gave his performance at the Broadway Theatre, Mrs. Gordon Bennett occupied a box, and was accompanied by the famous supposed spirit medium Chas. Foster and Mr. Colchester. Mrs. Bennett wrote a name on a piece of paper, and challenged the conjurer to read the name without the paper leaving the box, which the Doctor did; it was "Daniel Webster." Of course this feat gained him considerable applause.

From New York our conjurer proceeded to Boston, where he settled down to the study of medicine, and obtained his degree, afterwards going into partnership with Dr. Perce. He still kept up his magic and gave many entertainments. He took the Tremont Temple for a season, and was to open there the very day that Abraham Lincoln was shot. The bills announcing the performance were all pasted over with brown paper, and a notice put up that instead of the entertainment a prayer meeting would be held in the place. Of course both doctors attended the meeting, and Dr. Perce was indiscreet enough to remark in his usual dry manner, but loud



enough to be overheard by some of the audience, "I guess I'd have given Booth five dollars to have postponed this affair till next Monday," the result being that he was compelled to leave the hall, as popular feeling ran very high. This incident caused Dr. Lynn much annoyance, as he always made it a rule to conceal his political opinions from every one. It was the cause of a disagreement with Dr. Perce, and they parted at once and forever.

The Doctor then made another extended tour of the States, after which he proceeded to Great Britain, then to Paris, where he invented and first introduced the famous Sphinx illusion. About the same time this was brought out in London by the well-known Professor Pepper, by whom it was afterwards introduced in this country with much success.

In later years Dr. Lynn made a tour of the Orient, returning to London where he was for many years one of the most popular conjurers. Among his other noted inventions was the famous Indian Box trick, still being shown by nearly all magicians, from the performer in the side show or on the dime museum stage, to the elegant performer in the drawing room or on the stage of the leading theater, but in these instances it is usually shown as a Trunk Mystery, yet the effect is the same. His last invention was the illusion known as Thaumata, which had a long and successful run in all countries. While traveling in the West in company of Artemas Ward, Dr. Lynn asked him to write out a program for him, which the genial humorist did. It was a very original one and was used by the conjurer for many years. The following is the program just as written by Artemas and used by the Doctor:

The Grand Performance of  
The Renowned  
BASILICONTHAUMATURGIST,  
In his Marvelous, Magical, and Mystical Feats of  
NECROMANCY,  
And Terrific and absolutely confounding  
PARADOXES.

The Professor has recently performed in all the cities of China, Cochin China, Japan, Siam, Tibet and Australia, BEFORE The Emperor of China at Pekin. The Tycoon at Yeddo. The Foutai and Toutai of Shanghai. Prince Satsuma and Suite at Nagasaki. The Governors and Princes of Japan at Yokohama. The TWO Kings of Siam at Ofuslo. The Grand Llama of Thibet. The Khan of Crim Tartary. The Mofussolite of Cochin China. The Dyaks of Borneo. The King of the Gorillas in Central Africa. All the Governors of Australia. The Sentries of Alcatraz at San Francisco. Maximilian,

Emperor of Mexico, at Acapulco, Buffalo Jim, the chief of the Pi-Utah Indians. Artemas Ward and the Twelve Bannick Robbers who were executed at Bannick City. The Select Men of Waterford, Maine, and the Presidents of the various Banqueting Halls east of Bridge.

The following will be the great Weird, Wondrous basiliconthaumaturgical and Invincibly Incomprehensible PROGRAMME. Previous to the rise of the curtain there will be an Enharmonic Prolegomena by the Orchestra.

Mystery No. 1. The Magic Wove Handkerchief of Othello's Mother. "That handkerchief did an Egyptian to my mother give, there's magic in the web of it." Or the Transposing Textile Problem.

Mystery No. 2. The Columbian Paradox, or the Ornithological Labyrinth of Perplexity.

Mystery No. 3. Peculiar Conversation, or very Dollar-ous intimations from articulate Silver Sibyls.

Mystery No. 4. The Perplexity of a Pomaceous Puzzle, or how one apple can be grown to be of the value of twenty dollars, and made to ripen on a frosty night better than in the laughing sunlight of a sunny climate.

Mystery No. 5. Christopher Columbus' own hat, and the completeness of repletion, as illustrated by how anything can be placed where nothing can go, and nothing can be compressed until it becomes something considerable.

Mystery No. 6. Plum-pudding Problemicalities, or a very familiar illustration of the applicability of woven textures to the construction of coquunter stores for the providing of Basiliconthaumaturgistical Banquets.

Mystery No. 7. The Great Japanese Papilionaceous Puzzle, taught the Professor by the principal juggler to the court of Prince Satsuma of Japan.

Mystery No. 8. The Great Abracadabro Secret of Confucius which after having lain dormant for 2000 years, was resuscitated in China specially for imparting it to the Doctor.

Mystery No. 9. The Chronological and Panistical Inexplicability, or the intimate association of watches and hot rolls.

Mystery No. 10. Thomas Zwipldildethzy, the learned traveller, who can travel much faster than the lightning stages from Salt Lake to Denver.

Mystery No. 11. How to make Artemas Wards by the wholesale without immaterially co-mingling the co-ordinate tangential forces with the primum mobile, except so far as regards the Sumptuous Banquets of the Overland Mail.

Mystery No. 12. The great Foster feat of Writing on the Arm in Letters of Blood, or the Incarnidined Chirography.

Mystery No. 13. The Calculator, which admits of no more adding, dividing, or multiplying; being the great Mathematical Puzzle which occasioned the building of the Pyramids and the short route over the Sierra Nevadas.

N.B. The Doctor will perform his feats *velocious quam asparag co-quunter*. Prices as usual. Babies in arms 10 dollars extra.

Dr. Lynn was also famous for his clever and really wonderful performances in the mediumistic and thought-reading line. We will explain two of his best feats, with first remarking that in the hands of a clever performer it is absolutely impossible for a novice to tell how they are produced. The Doctor generally called these

two effects "Dr. Lynn's Marvelous Thinkephone and Blood Writing on the Arm." In introducing these he generally addressed his audience as follows: "It is a matter of considerable surprise to me that, in this enlightened nineteenth century, there should be so many well educated persons ready to believe in a supernatural power being exerted for the purpose of bringing about the most ridiculous ends. I have traveled in all parts of the civilized globe, have had much experience and seen many curious phenomena; but, although I am ready to imitate the feats of any so-called spiritualist, and produce precisely similar results, I ascribe my success to no spiritual manifestation whatever. *The only spirit hand I recognize is the hand of Providence, visible everywhere.* The blood writing upon the arm is certainly to the uninitiated a most startling affair. Upon numerous pieces of paper, distributed among the audience, names of deceased persons are written in any language—Greek, Hebrew, Japanese, Chinese, Latin, Persian, French, Russian, or English. It is a matter of supreme indifference to me what foreigner you desire to honor. The papers containing the names so written, are folded to prevent inspection and placed in a hat, and one from the audience is invited to select the papers singly from the hat, and hold them up. I will then proceed to read out, letter by letter, the name upon the paper so held. This I will do to every paper in the hat, if time permit, and then one shall be selected at hap-hazard and placed upon my coat sleeve. A smart rap with the hand upon the paper will cause the name written upon it to appear in blood upon my bare arm, as will be seen when I turn back my sleeve."

In performing this trick the artist should be expert in sleight-of-hand. After making his address to the audience, he requests some gentleman to step upon the stage and assist him during the performance. He then introduces a number of slips of blank paper, about two inches long by three-quarters of an inch in width, and hands them to the gentleman on the stage to distribute among the audience. While they are being distributed, the artist addresses his audience and requests them to write any particular name upon the slips of paper that their fancy may dictate, but to be sure to write each name *plainly* and *distinctly*, so that they will be readable, and after having done so, to fold each paper up very small to make a small square of it. Those who have written upon the papers are then requested to place them in a hat or goblet, which the gentleman who handed out the papers has in his hand. After all the papers are collected in this goblet, the gentleman returns with it to the stage, and the artist looking in the goblet, places *two fingers* in it,

and draws the attention of the gentleman to the fact that some of the papers are not folded correctly. He then withdraws his *two* fingers from the goblet and requests the gentleman to turn all the papers out on the table, and then to roll each one of them up into a little ball or pellet. While he is doing so the artist either leaves the stage or retires to the rear of it, first telling his audience he does this "for fear of being accused of trying to read the papers." When all the papers are rolled up into little pellets, the gentleman on the stage states that he is ready, and then the artist comes forward. He now requests the gentleman to hand him one of the papers, which he receives with the fingers of the right hand, and immediately walks down amongst the audience and hands the paper to one of them, with the request that he will open it, read the contents, fold it up again as before into a pellet and place in the palm of his right hand, and when ready call out. The artist immediately returns to the stage until he hears the word "ready," when he again comes forward and requests the person holding the paper to raise his hand containing the paper, well up, with back of hand towards the performer who looks at it very intently for a few seconds, and then calls out the name written on the paper, correctly, even describing the manner in which it is written, and also giving any peculiarities there may be in the shape of the letters or on the paper. The person holding the paper will of course at once declare the word to be correct; the performer then requests the person who wrote the name on the paper to ascertain if it is his own, which it proves to be. Our magical artist now requests the gentleman on the stage to hand him a second paper, which, when handed him, he immediately hands to some one in the audience with the same request as was made of the person holding the first paper. This paper the performer reads in the same manner, and so on with the others until all are read, but either always leaving the stage, or retiring to the rear of the same each and every time a paper is handed to any person in the audience, until the signal word "ready" is said, when he immediately comes forward and stands at the front of the stage until he has read the word and described the writing accurately. It is of course necessary for the performer to be very quick and expert in all his movements, and above all to have a remarkably good memory.

Now for the explanation: When the papers are collected in the goblet or in a hat, and returned to the performer, he places two fingers in the glass—if a glass is used—as though to steady it while he looks down into it, but in reality to secure one of the papers which

he draws out of the goblet between his fingers as he withdraws them from the glass. This paper he conceals immediately in the palm of the same hand, at the same time requesting the gentleman to roll the papers up into pellets; and while this is being done the artist goes off the stage, or retires to the rear of the same as above mentioned. The moment he is off the stage or his back is turned to the audience he opens the paper he has secured possession of, reads the name thereon and also notices any peculiarity in writing and shape of letters, which he must remember. He then folds the paper up small as before and conceals it between the first and second fingers of his right hand; and when the gentleman on the stage calls out "ready," the artist comes forward. A paper is now handed him, which he takes and *apparently* hands to one of the audience, but in reality he hands the other paper which he had concealed, and which is secretly exchanged for the one just handed him by the gentleman. All this is the work of only an instant and is done as the artist walks from the stage to the audience. The artist at once retires with the paper just handed him by his gentleman assistant, and immediately opens the paper, reads name and notes other marks, rolls it up small again and conceals it as before between two fingers of the right hand. When he receives his signal he comes to the front of the stage and of course reads the name on the first paper handed out to the audience and which is the one he first secretly obtained possession of. This performance he repeats each time a paper is given him, not handing *that one out*, but substituting the paper which he had concealed, the contents of which he had already mastered. He must take care and not confuse names and descriptions, or the trick would lose half its interest.

It often happens that when papers are handed out to be written on, that some person, wanting to be more clever than the rest, will return his paper without any writing on it, but with some peculiar mark, such as a stroke, a circle, or even prick a hole in it, therefore the artist must be as clever as he and describe everything, even to a dirty smudge made by a finger. Some performers, particularly among mediums, are very expert in "ringing the changes" of the papers without having them rolled up, but simply folded together into a small slip that can be easily concealed lengthwise between the fingers.

#### BLOOD WRITING ON THE ARM.

There are several methods in use of producing this weird effect. The following are the ones generally used and are the

simplest. As soon as the performer has obtained the name on a piece of paper that he wishes to have appear on his arm, he rolls back his sleeve on his left arm, and taking a piece of sharp pointed hard soap, writes the name upon his left arm, as much like the original writing as possible. He then pulls down his sleeve, and having received his signal, comes out upon the stage and reads the name upon the paper, which is already out in the hands of the audience. Hence the next paper he hands out is the one he intends to produce on his arm. He leaves the stage and upon again entering and coming to the front, reads out the name and then requests the paper to be handed up to him and informs his audience that he will produce that particular name upon his bare arm, at the same time turning back his coat and shirt sleeve, shows the arm, to all appearance perfectly clear from writing of any kind. He now takes the candle, lights the paper, lets it burn to ashes, these he collects, and when they are cool enough rubs them upon his bare arm, first showing his right hand perfectly clear of any preparation, then by rubbing ashes gently up and down, the name will appear perfectly distinct and legible, in letters almost a fac-simile of the original writing.

To make the letters or name have the blood-red tinge, the performer simply writes the name on his arm with a smooth-pointed end of a common match, pressing on quite hard, this causes no pain, then quickly and rapidly rubs the palm of his hand over it a few times and he is ready to show it as above mentioned, but this time does not burn the paper; he simply bares his arm and rubs his hand along it a few times and the writing is seen in red letters, this motion causing the skin where the writing was to swell up and turn red.

If the reading of the papers is done in a clean and expert manner, and without any blunders, and the "Blood-Writing" is introduced into the trick, the artist will find that this trick will give entire satisfaction to the general public, more so than all the attempts at real thought reading will do.

## POETRY DICTATED BY VOICES.

BY ROBERT C. COCKERILL.

ON reading Sister Sanghamitta's strange experiences with mental voices, I am impelled to record some strange experiences of my own, so strange that few who hear them will believe them. The history of the voice or voices I hear is as follows:

On or about the 11th day of March 1895, I was in my bedroom undressing. It was Monday, and I had been discussing the preacher of the previous day and his sermon. I was in those days an Agnostic and a keen evolutionist, which latter I still am. But my views on religion underwent a considerable change as the result of the strange experiences I am about to record.

I was seated on the bed, when suddenly I felt myself seized by an invisible Power, and my mouth uttered the words aloud, "I am the Lord your God." Immediately afterwards I heard a voice apparently in the room. (though I could see no one,) which said, "Write in your note-book—." Considerably startled I leapt off the bed, got my note-book and pencil, and wrote from dictation:

"I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

"Before Abraham was, I am.

"Thou shalt not have (or love) other gods besides me."

After writing this, I became unconscious, and did not recover until the following day.

The voice remained with me, and proceeded to give me instruction concerning the Christian religion. For three months I held numerous mental discussions with this mysterious voice, these usually taking the shape of certain lectures. For three nights the voice called itself the "Devil," and I had horrible waking nightmares. But as a rule it was "God" or "Jesus," and I was addressed, "my son."

But after about three months, the voice suddenly called itself

"Allah," and proceeded to discuss the Koran and Islam with me. During those days I was tempted to become a Mohammedan. But it passed.

A few months later the voice was saying, "I am Brahma, I am Vishnu, I am Siva," and we were discussing Hinduism and Buddhism. And then other religions were discussed, the voice or spirit always taking the name of the deity of the religion discussed.

And finally the voice gave me a creed. "There is one God who has many names, and many prophets"; for all the founders of religions are prophets of the one God.

After this, I did not hear the voice so often, but it still comes to me at times with a warning or advice.

About four years ago it suggested I should write a poem containing my views. I am not a poet, but the voice dictated the first three or four verses, and the poem was written. It was published in *The Open Court* of August 1906, and was commended by all.

Under these circumstances I am quite unable to accept your explanation, although it is the usual one. It appears to me quite inadequate to explain all the phenomena. I doubt even if the brain is abnormal, as Sister Sanghamitta suggests. It is not uncommon in history, and particularly in the history of religion. Abraham, Samuel, and all the Jewish prophets were subject to similar illusions. Jesus and Paul also heard voices from heaven. The call of Moses was probably due to a similar illusion. I call it "illusion" because it *appears* to be a real voice having an external origin, although its source can be proved to be mental by observation and experience. But I reject the term "hallucination," because medical men associate that term with disease.

Another famous person who had a similar experience was Socrates with his demon or spirit. Mahomet also had similar experiences. In later history we have Joan of Arc, Luther, George Fox, and many others. Allusions to it also occur in the sacred books of the Hindus, and in those of other religions. It is absurd to assume, as some medical men do, that all these deservedly famous persons were mentally unsound. On the contrary, this ridiculous assumption proves that medical psychology is itself on a false foundation.

I may remark that your theories concerning the origin of the idea of the devil appear to me to be also faulty for the same reason. I do not care to enter into a lengthy discussion of the subject, but my experience tends to make me believe that the idea of the devil was derived in the same way. A voice that makes evil suggestions,



as some of these voices do, is naturally looked upon as belonging to an evil being. But it is true that the theory that the devil was a rebellious angel, or fallen spirit may have been derived from the Persians.

In conclusion I may state my opinion that the explanation of these voices finally accepted will much depend upon the person's general theories concerning the universe. Those who regard the events of the universe as the result of chance, may believe that prophets are lunatics, and the illusion of the spirit, and of spirit voices, due entirely to disease. But those who can see design in the universe, and law in the psychical world as well as in the physical, will perceive that these voices do not result from chance—that they are part of God's method of educating mankind—that God is real, although the voice of God is an illusion,—and that even insanity itself is not without its lesson for those who have the intelligence to understand it.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

We have received several communications concerning voices such as those heard by Sister Sanghamitta, recorded in her letter which appeared in *The Open Court*, August, 1908. Most of these communications claim that explanations such as the one then offered in an editorial comment are absolutely untenable and that the voices have an objective significance. In spite of some differences in attitude the writers agree in grammar, usually speaking of "this remarkable phenomena." We regret that our space is too limited to give them a hearing. Suffice it to say that they scorn the so-called scientific explanation.

The case is different with Mr. Cockerill's letter. It is both interesting and instructive, and if our readers will kindly look up the poem to which he refers and which appeared in *The Open Court* in August, 1906, they will see that the voices produced something superior to the average spirit communications.

We have only to add that we see nothing miraculous in such manifestations. Man's thought, especially poetical, artistic, and inventive conceptions, may very easily take such a turn of objectivation. The subconscious ideas which stir the inmost soul can easily assume the appearance of voices heard, which, though internal, will sound as if they came from the outside or from above. If our readers will compare our review of Dr. Morton Prince's book *The Dis-*

*sociation of Personality* in the January *Monist*, they will find a remarkable instance in the case reported there.

The objectivation of poetic thoughts may be abnormal but it need not be pathological. In fact we may assume that the prophetic visions of poetical inspirations of former ages naturally and normally manifested themselves in this way.

P. C.

## REVELATIONS OF AN EX-MEDIUM.

COMMUNICATED BY THE EDITOR.

Some years ago while investigating some of the secrets of spiritualism I met a fervent spiritualist in the person of Miss Abby A. Judson, daughter of the famous missionary to Tibet, Dr. Adoniram Judson, and in talking of frauds she called my attention to a book which was written as she told me by one of the most successful mediums of the United States, who, however, after eighteen years of mediumistic experiences had given up the profession and entered practical life. In doing so he had deemed it proper to unburden his conscience and make a general confession of his frauds which appeared in 1891 under the title *Revelations of a Spirit Medium or Spiritual Mysteries Exposed, A Detailed Explanation of the Methods Used by Fraudulent Mediums.* By A. Medium.

As soon as the book appeared the former colleagues of our ex-medium made such urgent remonstrances, backing them at the same time by sufficient payment, that he withdrew the book from the market, and they had the whole edition, so far as it was in their power, destroyed.

Nevertheless there were some copies of these *Revelations of a Spirit Medium* still to be had which they had been unable to lay hands on, but these could only be procured secretly, and Miss Judson had a friend who was willing to sell them for \$5.00 a piece, the original price of this paper-bound volume printed on cheap paper having been 50 cents.

I procured the book and discovered that it had been copyrighted. At the Library of Congress I found the entry made by a certain Mr. Charles F. Pidgeon, who accordingly must have been the author of the book. This is corroborated by the fact that that same gentleman was indeed a medium of high repute in the seventies and eighties of the last century, but in 1891 had withdrawn from this rather dubitable profession and settled down in business. I have been unable to ascertain any further facts concerning him, but I learn that the remainder of the edition of this book was acquired by Leo L. Williams & Co., now of Syracuse, Ind., and upon inquiry we learn that there are only six copies left which can still be had at the price of \$5.00 each.

The book does not contain any startling revelations, for to a calm observer of spiritualistic circles, it is the story of a medium as we might expect it to be. Nevertheless it is an eye-opener to those who have been puzzled by the so-called spiritualistic phenomena, for it contains many revelations which will be astonishing to believers as well as those who have come under the influence of spiritualist seances on account of the many striking successes of the tests

given out by mediums. The anonymous author of the book says in the preface:

"The author has been a working medium for the past twenty years and is not guessing or theorizing in what he has written... Nothing but facts and actual experiences will be mentioned."

He speaks of himself in the course of his explanations as follows:

"The writer was, himself, under the eye, and in the pay, as medium, of a gentleman investigating for three years, not only not being detected at any tricks but making a firm Spiritualist of him. I will guarantee, too, that of all the phenomena produced in that time, the writer was the sole proprietor thereof, not being in league with the devil, as has often been said of him by ignoramuses, nor yet having any special pull in the spirit world."

He adds on page 199:

"The writer will probably bring down on his head the curses of many hundreds of mediums, for, if this work is very widely read, there will be few mediums save lecturers who can do business, with any degree of safety from exposure."

The book, as the author says, is no "literary gem." The style is frequently careless and not free from grammatical mistakes, nor is the matter divided into chapters as we ought to expect of a well-written book. But considering the fact that there are so many believers in spiritualism who think that because one or another medium is a fraud there is no reason why there may not be honest mediums whose tests and manifestations are genuine, we propose to reproduce a number of passages from Mr. Pidgeon's book. Since the book is out of print and with the exception of a few rare copies is almost inaccessible, we think to help the cause of truth in making these confessions of an ex-medium better known. We let Mr. Pidgeon tell his own story.\*

#### THE FIRST SEANCE I ATTENDED.

The first "seance" attended by the writer was one given in his native city, by a man reputed so wonderful that he found it impossible not to go to him just once, anyway. Maledictions on that first seance, for it changed the whole course of his then honorable life and led to one of deception and adventure!

The "medium" referred to was a young man, of apparently twenty-seven years, of blonde complexion and slight build, with a prepossessing face and manners. His voice was soft and low, and pleasantly modulated. He was not, certainly, a man from whom you could expect anything resembling dishonesty, from his appearance.

The seance was held in the house of a well-known, wealthy citizen, a Spiritualist, and thorough gentleman. The writer, was accompanied by his sister, and besides themselves there were present ten couples. The fee was two dollars, or three dollars per couple. His audience on that evening netted him thirty-six dollars; quite a

\* All portions in the larger type are quoted from Mr. Pidgeon's book, *Revelations of a Spirit Medium*.

snug little remuneration for two hours of his time. The company numbered two "skeptics" beside the writer. At a few minutes before eight o'clock the company were ushered into the "seance-room," which was the host's dining-room. The "cabinet" was constructed in one corner of the room, by hanging across it two curtains of double-faced canton-flannel, of a dark maroon color. The curtains lapped one over the other about six inches in the middle of the front.

A thorough inspection of the cabinet was desired, and with several of the others present the writer did his utmost to discover the "nigger in the fence," but, after a thorough inspection was forced to admit that there was nothing suspicious in or about it. Another gentleman and himself then had the pleasure of taking the medium into an adjoining room and exploring his pockets, which they did most thoroughly. All they contained was a few letters, a breast pocket book, his handkerchief, pocket-knife and a few coins. As the breast pocket book could not contain any great amount of apparatus, they passed it without opening. They were satisfied that there was nothing about his person that could aid him in deception, and so reported to the audience on their return to the seance-room.

Everything now being in readiness, the medium seated himself in a chair, after first bringing a tambourine, guitar, tea bell, tin trumpet and pair of castanets and depositing them inside the cabinet. After being seated he proffered some pieces of rope and stated that any one was at liberty to bind his hands and feet or secure him in any way they saw fit, in order to preclude the possibility of his having the use of any of his members during the continuance of the seance. Again did the writer, in company with the only other skeptical gentleman in the company, exert all his ingenuity in binding the medium so that he felt positively assured that he would still be in the chair when the seance closed.

After the tying was finished the writer would have wagered any amount, that it was an utter impossibility for the medium to free himself. He would not take those chances with his money to-day. He has learned better. Medium and chair was now picked up and deposited in the cabinet and the curtains drawn.

We had no more than reached our seats when the guitar was seen gyrating around in space over the top of the cabinet, with no visible contact with anything. The light had been shaded until you could just distinguish the forms of the sitters, without being able to discern their features. After a few seconds the guitar was joined by the tin trumpet, and out of it came a voice, saying:

"I am the spirit father of Mr. B——, and my name is J—— B——," giving his name in full.

This "test" was instantly recognized by one of the gentlemen, and there followed a common-place message to his daughter-in-law, the wife of Mr. B., who was present. While this was transpiring the guitar had disappeared into the cabinet again.

As soon as the speaking had ceased and the trumpet fallen to the floor, we were requested to examine the condition of things in the cabinet. Again the skeptics were permitted to do the investigating. We found the medium in precisely the condition in which we had left him at the beginning, it not appearing that he had stirred.

We had not reached our seats, which were distant about eight feet from the cabinet, when the guitar again made its appearance, and began playing an air of great beauty, the entire instrument being visible, but the hands that created the music upon it could not be seen. The music produced was subdued, soft and sweet, as though the strings were being manipulated by very gentle, soft finger-tips. The skeptics were now very much interested. Again the horn joined the guitar, and when the latter had ceased its music, announced that its name was W—— E——, son of Mr. and Mrs. E——. The horn was correct again, and after giving a message, in which he gave some instructions concerning his pony that the parents still kept, the horn fell to the floor of the cabinet, and an examination disclosed everything as we had last seen it.

The medium appeared to be in a trance, or sleep, his eyes closed, teeth set and breathing heavily. We had just turned our back on the cabinet after our examination when a shapely white hand protruded through the opening in the curtains. Before we had seated ourselves there were two, three, four, all of different sizes, and doing considerable finger-snapping, thus doing away with the idea of rubber hands or stuffed gloves. Then came a bare foot at the bottom of the curtain, and in response to a request, by one of the circle the toes were wiggled.

No one was allowed to touch the hands or feet that appeared; but it was evident to any one in possession of one of his five senses that they were human hands and feet and not rubber or wax, even did we not know that nothing of the kind had been carried in by the medium. After a few moments of these "manifestations," another examination of the cabinet and medium was made, and everything found satisfactory.

Now, the tea-bell began ringing and was joined by the castanets and the tambourine. Ever and anon one or the other of the in-

struments would swoop around above the cabinet and disappear again. They seemed to be flying about in all parts of the cabinet and to be traveling with great swiftness and force; and it appeared as though the medium's eyes stood a fair chance of being decorated in black. Another examination and everything found satisfactory.

The writer was wavering, and was most intensely interested, to the great delight of his sister. The horn now requested that the company sing "Sweet Bye and Bye." Whilst the company were singing they were joined by the horn in a deep and powerful voice, which claimed afterward that it was at the time, John King, the medium's main "control."

After the song was finished a rustling noise was heard from the cabinet and presently the curtains were agitated, and slowly a face presented itself at the opening. Plainly, it was a face, but it was not recognized. Then other faces appeared, but without recognition. Once more the guitar strikes up its music, and during its continuance the curtains opened sufficiently to reveal to our astonished gaze a form, draped from head to foot in a dazzling white robe, in which there appeared to be a great many yards of material used. The face, in this instance was much plainer, and in fact, was recognized by one of our number, who, however, said nothing until the form announced its name as "Mrs. E— L—, mother of the lady sitting next our host."

The form spoke in a loud whisper, and no movement of the lips were visible. It stood stock still, and might have been mistaken for a dummy were it not that the face was so absolutely identified by the lady it claimed as daughter, and the full name it gave being entirely correct. The form remained in sight for a period of about twenty seconds, and after it had disappeared, the horn announced that the daughter carried the mother's watch, and that it contained the photo of her father. This the lady declared to be correct, and after the seance exhibited the watch with the photo inside, and the name given by the spirit graven on the inside of the back lid.

The lady declared that she had never before met the medium. The props were knocked from under the writer's materialism in beautiful shape. Other forms now presented themselves and four of them were recognized.

One of the faces was in exact likeness to an uncle of the writer's, and he was almost paralyzed with astonishment, and ready to throw up his hands in surrender, when his sister, addressing the spirit, said: "Uncle L—," for she, too, had recognized the face,

"have you anything to say to brother? Tell him something to convince him."

The writer was just about to say that it required no more evidence to convince him of the possibilities of spirit return, when the apparition spoke, saying: "Indeed, I should be pleased to grant the lady's request, but not being the spirit I am mistaken for, I cannot do so. I am the spirit of S—— W—— and the cousin of Mrs. D——." The lady named said she had never seen him in life; but there was a resemblance to a photograph of him, in their family album.

None of the forms or faces remained more than from five to twenty seconds.

Now, if this was the work of the medium, why did he not take the opportunity presented of palming off one of his dummies on one who had already accepted it as an uncle, and make an absolute test of it, instead of denying that it was the spirit supposed to be, and make an uncertain test of it? This thought also struck the gentleman skeptic who assisted the writer in the examinations.

Occurring as it did, it certainly went far toward sustaining the medium as honest, and having no part in the presentation of the phenomenon. *Both* skeptics were by this time pretty well *hors du combat*. All that was now required was that some spirit friend or message present itself that could be recognized, and the turn was made.

The horn now made itself heard again and began announcing the names of the spirits present. In all, about twenty were given, and eleven of them recognized. Among them were four full names of the author's deceased relatives, two of them giving date of death and the cause thereof and sending messages of love to members of the family not present, in each case giving the name of the one the message was for.

My sister informed me that she had never even heard of this particular medium before that week, and this was the first visit of any member of the family to him. The writer struck his arms and capitulated.

After another examination of the condition of things in the cabinet, which resulted satisfactorily, there was a regular bedlam of noises, begun, made by each one of the instruments, setting out on an erratic aerial excursion about the confines of the cabinet. Occasionally one or two of the instruments would dart up out of the top of the cabinet, and after executing a few fantastic movements, go below and join the general rumpus on the inside. It was, apparently,



impossible for the medium, even were he free, to put the instruments where they were seen, and besides this, the entire instrument was visible, and it was impossible to detect anything in connection with them, they seeming to float about the atmosphere as a balloon. Certain it was that the guitar could not perform on itself, and there was no human hand visible, to cause the vibration of the strings. The only thing appearing strange, regarding the guitar, was that only one air was executed upon it.

Immediately the rumpus ceased another inspection of the cabinet was made and everything found as it had been. The trumpet now requested that a writing tablet and pencil be placed in the cabinet. This was done and in a few minutes five messages of greeting, from the "controls," were handed out. One was in English, and signed by John King; another in French; another in German; another in Spanish, and the last in Hebrew, which no one present could read. It was taken the next day, by the writer and others, to a Hebrew clothing dealer, who read and interpreted it with ease, and stated that it was elegantly written. The medium claimed to have no knowledge of any language save English and was unable to speak that correctly, which was a fact, for he did badly mangle the language every time he spoke.

While we were waiting the thrusting out of the sixth sheet, the medium was heard to moan and yawn and move uneasily. In the course of a minute and a-half he called for light, and stepped out of the cabinet, freed from the ropes that had bound him less than two minutes before.

An examination revealed the fact that the medium had not only slipped out of the ropes but that every knot had been untied, and the ropes lay in a heap in the corner. Think of it. Something had untied the knots in less than two minutes that had required ten minutes of the time of two men.

The instruments were handled and examined and found to be perfectly innocent of any mechanism not properly belonging to them with the exception of a small hole, about the eight of an inch in diameter, bored into the neck of the instrument, on the lower side and near the body of the guitar. The medium explained that it was for the purpose of attaching a music holder to the instrument, and as he was stopping with our host of the evening, he soon brought the holder and put it in position. It answered the purpose admirably, and satisfactorily explained the presence of the hole.

There, reader, is an unvarnished recital of the phenomena occurring at the first seance witnessed by the writer. In fact, it does not

sound as wonderful as it appeared. You have probably read the statements made by Spiritualists that appeared, if anything, even less wonderful than the above narrative, and pooh-poohed the idea. You said it was trickery or the Spiriualist was mesmerized, or was stretching the truth. You asserted it was trickery,—you *knew* it was; but knowing it, you could not explain the method used to produce the results, hence the conclusion is that you *knew* nothing about it. You may have *believed* it the result of legerdemain, but should have so stated. If you knew how foolish is the theory of Mesmerism; how immensely it is out of the way, you would never advance it again.

Wonderful, was it? That was the opinion of the writer, especially when he had learned that the medium had never before been in that portion of the country and had never before met any of the parties present on that evening, save the host, and he only within two days. The medium had a reputation among the Spiritualist organs as being the finest physical test medium in the country at that time, and well did he sustain that reputation.

Reader, how did he do these things? You give it up. So did the author, at that time. Since that time the writer has been a celebrated medium for a number of years, and in due time it will be his pleasure to tell you how it was all accomplished so plainly that you can do it yourself. When the writer left that room it was as a believer in spiritual phenomena.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## NAMES OF DEITY.

BY THE HON. WILLIS BREWER.

IN the November number of *The Open Court* Mr. C. A. Browne interests us with a discussion of the names the Greeks applied to Deity; citing the "Cratylus" of Plato on the subject, and rejecting the statement of Herodotus that the divine names used by the Greeks were nearly all derived from those of the Egyptians. Mr. Browne refers to my articles in *The Open Court* of May and August, and is not in accord with me, I regret to say, in sustaining the Greek traveler.

Philology is the least exact of sciences. For one, at least, I find it impossible to be positive in any discussion of it; hence I use the words "seems," "perhaps," "probably," at every step in its paths. I confess, however, to some amazement when I turn to the ponderous tomes of Webster and Worcester, there to find our modern languages mainly derived from Iran and the uplands of the Indus, with scarcely a single reference to the vernacular of peoples with whom quasi-modern tongues like the Greek and the Latin were in immediate contact; peoples on the Levant who as Egyptians and Chaldeo-Phœnicians were recognized by the Greeks and the Latins as the most learned of all the sons of men. But one is the more disposed to excuse these patient lexicographers when one finds that the laborious Gesenius is equally remiss as to the very ancient tongue spoken on the Nile and its influence on the neighboring Hebrew.

Few students of religious origins or ideas will deny the operation of those of Egypt upon the creeds of the West, and even upon Christianity. This operation did not cease with the overthrow of the ancient monarchy by Kambyses, and was largely expanded under the sway of the Ptolemys, Emperor Hadrian in the second century considering Christ and Serapis as the same. If, then, the religion of the Egyptians was so potential, so wide-spread; their learning

so universally confessed; why should we ignore all diffusion of their language?

Greek students, in their devotion to the genius of the Hellenic peoples, so thrilling and ennobling as its productions are to all the lofty of soul, seem often insensibly to install those peoples at the fountain sources of knowledge and culture. The fact must not be forgotten, however, that, apart from Homer and Hesiod (<sup>c</sup>Hesi-it, Egyptian for "bard," "singer"; <sup>c</sup>Hesid, Hebrew for "holy-one," Ps. xvi. 10), the glory and grandeur of Greek genius was almost entirely enclosed within the two centuries between B. C. 500 and 300; a period which I take to cover the main part of Hebrew literary activity also. A thousand years before the older of these dates the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt had, from their lithograph evidences, raised that nation to the highest pinnacle of art and conquest. These evidences claim that they had taken Nineveh, the massive temples and colossi at Thebes were then upreared, and the lately-found tablets at Tel Amarnah show that Egyptian governors in the land of milk and metheglin were there ready to oppose the Jehoshua who about that time is said to have exterminated the Canaanites. This thousand years are as the time between the building of the Parthenon and the burning of the Alexandrian library; as the time between the Pandects of Justinian and the witch-burning in Massachusetts. What is the history of the naked savages of the Greek peninsula and their barbarous jargon when Thebes and her hundred gates were a wonder of the world?

That Egypt was in that era of her splendor, and for long before and after, a commercial and maritime center and power, there are many evidences to attest. In later times the pirates of Greece and Phœnicia seem to have made of the Uath-Ur or Mediterranean a name of dread; though this fact did not deter the fleet of King Necho from rounding the continent of Africa twenty centuries before the birth of Vasco di Gama. Whether a trader or one that was traded with, it seems impossible that such contact should have utterly failed to carry at least fragments of Egyptian dialect along the coasts and among the isles of the tideless sea; the Acheron of the Jews (Deut. xxxiv. 2) and of the classic myth, on an imitation of which the Egyptian dead were embarked in a Bari, whence I-Beria, and the town Brasixæ of the dead Semele in Laconia (Paus. 3:24) if not the Aron Barith of Hebrew ritual.

No doubt Phœnician traders supplied Greece and the West with Chaldean ideals to some extent, but there is no evidence of other contact, commercial or militant, of Babylon with European tribes

or towns. I am not aware that the Phœnicians used the name *Marduk*, the Akkadian "Sun-brilliance" or *Amar-Atuki* of F. Lenormant, and hence am unable to agree with Mr. Browne that *Marduk* is the name *Mars* of the Romans; and yet *Mars* as *Grad-ivus* is possibly *Marduk* as the *Kurad* or "warrior" in Chaldaic epic, the *Herad* or "tremble" of the Hebrew (whence *Herod*), and probably the Egyptian *Her-at* or third person of their triads; as, also, the name of *Mars* as *Quir-in-us* seems the *Charun* of the Etruscan abyss-world, the Greek pilot over the *Styx* (*Setek* is Egyptian for "concealed"), whose name is from the Egyptian *Heru* or "Horus" who led the dead into the court of *Asar* or "Osir-is"; for, indeed, the Etruscan *Charun* was only an assistant of their *Mant-us*, chief god of the death realm, whose name suggests the Egyptian *Amenti*, and *Aesar* in Etruscan means "god."

With reference to the concept *Pan*, the Arcadian name of *Deity*, who is identified by Mr. Browne with the *Ea-Bani* of Chaldean story, I must say that the Greeks identified him with the deity of the town *Apu* or *Apun* in Egypt, which they called *Pano-polis*, and there the name of *Deity* was *Amesu* or *Min* or *Hem*, who seems a personification of fertile *Hem* or "Egypt," and who appears as *Ham* the son of *Noah* in the Hebrew story, the one who exposed his drunken father the vine-planter; hence this *Apun* or *Pan* of rural Arcadia became, further north in Greece, *Priapus*, a name from *P-Arep* or "the Wine" in Egyptian, I should say; but I have suspected from the satyr figures of *Pan* that his name came from the Egyptian "the Ape" or *P-Aan*, symbol of *Thoth*, of whom the Chaldean *Ea* was a type; and it is curious that when *Ja-Aakob* ends his night wrestle, evidently with the satyr *Æsav*, who was being supplanted by a *Tham* or "perfect" man, the sun rose to *Ja-Aakob* as he passed over *Penu-El*, for from the "great and exceeding bitter cry" of *Æsav* (*Gen.* xxvii. 34) when he found himself supplanted by his *Tham* brother we may have the cry of *Thom-as*, "My Lord and my God!" when he realized *Jesus* as a new theocratic force; whence *Plutarch* in the second century perhaps got his story of the pilot *Tham-us* in the reign of *Tiberius* who was told by a mighty voice "Great *Pan* is dead!"—or these "co-incidences" seem meant to indicate a transition from a religion of beast symbols to one of revealed spiritual concepts, but I leave that question to the pontiffs.

I am not at one with Mr. Browne as to *De-Meter*. He says this is a form of the Chaldean *Tiamat*. From *Berosus* to *Delitzsch* junior all agree that *Tiamat* was the sea; the *Tehom* or "deep" (*Gen.* i. 2). Now the identity of *De-Meter* with the Sicilian *Ceres*

tends to show she was an earth goddess. Hence I must support my view that De Meter is the Egyptian Te-Mut-Ur or "the great Mother," though I recognize the Greek word Meter or "mother," yet doubt the usual explanation of De as Gea or "earth," and prefer the Egyptian Ta, which means "Earth" as well as the feminine definite article, since the letters T and D in Egyptian are the same. Besides, the mysteries at Elu-Isis are admittedly those of Isis, the sorrowing and wandering; the Naa-Ami of the ancient shrine Beth Le<sup>c</sup>hem, for Naa means a "wanderer" in both Hebrew and Egyptian (comp. "fugitive," Gen. iv. 12), as Ruu or Ruu-th also means in Egyptian; and as Ha-Gar she was worshiped in north Arabia long before He-Jira was associated with "the Flight" of Mo<sup>c</sup>-Hammed, while her son I-Shem-aa-El would mean in Egyptian "great-nomad-God" since Shem means "to go"; and so Ra<sup>c</sup>hel means in Arabic to "migrate," and she died near Beth Le<sup>c</sup>hem in birth throes with Beni-Amin or "son-of-my-nurse," as Naa-Ami was Aman of Ruth's child; and Naa-Am-ah is made daughter of Malech (for which "Lamech" seems to me error of a letter transposed) in one place and wife of El-Melech in another place; but she was also called Mara, Egyptian for "beloved," and it was a happy thought when the two prologue chapters of the Matthew and the Luke were prefixed as to another wandering mother. But Le<sup>c</sup>h-Em as "shining-mother" might seem athwart this view if Ha-Gar had not the well La<sup>c</sup>h-ai Roi or "shining eyes," the Le<sup>c</sup>h-i or "rays" (not "jaw-bone") of Shimesh-on, the Al-La<sup>c</sup>h (not "Allah") or "the Shining" to whom the Moslems yet kneel at sunrise and at sunset; but perhaps Le<sup>c</sup>h-Am only means "mother-of-the-Shining," as Isis of Horus, Latona of Apollo, Myrrha of Adonis, etc., all of whom with De-Meter are the local of the same general concept.

The "Cratylus" excerpt, cited by the learned Mr. Browne, is a play on words and phrases, and exhibits the flexibility of the Greek tongue. The Athenians were as the Parisians of our day, they wished to be wise but preferred to be witty. Their poets and sophists had been telling ugly stories about the celestials before the time of Plato, and Aristophanes is as flippant as Voltaire. This irreverence strewed Greece with ruined fanes and broken altars as shown in the invaluable itinerary of Pausanias. Plato was not meaning to be serious. The revival in the second century was not perhaps due to the "Unknown God" of Paul, whose altars were found by Pausanias in other places than Athens, but from Apuleius we find that it was due to the Egyptian cults, and he was initiated into the mysteries of

Anubis as well as those of Isis and Osiris, with which initiations his polished intellect was profoundly impressed.

The Hebrew writers, as Shemites, are more serious. Save the Jonah, which I take to be a satire on the Noa<sup>h</sup> Deluge—Jon-ah meaning “dove” and “wine,” and its reverse being the Greek form ha-Noi, while the dove was emblem of Assyria and the goddess Semiramis, and Nin was the fish-god—save this, I say, their humor is rather confined, restricted to double meanings. But little reliance can be placed on the derivation of their proper names; even Josephus rejecting that given of Mosheh, which may be Egyptian Mo<sup>h</sup>u or “anointed,” but also probably Masha as the “balance” with which Thoth weighed hearts; and the son of Æsculapios was Macha-on, while the Shekel in Æskulapios means in Hebrew to “weigh,” and the identity of Thoth and Æsculapius is usually recognized; and yet the reverse of M-S<sup>h</sup>-eh is ha-S<sup>h</sup>-m or “the Name,” and Egyptians were forbidden to utter the name of Thoth as well as that of Osiris, as Jews are commanded not to utter the S<sup>h</sup>em of Jehoah “to the S<sup>h</sup>ave.”

It is doubtless true, however, as one may infer from Mr. Browne’s article, that names of Deity are often those of some attribute expressed in the home language, but the contrary is also true. Sometimes the name is meant as a translation, as in English versions the Hebrew name Adon is invariably rendered “lord,” but the Egyptian officer Aden was not of the highest rank, though Aten was the “disk” of the sun, while the Chaldean word Addin is rendered “time,” “year.” And so Jehoah or Joh is usually rendered “Lord” in English with the explanation of Ehich as “I am” (An-a or “Me am” in Egyptian) before our eyes, and which Ehich is understood to be a form of Iehoah, or vice versa. But the Mediterranean peoples have done well to preserve an ancient Egyptian word in this connection, and a Dai or “adorer” of Daa or the “giver” transmits to us Deus and Dieu and divine, with all the variations of this important term. And yet Heaven forbid that I should say aught of this subject in a positive way, for, if philology can be considered a science at all, I repeat that it is the most inexact of sciences; but a rule that might assist to guide us in the study is that of the proximity of peoples as well as the consonance of words, etc.

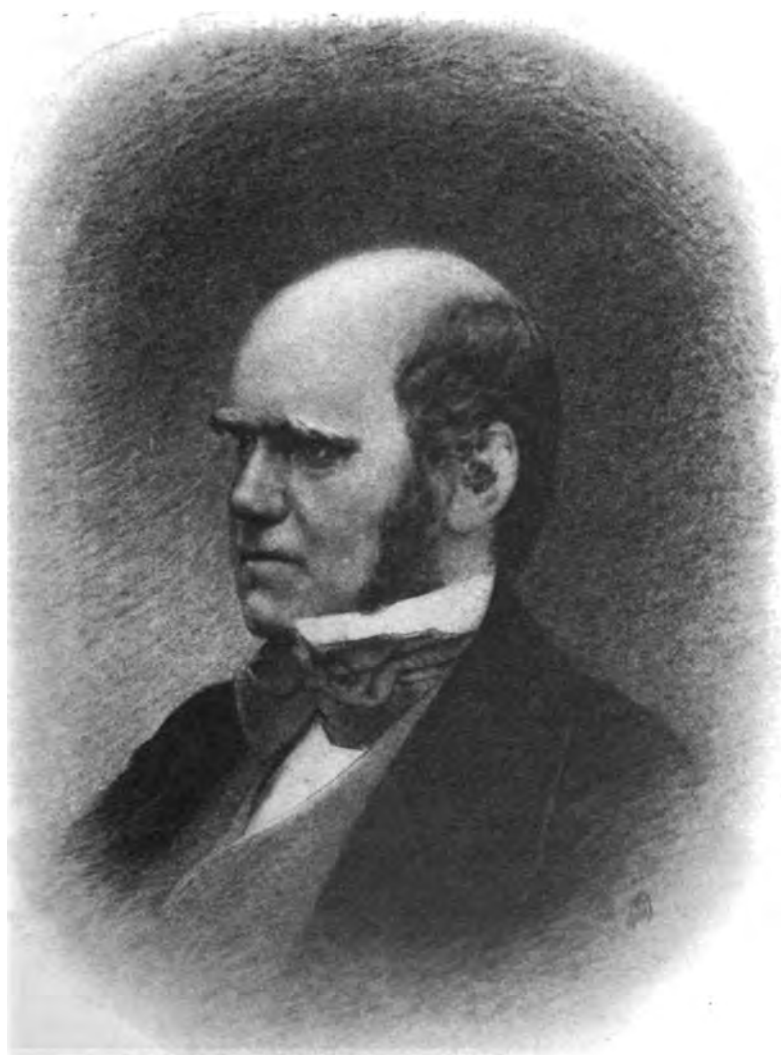
## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE DARWIN AND LINCOLN CENTENNIAL.

The fact that Lincoln's birthday, February 12th, is also the anniversary of Darwin's birth, has come to receive almost universal recognition at the annual celebration of the national holiday, and in Europe of course the day is associated with the great Evolutionist rather than with the Liberator. This year, however, the date is of especial interest as it marks the centenary of the birth of both great men. It is only fitting that advantage should be taken of this opportunity to commemorate in some worthy and conspicuous manner the great services they have rendered mankind. Great preparations have long been making for the celebration of the Lincoln centennial. These are most prominent among the schools but not limited to them, since throughout Illinois and in the larger cities of many other states a period of from four days to a week is being set aside to do honor to the memory of the martyr hero. Darwin's centennial will be celebrated more quietly but very generally in scientific circles, the largest public demonstration taking place in Cambridge, England, about the middle of June. Efforts will be made to have scientific work in biological and evolutionary lines assume a commemorative aspect in some permanent way. The Open Court Publishing Company will issue an English translation of Hugo de Vries's *Mutationstheorie*, the first volume of which at least will appear by the time of the Cambridge celebration. Nothing could serve more fittingly as a memorial to the immortal scientist than this record of the continuation of his work as it has been carried on by the man who, more than any other naturalist, has succeeded in furthering the end towards which Darwin himself labored.

The portrait here reproduced represents Darwin in the prime of his life, at the time when he was writing his first works and before he became widely known. The original photograph was a gift from Darwin to Mr. Victor J. Carus, the young Leipsic zoologist who was then engaged in translating the English scientist's earlier works into German. We know of no other copy of this photograph now in existence outside of the circle of Darwin's immediate family, and we are sure that the portrait will be of unusual interest to the readers of *The Open Court* since it gives a somewhat unfamiliar phase of a famous personality.





DARWIN IN HIS PRIME.

## MR. LEUBUSCHER'S STATEMENT CONCERNING DE MEDICI.\*

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

I thank you for your friendly letter of the 16th inst. The duplicate of your article on Dr. De Medici came in a later mail.

Every mathematician that sneers at Dr. De Medici as a good draftsman and arithmetician; that declines to unbend his gentlemanly dignity sufficiently to construct the diagrams required by the Doctor's exposition; that shuts his eyes with muscular force to the demonstration by which surds are transformed into solvents so as to make them aliquot divisors; every such mathematician, I say, as well as those that believe that because a problem has been found insoluble by all known methods after thousands of years, it must, perforce, be insoluble forever, that no new method can possibly be found with which to tackle the problem (for all the world as the Ptolemaic astronomers claimed before the advent of Copernicus),—all of such "cathologic" mathematicians will find in your article the verdict of common sense.

But you must admit that the verdict of common sense is often found by science to be just the inverse to the truth. Take the common sense verdict of the relations of the sun and earth. Ignorant of, and therefore ignoring, the possibility of the diurnal motion of the body on which they stand, persons of sturdy common sense declare that "the sun do move." Now, from what I know of Dr. De Medici's system I feel confident that you will awaken at no distant day to find that Dr. De Medici *had* made the discovery of the law for the conversion of surd unit-measures into solvents through such a change of their forms or their magnitudes that they are rendered available as aliquot divisors. It is hardly a fair statement therefore of the facts of the case to say "that he would dispense with incommensurability, thereby squaring the circle in a short cut."

I regret that you condemn the work without a personal examination of at least pages 17-26 of Part 2 of Section B in connection with the page proofs of Section C. Such examination should not take more than a couple of hours of your time. You will there perceive that what you denominate in your article, "arithmetic," is really "*geometry translated and expressed in numbers*"; that "geometry thus translated into numbers becomes the *science of ratios*"; and that "when a sufficient number of exact and finite ratios are obtained and tabulated, these tables and their measures of proportion, become economic instruments in computation which can be applied to conventional mensuration and to all branches of physics."

The admission of the mathematicians that have made a cursory examination of Dr. De Medici's text-books, that they contain "many thoughtful suggestions," is fatal to the assumption that he could not possibly have discovered the much-to-be-desired and long-sought-for key to commensuration, inasmuch as the Doctor claims that *all* of these "thoughtful suggestions" are logically involved in that basic discovery, the discovery, in short, that "different geometric forms have fixed and constant unit-measures fitted to the form, and that all of these natural geometric units are translatable into exact and fitting numbers."

\* This communication is in direct reply to the references to Dr. Charles de Medici in the editorial article "The Tragedy of a Lonely Thinker," which appeared in *The Open Court* of December 1908. It reached us too late to be added to Mr. Leubuscher's article in the same number, in compliance with his request.

Any one following out the Doctor's directions will find his exposition luminous, and his style a marvel of simplicity and directness. He claims that "the current method ignores distinction between geometry and mensuration, and thus produces confusion in the mind. The New Geometry distinctly marks the difference. It limits geometry to what is done by compass and ruler *within* the circle, and to such translation of lines, curves and planes into numbers as finitely express the geometric units and proportions of the sines, chords, arcs and angles of the circle."

In a former letter I stated that I regarded Mr. Russell's treatment of Dr. De Medici's system (See "Minos and Niemand Again," in *The Open Court* for November) as inadequate, inappropriate, and inconclusive. It will not be long before you will come to see this yourself.

I would have written the first few pages of my own article somewhat differently had I known that you would omit from the caption all reference to the Doctor as mathematician, inventor, chemist, and all-round genius. For, with the bare name of the man for a caption, I fear that the reader will wonder, for some pages, what I am driving at. I will ask a last favor of you: *publish* the foregoing letter as a footnote to my article. It will give the general reader an idea of the definite mathematical claims of Dr. De Medici, *which he cannot otherwise get* from any of our articles—Mr. Russell's, yours, or mine, as they stand.

If there is time, please make one correction in your own article. I have *not* come into possession of the Doctor's books, etc., but I am willing to act for the widow in the matter, and she expressed a desire that I should so act.

A. L. LEUBUSCHER.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

GREEK MYTHS AND THEIR ART. By *Charles E. Mann, M.S.* New York: Prang Educational Company, 1907. Pp. 155.

This rendering of the Greek myths is intended as a supplementary reader prepared for use in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades of our schools. The author, recently deceased, was one of the most successful and experienced educators of the Middle West,—successful in the most practical sense in uplifting and ennobling the character of the individual child no less than providing the instruction that tends to intellectual culture. It is true, as is stated in the preface, that no kind of reading matter is so universally popular among children as that pertaining to Greek myths. "The meaning does not go over their heads. They enter into them and freely challenge the right and the wrong of what is done, and they make ready application to present-day affairs of the principles involved in the myth. The beauty and delicacy shown by the myths delight them, and nothing can be offered that will furnish better training for the imagination,—a faculty quite as necessary to the business man as to the poet. The golden age of childhood seems peculiarly the time to gain something like an organized knowledge of this subject. If neglected then, no amount of after effort in the use of the classical dictionary or other reference books will quite make good the loss." And an incalculable loss it would be, for ever since Greece's own Golden Age these tales have been the subject of incident and illustration of the best in literature and art.

The real educator is a born story-teller, and Mr. Mann was peculiarly gifted in this respect so that the stories are easily comprehensible to fourth grade children, while they bear no fewer elements of interest for high school pupils. These legends are grouped in a logical order and contain all the essential narratives. Although modern scholars first came to a knowledge of Greek myths through Latin writers, Mr. Mann has wisely chosen to retain the Greek names in his text and only those, as the incongruity of the more prevalent method is clearly evident. The Glossary, however, (which is at the same time an index) gives the Latin equivalent in every case and also a cross-reference from the Latin name to the main entry under the Greek form. The most conspicuous feature of this collection, and the characteristic which gives it most distinctive value as compared to other works on the same subject, is the unusual and very excellent choice of the illustrations. Besides the very best of the classical statues, such as the Venus of Melos and Apollo of Belvidere, which no study of Greek mythology or art could possibly omit, the best painters of modern art are represented whenever they have treated these beautiful stories in the classical spirit, Titian, Rubens, Albano, Velasquez, Gerard, Poynter and Thorwaldsen, and nothing could be more unexpected in such a book, and yet more beautifully fitting than Burne-Jones's "Eros and Psyche." The reproductions are well made and each is accompanied by interpretive and biographical material. Teachers in the grades can not do better than to sit at the feet of this master of children's hearts and learn of him the spirit in which to make the gods of Olympus live again.

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LA PELAGRA. Par le Dr. A. Marie with an introduction by Prof. C. Lombroso. Paris: Giard et Brière, 1908. Pp. 250. Price 4 fr.

A successful experiment in which a social poison is well on the road to extinction as in the case of pellagra, is of paramount sociological interest. It is characteristic of our age that humanity, becoming more conscious of its duties, is possessed of a growing faith in itself. Moreover, we are beginning to perceive dimly the possibility of liberating ourselves from degenerative factors in our social life by preventive measures which are scientific in method and positive in results. Difference of opinion with regard to state intervention or individual initiation will not prevent the inevitable course of evolution. Success in the struggle against factors of degeneration depends largely on the clear demonstration of their fatal consequences. Alcoholism, the opium habit, and many other social poisons still remain to be overcome, but the example of pellagra and the history of its curse as well as the triumphs of science towards its overthrow can be of remarkable assistance in the modern crusade against these plagues. This is the reason that Dr. Marie has undertaken to sum up the history of the ravages of decayed maize in Italy and the successful efforts which have been made to combat them. The sociological work of Lombroso is closely united with this crusade and the medical corps of Italy have devoted a century to the struggle.





MOUNT FUJI. (From a photograph.)

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

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the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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## THE WOOING OF THE MOON-MAIDEN.

A FAIRY TALE OF OLD JAPAN.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

### I.

ONCE upon a time, in the forest not far from Kyoto, there lived an old, old man, with his old, old wife. He was surly and gentle hearted, and she was crabbed and kind. They were kind and gentle, because they greatly loved little children. They were crabbed and surly, because, though they had prayed much and hoped much, they had no children of their own.

This old, old man was a busy worker. Day by day, he cut bamboos in the forest, and, bringing them home, fashioned them into all sorts of useful and pretty things: baskets and pitchers and flower-vases, arm-stools and mirror-stands and screens. And as he worked, he grumbled, and muttered to himself petulantly, and sang sad snatches of song. And his old, old wife busied herself about their dwelling, weaving, and cooking, and cleaning her chambers, and she too grumbled to herself at her toil, not because it was irksome, but because her house was lonely and silent.

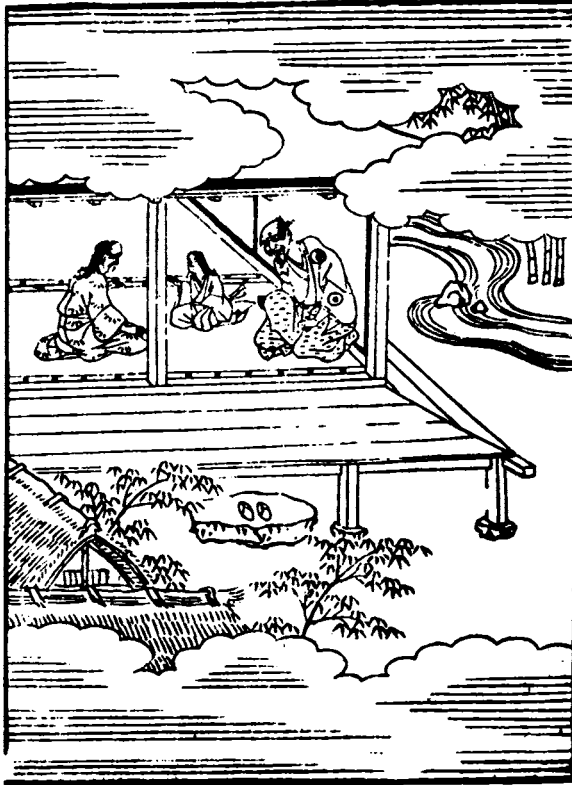
One day, as the old man was splitting bamboos in a forest-glade, he came upon a stem very large and glossy and thick. He split it cautiously with his iron chopper, and then his eyes opened wide, and the snatch of song died on his lips. For there, within the hollow of the bamboo, was a little maiden, very lovely and shining with a shimmering radiance like full moon light. And the little maiden smiled at him, and stretched out her little hands to him to take her.

The old, old man shook, and his lips quavered, and his hands trembled, but he took the little maiden to his heart and said:

"I have worked hard enough, here in the wild forest, chopping

these tough bamboos, and taking whatever comes. Surely, then, I may take this little maiden, and bring her home to my old, old wife, to keep her for our own!"

There were tears on his rough cheeks when he brought the little maiden home to his wife, and tears were on her withered face, as she took the child and fondled it, and fed it, and hushed it in her arms. But there was gladness in their eyes, as they sat silent to-



THE MOON MAIDEN AND HER FOSTER PARENTS.

gether, hand in hand, watching the moon-maiden sleeping, in a basket of woven bamboo, and smiling as she slept.

The blessing came not singly, but brought others with it. For on the next day, when the old man had caressed the little moon-maiden, and bade his old wife farewell, and had set himself once more to chop bamboos in the forest, a strange thing happened. Cutting a tough bamboo, and smiling at its toughness, he came upon a hollow joint, all filled with grains of yellow gold, that would have



poured out upon the moss, if he had not stopped it with the hollow of his hand. Every day this happened, as though the Great Ones who had sent the little maiden, sent also the daily measure of fine gold, that she might be well tended, and lack nothing. The old man and his old wife took the gold, and spent some of it for the little maiden, and stored some of it away for the little maiden. And though they were well content to have the gold, yet they grumbled over it a little, for they would have been better pleased to do all things for the little maid with their own earnings, thus feeling that she was more their own.

The moon-maiden grew not by years and months, but by days, so that presently she reached the full stature of girlhood, and bound up her hair, and wore the robes of a grown girl, instead of the garments of childhood. But her smile and her sweetness remained unchanged and she filled the old couple's house with radiance, charming away their aches and pains and sorrows. With affection they tended her, as their child, yet looking on her with wonder, as something celestial. The gold did not fail to pour itself daily from the bamboo joint in the forest, so that the old wood-cutter grew to be a man of great consequence and worth, well considered of all who dwelt there, and famed even as far as the great city of Kyoto.

The time came for them to present their wonderful child to the people of their acquaintance and their friends, and the old man took gold from his hoard, and bought things rich and dainty and beautiful, and he and his old wife prepared a great festival, to which they summoned all, men and women alike, to partake of their feast and behold the moon-maiden.

## 11.

From the day of the festival, the fame of the moon-maiden went abroad, so that nothing else was talked of in the neighborhood, and even as far as Kyoto, and the distant provinces. The hearts of the young men became as water, when they thought of her radiance and her smile full of moonlight, and they forgot even to conceal their love-lorn estate, as good manners enjoin. The whisper of her went through the forests, and soon all through the wood the lovers began to come together, till the fence about the garden was full of eyes, as the suitors crept close, hoping to see the moon-maiden. But neither early nor later did she appear to them, neither by day nor in the twilight, when the monkeys came forth from the deep forest, did she show herself to them, nor satisfy their aching hearts with a sight of her radiance.

The sound of their sighing was like wind among the pine-trees, or the rustling of leaves in the bamboo grove, and their faces were pale as the waves with waiting and longing. Yet never a sign did they see of the moon-maiden, and never a word did they hear of her, though they lay in wait to get speech with the old, old man and his old, old wife.

As the long days and long nights of waiting passed without



SUITORS SEEKING A GLIMPSE OF THE MOON MAIDEN.

She converses below with the old old couple.

solace, the eyes of those that watched at the fence grew fewer, the less ardent hearts grew cool, and only the fervent still lingered, determined to behold the moon-maiden, eager to win her to wife. Faint hearts grow fainter in adversity, but stout hearts grow stronger. Therefore, while the lesser men slunk away discouraged from the quest of the moon-maiden, the nobler more determinedly remained. At last four only lingered, the best of all the suitors. And these

were the four: a prince, and a courtier, and a councillor, and a minister of the Emperor's court. These four resolutely remained, the love of the moon-maiden growing ever greater in their hearts, and day and night their sighs echoed around her dwelling.

How great is the love of youths, even for the daughters of men, such as possess rare loveliness of face and form, and exceeding grace and gentleness of spirit! How great, then, was the longing of the suitors for the peerless moon-maiden, so that her shining image was before them whichever way they turned, and the longing desire to behold her possessed their souls. Moody and lean, they paced up and down, outside the fence of the garden, seeing nothing but the image of the moon-maiden, feeling nothing but the pain of their longing for her.

As they were no common men, but lords well trained in wisdom and wit and words, they indited tender epistles to the maiden, fragrant with soft eloquence of passion, but the maiden never sent a word in answer, and they knew not even whether her heart rejoiced or grieved at their fair speech. Verses, too, they inscribed to her, very sweet and musical, likening her to blossoms and sunlight and spices, her cheek to the peony, her eyes to stars, her tresses to the long leaves of weeping willows. But never a word came back to them from the maiden, to show whether her heart was flattered by all their musical pain. When winter came, with icicles and snow-flurries, they still were there, blowing on their fingers and thinking of the moon-maiden. When summer returned, sultry and thunderous, when even the Great Ones hide from the heat in the cool night-sky, the suitors still lingered, dry-lipped and parched by the heat, but still thinking of the moon-maiden.

A day came at last when the suitors waylaid the old wood-cutter in the forest: not proudly, though they were great lords and courtiers, but humbly, though he was but a poor wood-cutter, and they bowed down to him, with palms joined in supplication.

"Give us your daughter! Give us to wed the moon-maiden!" they besought him; "that one of us may possess her love, and the rest may be cured of hope, and so of longing!"

"Not in the way of birth is she my daughter," said the old man, doubting: "nor was she cradled in my poor dwelling. Therefore I cannot bid her to wed this man or that, but her own will must she follow. If she will wed, led her wed. If not, then she must remain single. What can a poor old wood-cutter do with a moon-maiden?"

So even these four, the prince, and the courtier, and the councillor, and the minister of the Emperor's court, went sorrowing away

to their own homes. Yet even there, they did not cease from their longing and their desire to possess her. Never a month passed that they did not indite rare epistles and inscribe musical verses to her, sending them to the old wood-cutter, that he might lay them before the moon-maiden, hoping thus perchance to touch her heart.

But the old man was grieved at their departure, for he had loved to watch them, while feigning not to look at them, for it is no common thing for a prince and a courtier, a councillor and a minister to linger outside a wood-cutter's garden, not proudly, but humbly, and lowly of heart. Therefore the old man grieved over their going, and would have had them back again. He bethought him, too, of the shortness of life, and of the mutability of things, and that his old wife and he must soon be going, and then their moon-maiden would be alone, with none to succor her. So one day he decided in his heart that he would speak to the maiden.

## III.

Thus did the old man speak to her:

"Darling mine, fair daughter! Down through the cycles of change that ring through the years you came to us; day by day have we cherished you, baby and maid. Listen, then, to an old man who loves you!"

The moon-maiden thus answered:

"What has my father to say to his daughter? Humbly she listens, obedient. Whether I came through the cycles of change I know not, but that you are my father, well-loved, I know!"

The old man said again:

"Joyful and glad is my heart at my daughter's answer. But let my daughter bethink her! I am an old, old man; three score and ten are the years upon me. To-day or to-morrow my time comes, or it may be after to-morrow, and so my daughter will be left alone. Think too of this my daughter: since the world was young, it has befallen that the heart of the youth and maiden are drawn together, so that the heart of the youth is to the maiden, and the heart of the maiden to the youth, and there is no help for it, but so it is ordained, that the world may increase. . . ."

But the moon-maiden wrung her hands:

"What are these strange words of my father? What do they portend? Must it be so, and is there indeed no help?"

"There is no help!" said the old man; "but so must it verily be. Though you came through the cycles of change to us strangely, yet you are a maiden, as maidens be. So there is no help. And

consider, too, the heavy white years upon me! Soon must your father be going, leaving you all alone, without a protector. Think too of these great lords, how noble and fine they are, how full of constancy! Let your heart pity their longing. Through months and through years they have sought you, longing to wed you, therefore have pity! Let them speak with you, that each may plead his cause, telling you how he loves you,—each in his turn!”

But the moon-maiden answered pitifully:

“Your daughter is far from fair; not such as she can be sure to hold a man’s heart, yet were she indeed most miserable, if the heart of her lover turned from her! The suitors are noble and courtly, truly. Yet is it not wise to wed even a noble, whose constancy is untried, whose inmost heart is unknown!”

The old man began to hope:

“My very thoughts, my daughter! But if these noble courtiers please you not, who then among men may hope to please you? Are they not very fair and fine?”

The moon-maiden answered:

“It is as my father says. But I desire only to try and prove the constancy of these nobles. The hearts of men are subtle, nor is it easy for a maiden to tell the better from the worse, for all make a fair showing to her. Go, therefore, my father, and tell to these courtly lords that your daughter will follow in wedlock him among them who proves himself most worthy.”

The old man answered: “So be it, child!” and smiled to himself with satisfaction, for he was right glad to think that the suitors were coming back, and swiftly he sent messengers to them, to summon them to assemble.

The shadows of twilight descended out of the sky, and with the darkness came a sound of low music in the woods, as the suitors drew nearer. The shrill, sad voices of flutes resounded among the trees, and soft, low love-songs, with a plaintive burden. Reed-pipes lisped their sweetness, and there was a low throbbing of fans, moved in cadence to the music, so that the moon-maiden might know that all her lovers had come.

The moon-maiden herself came not forth, but sent the old man, her father. He, indeed, bowing reverently to the nobles and courtiers, spoke to them thus:

“Long have my masters lingered by this poor dwelling, filling the lowly hearts of its inmates with gratitude. Many are the years of your servant, the white years that lay their burden upon men. Therefore your servant took counsel with himself, and spoke thus

to the moon-maiden my daughter: 'Soon must I go hence, my daughter, leaving you lonely and unprotected! Choose, therefore, from among these great lords and courtiers one who may be your guard and guide when I am gone!' The moon-maiden my daughter answered that the hearts of men are subtle, and hard to discern. She would wed only him who proved himself most worthy, and for this purpose she would summon my masters hither. May this seem good to my masters, as it has seemed good to your poor servant!"

The lords and courtiers said: "So be it!" and bowed to him, assenting.

So the old man, bending low to them in reverence, returned to the dwelling, bringing to his daughter the assent of the lords and courtiers.

The moon-maiden pondered deeply, with downcast eyes, so that even her fan ceased moving. Then she spoke thus, in a low voice:

"In far-away Ind was born our lord, the Compassionate. In the days of his trial he begged food by the wayside, seeking alms. He gathered rice from kind folks, in a poor bowl of stone. Here is the first quest: let the Prince, my suitor, set forth in search of the bowl!"

Then she pondered again, and once more her fan grew still.

"In the wild, wide ocean of the sunrise," she said again at length, "is a lofty mountain peak. It is Horai, the magical mountain, and on its crest is a tree most wonderful. The roots of the tree are silver, and its stem is pure gold. The leaves are emeralds, and the fruit is milk-white jade. Let the Courtier, my suitor, bring me a branch of that tree!"

She bethought herself once more, and presently spoke:

"In the grewsome land of sulphur, beyond the sea, are rats that no flame will burn. Of their skins men make fur-robcs, that fire consumes not. Let the Councillor, my third suitor, go thither and bring me a fur-robe! This is the third quest."

After deep meditation, she spoke once again:

"Lastly, the Minister of the Emperor's court; here is his quest. There is a fearsome dragon, who breathes forth smoke and fire. Yet for all his venom, hid in his head is a precious jewel, colored like the rainbow, sparkling like the dew. Let him slay the dragon, and bring the bright gem to me!"

As he listened to the moon-maiden, his daughter, the old man's chin sank on his breast, and his heart grew heavy:

"Dire tasks are these, my daughter, impossible to be fulfilled. The things you demand may not be found within the rim of the

Four Seas. I cannot carry a message like this to the lords and courtiers, bidding them set forth on such quests as these!"

But the moon-maiden answered:

"If they have hearts in their breasts, the tasks are not too hard for them!"

So the old man saw, as many an old man does, that he must obey his daughter, for there was no help. He went out, therefore, and bowing lowly and reverently to the lords and courtiers, told them of the tasks that were laid upon them:

"Only by these stern quests can your valor be known, and the maiden be won!" And he bowed once more, in reverence and sorrow.

IV.

The lords and courtiers bowed to him, and withdrew. But when they were gone some little way, they began to murmur together, raising their eyebrows, and pursing their lips.

"The lady disdains us!" they said; "and in scorn she has laid these tasks on us! Let us go!" So they went.

The Prince, the first of the suitors, returned to his mansion, wrathful and angry at heart, thinking that the maiden had scorned and flouted him. But his wrath faded, and his anger grew cold, and the image of the moon-maiden remained, so that his heart was sick with longing, and he found no rest nor joy in his house.

Then he bethought him whether indeed it were better to set forth to the land of Ind, to seek the holy bowl of the Compassionate One, so that thus he might win the moon-maiden.

But he likewise bethought himself of the perils of the way, of the weary leagues of ocean, of the danger of storms and fearful beasts and evil men, and presently, deeply pondering, he saw in his mind a more desirable way. And seeing it he smiled.

He sent word straightway to the old man and the moon-maiden his daughter, that he would set out for Ind, in quest of the holy bowl. But in truth he did not set out thither, but went only as far as the sea-coast, and then turned back secretly by night, and hid himself, and so remained concealed for many a moon, until three years were passed.

Then he hied him to the hills, where was a monastery of the saint Pindola. Behind the altar in the shrine he sought, and found a bowl of stone, very old, very dust-begrimed and black, that looked as if it might indeed have been the bowl of the Compassionate One, for very age.

This he took with him, and wrapping it in a rich roll of brocaded silk, and binding to it a spray of cherry-blossoms, very artfully fashioned, he sent them to the old man and to the moon-maiden his daughter, and with them he sent verses very skilfully indited, himself following after.

Full of wonder and fear was the moon-maiden, when she saw the bowl and the silk brocade, and the cherry-blossoms, for she thought that the hour was come when she must leave the house of



THE SUITOR BRINGS HIS OFFERING.

He waits below.

her father, to follow the Prince in wedlock, and her heart was sore. Within the wondrous bowl, she found the verses that the prince had written, and this is what she read:

Oh! the rock-pierced mountains,  
 Oh! the foam-driven billows  
 In my long quest I have traversed!



Oh! the tears of the search for the bowl!  
A bowl-full of tears shed to win it!

The moon-maiden drew her brows together and considered: "If it be indeed the bowl of the Compassionate, then will it shimmer radiant in the darkness!" So they set down the bowl in the midst, very reverently, and darkened the chamber. But never a gleam from the bowl, not even the glimmer of a fading fire-fly!

When they lit the paper lanterns, the prince was gone. So the moon-maiden, very glad at heart, wrapped the bowl once more in the brocade, and, adding verses, sent them after the Prince, her suitor. These are the verses that she sent:

Even a glint of light  
Such as a dew-drop might harbor,  
Lurks not within the rim!  
How could you hope for light  
In the altar's recesses dark?

The Prince took the bowl, and read the verses. When he had read them, he first tried to break the bowl, and then, failing to break it, sent it rumbling and rolling away. But as he was a learned man and courtly, he sent these verses to the moon-maiden:

Only through the radiance of your beauty  
Was the light of the bowl dimmed,  
Radiance paling before greater radiance.  
But elsewhere than in your presence,  
The bowl's light will prove me true!

But though he waited long, the maiden sent him no answer. So weary and sick at heart and very desolate, he gave up his quest, and hied him home to his lonely mansion, bitterly complaining of her heartlessness.

v.

The Courtier, considering the quest of the golden branch, decided thus within himself: to his friends, he declared that he was going to the mountains of hot springs; but to the moon-maiden he sent word that he was set forth in very deed on the quest of the golden bough. So setting forth from Kyoto, he came to Naniwa by the seashore, where is the port for ships, taking certain of his warriors with him, but choosing few only. Then boarding a ship, he bade these too farewell, saying he was setting out on a long journey, and that they might never behold him again. They returned sorrowful, but when they were gone, in the dead hour of

night, he turned his prow upstream, returning once more toward Kyoto, and landing in a certain secret place already prepared. For he was of subtle mind and many resources.

He had built a house in a lonely place in the forest, and set a triple hedge about it, which no man could pass; and thither he had assembled six silver-smiths, well skilled and crafty beyond all silver-workers of their time. He set aside the rent of sixteen households



THE SECOND COURTIER TAKES COUNSEL HOW TO EVADE THE SEARCH FOR THE GOLDEN BRANCH.

on his estate, to provide food for the six craftsmen, and to furnish them with silver and jewels and gold. He had built furnaces for metal-work, and had bade the craftsmen fashion such a branch as the moon-maiden had demanded, saying it grew on Mount Horai, in the wild, wide sea of the dawn.

To this secret place the Courtier now betook him at dead of night, sending back his boat, and there he long remained, watching

the master craftsmen as they fashioned the wondrous branch. When they had made and moulded it, and had adorned it with leaves of emerald and fruit of milk-white jade, the Courtier took the branch, and once more set forth in the darkness. Coming to the port of Naniwa by the seashore, he once more took boat, and going out a little way into the ocean, returned in the gray of the morning to the land. Thence he sent word to his warriors that he was returned from his quest, and coming quickly to meet him, they found him worn and travel-stained and with faded garments, as of one whose ship has come over wild and distant seas.

His warriors received him with joy and gladness, gazing in wonder on the shining branch. And presently it was rumored abroad that the Courtier had brought a bough of the Tree of Paradise, and all men pressed together to see it. So the Courtier wrapped the precious bough in rich brocade, and laid it in a costly case of scented wood, and so came toward the old man's dwelling.

When the moon-maiden heard of it, her heart became as water, and she grieved bitterly, thinking that her hour was come when she must bestow herself in wedlock. So she hid herself in an inner chamber, and wept.

Then came a knocking at the door of the house, for the Courtier was come with his warriors, bearing the golden branch. He was travel-stained and worn and his raiment was faded, and he begged that the moon-maiden would receive him, as one who had risked his very life to serve her.

So the old man, glad of heart, took the branch and certain verses that the Courtier had written, and brought them in, coming hastily to the moon-maiden. These are the verses that the Courtier wrote:

Oh! the terrible dangers,  
Threatening my very life!  
Yet without the golden bough,  
Never would I have dared to return,  
Nor to behold again my native land!

The moon-maiden wept when she read them, not for his peril, but for hers. But the old man was impatient, saying:

"Is not this the very branch my daughter asked for? Has not the Courtier fulfilled his quest? Has he not merited his reward? He has come hither from the seashore, his raiment unchanged, before returning even to his own mansion! How can my daughter longer refuse him?"

The moon-maiden, with chin resting on her palm, made no

answer, unless the tears that streamed down her cheeks and plashed upon the mat were an answer.

But the Courtier was waiting on the threshold, so the old man urged her again:

"Is not this the branch from Mount Horai? Has he not earned his reward? Is he not handsome, my daughter, and a lord?"

But the moon-maiden, weeping, replied:

"Hard seemed the quest, even impossible! Yet easily has he accomplished it! Very keen is your daughter's grief!"

The old man, very impatient, busied himself with setting the chamber in order; then shortly went out, and spoke to the Courtier again:

"I am an old man, and humble. Yet would I know where the wonderful branch came from, and on what manner of mountain it grew!"

The Courtier, sighing deeply, answered:

"Many moons, many moons have waned, since, in the month of cherry-blossoms, we set sail from Naniwa by the seashore, turning our prow out into the wild, wide ocean of the sunrise. Pathless and wild was the ocean, but I cared not, knowing that without the moon-maiden life was none to me.

"So the land sank behind us, and the great deep raged about us, now sinking in the hollow of the waves, now torn by the storm-ghosts. We knew not where we were, with the waters seething all around us, with hunger haunting us, and huge, vast things seeking to rend us.

"The very skies changed, and there was none to help us. Strange sicknesses fell upon us, as we tossed on the plain of the sea, till at length a vast mountain loomed out of the dusk of the ocean.

"We knew it was Mount Horai, and our heart stood still with fear. Yet we were glad, for our quest was fulfilled. Coasting along the shore of the mountain, we one day saw a woman, bright like a spirit, who came from the hills with a silver pitcher.

"We asked her the name of the mountain. 'It is Horai,' she said, 'and I am the jewel-maiden!' Then she departed suddenly into the hills.

"We wandered along the cliffs, amid trees with magical blossoms. A stream flowed with rainbow water, silver and golden and sapphire. The bridges were of gems, and the trees were lit with jewels. So I broke off this branch, to bring it to my lady."

The heart of the old man melted within him at so many terrors, and these verses came into his mind:

Dwelling among the bamboos  
 On the lonely hillside,  
 And daily cutting them asunder,  
 Yet have I never seen  
 Nor heard such a tale of sorrow!

The heart of the Courtier was touched by the sadness of the verses, and he wrote these lines in reply:

The sleeve of my garment,  
 Long wet with tears and sea-spray,  
 Has dried to-day!  
 The countless miseries I have passed  
 Are all forgotten in my joy!

While he was reciting them, six men came to the fence of the garden, and entered one by one. The leader carried a bamboo wand, with a writing in a cleft of it. He came forward, humbly bowing and spoke thus:

"The chief of the silver-smiths humbly represents: That he and his fellows have toiled a thousand days, breaking their hearts to make the golden bough. They have not received their wages. He humbly begs that they be paid, so that they may buy food for their starving wives and children!"

The old man wondered, setting his head on one side, as he watched the master craftsman holding the bamboo wand. But the Courtier felt his liver melt within him.

The moon-maiden heard of it, and bade them bring the writing. It was written thus:

"His excellency shut himself in a hut with us, humble workmen, and bade us make a golden bough. Hearing that the bough was to be given to the lady of the moon, a gift for her wedding, we thought the lady might aid us to recover our wages!"

The tears on the face of the moon-maiden dried up as she read, and joy shone in her eyes and covered her face with smiles. She bade the old man give back the bough, adding these verses:

Is this the magic branch of Horai?—  
 I asked when I saw your gift.  
 Its leaves are but leaves of a tale,  
 Its gems are cunning inventions,  
 On your blossom-laden bough!

So the old man gave it to the Courtier, very sad and wroth. But he, not knowing if he should go or stay, at last slunk off in the darkness.

The moon-maiden bade that the craftsmen be paid, and added

gifts of gold, for she was well pleased. The craftsmen were also pleased, and went away boasting, and saying: "We knew it would end thus!"

But in the thick of the forest, the Courtier's warriors set on them, and beat them, and scattered their gold, so that they fled away howling.

The Courtier was ashamed, and sorrowful, and full of despite. So he fled away among the mountains, and sought out a cave, and became a hermit, and there he dwelt to the end of his days, thinking hard things of the moon-maiden.

## VI.

The Councillor, the third of the suitors, was a chieftain of men, a lord of great wealth. He therefore bethought him whether with wealth he might win the moon-maiden, and through the crafts of statesmen and councillors.

In those days, it befell that there came to Naniwa by the seashore a certain merchant, wise, shrewd and rich, and the Councillor heard of his coming. Forthwith he wrote a letter, and sent it to him by the hand of a warrior, faithful and trusty. In this letter he bade the merchant seek for and bring the wonderful fur robe that no flame would burn, from the land of sulphur, and with the letter he sent much yellow gold.

The merchant also was wise and rich and full of guilefulness. Therefore he thus replied to the warrior:

"Not in my own land is the wonderful fur robe that no flame will consume. Yet have I heard of it, though I have not seen it. To find a robe like that is hard, very hard for a merchant. Mayhap in distant Ind is there such a robe, and merchants there may have seen it. If I find it, well; if not, then shall the gold be sent back to my lord the Councillor!"

The ship set forth. Days passed, and months, and the ship returned to Naniwa by the seashore. When the news came to Kyoto, the Councillor, hearing of it, rejoiced, and sent warriors on swift steeds to meet the merchant. They returned in seven days with a robe and a letter, thus:

"I have found the wonderful robe and brought it! It was hard to find. From an aged priest of Ind I received it, in a temple far away in the western mountains. I gave gifts to the priest, great gifts, very great, and to all the men of the temple: very great gifts, of much gold. My lord's money did not suffice for the wonderful robe, therefore I added gold, much gold, of my own. I doubt not my lord

will repay me, before my ship sails, or return me the costly robe!"

The Councillor's heart was glad, and he joyfully sent much gold, and the merchant sailed away to the seas of the sunset. In a rich case was the robe, inlaid with lapis lazuli and gold; the fur was very beautiful, of dark gold, the long hairs tipped with bright gold, a robe indeed very precious.

So the Councillor came, bringing the case and the robe, with a gift branch of plum bloom, fashioned artfully, and with these verses, to the house where dwelled the moon-maiden:



THE FUR ROBE IS CONSUMED BY FIRE.

Fierce fires of love  
 Burn my heart!  
 But this wonderful robe  
 No fire will burn!  
 Joy! I shall see Her to-day!

Thus rejoicing, the Councillor came, and the old man her father met him, and took the casket and robe and the branch and the verses,

and brought them all in, to the moon-maiden. Stemming her tears, the moon-maiden looked at the robe in wonder, and pondered:

"Fair is the robe!" she said, "and good to behold! Yet how shall a maiden know if the gift be what it seems?"

The old man, her father, answered:

"Tut, tut, my daughter is very distrustful! The world does not behold the like of the robe. Therefore bid the Councillor welcome! Why should good men die of love?"

So they bade the Councillor enter, and the moon-maiden stemmed her tears, knowing well that the old man, her father, would fain see her wedded, yet would not constrain her will.

But to the old man she said:

"This is the wonderful robe of fur that no flame will burn! Not in the world is its like! then let fire be brought, that we may all behold the wonder!"

The old man acquiesced, and so did the Councillor, saying:

"Did not the robe come from afar?—even from distant Ind? Was it not long sought for? What is related of it must then be true! Bring fire!"

They brought fire. They cast the robe into it. The robe withered up and was consumed.

The Councillor's face, beholding, grew green like grass in the springtime, and his eyes were wide with wonder. But the moon-maiden was glad at heart, and gave him the case of the robe, adding verses thus:

Fair was the robe of fur,  
Such as maidens love!  
Alas! it is consumed! The pity!  
Had I known its virtue in time,  
I had kept it far from fire!

So the Councillor was downcast, and returned secretly to his house. But those who had heard that he had won the maiden, for so he had published it abroad, sent congratulations. But he declared that he had not won the maiden, and was wroth. But the moon-maiden rejoiced, and was glad. And the fame of the fire-proof robe that was burned remains.

## VII.

Finally came the quest of the fourth suitor, the Minister. Assembling his warriors, and those of his house, he spoke thus:

"There is a certain dragon, in whose head is hid a jewel, all



rainbow-colored. He among you who shall win me that jewel,—to him shall be given whatever he desires!”

The warriors and servants answered trembling:

“Great is our master, and august are his requests! But how may any of the children of men find such a jewel, or draw it forth from the head of a dragon?”

But the Minister was wroth and said:

“Are you not my warriors, my servants? At your life’s peril you must do my bidding! Neither in this our land, nor the empire of the west nor in Ind is the jewel of rainbow color. The dragon dwells in the deep, and climbing up the cliffs rushes down again headlong to the ocean. Why do you not start at once upon the quest?”

This the Minister said smiling, to hearten them; and he bestowed on them silver and costly silks and cloths for their journey, and sent them forth. But they went but a little way, and then took counsel together. Murmuring against their lord, for that a pretty face had thus bereft him of his wits, they divided among them the silver and silks and went their several ways secretly.

Meanwhile the Minister bethought him that such a dwelling as his, fine though it was, were no fit home for a moon-maiden. Therefore he had it adorned within and without, beautifying the woodwork with lacquer of gold and silver; silken embroideries and costly brocades were hung in every chamber; and subtly limned pictures were disposed upon the panels of the walls.

In this splendor he abode in solitude, awaiting the coming of the moon-maiden. But the men lingered, and came not; so he took two warriors more, and himself went forth on the quest.

Journeying down thus slenderly attended for so great a minister, he came to Naniwa by the seashore. There he asked concerning his men, whether they had taken ship in quest of the jewel. But the people of Naniwa laughed at him. But he scorned them and said:

“How should such stupid folk understand? I will go after the dragon and win the jewel!” So he took ship and sailed forth.

Suddenly, without warning, a great storm arose against them. Waves towered overhead, and the thunder god made a great din amid the clouds, so that his drums seemed very close to them.

The Minister felt his heart sink within him, and took counsel of the sailors, as to what they might do for help. But the chief of the sailors bewailed and said:

“We shall surely be drowned; or if not, the lightning will slay

us; or we shall drift away to the southern ocean!" and he wept for very fear.

"Why do you speak so sadly?" said the Minister. As he spoke, a strange sickness came upon him, for the dragon of the sea was wroth at his quest.

The Minister was in great fear and dread. Then he bethought him to pacify the dragon, and made a vow to renounce his quest, if only the sickness might pass away, and the storm cease. So he



THE MINISTER ENCOUNTERS A STORM AT SEA.

uttered his vow many times, and the waves abated, and the clouds parted, and they saw the sun and were glad.

Four days passed, and the wind drove them presently to land, the place being indeed Akashi, not far from their own abode. But the Minister was so wasted by the strange sickness that had come upon him, that he did not know the place, but feared that they were come to some savage land. So he cast himself on the sand, hiding

his face, and trembled greatly. The governor of the place came, and ordered clean mats to be spread for them, under the pine-trees by the seashore, and he smiled in his sleeve when he saw the plight of the Minister, wasted and lean, his paunch swollen, and his eyes dull as wild plum fruit. Calling palanquins, he had the Minister and his warriors sent safe to their homes.

When those of his warriors and servants heard it, who had gone forth first on the quest, they came to the Minister, with feigned humility and sadness:

"Pardon us!" they said, lowly bending; "august lord, pardon your unworthy servants! We have failed, and are of no worth! But our august lord knows the hardness of our task!"

The Minister went forth to welcome them, saying:

"Happy are you, to return from the quest of the jewel, with your bare lives, and empty-handed! For the dragon and the thunder-god are kin, and who can take the jewel from the dragon? Have not I endured storms and strange sickness at their hands?"

"But as for the moon-maiden,—she who steals men's souls, and ruins their bodies, never again shall I turn my footsteps toward her dwelling! I counsel you also to shun her!"

The Minister then took gifts from what remained to him of his substance, and bestowed it upon them. But the women of his household, when they heard it, and remembered how the silk and silver were already gone the same way, hid themselves in an inner chamber that they might laugh at their ease, and they laughed till languor overtook them, and their tender sides ached. And the silken cloths that the Minister had spread over his dwelling, to beautify it for the moon-maiden, the crows presently carried away, a thread at a time, to line their nests.

Wherefore, when men asked of the quest of the Minister, whether he had found the jewel, his people made answer:

"No jewel has he found, if we count not his eyes, which are now two jewels, very like the wild plum fruit for dulness and bitterness!" Which things are a warning.

#### VIII.

How could it well be otherwise?—The moon-maiden's loveliness came at last to the ears of the Mikado, august doorway of Heaven's blessings. He, a lover of beauty, longed to behold her. So he sent a court lady, saying:

"Many a man has found grief through the moon-maiden's loveliness; go therefore and bring me word of her charms!"

So the lady went, and came to the house of the old, old man, where dwelt the moon-maiden, and his wife met her, and courteously bade her enter.

"His Majesty," said the lady, "has sent me hither, to view the moon-maiden, whose beauty has charmed his ear!"

So the old wife told it to the moon-maiden, and bade her receive the lady. But the moon-maiden was obdurate:

"I am no beauty!" she said, "nor will I receive her!"



THE MIKADO'S MESSENGER SEEKS AN INTERVIEW WITH THE MAIDEN FOR HIS MASTER.

Shamefaced and sad, the old wife carried the words of her daughter to the great court lady, and the lady was wroth and insistent. But the moon-maiden withstood her wish, declaring:

"There is no help! If I must die, let me die! But I will not receive this lady!"

Sadly betaking her back to the palace, the lady told it to the august Mikado. And the Mikado, hearing it, said:

"Truly, she angles for souls!" and bethought him how he might see her. Therefore he sent this order to the old wood-cutter:

"Bring hither your daughter the moon-maiden! Shall we be disdained?"

But the old man answered:

"What can I do? My daughter will not obey, and my heart is sore!"

But the Mikado answered:

"Bring the girl hither! A noble's hat may reward her father!"

The old man's heart was glad when he heard it. But the moon-maiden would not listen.

"Never," she said, "will your daughter go to Court! She will pine away and die, if you seek to compel her!"

The old man heard her, and said:

"Alas, for my noble's hat, if it be so! For what were a noble's hat, if I lost my moon-maiden? But why need you pine and die?"

So the old man went to Kyoto, the capital, and spoke thus to the Mikado, very humble and lowly and sad:

"It may not be, my lord! The moon-maiden will not hear! Nor may I compel her, since she is not my daughter born. Nor is her heart of this world! Let the noble's hat be given to another!"

But the Mikado bethought him thus:

"Does she not dwell hard by, in the forest? Let a royal hunting party be prepared! We may, perhaps, gain sight of this moon-maiden!"

The old man rejoiced when he heard it:

"Through the device of the hunting-party," he said, "may His Majesty see my daughter, perhaps, ere she hear of his coming!"

On the day of the hunting-party, the Mikado separated himself from the rest, and came to the wood-cutter's dwelling. And, coming, he wondered in awe; for the house was full of light, and he beheld there the moon-maiden, very radiant and glorious.

The Mikado caught at her sleeve, to hold her, and watched the light in her face. Entranced, he bade them bring a litter, to take her away. But the moon-maiden, still withstanding, answered:

"My lord may constrain his servants and his own people. But I am not of my lord's subjects, and may not be so constrained!"

And when the Mikado would have carried her away, she vanished, melting into air.

Wonder came upon the Mikado, and he knew that her words were true.

“So be it!” he said; “I forbear! But let the lady appear again, once more would I gaze on her beauty!”

So she re-appeared, as she had melted into the air, and the Mikado gazed in delight on her beauty; his heart was made glad by her radiance. The old man too was made glad, for His Majesty gave him a title, high-sounding and full of dignity, and his heart was well content.



THE MOON MAIDEN RECEIVES THE EMPEROR.  
Courtiers await him below.

Yet the Mikado lingered, and presently addressed these verses to the lovely moon-maiden:

Sadly returns the hunting-party  
That set forth so full of hope;  
My heart also is full of sorrow,  
For I go back without the moon-maiden,  
And she resists my entreaties!

The moon-maiden wrote these verses in answer:

Humble the house where the maiden dwells;  
 Trailing hop-vines grow over the roof.  
 Not less humble the heart of the maiden.  
 How could she dare to gaze  
 On the jade-decked imperial palace?

Reading these words, the Mikado knew not what to do, whether to stay or to return. So he lingered until the dawn came, and then gave orders to depart for the palace.

The moon-maiden's face dwelt in his heart, and the thought of her charms lingered in his memory, so that he no longer found solace in the company of the court ladies, though they were fair and of many accomplishments. He therefore sent verses and letters forth to the moon-maiden, and she indeed replied, very gently and courteously, sending letters in return.

## IX.

Then a great change came over the moon-maiden, though at first the old, old man and his old, old wife neither marked it nor understood it. But the maidens who waited on her noted that, night by night, she went forth to gaze at the moon, and as she gazed she wept. As the moon grew, from slender crescent to full shield, so grew her grief, but when the moon was waning, and the dark nights came, something of gladness returned to her.

As the months grew, from the chill morns of cherry-blossoms, to the long daylight of wistaria and scented iris, so grew the gloom of the moon-maiden, waxing as the moon grew, then waning for a space, when the time of the moonless nights came.

The maidens spoke of it to the old, old man, praying him to question her. So the old man said to her:

"Why does my daughter grieve, and why are her cheeks pale and wet with tears? Does my daughter seek anything, to make her happiness complete?"

"Gazing on the moon as it waxes and wanes, and thinking on the mutability of things, I grieve for the sadness of human life!"

Again and again the old man questioned her, going softly to her room and saying:

"Why grieves my daughter, well-beloved? And what is the hidden fountain of her grief?"

"Nay I grieve not," answered the moon-maiden, "unless it be for the sadness of this world, which breaks my heart!"

"Then gaze no more on the moon!" said the old man, "for from moon-gazing comes mournfulness!"

Then came the eighth month, the time of the first red leaves on the maple, and of the first chrysanthemums, and the moon-maiden was heart-broken, weeping unceasingly. At last, yielding to the entreaties of the old man and his old wife, she spoke thus to them:

"I would have told you long ago,— yet I feared to wring your dear hearts with anguish! but I may no longer delay, for the time has come for me to go! No maid of the earth am I, but in the city of



THE MAIDEN WEEPS AS THE TIME FOR HER DEPARTURE DRAWS NEAR.

the moon was I born, among the celestials. Long years ago, in the moonland was it ordained that I should come to this earth, here to abide for a while; but my time has come, to go. As this eighth moon waxes, so do my days here wane. With the coming of the full moon will come my time also, and my people will come for me from moonland, and therefore I greatly grieve!"

But the old man was full of anger and despite when he heard her:



"Are you not my daughter?" he said; "Did I not find you, a very tiny thing, in a bamboo's hollow stem? Did not my old, old wife fondle you? Did we not rear you? None shall dare to take you from us!"

Sorrowing for his sorrow, the moon-maiden answered him:

"There is no help! My father and mother are of the celestials, and dwell in the moon city. I was sent to the earth for a season only, and now I must away. My heart is torn that I must leave you, yet there is no help!"

So they all wept together, the moon-maiden and the old man, and his old wife, and the maidens that waited on her.

These things were told to the Mikado, in whose heart still dwelt the image of the moon-maiden, and he was grieved and sent for the old wood-cutter, and questioned him. The old man answered thus:

"With the full moon will come a host from the moon city, to carry off my beloved daughter! But were His Majesty to deign to order a company of soldiers to guard her, then would she be saved to me." The heart of the Mikado was touched, and he ordered one of his generals to take men of the guard, two thousand in number, to the wood-cutter's house, against the full moon. The general posted them about the house and upon the roof, and every warrior of them held his bow bent, with the notch of the arrow on the string.

The moon-maiden they hid in the innermost chamber, and the old man himself fastened the door upon her.

But the moon-maiden told them there was no help; when the celestials came from the moon city, their guard would avail nothing, and that she must indeed go.

The old man was grieved and wroth at her words:

"I will tear their faces with my nails!" he cried. "I will pull out the hair of these celestials! I will shame them all before the faces of his majesty's warriors!"

But the moon-maiden admonished him, saying:

"Take heed lest the warriors hear these words, which were a shame and a confusion! But my heart is very sore, for I must go. Nor shall it be given me to come back, for the doors of this world will be closed to me, so that I cannot come to tell you of my love for you! Very earnestly I entreated that I might linger yet a year with you, loving you, but it might not be! My heart is sore to think that old age will come upon you, and I shall be very far away, nor will there be any child of yours to tend you!"

So the moon-maiden wept, and the old man consoled her.

## X.

Twilight came, and then darkness. Then the moon rose, the full moon of the eighth month, and sailed upward to the roof-tree of the heavens.

As the full moon shone down on the house of the wood-cutter, a great brightness descended from the sky and hung over the house; a light as of ten moons at once, so that the fine pores of the skin could be clearly discerned. In the sheen of that great light a glimmering cloud appeared, bright like silver, and on the cloud were celestial spirits ranged, rank upon rank, with one who commanded them.

The cloud descended, gleaming like silver, until it rested hovering in the still air, immediately over the wood-cutter's dwelling.

When the warriors of the Mikado, each with his finger on the arrow, beheld the ranks of celestial warriors glistening there on the silver cloud, the heart for fighting went out of them, and their arms fell powerless at their sides. Even the most valiant among them, though they strove hard and indeed discharged their arrows against the celestials, shot far wide of the mark, so that their shafts fell harmless back to the earth. Thus was their guard of no avail against the celestials.

The chief of the celestial warriors, in a silvery white garment very resplendent, then came forward, and stood upon the margin of the cloud, with his shining warriors behind him. Standing there, he summoned the wood-cutter to come forth from the dwelling.

He indeed came forth, his knees quaking, and his lips all tremulous, and he cast himself on the ground, when he beheld the celestials. Thus did the chief of the celestials address him:

"Old man of little wit! Yet did you show some virtue and worth; and for this cause was the moon-maiden sent to your abode, and much gold was bestowed upon you, as the reward of your love and tenderness toward her. For a fault committed among the celestials was she sent hither, but a little while since; and now that her fault is expiated, she must return. Bring her, therefore, and take your leave of her!"

"Many long years," the old man answered. "have I tended the moon-maiden, with gentle care and affection. How does my lord call this 'but a little while'? But I know not where she dwells whom my lord seeks. The maiden who dwells here is very sick, and cannot come forth."

The chief of the celestials, very luminous, answered him not, but called on the moon-maiden to come forth:

"Child of the moon!" he cried, "will you abide longer in this mean dwelling of the earth?"

As the chief of the celestial warriors spoke these words, the outer door of the wood-cutter's house opened of itself, and the door of the inner chamber slid back in its grooves. The moon-maiden came forth to the door, and stood there in the silvery light. Her maidens around her wept, knowing that she must indeed depart, and that there was no help.

## XI.

The moon-maiden came slowly forth from the house. Stepping reluctantly, she went forward to where the old man lay, reputed her father, very abject and abased for fear of the celestials.

"Father!" she said, "my fate is calling me, and I must away! Will not my father raise his eyes, to follow me, as I am borne up through the air?"

But the old man lay on his face, very wretched and miserable.

"Why should I follow you with my eyes?" he answered. "Let be what must be, and let me be left desolate and alone, a poor old man, and helpless. Let the celestials bear you away, since they have come for you!"

So the old, old man grieved, and would not be comforted. Then seeing that the old man was too cast down even to lift his eyes to her face, or to bid her farewell, the moon-maiden bethought her, and wrote a letter for him, which he might read when she was gone, and as she wrote it, she wept bitterly. This is what the moon-maiden wrote to her father:

"My father! Had I been born your child in the ways of the earth, never would I have left you to desolate old age. But I am of other destiny, and I must go. I leave behind me, for a memory, my scarf of silk. When the moon, my abode, rises full above the earth, let my father gaze at it, knowing that I am there! Would that I could come back to him again, gliding down like a falling star!"

The time grew short. From among the celestials, some came close to the moon-maiden, bearing a robe of heavenly plumage, and in a cup, the water of life.

"Drink of the water of life!" they said to the moon-maiden; "that the grossness of this earth may be purged away from you!"

The moon-maiden sipped at the cup, and would have hidden

some of the water of life, to leave for her old father, but the celestials forbade her, and over her shoulders they spread the robe of heavenly plumage. But she held it back for a little saying:

“Patience, a little patience! Yet one message must I send before I wear this robe; for whoever wears it, the memory of the earth falls away from him, and of all the things of the earth!”

One of the celestials would have hurried her, but she wrote on, sadly and gently withstanding him. This is what she now wrote.



THE CELESTIALS BEAR AWAY THE MAIDEN TO THE MOON.

“Obeisance to His Majesty the Mikado! Your Majesty graciously deigned to send two thousand men of your guard to protect me, and for this I am grateful, even though it be ordained otherwise and I must go!

“Your Majesty graciously honored his servant, seeking to bring me to the palace, and she is very sensible of the honor. But it was not so ordained, nor was it permitted to me to go. Therefore

Your Majesty will pardon me, knowing that it was not rudeness on my part that kept me away, but the rule of the celestials.

"The time has come for your servant to don the heavenly plumage, and bid farewell, sadly and with tears departing!"

This writing she gave to the commander of the Mikado's guard, that had been sent to protect her, two thousand men. With it she sent the cup of the water of life to the Mikado, and then drew the robe of heavenly plumage on her.

As she covered herself with the shining robe, suddenly all memories of the earth fell from her, nor did she remember the pain of him who had been her father, for those who wear this robe make an end of sorrow forever.

The moon-maiden mounted the cloud of silvery light, and with all the celestials around her ascended upward into the sky of night, a great radiance falling earthward from her.

The old, old man and his old, old wife, and the maidens that had waited on her, shed bitter tears, but it availed nothing, for the moon-maiden was gone. The old man lamented grievously, saying:

"Woe is me, a poor old man, very wretched! Desolate old age is come upon me, with no child to tend my failing years! What is life worth, where there is none to give and receive love?" So he would not touch the cup of the water of life, but thrust it from him.

## XII.

When the great radiance had faded, and the moon alone stood in the crown of the night-sky, the commander of the Mikado's guard, seeing there was no more reason to remain, ordered his men to form rank, and return to Kyoto, the capital.

Returning, he told how he had sought in vain to withstand the celestials, whom none among mortals may oppose. He told how the moon-maiden had departed on high, and delivered to the august sovereign the letter and the cup of the water of life that she had left behind her.

The august sovereign took the letter, very gently, for the moon-maiden's image still reigned in his royal heart, and he was touched to the heart when he read it, and withdrew from his court for a season.

Then His Majesty summoned the Grand Council of the empire, and asked them thus:

"Which is loftiest among the mountains of my dominions?"

The council answered:

"Not very remote from the great capital, Kyoto, is there a

mountain, very lofty, towering above all the mountains in His Majesty's empire!"

Learning this, the Mikado wrote these verses:

Never again shall I see her!  
Bitter tears overcome me.  
But as for me, left desolate,  
What have I to do with the cup  
Of the water of life she has left?

So the moon-maiden's letter, and the cup of the water of life were sent, very reverently, by a trusty messenger. Going with faithful and valiant warriors, he straightway betook him to the lofty mountain, toiling painfully up to the summit.

When he came at last to the crest of the mountain, looking down on the sea-plain and the earth-plain, and with nought but the vast sky overhead, he bowed reverently, and making a fire, set in the midst of it the moon-maiden's letter and the water of life, that the flames might consume them.

The immortal draught burned in the flames, yet it could not be consumed. So the flame burns on the mountain-top to this day, and therefore men call the mountain Fuji-yama, which indeed has many meanings, but one of them is "the mountain of immortality."

## ASCENDING TO THE GODS.

BY H. L. LATHAM.

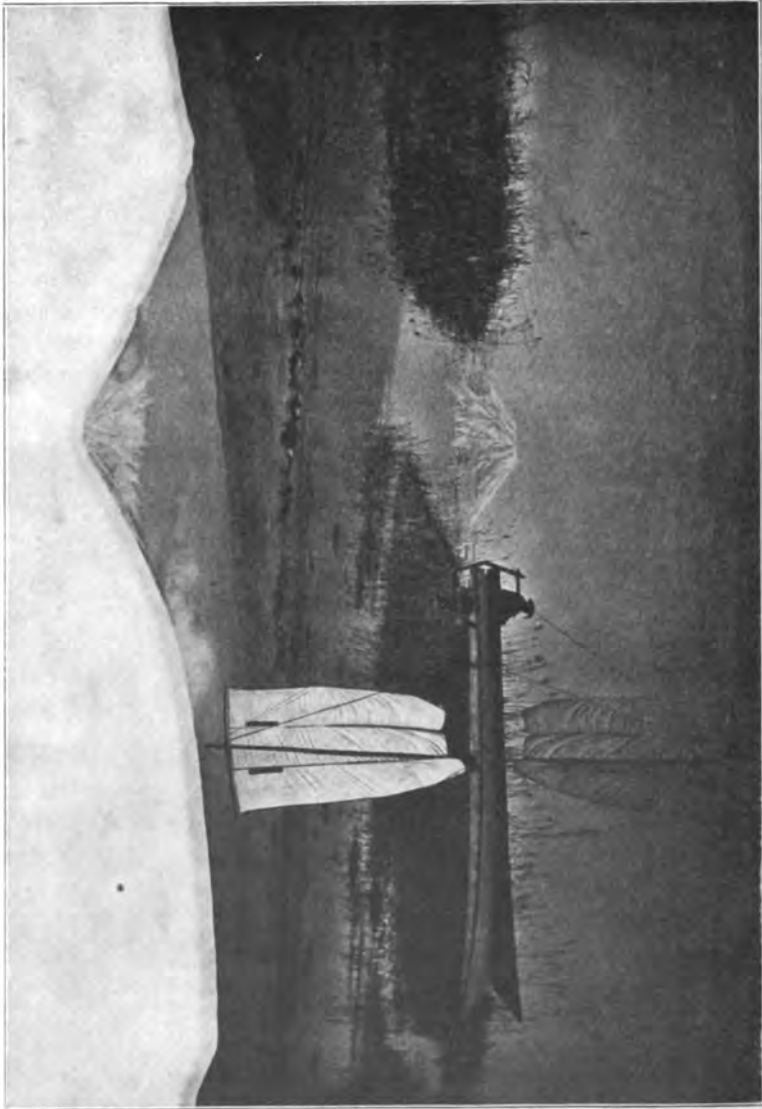
**M**T. FUJI once seen will never leave you. Whether you are a native, a Japanized American, a globe-trotter from nowhere, it is just the same. Our first sight of Fuji San was from the sea, *en route* from Yokohama to Kobe. Only its peak was in view, but we were thereafter to be counted among its worshipers.



MOUNT FUJI.  
(From a Japanese art print.)

Later our train sped by its outskirts and we saw its eternal base and new ardor was enkindled within. Our cottage at Ninooka lay hard by a range of hills in the Hakone district; from these we have repeatedly viewed the "mountain of immortality." From this viewpoint we discovered that the higher we ascend to gaze upon Mount

Fuji the higher and grander does the mountain appear. As we look upon the long uninterrupted slope for its full extent the more appreciable is it according as the line of vision approaches perpen-

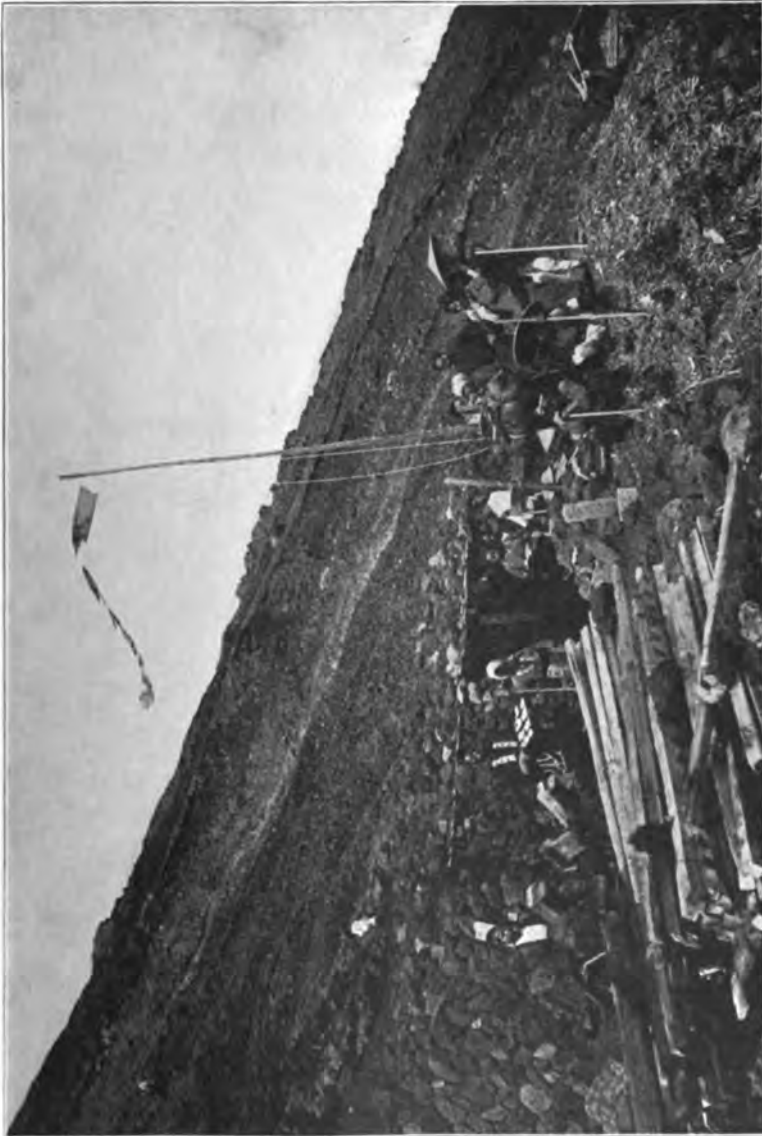


MOUNT FUJI.

dicularity to the line of the slope. This possibly was the grandest truth this great wonder taught us—a lofty ascent is necessary for the adequate appreciation of the great, grand or noble.



All these visions aroused a passion to surrender ourselves more fully to Fuji. A little company of foreign residents from Ninooka,



THE SIXTH STATION, EAST ROUTE.

some two miles distant from Gotemba, started at noon-tide for the ascent. All but one were afoot, though the walk to the first station at the base of the mountain consumed five hours. Our pathway

from far out in the valley nearly up to the steepest ascent lay over "cinders" of the volcano, rendering the footing exceedingly yielding to the tread.

At the first station, Ichigome, we halt for a rest and lunch. The party is equipped with straw sandals, the mountain-stock—*kongo-zue*, some further additions to our commissary, and we are ready to set out on the actual ascent of the mountain.

But we pause to scan the groups of pilgrims just emerging from



MUNATSUKI—BREAST-PUSH, THE STEEPEST ASCENT.

the pathway exit beneath the roof of the hotel. They are clad in the traditional habiliments of the pilgrim in some cases; others less influenced, doubtless, by religious motives have made no change in the ordinary pedestrian's garb. Many pause to purchase trinkets or mementoes from the stalls spread with luxuriant display of dainty, decorative and useful articles, for this is the last stop in the sacred environs of the Pride of the Empire.

There is no unbearable sense of divine presence evident upon the

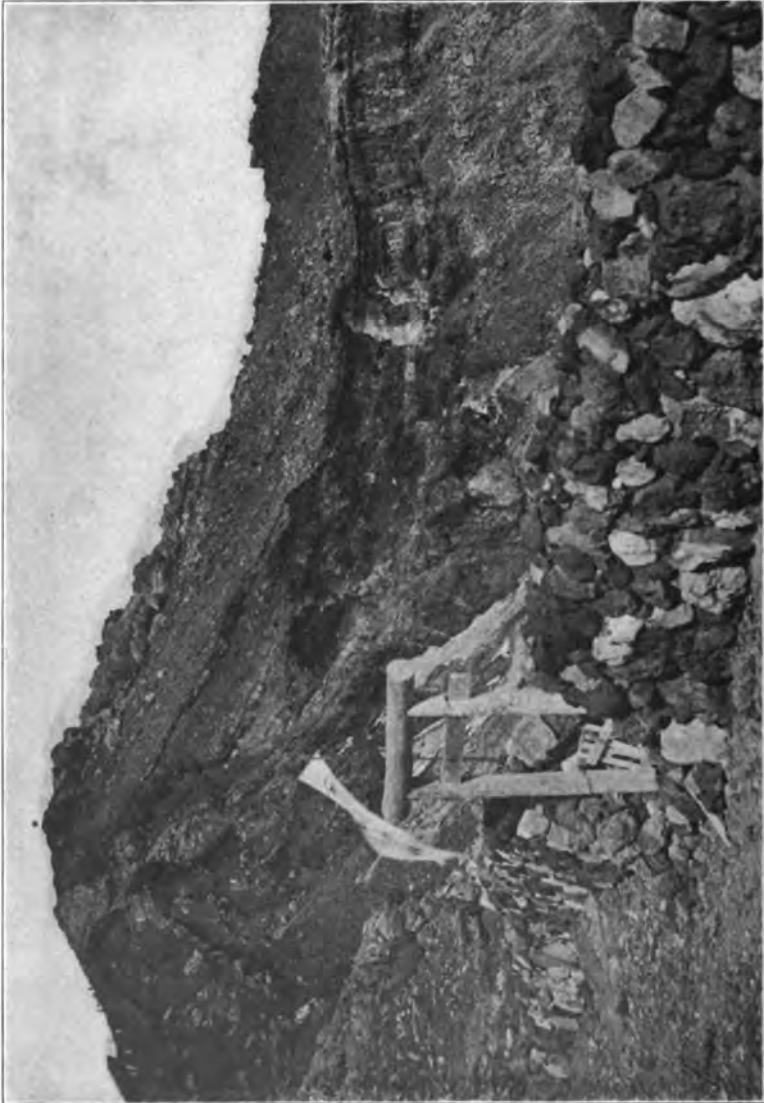
countenances of these pilgrims. The same hilarity and placidity of inner repose are here commingled as elsewhere throughout the journeying Japanese public.



A RUGGED SPOT FROM A DISTANCE. A BAND OF PILGRIMS WITH BANNERS.

But we must hasten on. Our feet carry us well up to the third station—a crude cabin built of lumber and stone like all upon the mountain. Here the equestrian must dismount, discharge his horse

and attendant and share the lot of the common pilgrim. We partake of supper and make our final effort for the night.



LOOKING INTO THE CRATER.

We are told there is yet time to reach the fifth station where we may find our lodgings. Darkness comes on but our guide knows the path well and at 9 P. M. we are at the door.

"Go men!" is answered by the expected "*O hairi nasai*" and we accept this brief but cordial invitation to enter.

Our weary limbs will scarcely let us sleep. No one can willingly trust himself to lie down until our host gives every assurance that well before the break of day he will arouse us and set us out upon our further journey.

So we occupy a few remaining spaces upon the floor along with the worthy Nipponese who have returned thus far upon their descent. Our guide and porter spreads our quilts and we are soon meditating



SHIRINE DEDICATED TO THE HONORABLE INTERIOR.

Note the snow banks.

on the possible outcome of the battle with the featherless contestants for our life's blood.

At four o'clock we are out at the door of the cabin. God's charge to Abraham comes to mind. The stars seem fairly reaching out to us to bless us on our journey. All is ready and we set out for a few hours' walk before reaching the most difficult part of the ascent.

Repeatedly we turn to catch the first sign of the dawning day.

Presently we note a brightening in the east and the slow growth of pencils of light into beams emanating from a common center toward south, north, the zenith and toward several points between these.



SHRINE DEDICATED TO NONAKA ITARU,  
The first scientific observer of winter phenomena on Mt Fuji. (The highest point in Japan proper.)

Beneath us is a sea of clouds, white as snow, hiding every vestige of the earth from view even far up the mountain side. In a few moments more a golden, billowy sea lies at our feet as the disk of the sun rises. Ten thousand tongues would not suffice to describe

such a sight. The whole toil of the journey would have been amply repaid by this twenty minutes' view of the sunrise.

The sixth station is reached. The scoria is now displaced by the massive volcanic rock piled about in grand confusion. We can now see the steepest of the ascent up which advance seems utterly impossible, for there is no pathway in view whereby we may scale its almost perpendicular wall.

Just past the eighth *gome* our equo-pedestrian is struck with mountain sickness; at the actual entrance upon the steepest ascent he is unable to accompany the party. By taking a dozen steps and



THE ASCENT OF A DIFFICULT CRAG.

resting a little progress is made, but only when the guide and a companion return from the top and almost carry him is the journey finally completed.

We are now upon the *chojo* of Mount Fuji, 12,490 feet nearer heaven than when first we saw the Peerless Mount. We look below; the clouds have largely vanished. Men are invisible, villages are dots. The beautiful lake Hakone lies off to the right guarded by her mountain consorts. We share the spirit of the mountain as we note our commanding position whence even the ocean far out lies easily under our gaze.

The spirit of the mountain is symbolized for us in the tiny shrine at which the worshiper may bow facing the interior of the crater. The sanctity of the mountain is due to Sengen Sama whose shrines may be found indeed at numerous spots upon the mountain. Associated with this cult another member of the primitive mythologic ancestral pantheon is established as an august resident upon the mountain. Her name is Konohanasakuya-hime-no-mikato.

What brings the pilgrim hither? you ask. Just this: all Japan is sacred ground; there are gods everywhere, but he who would ensure prosperity must once in his life visit the imperial shrines at Yamada and if possible ascend Mount Fuji. The gods are quick to respond either to deeds of reverence or to slights. Therefore he who would bind to himself the powerful divinities of Fuji must exhibit his profound reverence by undertaking this pilgrimage.

It is to be noted that art or natural beauty are associated with all these sacred places. Religious impulses alone are not sufficient to command all these toilsome journeys, some may say. Whatever the truth may be, the pilgrim never suffers too much by being sent to desert wastes or dangerous heights—his own gain is equal to that of the gods.

There are six routes of ascent to Fuji and each brings its quota of visitors; the more pious encircle the rim of the crater as a part of the journey. This requires some two or three hours' walk. Others descend into the crater and view more closely its solid walls and banks of snow. The temperature for the six weeks of the open season is in the main most delightful; but no vegetation is found above the eighth station. Snow we saw as far down as the foot of the Munatsuki.

Our invalid rested, our lunch eaten, our tea-money deposited, we are ready to descend. The native mind, filled with sacred traditions from childhood, would seem more likely to descend from this marvel of nature with highly wrought enthusiasm. But we too feel that we have been near to God. By evening we are again in our mountain cottage attempting to share our experience with less privileged companions.



## NESTORIUS AND THE NESTORIANS.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Nestorian Church is a sect which calls itself Chaldæan Christianity. In its doctrines it follows Nestorius, who was patriarch of Constantinople (428-431) where for three years he exercised an unusual power but succumbed in the conflict with his rival Cyril mainly through the intrigues of Pulchria at the court.

Nestorius had been ordained a presbyter at Antioch and in his theology he followed the austere traditions of the Antiochian school. When called to Constantinople as patriarch he came with the intention of establishing the "pure doctrine." In his installation sermon before the emperor, he said: "Give me a country cleansed of heretics and I will return heaven to you in its place. Help me to overcome heretics and I will help you to conquer the Persians."

Nestorius combined with his zeal for the truth the awkwardness of the monk who was not fitted to cope with the complicated conditions at the capital, the power of the emperor as head of the Church, the intrigue of the court and the influence of the masses. In those days dogmatic subtleties and theological terms became issues of great controversies and Nestorius took special exception to the name "Mother of God" which was commonly attributed to Mary. The term was an old pagan expression and is a literal translation of the Egyptian *Neter Mut* by which Isis was addressed by her devotees.

A presbyter of Nestorius, Anastasius of Antioch, who had accompanied his master to Constantinople, once preached a sermon in which he declared, "Call ye not Mary, mother of God, for she was but human and God cannot be born of a human being."<sup>2</sup>

These words gave great offense, for the term "Mother of God" was very dear to the Egyptian Church and had been adopted by the

<sup>1</sup> This historical note contains further information with regard to the Nestorian Christians whose remarkable monument in China was the subject of several articles in the January *Open Court*.

<sup>2</sup> Socrates, *Hist. Ec.*, VII, chap. 32.

other congregations. But Nestorius supported his presbyter and thereby was implicated in a struggle with the worshipers of Mary. He was accused of splitting up the personality of Christianity into two separate beings, Christ born of God in eternity, and the human Jesus, son of Mary. Cyril succeeded in having Nestorius deposed and exiled from Constantinople, but he himself although he remained in possession of his episcopacy and income, did not succeed in forcing his view upon the emperor and the Church at Constantinople. Nor was the difficulty removed, for the struggle continued to upset the Church for a long time. The adherents of



THE CROSS ON THE TOMB OF ST. THOMAS NEAR MADRAS.

Nestorius, however, who dominated in the Church of Syria and spread over the Orient, separated themselves from the Church and recognized the bishop of Silencia as their head, under the name of Catholicus. They distinguished themselves through learnedness and established good schools wherever they went. Their main seat and center of learning was Nisibis. The Nestorians sent out missionaries toward the East and counted many adherents in Persia, Syria, India and Tibet. The Indian Nestorians are commonly called St. Thomas Christians, and there is a remarkable monument left of them near

Madras which is mentioned by Marco Polo and is regarded as the tomb of St. Thomas,<sup>3</sup> the first Christian apostle to India. The Nestorian Church upon the whole follows the ritual of the Greek Church. Part of them united again with the Roman Church and are now commonly called United Nestorians. The others who have remained independent recognize as their Catholicus, a patriarch by the name of Max Simeon, residing at Kotchinas near Julamerg, in the territory of the Hakkiare, a tribe of the Kurds. They are strongly under Russian influence, and it is not impossible that in time they will join the Greek Church.

At present they are weak in numbers and influence. They may not be more than one hundred and fifty thousand souls, but in former days they were a flourishing Church, and for a time it seemed as if Nestorian Christianity would be the state religion of Tibet. From Tibet it spread even into China where it was welcomed by the emperor and had a fair chance of competing with Buddhism and Confucianism for supremacy. It is strange how Nestorianism lost its hold on the Tibetans and the Chinese. We would scarcely know how powerful they once were in the center of Asia had not a happy accident brought to light that remarkable slab which is a document of the Nestorian presence in China. This monument, it must be remembered, is the oldest confession of Christian faith in any comprehensive form that has come down to us in the original from past ages. It was erected in the year 781 A. D. while the oldest extant manuscripts of New or Old Testament are of a much later date.

<sup>3</sup> It may be of interest to note that the cross preserved on the Nestorian stone bears a great resemblance to that on the tomb of St. Thomas the Apostle, near Madras, India, which for good reasons is assumed to date from the same century and of which Marco Polo gives an interesting account in Chapter XVIII of his well-known book of travel. We reproduce the picture from page 353 of the edition of Henry Yule published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

## GOETHE'S VIEWS ON TELEPATHY.

BY THE EDITOR.

GOETHE was neither a spiritualist nor a materialist. He had common sense enough not to accept the superstitions of ghosts and spooks, but on the other hand he could not be prevailed upon to join the opposite camp of those who would deny the very existence of mind and its significance. He lost no opportunity to ridicule such shallow rationalists as Nicolai of Berlin, whose zeal to exterminate spirits consisted in a repudiation of spirit.

Though Goethe was very reluctant to accept the marvelous stories of telepathy he knew full well that man's mind is capable of understanding things which are not directly approachable by the senses, and that in the same sense the mind penetrates to distant places. This view with its rational explanation is very drastically and simply set forth in a poem entitled "Effect at a Distance." Telepathy is indeed possible, but the true telepathy is no mysterious power, but mere logical deduction. Nor are our mental functions thought waves which proceed in undulations from man's brain outside to other parts of the world. Man's judgments are simply an interpretation of the facts presented to him in sensations, and this power of the mind yields most marvelous results. Frequently it enables man to know with great clearness as well as positive certainty things that have happened long ago or at a great distance. Just as the presence of a star is indicated by the sense impression of a speck of light on the retina of the eye, so a certain symptom may betray a situation of the occurrence of an event which itself could not be observed, and this is true telepathy undeniable by the grossest materialist. On this telepathy is based our communication by telephone, telegraph and wireless telegraphy; electric waves of a short or long duration are transferred, so-called dots and dashes and their several combinations represent the several letters of the alphabet, as well as other symbols, known to the operators at both ends. There

are electric waves, not thought waves, that go to a distance, but the mind deciphers the meaning that is given to the different forms of the transmitted undulations. This is the method by which science discovers the hidden secrets of natural laws, the origin of creation, the development of evolution, etc. Such telepathy is possible and the law of its operation will be seen to be very simple indeed. Scarcely ever has any more humerous and at the same time more instructive presentation of the problem been given than is set forth in Goethe's poem, a versified translation of which is here attempted. It reads thus:

## EFFECT AT A DISTANCE.

The Queen has a party, the candles are bright,  
 Her guests a game start playing;  
 She says to her page: "Thy foot is light,  
 Fetch the counters," and then adds, saying:  
 "They lie to hand  
 On my dresser stand."  
 The lad is quite nimble and zealous,  
 He hies to the end of the palace.

Beside the Queen, her sherbet sips  
 A pretty maid of honor,  
 She brings the cup so hard to her lips  
 That some is spilled upon her.  
 A cry of distress  
 For the exquisite dress!  
 And, with the fresh stains from the chalice,  
 She runs to the end of the palace.

The damsel and the returning boy  
 In the lonely hall were meeting;  
 None knew of their love, but neither was coy  
 With open arms of greeting.  
 Glance spoke to glance  
 Of the glorious chance;  
 And, heart to heart, in seclusion,  
 They kissed and embraced with effusion.

At last they tore themselves apart,  
 The maid to her chamber was slipping;  
 The youth returned with a beating heart,  
 O'er swords and founces tripping.  
 The Queen's eye, trained,  
 Saw the lad's vest stained,  
 Like the Queen of Sheba in glory,  
 She knew at once the whole story.

She addressed her lady in waiting, elate,  
"You argued, with insistence,  
Some time ago in our little debate,  
That the mind does not act at a distance;  
That the presence we face  
Alone we can trace;  
To the distance are reaching no forces,  
Not even the stars in their courses.

"Some sherbet, you see, has been spilled at my side.  
And lo! you may call it a wonder!  
It stained the vest of the lad that hied  
To the end of the palace yonder.  
Have a new one my boy,  
Because I enjoy,  
That a proof for my views you unfolded;  
I'll pay it, nor shall you be scolded."

(Translation by P. C.)

## CHRISTIANITY AS THE PLEROMA.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE read in the Epistle to the Galatians (iv. 4) that "When the fulness of the time<sup>1</sup> was come, God sent forth his Son"; and in the Epistle to the Ephesians (i. 10) we are told "that in the dispensation of the fulness of times<sup>2</sup> He might gather together in one all things<sup>3</sup> in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth." Such is the impression which the early Christians had of the origin of Christianity, and they were not mistaken in the main point that Christianity was a fulfilment, or, as it was called in Greek, a "pleroma," although we would add that this pleroma was neither mystical nor mysterious as they were inclined to think; it was not supernatural in a dualistic sense, but the result of natural conditions.

We propose to discuss the origin of Christianity and will point out in a condensed and brief exposition the main factors which combined to produce it. Christianity ushers in a new period, and its conception of life is so absolutely different from the past, that with the date of Christ's birth mankind began a new chronology. Its origin was attributed by many to a personal interference of God with the affairs of the world, and we wish to explain how the new faith grew naturally from the preceding ages whose converging lines were gathered into a head in the figure of Christ and all that was thereby represented.

Christianity might have borne a different name and Christ might have been worshiped under another title, and yet the world-religion which originated when the converging lines of the several religious developments in the East as well as in the West were combined into a higher unity, would not and could not have become greatly different from what it actually turned out to be. Its char-

<sup>1</sup> πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου.

<sup>2</sup> πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "all things had come to a head."

acter was in the main predetermined according to the natural law of spiritual conditions, and in this sense we say that Christianity was indeed the fulfilment of the times, the pleroma of the ages.

#### THE GENTILE CHARACTER OF CHRISTIANITY.

Christianity is commonly regarded as the daughter of Judaism, and this is taught not only in Sunday schools, but also in profane history. It is deemed an established fact that Christianity, the religion prevailing all over Europe and among the races that have sprung from the European continent, is the lineal descendant of the religion of Moses, especially of its later form, Judaism, and it is treated as a foregone conclusion that this little nation of Israel was by divine dispensation chosen to prepare the way for the appearance of Christianity. But this view is not correct in spite of its plausibility, or to say the least it needs so many qualifications that its re-statement would amount to a radical reversal of the theory. The traditional view seems plausible only because we have become accustomed to it, and yet we shall be compelled to grant that it is not in agreement with the facts of history. A consideration of the actual development of religious thought forces upon us conclusions which are very different.

Without denying the enormous influence which Judaism exercised on Christianity from its very start, we make bold to say that Judaism did not bear or bring forth Christianity but that Christianity is, so to speak, a grandchild of ancient paganism, and the motherhood of Judaism is by adoption merely. At the time of the birth of Christianity, the new faith, while still in the process of formation, was groping for some religion under whose guidance and authority it might proceed on its historical career, and Judaism appeared best fitted for the purpose. A world-religion of the character of Christianity would have originated in the same or quite a similar way, with the same or quite similar doctrines, with the same tendencies and the same ethics, the same or quite similar rituals etc., etc., even if Judaism had not existed or had not been chosen as its mother. The spirit of Christianity is pagan, not Jewish;—yea, it is un-Jewishly pagan, it is Gentile, and it continued to retain a very strongly pronounced hostility towards everything Jewish.

The current view of the origin of Christianity would have us look upon Jesus as its founder and that is true in a certain sense, but not so unconditionally true as is generally assumed. Christianity is a religion which originated during the middle of the first century of the Christian era through the missionary activity of the Apostle



Paul. He founded the Gentile Church upon the ruins of the ancient pagan religions, and he took his building materials not from the store house of the faith of his fathers, but from the wreckage of the destroyed temples of the Gentiles.

The old creeds were no longer believed in and a new religion was developing in the minds of the people. The single myths had become discredited and the gods had ceased to be regarded as actual presences; but the world-conception which had shaped the pagan myths had remained unimpaired; yea more, it had become matured by philosophy, and it could still reproduce a new formulation of them in such a shape as would be acceptable to the new generation.

We know that in the Augustan age, shortly before and after, there were several religions and religious philosophies. Almost every one of them was kin to the spirit of Christianity and contributed its share, large or small, to the constitution of the new faith that was forming itself in the Roman empire.

There was a great variety of gnostic sects, Mandæans, Ophites, Therapeutæ, Manichæans, etc. at this time. The main centers were Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. The gnostic doctrines are not Christians heresies, as Church historians would have it, but on the contrary, Christianity is a branch of the gnostic movement. Gnosticism antedates Christianity, but when Christianity finally got the ascendancy, it claimed a monopoly of the beliefs held in common with the gnostic sects, and repudiated all differences as aberrations from Christian truth.

The Gnostics, however, were not the only ones in the field. There were the Sethites, worshipers of the Egyptian Seth who was identified by the Jews with the Biblical Seth, the son of Adam. Further there were the believers in Hermes Trismegistos, a Hellenized form of the Egyptian Ptah, the incarnation of the divine Word. A purified paganism was taught by stoics such as Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, representatives of which are Hypatia and Emperor Julian the Apostate. Kin to this idealized paganism was the school of neo-Platonism as represented by Philo, Plotinus and Porphyry. Moreover there were not a few who revered Apollonius of Tyana as the herald of the new universal religion that was dawning on mankind.

In the second century of the Christian era still another faith grew rapidly into prominence and promised to become the established religion of the Roman Empire. This was Mithraism, the Romanized form of the ancient faith of Persia; but at the moment when it seemed to have attained an unrivaled sway over the Roman

army and its leaders, Christianity, the religion of the lowly, of the broad masses, of the common people, came to the front, and having found a powerful leader in Constantine, wrongly surnamed the Great, it dislodged all its rivals and permanently established itself as the sole universal religion in the Roman world.

We will not investigate here the claims of these rival religions, we are satisfied to state the fact that Christianity remained victor and survived alone in the struggle for existence, because it fulfilled best the demands of the age. Whatever may be said in favor of one or another of the conquered creeds, Christianity satisfied the needs of the people better than either Mithraism or gnosticism, or a reformed paganism of any kind.

There is one point worth mentioning, however, which is this: The better we become acquainted with these several rival faiths, the more we are compelled to grant that whatever the outcome of their competition might have been if Christianity had not carried off the palm, the religion that in such a case would have finally become recognized as the universal religion, would in all essential doctrines, in its institutions and ceremonies, have been the same as the religion of the Christian Church. No doubt it would have differed in important details, but the underlying world-conception, the philosophy of its creed, the theology of its dogmas, and above all its moral standards together with its ethical principles would have been almost identical. These essentials were not made by one man; certainly not by Jesus who does not even so much as hint at any of them, they are the hoary ideas and convictions which had prevailed among the nations since times immemorial, remodeled in the shape in which they appealed to the then living generation. The old traditions of past ages, cherished in the subconscious realms of the folk-soul, constitute the foundations of Christianity and they are pagan, not Jewish.

By "pagans" we mean here the Gentiles, i. e., the nations outside of Judaism and we ask the reader not to attach either a derogatory or eulogistic meaning to the word. In other connections we have used the word "pagans" in the sense of unprogressive people to whom the superstitions of former ages are still clinging, who take symbolical expressions of religion, myths, dogmas, rituals, etc., in the literal sense, to the neglect of their spirit and significance. In this sense we look upon men such as Socrates and Plato not as pagans, while we may very well speak of "Christian pagans" to characterize those who have not understood the meaning of Christian dogmas, but accept the letter of dogmas unthinkingly. There are

not a few Christians who are ready to agree with us that Christianity is not yet fully Christianized. In the present article "pagan" is a synonym of Gentile and means non-Jewish. We have come to the conclusion that the spirit of paganism which is that of natural mankind, is the same as that of Christianity with the sole difference that in Christianity many pagan traditions are fused together and on the background of Judaism constitute a summary of the most essential, the noblest and finest traditions of pre-Christian paganism, thus representing the matured grain garnered at the time of harvest.

It is often claimed that ancient paganism is monistic while Christianity is dualistic, but that is an error. Paganism appears monistic only to those modern sympathizers who assume its naturalistic naiveté to be an indication of the pagan's love of nature and of a repudiation of supernaturalism; but the ancient Greeks believed in supernaturalism as much as did the early Christians, and neo-Platonism is as dualistic as any Christian philosophy. There is only this difference, that pagan dualism is not as yet so emphatic, nor is it so ascetic as Christian dualism.

Judaism is less dualistic than either Greek paganism or Christianity; and it is certain that Christianity does not owe its dualism to the Jews, but adopted it because it was the spirit of the age. A monistic conception of religion would have had no chance of success whatever. Dualism in a well-defined form was in the air, so to speak, since Plato, and prevailed absolutely in neo-Platonism, but in the beginning of the Christian era it spread everywhere. Read Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius or other pagan philosophers, and you cannot help being impressed not only with the dualism, but even with the Christian character of their thoughts.

Students of the history of religion find enough evidence of the pagan origin of Christian ceremonies, sacraments, rites and symbols. Baptism and a eucharist seem to have been practiced by several religions, and Epictetus quotes the litany of pagan soothsayers to have been *Kyrie Eleison*, which has been adopted by the Christian Church and is sung even to-day by both Catholics and Protestants.

Monks existed in India and in Egypt, and the pagan priests of these same countries shaved their heads or wore the tonsure. The rosary is unquestionably of pagan origin, while none of these institutions are Jewish.

Among the religious tendencies worked out in the minds of the Greek people since the days of Plato, there was one which was most powerful—the idea of monotheism, and here we have the only point of contact. The Jews had become the representatives of mono-

theism. In acknowledging the God of the Jews as the only true God, the new faith adopted Judaism as its mother, but Judaism refused to recognize Christianity as its child, and we think rightly so, whereas the strangest thing about it is that the aversion is mutual. The Jews looked with disdain upon the Gentiles, and the Gentiles held the Jews in contempt. In Esdras the statement is made repeatedly that God created the world for the sake of the Jews,<sup>4</sup> and there are passages in the Talmud referring to the Christians which express the same view in a most severe form, while the innumerable persecutions which the Jews had to suffer from the hands of the Christians are facts of history.

It is true that Judaism exercised an enormous influence upon Christianity, for from its start its development took place with constant reference to the Old Testament, but the attitude of the Christian Church was always opposed to everything that was typically Jewish. The Church selected from the Hebrew Scriptures what appealed to her and interpreted their meaning in a way to suit her own purpose.

The Christians worship Jesus as the Christ, i. e., as the saviour and as the son of the only true God. The fact that Judaism was the religion of Jesus rendered the connection between Judaism and Christianity indissoluble. The God of Jesus has become the God of Christianity, and so his religion has been regarded as the root from which Christianity has sprung; but we shall see that this is an error.

#### THE OLD PAGANISM.

Let us first see what are the main features and the mode of growth of ancient paganism.

In every little state of Greece, in every province of Egypt, in every district of Asia, and so far as we can see also in Italy,—yea even among the Teutons and barbarians of the North we can trace stories of a God who walked on earth unknown. The stories of Thor who visits the humble as well as the mighty, the rich and the poor, and watches them in their daily life, leaving behind him punishment for the wicked and blessings for the good, are paralleled in the tales of "Thousand and One Nights," where Harun al Rashid, the Sultan or omnipotent ruler, mixes with the people *incognito* so as to utilize his experiences for the dispensation of justice when these same individuals appeal to him as a judge in court. Similar stories are known in India and among the pagans of almost every land.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Esdras, vi. 55; vii. 11.

The same ideas also underlie the legends of mythological religion. In Egypt Osiris, the god of the Nile and fertility, of agriculture and civilization, lives as a mortal man among his people and bestows his blessings on mankind. He is the inventor of religion, of science and the arts, and of moral instruction, but his enemies conspire against him, they slay him malignantly, and he has to pass down into the land of death. The powers of evil seem to conquer the powers of good, but Osiris does not stay in the underworld. He is the first one to break the bonds of death and reappears in the domain of life. His slayers are punished and his kingdom is restored in Hor the Avenger, his son and his divine reincarnation.

The three divinities, Osiris, Isis and Horus, constitute the trinity worshiped in most temples of Egypt; and we know that the Egyptian puts his hope of immortality in his faith in Osiris. The transfigured dead follow Osiris in his passage through the land of death by identifying themselves with their leader, and this identification finds expression in the custom of assigning the name Osiris to each man at his death and combining it with his own name. Like Osiris they die and with Osiris they rise again to renewed life. The scrolls of religious writings which the Egyptians placed in the coffins of their dead, contain magic incantations for the preservation of the soul. Scholars have combined the several chapters into a book which is commonly called "The Book of the Dead"; but according to the Egyptian conception it ought to bear the title *Reu mu pert mem hru*, which means "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," implying the soul's resurrection from death, which is accomplished in a similar way as the rise of Osiris, symbolized by the morning sun.

It is touching to see in hymns and prayers the simple faith of the Egyptians so much like our own, and in spite of their numerous and gross superstitions, we learn more and more to appreciate their fervor and piety. We will call attention especially to the worship of Isis, called "Mother of God," "our Lady," "the Holy Lady," etc., terms which are literally repeated afterwards in Christianity with reference to the Virgin Mary.

We know that the religion of Babylon, of Syria, of Phœnicia and of Greece were very similar. We know that Marduk was a saviour god; we know that he died and conquered death; that he came to life again and entered his temple in festive procession; that his marriage feast with Istar was celebrated; and we know that the cyclical repetition of the festivals of Marduk's life constituted the Babylonian calendar, and the same is true of other countries. In both ancient Babylon and Phœnicia a kind of Good Friday as

well as an Easter day were celebrated, and it is noteworthy that the resurrection took place three days after the god's death.

A similar allusion that the soul has to remain three days in the domain of death, is also made in distant India in the Katha Upanishads, which indicates that this notion of the number three and a fraction is common to the ancient world and dates back to hoary antiquity. We may be assured that the number three and a fraction is nothing more nor less than the oldest approximation of a calculation of the circle, representing any period or cycle. It is the number  $\pi$ , the importance of which has been recognized even in prehistoric ages.<sup>5</sup>

We will not lose ourselves in details, but we will refer the reader to the mention of Tammuz in the Old Testament as being wept for by the women in the temple, which indicates that even the Israelites celebrated a kind of Good Friday, a day of lamentation on which the death of the god was commemorated before the day of his resurrection which changed the gloom of the ceremony into a joyous holiday. Tammuz is the god of vegetation who dies in winter and is restored to new life in the spring.

Similar customs prevailed in Syria where the dying god was worshiped under the name of Adonis, in whose honor little gardens of the quickly sprouting pepper-grass or cress were planted in small boxes and carried in processions.

In Tyre an analogous feast was celebrated in the name of Melkarth, which means "the Lord (or king) of the City." Melkarth is the Phœnician Samson, and we can not doubt that in Israel, or rather in the tribe of Dan, Samson represented the same idea and his death and resurrection were commemorated in religious festivals.<sup>6</sup>

The various reports of the different countries in Asia Minor indicate that the same ceremonies prevailed everywhere even also in the North, for we must remember that the word Easter is a Teutonic word and that the festival of the goddess Ostara (compare *Ostern*, the German "Easter") has been identified with the Christian-Jewish passover on account of the many resemblances which rendered the two synonymous.

Most conspicuous is the similarity between Mithras and Christ.

<sup>5</sup> See the author's article in *The Monist*, "The Number  $\pi$  in Christian Prophecy," XVI, 415.

<sup>6</sup> For details see the author's *The Story of Samson* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1907). Note especially how it must have happened that the story of Samson's resurrection was omitted from the Biblical report and left the story in the shape in which we now have it, a torso.

Although nothing is known of the death and resurrection of Mithras, there are otherwise many striking parallels, for like Christ Mithras is the mediator between God (Ahura Mazda) and mankind, the vicegerent of God on earth; he is the judge on the day of resurrection; he is born of a virgin and is called "Righteousness Incarnate." He is the saviour of mankind and he leads the good in their battle against the hosts of Ahriman, the evil one. It is certainly not an accident that the Mithraists celebrated a sacrament which Justin Martyr calls "the same" as the Christian Lord's Supper.

The Mithraist eucharist is apparently a pre-Christian institution, or the same or a very similar ceremony existed in the ancient Mazdaism of Zoroaster, and we are told in the sacred books of Mazdaism that the holy drink, *haoma*, and the consecrated cake, *myazda*, were taken for the purpose of nourishing the resurrection body. It seems not unlikely that the Christian "Lord's Supper" has originated under Persian influence and that the word "mass" (Latin *missa*) is the same as the Persian *myazda*, which corresponds to the Hebrew *mazza*, the sacred unleavened bread.<sup>7</sup>

We will add one further comment upon a doctrine which has become very dear to Christians and is generally regarded as typical of the Christian faith, but which is nevertheless common to all Gentile religions, being glaringly absent in Judaism only. We refer to the doctrine of the trinity. Although the idea was obliterated in Greece and Rome during the classical period, it nevertheless existed. We know, for instance, that in ancient Rome a temple on the Capitoline Hill was devoted to the trinity of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, a triad worshiped everywhere in Etruria under the names of Tinia, Thalna and Menrva.<sup>8</sup> Other well-known trinities were taught, as in Egypt, Osiris, Isis and Horus; in Babylon, Anu, Bel and Ea; in India, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva; and in Buddhism in the doctrine of the Triratna, the three gems, the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha.

Similarities between Christianity and paganism are more frequent than is commonly supposed. Prof. Lawrence H. Mills, the great authority in Zend literature, has written an article entitled "Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia," but other religions as well contain ideas which have always been regarded as typically Chris-

<sup>7</sup> See the writer's article "The Food of Life and the Sacrament," Part II, *The Monist*, X, 343. *Myazda* originally signifies only the the meat of the consecrated cow placed on the wafer (*draona*) but the name may easily have been extended to the whole offering.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Encyclop. Brit.*, Vol. XX, p. 824, s. v. "Rome," where the fate of this temple is related.

tian. We will here mention only one more of these because it is not limited to one religion but repeats itself almost everywhere. It is the doctrine of God as the Word or the Logos and can be found in China and India, in Persia, in Greece where it is developed by neo-Platonism, and in ancient Egypt. Plutarch calls Osiris the Word<sup>9</sup> and mentions the existence of the books of Hermes which became the sacred scriptures of the worshipers of Hermes Trismegistos, also called Poimander, which presumably means "the shepherd of men, and which was a mythological figure very much like the Christ ideal of the Christians."<sup>10</sup>

#### PAGANISM REDIVIVUS.

Augustine's saying that Christianity is not a new fangled thing but that it existed from the beginning of mankind, is not to be taken in a general sense but must be understood literally. It reads in its original as follows:

"Res ipsa, quae nunc religio Christiana nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec deficit ab initio generis humani, quousque Christus veniret in carnem, unde vera religio, quae iam erat, coepit appellari Christiana."

We translate literally:

"The very thing which now is called the Christian religion existed among the ancients, nor was it absent in the beginning of the human race before Christ came into the flesh, since when the true religion which already existed began to be called Christian."

We must ask the question, What constitutes Christianity in the opinion of a man like St. Augustine?

St. Augustine would presumably find no fault with the following answer:

Christianity means the belief in Christ as the son of God, the god-man, the sinless man, the saviour, the mediator between God and men, the divine teacher, the king, the hero, the ideal man, the martyr of the great cause of salvation, he who struggles for mankind, yet succumbs to the intrigues of the enemies of justice. Christ dies on the cross and descends into hell, to the place of death and the powers of evil, but hell can not hold him. He breaks the gates of hell and thereby opens the way to life for his brother men. He is therefore regarded as the leader, the firstling,<sup>11</sup> and he who clings

<sup>9</sup> *De Isi et Osiri*, Chap. LXI.

<sup>10</sup> See also the author's "Anubis, Seth and Christ" in *The Open Court*, XV, 65.

<sup>11</sup> The Christian term *πρωτότης*, i. e., "firstling," translated "first fruits" in 1 Cor. xv. 20, sounds like an echo of a more ancient pagan expression.



to Christ in faith will follow him through death to life and will partake of his glorification and bliss. Christ is now enthroned at the right hand of God whence he will return to earth as a judge of mankind at the end of the world.

What of all this is contained in Judaism? Judaism knows nothing of any of these doctrines; on the contrary it repudiates them. The idea that God should have a son would have been an unspeakable blasphemy to a Jewish rabbi of the time of Christ.

The Jews expected a Messiah, not a saviour. Christians have identified the two terms, but they are as heterogeneous as, e. g., a henchman is different from a physician. The Messiah was expected to restore the kingdom of David and take revenge upon the Gentiles that had oppressed the Jews. An echo of these hopes still rings through the Revelation of St. John the Divine, (Revelations xii), which we shall quote further on.

It is said that the Jews did not understand the spiritual meaning of their prophecies. But is it not but a poor makeshift to explain to them that the kingdom of Judah does not mean either their country or their nationality, but the Church, not even the Jewish Church but the Gentile Church? Bear in mind that the congregation of Jewish Christians did not last long and that the Gentile Church was as hostile to the Jews as ever Assyrian, Babylonian, Syrian or Roman conquerors had been. We might as well say that the prophecies for the restoration of Poland were fulfilled when the bulk of Poland was incorporated into Russia, and when the Czar added to his many other titles that of *Rex Poloniae*.

The idea of a saviour is purely pagan; it was so little Jewish that even the very word was unknown to the Jews. There is no Hebrew word to correspond to the Greek term *soter*,<sup>12</sup> the Latin *salvator*, the Zend *saoshyant*, the German *Heiland*, the French *sauveur*, and the English *saviour*.<sup>13</sup>

In the time of Christ the inhabitants of the Roman Empire looked for a saviour who would bring back to them the blessings of the Golden Age, and when order was restored after the civil wars, Augustus was hailed in official inscriptions as this saviour. The very word *augustus* is not a name but a title. It is translated into Greek *sebastos*, which means "the lofty one," "the auspicious one," "the venerable one." It not merely possesses a political but also and mainly a religious significance and may be compared to

<sup>12</sup> σωτήρ.

<sup>13</sup> See also a further discussion of the origin of terms in the article "Christ and Christians" in *The Open Court*, XXII, 110.

the Buddhist term Tathagata, the Blessed One. A remarkable instance of the hope for the appearance of a saviour and the return of the Golden Age which then generally prevailed, is Virgil's fourth eclogue, written in the year 40 B. C., which has frequently been regarded by Christians as a prophecy of the advent of Christ.<sup>14</sup>

There is scarcely any Christian doctrine which can be reconciled with Judaism, either in letter or spirit. The trinity is certainly incompatible with the rigor of Jewish monotheism, and the Christian sacrament called the Lord's Supper is a horror and an abomination to any one reared in the spirit of the Old Testament.<sup>15</sup> The eating of flesh and the drinking of blood, even if the act is purely symbolical (as Calvin and Zwingli interpret it to be) would have been a disgusting idea to a Jew to whom the body of a dead person is unclean and who was forbidden to drink blood. And the Church as well as the German reformer Martin Luther teach that the bread and wine of the sacrament *are* the real flesh and blood of Christ; they have been changed by a mystical act of transubstantiation. How is it possible that the institution of these ceremonies can have been derived from the Jews?

We know that St. Paul celebrated the Lord's Supper, and there is good reason to believe that he instituted it, and we may grant that St. Paul was a Jew. But he was born in Tarsus. He must have imbibed in his childhood and youth many pagan notions. How un-Jewish he was in his convictions appears from the fact that he regarded the Mosaic law as of mere temporary value. To be sure he believed it to be ordained by God, but having been fulfilled once he deemed it no longer binding. Think of the lack of logic in his argument that a law if but once thoroughly obeyed, may thenceforth be set aside! But his explanation suited his Gentile converts and it has been accepted without the slightest scruple by generation after generation—not among the Jews but among the Gentiles.

Parallels to the Christian conception of the eucharist can be pointed out in the sacraments of many pagan religions but scarcely in the institutions of the synagogue. The very spirit and the mode of its celebration are absolutely un-Jewish.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

<sup>14</sup> See "The Christ Ideal and the Golden Age" in *The Open Court* for June 1908, p. 328.

<sup>15</sup> See "Food of Life," etc., *Monist*, X, p. 376.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### AN IMAGE OF YAHVEH.

In reply to some questions received concerning the January number, we will state that the frontispiece entitled "The Semitic God of Tahpanhes" represents one of the most remarkable monuments of the history of our own religion. Professor Mueller, the author of the article on the subject, has purposely refrained from making any positive and rash statements which he might have to retract. But readers who follow his argument carefully will see at once that we have here a representation of the God of Israel, called in olden times Yahveh and since the days of the Reformation, Jehovah.

People not acquainted with the progress of excavations made in recent years may be astonished that a statue of Yahveh existed at all, for we are so accustomed to the notion that the Jews held all statues and other representations of God in abomination. But of late we know that the Jews with whom we are acquainted through the Bible are one sect only, that there were other Jewish congregations, and that these other ones were really the older, and if faithfulness to tradition means orthodoxy, the more orthodox Jews. Judaism, such as we know it, was prepared by the prophetic movement and definitely worked out in the Babylonian Exile, and this Judaism is the one that alone survived.

We know from recent excavations that in the village of Elephantine, there stood a magnificent Jewish temple, which was older than the second temple of Jerusalem. It was destroyed at the instigation of the Egyptian priests, worshipers of Khnub. Other documents found in the same place reveal to us that there existed a flourishing Jewish colony, which however did not observe the special restrictions of post-Exilic Judaism. They intermarried with the Gentiles and did not look upon Jerusalem as the only place of worship and sacrifice.

We must at the same time assume that they worshiped their God Yahveh or Jehovah under some visible symbol as was done in the time of ancient Israel before it split into the two kingdoms. There are enough indications in the Bible itself to prove that idols were made and unhesitatingly used even by such men as David, and that the bull was the favorite symbol of the deity.

Wherever hostility towards other nations appears, it is purely nationalistic and not religious. Even Solomon was the son of a Hittite woman and we may assume that the Israelites were a race considerably mixed with Hittite, Philistine, Egyptian, Canaanite, and other elements. At the same time their religion resembled that of their neighbors much more than was generally assumed. The nationalistic and vigorously monotheistic spirit of Judaism

is of late origin. It was perfected in the Babylonian Exile and made the Jews what they are to-day. Here too lies the reason of the preservation of the Jews among the Gentiles which has never as yet been plainly understood. It is but natural that this conception of Judaism which had been so hardened in the tribulations of national misfortunes should alone survive, and that the other conceptions of Judaism through their very similarity to other pagan cults, should disappear entirely as if they never existed.

For all these reasons the bas relief of the Semitic sanctuary at Tahpanhes is of great interest to us and the more we understand the significance of having a presentation of the old Jehovah, the more we shall prize this remarkable monument.

P. C.

### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

A STANDARD BIBLE DICTIONARY. Edited by *M. W. Jacobus, E. E. Nourse, and A. C. Zenos*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1909. Pp. 920. Price, Cloth \$6.00; Half Mor. \$10.00; Full Mor. \$12.00, all net. Indexed, 50 cents extra; Carriage charges 47 cents extra.

In this publication Funk & Wagnalls have aimed to provide a Bible Dictionary which shall be as standard a work in its line as their English Dictionary has proved itself. The present volume owes its origin not only to the fact that the most modern dictionaries such as those of Hastings and Cheyne were too comprehensive in scope and expensive in price to be of practical service to the general Sunday-school teacher, the intelligent layman and small-salaried clergyman, but also to the fact that such a need has been supplied recently in Germany by Prof. Hermann Guthe's one-volume *Bibelwörterbuch*. It was the publishers' intention at first to make this work accessible to the English-reading constituency by translation, but it soon became apparent that to serve this purpose it would require so much editing that it would be as easy, and eminently more satisfactory, to provide a similar work on independent lines. It is noteworthy, however, that Professor Guthe occupies an important place on the list of collaborators of the English work.

Accordingly the English world of Bible readers and students now possess a one-volume Bible Dictionary compiled by the best scholarship available, giving authentic information on about 9000 titles taken from the fullest concordances, utilizing the most improved devices for ready reference, and at a price within the reach of any person interested in a library of his own. The book is not a remodeling of any former work but is made entirely new from the ground up. No item is too insignificant to bear the initials of its author, so that the reader may feel perfectly sure where to place responsibility for each statement.

With regard to the critical value of the work, the editorial position may perhaps be best understood from the following paragraph in the preface:

"The critical position to which such a Dictionary is necessarily committed must be one of acceptance of the proved facts of modern scholarship, of open-mindedness towards its still-debated problems, and of conservation of the fundamental truths of the Christianity proclaimed and established in the message and mission of Jesus Christ. The constituency to which the Dictionary appeals is not to be helped by an apologetic method that ignores what a reverent critical scholarship has brought to light regarding the Book of the

Christian religion; nor is it to be served by a radical spirit so enamored of novelty and opposed to tradition that it would seek to establish a new religion on the ruins of the historical facts of Christianity. It can be ministered to only by a clear, charitable, uncontroversial presentation of the results which a century and a half of earnest, conscientious, painstaking, self-denying study of the Bible has secured, to the end that all students and readers of the Book may be led into its more intelligent understanding and its more spiritual use."

It may be needless to add that especial care has been taken to have the illustrations so chosen as to be of practical value; the greatest care has been shown to have them printed as clearly as possible. Many of the illustrations are reproduced here for the first time. Another exclusive feature is the maps, many of which have been drawn for this work. Among the thirty-six collaborators, the list contains besides those already mentioned such names as König, of Bonn; Nowack, of Strassburg; Driver and Gray, of Oxford; McCurdy, of Toronto; Denney, of Glasgow; Sterrett, of Cornell; Dickey and others, of McCormick Theological; Pres. Mackenzie and others of Hartford Theological, and Dean Mathews of Chicago.

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PRIMITIVE SECRET SOCIETIES. A Study in Early Politics and Religion. By *Hulton Webster, Ph. D.* New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 227.

This work contains material of great anthropological interest with regard to secret organizations among primitive peoples, their initiation ceremonies and their relation to tribal society. The men's house, the puberty institution, secret rites, the training of the novice, the power of the elders, together with the development and functions of tribal societies are in turn discussed, and the decline of tribal societies as the social life develops. A characteristic of the social history of the tribe is the fact that when the social organization has developed to the point of admitting women, this stage inevitably marks the disintegration of the initiatory rites. The last chapter is properly an appendix and deals with the diffusion of initiation ceremonies in Australia, Tasmania, Melanesia, Polynesia, Africa, South, Central and North America. A very comprehensive bibliography is furnished in the form of copious footnote mention of authorities. The index of the book is confined to the enumeration of native terms, but this is very essential as there are ten columns of them.

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EACH IN HIS OWN TONGUE AND OTHER POEMS. By *William Herbert Carruth.* New York: Putnam, 1909.

Very many people will be glad to have this small volume if only for the sake of its opening poem which gives its title to the book. Known as "God" or "The God of Evolution," this poem, which appeared originally in *The Open Court* several years ago, is one of those inspired expressions of thought that strike home to the hearts of large numbers of thoughtful readers. These four stanzas are sufficient justification for the existence of the book, but the reader will find many a bit of occasional verse in the collection that follows, that will well pay perusal. The author is Professor of German Language and Literature in the University of Kansas, and several of his verses bear German titles, while at the end of the volume we find very successful renderings into German of the old familiar English lyrics "Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes"

by Ben Jonson, and Thomas Moore's "Oft in the Stilly Night." Professor Carruth also touches on several Biblical parables which he would fain carry out to further conclusions from the traditional one. Such are "A Rhyme of Thomas the Doubter," "The Plaint of the Fruitless Fig-tree," "The Woman Taken in Adultery"; and also "The Brother of the Prodigal Son," who is made to justify his complaint of injustice on the part of his father, so that the father "stands reproved":

"All too lightly I forgot  
The temptations of thy lot;  
Homely duties fitly borne  
Match the prodigal's return.  
Yea, for him who never wandered,  
Not less than for him who squandered  
His endowment, should there be  
Fatted calf and jubilee."

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PSYCHOLOGIE DE L'INCROYANT. Par *Xavier Moisant*. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie., 1908. pp. 340. Price 3 fr. 50.

In this study of the "Psychology of the Unbeliever" the author is careful to analyse only types which frankly admit themselves to be unbelievers. He rightly dismisses from his investigation those who make a business or profession of anti-clericalism, convinced that an Auguste Comte was more deeply an unbeliever than a Gambetta. He uses only such sources as are well authenticated and accurate, many of them being unpublished documents. His conclusions are not less interesting for the psychologist and the student of the history of philosophy than for apologists. The unbelievers whom M. Moisant discusses are not merely conventional types but living men whose weakness and strength are brought out in the sincere effort to give a correct presentation. The book is divided into three parts treating first of the scoffers represented by Voltaire; second, the Positivists, followers of Comte; and third, the intellectual class best represented perhaps in France by Renouvier.

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LE BESOIN ET LE DEVOIR RELIGIEUX. Par *Maurice Sérol*. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie. Pp. 216. Price 2 fr. 50.

This little work proceeds from the premise that all human life is inevitably exposed to discord and misery; that only a firm and sincere religion consisting of faith, prayer, hope and love is able to provide relief; and that natural law imposes this solution of the problem of life upon the world. After treating the subject from the point of view of religious need and religious duty the author proceeds to criticise the principal existing systems of religious philosophy and then draws the attention of students of the subject to certain delicate and important aspects of the religious problem supporting the view of the necessity and obligation of faith, and the necessity of doctrinal authority because of the insufficiency of reason and experience. The last chapter sums up the author's idea of the psychological and moral necessity of mental and physical expression of religious feeling as represented in public worship.





**THE TRANSFIGURED CHRIST.**

**Detail from Raphael's "Transfiguration" in the Vatican.**

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*



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## THE ARYAN ANCESTRY OF JESUS.

BY PAUL HAUPT.

THE founders of Christianity were Galileans. Our Saviour's first disciples, Peter and his brother Andrew, as well as the two sons of Zebedee, James and John, were Galilean fishermen. Pilate was told that Jesus was a Galilean (Luke, xxiii. 7). The Roman procurator treated Jesus as a political offender. Pilate was no doubt responsible for the execution of the Messiah, not the Jews (compare Luke, xiii. 1). It has been observed that the representation of the Jewish attitude, as well as that of the Roman procedure, at the trial of Jesus looks very much like a late attempt to take the blame as far as possible off the shoulders of the Romans and lay it on the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

Jesus Himself was called The Galilean. The Roman emperor Julian the Apostate, who announced his conversion to paganism on his accession to the throne, A. D. 361, is said to have exclaimed, when he was mortally wounded by an arrow in his campaign against Persia, "Galilean, Thou hast conquered!"

Canon Cheyne remarks in his *Encyclopædia Biblica* (col. 1631): "Professor Percy Gardner (the distinguished archeologist of the University of Oxford and Chairman of the Local Committee of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, which was recently held in Oxford, September 15-18, 1908) has well said, 'According to all historic probability, Jesus of Nazareth was born at Nazareth.'" He is called The Nazarene in the Talmud. The early converts to Christianity were known as Nazarenes (Acts, xxiv.

<sup>1</sup> See Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 4161; compare L. Philippson, *Haben wirklich die Juden Jesum gekreuzigt?* second edition (Leipsic, 1901) and W. Bousset, *Jesus*, third edition (Tübingen, 1907) p. 9.

5). The Hebrew name for Christians is *Noçerim*; and the Arabic, *Naçâra*.

The tradition that Jesus was a descendant of David<sup>2</sup> and born at Beth-lehem, is not original (John, vii. 41). The census referred to at the beginning of the second chapter of the Third Gospel took place in A. D. 7, that is, at least eleven years after the Nativity. An imperial census in the kingdom of Herod would have been impossible. There was no imperial assessment until Judea had been made an imperial province. Nor would the people have been assessed at their ancestral homes. Moreover, Mary would not have been required to accompany Joseph (see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 808).

Our Saviour Himself referred to the belief that the Messiah was to be a son of David as an unwarranted opinion of the Scribes (Mark, xiii. 35-37). If it had been known that descendants of the royal House of David lived in Nazareth, Nathanael would not have said, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? (John, i. 46). The later tradition, which endeavors to harmonize the life of Jesus with the alleged Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, is a concession to Jewish expectations or prejudices. In Micah, v. 2 the name (Beth-)lehem is a later insertion. The future ruler of Judah (Zerubbabel)<sup>3</sup> is a scion of the House of Ephrath, that is, the name of David's clan. Queen Victoria was a scion of the House of Hanover, but she was not born in Hanover. All the passages in which Ephrath is identified with Beth-lehem are post-Exilic. No son or descendant of David was born at Beth-lehem (see 2 Samuel, iii. 2-5; v. 14-16).

The great Biblical scholar, Professor J. Wellhausen, of the University of Göttingen, begins his translation of the First Gospel with

<sup>2</sup> In unexpurgated editions of the Talmud Jesus is called the son of Pandera, the lover of Setada which is interpreted to mean *she was unfaithful*. Pandera is identical with Pandarus (in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* etc.). The English term "pander" is derived from this name. Compare L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*, vol. i (Berlin, 1897), p. 564; *Realencyclopædie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third edition, edited by A. Hauck, vol. ix, p. 4, l. 42; p. 2, l. 2; vol. xix, p. 332, ll. 26-52; see also Marcus Jastrow, *The History and the Future of the Talmudic Text* (Philadelphia, 1897) pp. 19-23. At the Oxford Congress of Religions the Chief Rabbi Dr. M. Gaster remarked, on Sept. 17, that the Jews regarded all proselytes with disfavor. If Jesus had belonged to such a people, they would surely have used it against Him. Yet neither at the trial nor in the taunts of the populace did we find any hint of such an accusation.—Dr. Gaster does not seem to know the Talmudic passages referring to the Son of Pandera.

<sup>3</sup> Also Psalms cx and cxxxii refer to Zerubbabel or Zorobabel (Matthew, i. 12; Luke, iii. 27). See *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 114, page 110 (July, 1894) and the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xi, pp. 70, 91; vol. xxi, p. 145; compare my paper *Dauids und Christi Geburtsort* in F. E. Peiser's *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vol. xii, col. 65 (February, 1909).

the third chapter corresponding to the beginning of the Second Gospel;<sup>4</sup> the first two chapters, with the Davidic genealogy of Joseph, the virgin birth, the star of Bethlehem, the wise men from the East, the flight to Egypt, the slaughter of the innocents, are not considered.

Our Saviour is generally supposed to have been a Jew by race. In 1523 Luther published a treatise in which he tried to show that Jesus was a Jew. But in the Maccabean gloss prefixed to the poetic glorification of the Return from the Exile in 538 B. C. and of the birth of the Davidic prince Zerubbabel, in the ninth chapter of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, Galilee is called "the district of the nations," that is, gentiles.<sup>5</sup> Also in Joshua, xii. 23 we must read, "the king of the nations in Galilee" (instead of *Gilgal*).<sup>6</sup>

In the First Book of the Maccabees (v. 14-23) we read that "messengers from Galilee, with their clothes rent, came to Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, who reported in this wise, They of Ptolemais, and of Tyrus and Sidon, and all Galilee of the Gentiles are assembled together against us to consume us. . . . Then said Judas unto Simon, his brother, Choose thee out men, and go and deliver thy brethren that are in Galilee. . . . Now unto Simon were given 3000 men to go into Galilee. . . . where he fought many battles with the heathen. . . . And those that were in Galilee, that is, in Arbatta,<sup>7</sup> with their wives and their children, and all that they had, took he away, and brought them into Judea with great joy."

So the Jews who lived in Galilee at the time of Judas Maccabæus were all rescued and transferred to Jerusalem in 164 B. C. At the same time Judas Maccabæus delivered his brethren who lived among the heathen in the northern region of the country east of the

<sup>4</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Matthæi* (Berlin, 1904) p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See the translation of the Book of Isaiah in the Polychrome Bible, page 14, line 20, and page 144, line 45. He who brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali is Tiglath-pileser IV (738 B. C.). The settlement of Aryan colonists in Galilee was regarded as a disgrace for the country. The later (king) who conferred honor on the "district of the nations" was Aristobulus who judaized Galilee in 103 B. C. This was looked upon as a rehabilitation of the country. The gloss, which was added about B. C. 100, refers to the statement in verse 7: He will increase the dominion beyond David's throne and beyond his kingdom. The second stanza (verses 5 and 6) of this patriotic poem refers to Zerubbabel; the first to Cyrus. See *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vol. xii, col. 67, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> See the translation of the Book of Joshua, in the Polychrome Bible, page 75, line 45.

<sup>7</sup> Arbatta, or Arbana, is a corruption of *Sabrana*, Sepphoris, the capital of Galilee, northwest of Nazareth. See the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908) vol. i, page 302, note 2.

Jordan, and brought them all to Jerusalem. His triumphant return from this victorious expedition is glorified in Psalm lxviii.<sup>8</sup>

Consequently there were no Jews in Galilee after the year 164 B. C. But in 103 B. C. Simon's grandson (the eldest son and successor of the great Maccabean conqueror John Hyrcanus) Aristobulus, the first King of the Jews, whose coronation is glorified in Psalm ii,<sup>9</sup> judaized Galilee, forcing the inhabitants to adopt circumcision and the Mosaic Law.

Since that time the Galileans were Jews by religion, but not Jews by race. A negro who joins the Church of England does not become an Anglo-Saxon. The Jews looked down on the Galileans, and their dialect betrayed their non-Jewish extraction. In Matthew, xxvi. 73 we read that the bystanders said to Peter, "Surely thou also art one of them; thy speech bewrayeth thee." In the Talmud (*Eruvin*, 53b) there is an anecdote relating that once upon a time a Galilean asked for *amr*; but the people replied, You stupid Galilean! Do you want *amr* for riding (that is, *hamâr*, an ass) or *amr* for drinking (that is, *khamar*, wine) or *amr* for clothing (that is, '*amar*, Hebrew *çemr*, wool) or *amr* for slaughtering (that is, *immar*, lamb). The Galileans pronounced all four words, *hamâr*, *khamar*, '*amar*, *immar*, alike; they could not distinguish the various Semitic gutturals, just as the Turks and the Persians do not distinguish certain characteristic consonants in Arabic words.

The Galileans, who were judaized by Aristobulus in B. C. 103, were called *Itureans*,<sup>10</sup> that is, Assyrians, because they were descendants of the Assyrian colonists whom the founder of the Assyrian empire, Tiglath-pileser IV,<sup>11</sup> and the conqueror of Samaria, Sargon II, had sent to Galilee, after the inhabitants had been deported to Assyria in 738 B. C. We read in the Second Book of Kings (xv. 29): "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor (*and Gilead and Galilee*)<sup>12</sup>—all the land of

<sup>8</sup> See the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, page 191, line 10; compare the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxiii, page 225.

<sup>9</sup> See the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, page 90 (June, 1903). Compare my paper *The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets* in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908) vol. i, page 269.

<sup>10</sup> Compare Luke, iii. 1, and E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. i (Leipsic, 1901) p. 276 (§ 9). See also Martin Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, vol. ii (Leipsic, 1909) page 466.

<sup>11</sup> Compare R. W. Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908) page 61.

<sup>12</sup> This is a subsequent addition.

Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria." It is generally supposed that no reference to this conquest of Galilee occurs in Tig-lath-pileser's cuneiform inscriptions; but this is due to the fact that no one ever perceived that Galilee is called *the land of Hamath*. The same name is used in the Old Testament, but it never occurred to any reader of the Bible that Hamath denoted the ancient capital of Galilee, at the famous hot springs half an hour to the south of Tiberias on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee.

After the destruction of Hamath in the second half of the eighth century B. C., Sepphoris, the modern *Saffûriye*, northwest of Nazareth, was the capital of Galilee. The name of this city (which is called *Çipporin* in the Talmud, because it is perched on the top of a mountain like a bird, Hebrew *çippôr*)<sup>13</sup> appears in the Old Testament as Sepharvaim, Sibraim, Ziphron, Sepharad, and in 1 Maccabees, v. 23 as Arbatta, Arbacta, Arbana—all these forms are merely corruptions of the name *Sipporim*. This seems to be the "city that is set on a hill" (Matthew, v. 14). It was not hid like Nazareth which is situated in a basin entirely shut in by hills. The Jews use *Sepharad* for Spain; but this name is a corruption of *Sipporim*. The archives of the old Jewish congregation of Sepphoris in pre-Maccabean times are mentioned in the Talmud (*Kiddushin*, iv. 5).

Tiberias, named in honor of the emperor Tiberius, was not founded before 26 A. D. When the foundations of the new city were laid, an old cemetery was dug up. The Jews therefore regarded Tiberias as unclean<sup>14</sup> and could not be induced to settle there. But after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A. D.) Tiberias became the chief center of Jewish learning. The Mishnah and the Palestinian Talmud were completed at Tiberias about A. D. 200 and 350, respectively.

The old cemetery which was dug up in 26 A. D. was no doubt the necropolis of Hamath, the ancient capital of Galilee. The "Entrance to Hamath" is repeatedly mentioned in the Old Testament as a part of the northern boundary of Palestine; this is the *Wady al-hammâm* near Magdala, the birthplace of Mary Magdalene, three miles northwest of Tiberias. Arpad, which is referred to in conjunction with Hamath, is Irbid, southwest of Magdala. The northern boundary of Palestine, as described in Numbers, xxxiv. 7, ran from Mount Carmel on the Mediterranean to Mount Hor, that is, Mount Tabor, about five miles east of Nazareth, and from Mount

<sup>13</sup> The name of Moses's wife, Zipporah, is the feminine form of this word.

<sup>14</sup> See the translation of Leviticus, xxii. 4, in the Polychrome Bible, and the notes on the translation of Ezekiel, in the Polychrome Bible, page 191, line 8.

Tabor to the Entrance to Hamath on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee, that is, the *Wady al-hammâm*, and thence to Zaidah, that is, the New Testament Bethsaida at the northeastern end of the Sea of Galilee. *Zedad* in the received text (and *Ziddim*, *Zer* in Joshua, xix. 35) are corruptions of *Zaidah*.<sup>15</sup>

In Numbers, xxxiv. 9a we have an alternate northern boundary which ran from Accho, on the Mediterranean, through Ziphron, that is Sepphoris, to Hazar-enan, that is, the Round Spring, 25 minutes northwest of Magdala. The large basin, in which the water wells out in a full stream, is enclosed by a round wall. The diameter is about 100 feet. Shepham denotes the bare hills (Hebrew *shephayim*) on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee.

Hethlon, given in Ezekiel, xlvi. 15 as a point of the northern boundary of Palestine, is the old name of Nazareth. Hethlon should be read *Hittalon*; it is a variant of *Hannathon*, or rather *Hinnathon*, which corresponds to the cuneiform *Hinnatûn*, mentioned in the Amarna Tablets (about 1400 B. C.).<sup>16</sup> Both *Hittalon* and *Hinnathon* mean "protection" and allude to the secluded location of Nazareth which is situated in a basin entirely shut in by hills. *Hethlon* means literally "swathing," that is, inclosing, confining. The shepherds were told by the angels, "Ye will find a babe wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lying in a manger," just as Nazareth is *swathed* in a basin with a girdle of hills. In the cuneiform Annals of Tiglath-pileser IV *Hinnatûn* (that is, Nazareth) is mentioned in conjunction with *Kana*, that is, Cana in Galilee (the modern *Khirbet Kâna*, about eight miles north of Nazareth), the scene of our Lord's first miracle (John, ii. 11).

The universal opinion has been that Hamath is the royal city of the Hittites, on the Orontes in northern Syria; but the boundary of Israel never reached so far north, and the names of the kings of Hamath, mentioned in the cuneiform texts, are Hebrew, for instance, Eniel (Eye of God) and Ja'u-bi'di (Jahveh is my Protection). The king of Hamath, who sent his son to salute David, was a Galilean; Solomon's storehouses, that is, granaries, which he built in Hamath, were situated near the Sea of Galilee. The Galilean wheat was famous. In the Acts of the Apostles (xii. 20) we read that Tyre and Sidon made peace with Herod Antipas of Galilee, the son of Herod the Great, because their country was nourished by the

<sup>15</sup> For *d* instead of *i* compare Amos, ix. 12 where the Greek Bible (and Acts, xv. 17) read *yidreshû*, they will seek, instead of *yiresû*, they will possess.

<sup>16</sup> See the Notes on Joshua, in the Polychrome Bible, pp. 47-55.

king's country. The territory of Hamath, which Jeroboam II recovered for Israel about B. C. 750, was the region west of the Sea of Galilee.

The correct spelling of this name is Hammath or Hammoth (Assyrian *Hammâti*) with double *m*; it means Hot Springs. For Hammath, Rakkath, Chinnereth in Joshua xix. 35 we must read *Hammoth rakkath Chinnoroth*, "Hot Springs on the shore of The Great Harp," that is, the Sea of Galilee, which is in shape like a triangular harp. In 1 Chronicles, vi. 76 (Hebrew, 61) the name is miswritten *Hammon* instead of Hammoth; and in Joshua, xxi. 32 we must read *Hammoth-Chinnoroth* instead of *Hammoth-Dor* (compare Joshua, xi. 2).

A great many of the Assyrian colonists sent to Hamath (that is, Galilee) were Aryans. Sargon II relates that he deported the Median chief Deioces with his kinsmen to Hamath. Both Tiglath-pileser IV and Sargon II received tribute from the Median chiefs as far east as the Lapis Lazuli Mountain. In a paper on Archeology and Mineralogy, presented at the general meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, April 2, 1903, I showed that this Lapis Lazuli Mountain in the remotest parts of Media represented the famous lapis lazuli mines in Badakhshan, on the northeastern flank of the Hindu Kush in northeastern Afghanistan.<sup>17</sup> Esarhaddon calls this mountain *Bign*, and the name of the district is *Patus-arra*. He also mentions the names of two chiefs of that region, Sitirparna and Eparna; also Uppis of Partakka, Zanasana of Partukka, and Ramatea of Urakazabarna. These names are clearly not Semitic, but Aryan. *Partakka* means "mountainous" and is identical with the Greek *Paraitaca*, Latin *Paratacene*. *Bign*, the name of the Lapis Lazuli Mountain, is the Aryan *bigna* and means "splendor." *Ashima*, the deity worshiped by the Assyrian colonists who had been sent by Sargon from Hamath to Samaria, is the Aryan *Aeshma*, the demon of Wrath, who appears in the Book of Tobit (iii. 8, 17) as *Asmodeus*, the counterpart of Lilith. We must read in 2 Kings, xvii. 30 *Aishma* instead of *Ashima*. The majority of the Assyrian colonists whom Tiglath-pileser IV sent to Galilee,

<sup>17</sup> See the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, page 53. In an article, printed in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Nov. 5, 1908, Dr. Hermann Michel stated, the question, whether Jesus was an Aryan, was meaningless as long as it was not absolutely certain that Jesus spoke Greek!—The majority of the Assyrian colonists, who were sent to Galilee, were undoubtedly Aryans, that is, Iranians. I do not use Aryan in the sense of Indo-European. Aryan = Indo-Iranian. The question, whether or not Jesus spoke Greek, has no bearing on this case. The Persian Jews spoke Persian, but they were not Aryans; the English Jews speak English, but are not Anglo-Saxons.

were natives of Ullub and Kirkh, north of Assyria, at the foot of the Armenian Taurus, between Amid (the modern Diarbekr) and Lake Van. This region was not Semitic.

Even the Jews have non-Semitic blood in their veins. The Hebrew nomads who began to settle in Canaan about B. C. 1400, intermarried with the Canaanites (Judges iii. 6).<sup>18</sup> Hebrew was the language of Canaan. The Israelitish tribes which invaded Canaan spoke Aramaic. Aramaic became the language of Canaan after the Babylonian Captivity. Our Saviour and His disciples spoke Aramaic. *Talitha cumi*<sup>19</sup> and other utterances of Jesus recorded in the Gospels are Aramaic, not Hebrew. Hebrew was practically a dead language after the Babylonian Captivity; it was the sacred language of religion, but the exclusive property of scholars. A considerable portion of the Hebrew Bible was written by men whose mother-tongue was Aramaic.<sup>20</sup> The original meaning of the term *Hebrew* seems to be "Rover" (raiding nomad). Heb. *'abâr* means "to traverse," "to wander over."<sup>21</sup> It is possible that *Arab* is merely a transposition of this name.

The prophet Ezekiel states (xvi. 3): "Thus says Jahveh to Jerusalem, Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite." We know from the representations on the ancient Egyptian monuments that the Hittites were a race with yellow skins, black hair and

<sup>18</sup> See the Notes on Judges, in the Polychrome Bible, page 44. The Jews are not descendants of the Israelites, but descendants of the Edomite clans which invaded Canaan from the south about 1200 B. C. Judah (compare below, note 24) is the name of the worshipers of *יהוה*, who were united under the leadership of David about 1000 B. C. The majority of them were Edomites, but they comprised also Horites, Canaanites, Ishmaelites, Moabites, Hittites, Amorites, Philistines, Egyptians, and Ethiopians. The wonderful vitality and other excellent qualities of the Jewish race are no doubt due to this ancestral mixture, just as the unparalleled development of the United States depends, to a certain extent, on the constant infusion of fresh blood.—The Israelites, who relapsed into idolatry after the death of Solomon, have vanished; they survive only, mixed with various foreign elements, in the Samaritans whose number is now reduced to 170. The Israelites were not in Egypt, but the Edomite ancestors of the Jews were in Egypt about 1230 B. C. The Israelites were settled in Palestine (Ephraim) at that time. The ancient Israelitish traditions have been systematically altered by the Jews, just as the legends of Southern Arabia were modified by the Mohammedans. Compare the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1182, note 2, and col. 2218, § 2. See also Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906) pp. 224 and 338; Martin Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, vol. ii, (Leipsc, 1909) p. 474.

<sup>19</sup> See Mark, v. 41; vii. 34; xiv. 36; xv. 34.

<sup>20</sup> See the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xiii, page cclxi, note 12.

<sup>21</sup> See Martin Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, vol. ii (Leipsc, 1909) page 598.



eyes, receding foreheads, and protruding upper jaws.<sup>22</sup> The so-called Jewish nose is Hittite, not Semitic.<sup>23</sup> The Hittites may have belonged to the Mongolian race. The Amorites, on the other hand, and the Philistines, seem to have been Indo-Europeans. On the Egyptian monuments the Amorites are depicted as a tall race, with fair skins, light hair, and blue eyes. The tall stature of the Amorites (Amos, ii. 9) frightened the Israelites (Numbers, xiii. 33).

Jewish separatism is post-Exilic. The rigor of Ezra in the matter of mixed marriages (Ezra, x. 11) was unknown before the Babylonian Captivity. Ruth, the ancestress of David, was a Moabitess. In a sermon preached at Sinai Temple, Chicago, on November 15, 1908, the distinguished rabbi Dr. Emil Hirsch stated: "The Jews have intermarried with other stocks ever since Abraham's time. Our alleged racial purity is a figment of the imagination. Moses took a wife that was not even white. The modern Jew resembles his English or German or American neighbor, and is nothing like the Arab, the purest type of Semite known."

There is undoubtedly some admixture of African blood in the Jewish race. According to the Judaic document (Genesis, xli. 45; cf. the gloss in verse 50<sup>b</sup> and xlvi. 20<sup>b</sup>) Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph, representing the most powerful tribe of Israel, were born to Joseph in the land of Egypt by Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, the priest of On, just as Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, was an Egyptian slave of Sarah. The ancient Egyptians were not white, as Virchow supposed, but a negroid race with a subsequent infiltration of Semitic blood.\* This Asiatic invasion must have taken place in the prehistoric period. Similarly the aborigines of Abyssinia (*Agow*) are an African race; but the country was afterwards invaded by Semites (*Gees*) who came from southern Arabia across the Red Sea, and in the sixteenth century of our era Abyssinia was overrun by the African *Galla*.

Moses's wife, Zipporah, was one of the daughters of the priest of Midian;<sup>24</sup> but we learn from Numbers xii that Moses had also

<sup>22</sup> See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii, page, 392; compare vol. i, page 85, and A. H. Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament*, pp. 112, 133 (By-Paths of Bible Knowledge, XVI), also Felix von Luschan, *Die anthropologische Stellung der Juden in the Korrespondenzblatt der Deutschen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1893.

<sup>23</sup> See Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder*, page 33 (Baltimore, 1907).

\* See the *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third edition, edited by Albert Hauck, volume i, page 208, lines 27 and 34; also *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, volume xii, page 177, line 5 (issued in 1909).

<sup>24</sup> Midian is not the name of an Arabian tribe, but denotes the Edomite league (amphictyony) of worshipers of Jahveh, the God of Sinai, on the north-

a Cushite, or Ethiopian, woman, that is, a black concubine. His sister Miriam objected to her black sister-in-law; therefore she was stricken with leprosy (*vitiligo*)<sup>25</sup> so that she became as white as snow. *Cushi* is the common Hebrew term for "negro," and we read in the Book of Jeremiah (xiii. 23): "Can the Ethiopian (*Cushi*) change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" On the other hand, Laban, the father of Leah and Rachel "which two did build the house of Israel" (Ruth, iv. 11), that is, who were the ancestresses of the Israelites, means "white."<sup>26</sup> The Bedouins have always had black concubines; Antara, the great ante-Islamic poet and the most popular hero of the Arabs, was the son of a black slave-girl. The Semites represent a mulattoid type, a white race with an admixture of African blood. Primitive man, it may be supposed, was colored. The ancestors of the white race may have been albinos. Freckles may be due to an atavistic incomplete discoloration of the skin.

Nor is the dark complexion of the Spaniards and Italians merely due to the climate and exposure to the sun. A white person in our Southern States remains white. There is more African blood in the Spaniards and Italians than there is in the Jewish race, and in Spain and Italy this infiltration is of more recent date. Thousands of Roman citizens both in Italy and Spain were the sons of African freedmen. The Jewish race has kept itself remarkably pure since the days of Ezra, that is, about 430 B. C. Similarly the Hebrew text of the Old Testament has been preserved with scrupulous exactness since the insurrection of Bar Cocheba against the Romans, A. D. 132-135, but a great many corruptions had crept into the text before that time. All the manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible are ultimately based on a single incorrect copy, and none of them are older than A. D. 820, although we have a fragment of a Hebrew papyrus con-

eastern shore of the Red Sea. Midian is derived from *din*, law, religion. In the same way Judah is not the name of an Israelitish tribe, but a feminine collective to *jôdêh*, he confesses. King of Judah is originally a title like the Arabic Commander of the Faithful. David was not an Israelite, but an Edomite. Compare above, note 18, and my papers in Peiser's *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, March, 1909.

<sup>25</sup> There is not a single case of true leprosy (*Elephantiasis Græcorum*) in the Old Testament. The term *leprosy* is used for a variety of skin diseases including psoriasis, scabies, luetic affections, also leucodermia (Leviticus, xiii. 12, 13). See the abstract of my paper "Medical and Hygienic Features of the Bible" in *The Independent* (New York, July, 13, 1899) page 1907; compare *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, page 50, note 18.

<sup>26</sup> Contrast Genesis xxvi. 34; xxvii. 46; xxviii. 8. The Greeks called the Cappadocians *Leucosyrians*, that is, White Syrians. This shows that there were also colored Syrians.

taining the Ten Commandments which may have been written in the second century A. D.<sup>27</sup>

The theory of an Aryan ancestry of Jesus is by no means new. It was suggested more than forty years ago by the distinguished French archeologist Emile Burnouf, a cousin of the great Orientalist Eugene Burnouf, in an article published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of August 15, 1868, and it has since been advocated by a number of noted men, for instance, by the celebrated Göttingen jurist Rudolf von Jhering in his posthumous work on the prehistory of the Indo-Europeans (1894) and especially by Houston Stewart Chamberlain in his book on the foundations of the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Chamberlain thinks that the Aryan element in Galilee was due to Greek immigration in the last century B. C. This view is untenable; but as soon as we know that Hamath denotes the ancient capital of Galilee<sup>29</sup> at the hot springs south of Tiberias, the whole question appears in a new light.

We have seen that the Galileans were deported to Assyria in 738 B. C. The Assyrian kings sent Assyrian colonists to Galilee, and the majority of these colonists, including the Median chief Deioces, were Aryans, that is, Iranians. The few Jews who lived in Galilee, especially in Sepphoris, at the time of Judas Maccabæus, were rescued by his elder brother Simon, and transferred to Jerusalem in 164 B. C. In 103 B. C. Simon's grandson, King Aristobulus, judaized the Itureans, that is, the descendants of the Assyrian colonists in Galilee. They were forced to adopt Judaism, but they were not Jews by race. It is therefore by no means certain that Jesus of Nazareth and the Galilean fishermen who were invited by Him to

<sup>27</sup> See the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xxv, pp. 34-56 (London, January 14, 1903).

<sup>28</sup> H. S. Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, eighth edition (Munich, 1907).

<sup>29</sup> Also in the Aramaic inscription of Zaccur, King of Hamath and Laash (which appears in Genesis x. 19 as Lasha, near the southeastern end of the Dead Sea) Hamath represents the capital of Galilee. Compare *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Oct. 10, 1908, col. 578; *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Jan. 1909, col. 11 and col. 15. In the Semitic Section of the Fifteenth Congress of Orientalists, held at Copenhagen, August, 1908, Dr. Armand Kaminka stated, after I had presented a paper in which I tried to show that Hamath denoted the ancient capital of Galilee: he had advanced this theory eighteen years ago in his *Studien zur Geschichte Galiläas* (Berlin, 1890). This statement is not true; see *e. g. op. cit.* page 15, line 16. Dr. Kaminka cannot set up the plea that he meant to say, my theory that the majority of the Galileans were pagans at the time of Christ, had been advanced by him in 1890; because I never made such a statement. I laid special stress on the fact that during the last century B. C. the Galileans were Jews by religion, although not Jews by race. Dr. Kaminka's untenable theory was refuted by E. Schürer in his *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*, vol. ii, fourth edition (Leipsic, 1907) page 16, note 35.

become fishers of men, were Jews by race. Peter's speech bewrayed him. The Galilean founders of Christianity may have been, not Jews, but Aryans.<sup>30</sup> It is extremely improbable that Jesus was a son of David; it is at least as probable<sup>31</sup> that He was a scion of Deioeces or even a descendant of Spitam,<sup>32</sup> the ancestor of Zoroaster.

<sup>30</sup> Compare my remarks in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vol. xi, col. 239 (May, 1908) and in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908) vol. i, page 302.

<sup>31</sup> I do not say it is probable.

<sup>32</sup> Compare A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1901) p. 13.

## OUR DUAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

A SUGGESTION FOR REFORM BY CHARLES NAGEL.<sup>1</sup>

COMMUNICATED BY THE EDITOR.

CHARLES NAGEL, of the St. Louis Law School Faculty, in an address delivered before the Missouri State Bar Association, calls attention to the weak points of some legal affairs in this country caused by the dual system of our government. Interstate commerce is subject to United States control, and also to state laws, and the confusion arising therefrom does a great deal of harm. Mr. Nagel demands a more friendly cooperation of the states with, and ultimately a regulation of our interstate commerce by, the Federal Government. He says:

"It is obvious that 'frank cooperation' can be had only if one or the other authority assumes entire control. The State cannot, because chaos would result. The National Government must, because it alone can provide uniformity of rule and action, by establishing the entire system."

What Mr. Nagel says concerning the irregular, partly lax and partly spasmodic enforcement of law, and incidentally also about the regulation of competition, is very instructive. He says:

"Between the failure to sustain wholesome law, and the rigid enforcement of antiquated law; and between the inadequacy of the law on the one hand, and its spasmodic extravagance on the other, the progress of fair commerce has been seriously embarrassed.

"Now that all commercial integrity is gauged by the presence or absence of competition, let us consider for instance the immediate and inevitable effect of lax or incompetent enforcement of law. Fair competition means competition within the rules of the game.

<sup>1</sup> Since this article was compiled for publication, Mr. Nagel has received the appointment to President Taft's new Cabinet as Secretary of Commerce and Labor. No greater recommendation could be given to Mr. Nagel than the distinction which is thus shown him.

Those rules ought to be upheld by the State. If they are not so enforced, new rules will be adopted by those who play the game; and *the meanest competitor will fix the standard.*<sup>2</sup> When the law lies dormant, the habitual lawbreaker becomes a factor. Failure to enforce the established rule against him, lowers the standard altogether, and forces every competitor to come to that lowered standard, or to retire. So far from permitting him to rise above the letter of the law, official neglect forces him to fall below, or to drop out. Such is one of the chief causes of illegal customs and finally of corrupt practices.

"A mere instance will suffice. We have heard of railroad rebates until we are weary. If we admit that national legislation has finally dealt them a blow, we must also admit that the need for national legislation had been emphasized by State inefficiency and inactivity. It will not be contended that the remedy was not always at hand. Such plain abuse of power and privilege granted by the State, left the railroads absolutely at the mercy of the prosecutor. But nothing was done until rebates without reason or excuse became the rule and not the exception. What was the result? Competition under a new rule, virtually installed by consent of the State. Competition among shippers was had primarily, not for customers, but for rebates. As has been well said, shippers contracted for rebates. Disregard of law became a test of success. Every dealer of consequence had to determine whether he would engage in business as it was done, or retire. How many retired no one knows. But we do know that whenever one retired for that reason, competition was weakened by the loss of a force that stood for more than the capital which it controlled.

"It is not fair, therefore, to lay the entire responsibility for the lowering of this standard at the door of those who yielded, or even of those who initiated. The State cannot escape its share.

"And this false standard did not control the shippers alone. The railroads, forced to compete by law and by commerce, were compelled to yield to the same levelling influence. It was for them, it is true, to resist the practice at its inception. But when the practice had once gained ground, they struggled under the peculiar disadvantage of being compelled to render public service and to earn dividends. They could not retire. They were subject to mandatory orders. *For them the illegal standard became practically compulsory*; and no power could rescue them but the State itself.

"This is only one illustration gathered from conditions to which

<sup>2</sup> Italics are ours.

public attention has been directed with particular Force. Throughout a similar tendency has prevailed. The custom that makes for undesirable business, is the growth of public indifference. The practice that ultimately leads to graft, is the creature of official neglect. And the rule of competition forces participation in both, or retirement from the game.

"Again, spasmodic enforcement of law carries with it disproportionate and often enough undeserved penalties. In saying this I discriminate between that which may be fairly regarded as the law of the land, and that which may merely be found upon the statute book. If we had to consider only those who suffer from an unexpected enforcement of wholesome laws, to whose suppression they have at least in some degree contributed, our sympathy would no doubt be meagerly extended. But there is a large body of laws which from their inception were but the accident of overzealous minorities, or which by common consent have been suffered to die a natural death. Laws which are called into life to give evidence of official activity, and which are technically applied to conditions for which they were not intended, and whose enforcement nothing but an inflamed public opinion would tolerate.

"I appreciate the danger of the distinction. Theoretically all law must be enforced. Practically, all law is never enforced, and was never intended to be. When all banks by common consent suspend payment a minor law is broken, in order that a greater law may be obeyed. The written law yields to the unwritten, and the decision is approved.

"True, if the executive decides to enforce, there is no further room for controversy. Nevertheless, 'the law does not exactly define; but trusts to a good man.' As ex-President Cleveland has pointed out, the executive is the real representative of the people's will. To seek to enforce what the people will not sustain is vain; to enforce what is demanded in the spirit of revenge, is unwise. Sudden, often spasmodic changes in official attitude are costly. While the public may enjoy the dance, some one must pay the piper. That cost is too often incurred for the mere delectation of 'The strong man, the darling and idol of weak governments.' A great lawyer, and one who stood for the ideals of the law as few did, James C. Carter, said: 'There are a vast number of laws on the statute books of the several States which are never enforced, and generally for the reason that they are unacceptable to the people. There are great numbers of others the enforcement of which, or attempts to enforce which, are productive of bribery, perjury, subornation of perjury,

animosity and hate among citizens, useless expenditure, and many other public evils. All these are fruits of the common notion, to correct which but little effort is anywhere made, that a legislative enactment is necessarily a law, and will certainly bring about or help bring about the good intended by it; whereas such an enactment, when never enforced, does not deserve the name of law at all, and when the attempted enforcement of it is productive of the mischiefs above mentioned, it is not so much law as it is tyranny.'"

Our unsystematic method of regulating interstate commerce gives rise to strange complications. Mr. Nagel says:

"In the light of our policy in foreign countries, it must fill us with wonder that in our country we permit one State to legislate against the commercial company of a sister State.... It must be matter of surprise that to-day a Missouri corporation which is welcomed in England, Italy, France, Germany and in South American states, might be denied admission in Illinois. A corporation compelled to transact business under the same regulations in St. Louis and Kansas City—two cities upon the remote borders of the State—might be prohibited from doing business in East St. Louis, although St. Louis and East St. Louis constitute one commercial center. Could a commercial system seem less calculated to further legitimate trade? ... Obviously, if foreign countries have not found it necessary to protect their citizens against the invasion of foreign corporations, it would seem that the extravagance of a misconceived interpretation of State rights has led us into an entirely absurd course....

"Assume, now, that in a treaty between the United States and a foreign power, provision is made for mutual commercial privileges, involving, among other things, the admission of the regularly constituted commercial agencies and organizations of the respective countries;—and no feature is a more common subject for consideration in such treaties. It is not likely that an English company would be content with the admission to the United States as an abstract right, without the privilege to transact business in the several States of the Union. And it must be clear that if the treaty gives the right, that right may be enjoyed notwithstanding any conditions which an individual State may see fit to prescribe. Or, if the State shall be permitted, notwithstanding such treaty provisions, to exclude foreign corporations from its territory, what is more natural than retaliatory legislation on part of the respective foreign countries? Surprise may be expressed at this statement; and I perfectly appreciate that the authority over, and responsibility for acts of the several States, which the United States should and may have to assume



in controversies with foreign nations, is involved in much doubt, and may give rise to much conflict of opinion. . . . We might well be confronted with the remarkable result that Missouri may under its law, exclude an Illinois corporation, and may under a foreign treaty, be compelled to admit an English company of like kind. In practice this is not an improbable result. In theory it can hardly be supposed to have been contemplated. . . . While in some directions the tendency to centralization is ill advised and regrettable, I am satisfied that the interstate commerce of our country will not be or feel secure, until it has the protection of national law, as it has heretofore felt the chastisement of that law."

# THE GENERAL PROPERTY TAX AS A STATE TAX.

## THE NEGATIVE VIEW.

BY HOWARD T. LEWIS.

THERE is no question before the American people to-day that is more vital and at the same time more perplexing than that of the general property tax. And yet of all the unsolved problems there is none that receives comparatively so little attention, or about which the mass of people know so little. Though economists, State Commissioner, and financiers of every class have been working on this enigma for over a century, the average individual knows little or nothing about it, and, what is more, he does not seek to enlighten himself. Whatever the reason for this apathy, it is in more than one way a dangerous thing. In the first place the body politic ought to know at least the rudiments of the problem that touches every citizen in a more vital way, perhaps, than any of the others, for the mere sake of enlightenment if for no other reason. And in the second place this heedlessness is apt to create the fallacious impression that the problem is neither a very pressing one nor a very troublesome one.

Yet as administered in the vast majority of states to-day, the general property tax is without a single friend. That the system is a "most miserable failure" is the one point upon which most students of taxation are agreed. But how is the situation to be remedied, is the incessant and almost despairing cry heard on every hand.

There are still those who say that the fault with the general property tax lies not in the system itself, but in the administration thereof. But surely all the experience of man has gone to show that in so far as it is a universal tax system, applicable to all forms and phases of government, the contrary is true. The European countries after over a century of experimentation and after having investi-

gated the problem from every conceivable standpoint, have, almost without exception abandoned it, substituting an income tax, a habitation tax, or some combination of tax systems.

There is not a tax commission nor a state legislature in the United States to-day that has not been seeking for the past fifty years in the hope of finding a remedy for the admitted evils, and yet in the terms of the United States Industrial Commission, they "are as far from reaching such a solution to-day as they were when they first began." The experience of all nations who have tried the plan has been that the system will work fairly well in new countries, but as the community progresses and new and more complex forms of industries present themselves, slowly perhaps, but none the less inevitably, the general property tax breaks down until it must eventually be superseded by some more advanced scheme of taxation, or at least so completely modified as to be scarcely recognized. Consequently we must look for the remedy, in part, if not in its entirety, *outside* of the general property tax system.

Without stopping to outline the reforms in detail, let me sketch in a very general way, the lines along which the most advanced experts have been working. I shall not attempt to offer a panacea for all economic ills growing out of this problem. I shall not develop a complete remedy for local ills, nor suggest a detailed plan for raising state revenue. I shall merely show, in the light of the best obtainable evidence, what the first step should be.

Professor Seligman, of Columbia University, has said, "In attempting to get away from the general property tax, modern nations have been confronted with two fundamental problems. The first is that by bringing about greater justice, in distributing the burden of taxation among the various classes of the community. The second is that of correctly apportioning the resulting revenue among the various spheres of government." Herein lies the whole problem. But under the plan to be suggested, the second proposition dwindles down to a mere trifle, and disappears entirely in so far as the State and local governments are concerned. The solution depends upon one great fundamental principle which up to the present day has been almost unknown, but upon the recognition of which depends the equity and justice sought for in the distribution of the necessary burdens of taxation. That principle is the separation of sources.

To quote the California Tax Commission, in its report of 1906: "Separation of sources means that the counties and local government shall tax only the private or individual real estate and tangible property within their boundaries,—property, that is, which is clearly

and distinctly localized. The state, on the other hand, shall tax those industries and classes of property sometimes called corporate to distinguish them from private or individual industries and properties." And further, that anything that shall be taxed for state purposes shall be strictly exempt from local taxation, and *vice versa*.

Let us consider this proposed solution from both the theoretical and practical standpoints.

First, separation of sources is theoretically sound, because the two forms of government,—the state and the local,—are by their inherent natures so different, that any attempt to secure the necessary revenue required by both from one and the same source, can but afford unsatisfactory results. It is a matter of fact that the two governments have separate functions and separate powers. Just consider this difference a little further, and see where it leads to in the matter of taxation.

The activities of the local government redound directly and peculiarly to the benefits of local individuals and local interests. The protection of property by police and fire departments, the construction and maintenance of streets, bridges and the like,—these are the duties of the local authorities, because the benefits derived from them have little or no effect upon the state at large. They enhance and sustain the value of local industries, local real estate, and local personalty. This is, and always has been, the sole ground for making the expenses of the local government a local charge. The proposed separation would make but little change here. It proposes still to make local expenses a local charge, but further, it proposes to relieve purely local property from state taxes and the expenses of general activities, the benefits of which do not directly accrue to any particular local interest.

How is it with the state government? Its activities are broad and general; its duties, in the main, legislative. It provides a code of laws, the same throughout the whole of its territory. It provides certain laws under which business is conducted. It permits and controls great corporations. It administers to such institutions as are in no sense local in character, such as state institutions for the insane and feeble-minded and state penitentiaries. In other words the state cares for all those interests that are too large or too general for the local government to handle.

And note this, just as in the local commonwealth we find local real estate and local interests upon which to levy our taxes for the securing of local revenues, so we find corresponding almost precisely with the general activities of the state, great state industries

and broad state interests, as, for instance, the property and business of the great public-service corporations whose business pervades the state, (as railroads, telegraph and telephone companies, insurance companies, etc.,) whose business is in no sense confined to any one locality. These industrial corporations are distinctly and peculiarly the creatures of the state because it is through state enactment only that they are permitted to exist, and it is to the state and not to the local authorities that we turn for their regulation and control. They serve the people of the state as a whole and there is little or nothing localized about them. Nor do they derive benefit, in the same peculiar and direct manner as do local interests, from the activities of the local government, save, perhaps, through their local franchises. These great classes of corporations are so broad in their activities, their property holdings are so great, and their stockholders so widely scattered that the propriety of taxing them where by some accident of organization or legal enactment their head office may be or their property may be, is obviously illogical. As the New Jersey Tax Commissioner says in his report for 1905 in speaking of railroad and canal holdings, (representative of corporate property): "This peculiarity of the property in question constitutes it a legitimate class for the purpose of taxation, a class which, in order to be dealt with fairly in the matter of taxation, must be treated separately."

Not even the casual observer can fail to recognize this inherent difference between the state and the local government. Nor can he fail to see that going hand-in-hand with each is a class of taxables peculiar to it and inseparable from it by the very nature of its organization. This being true, we cannot escape the conclusion that theoretically, at least, each should raise the revenue necessary for its maintenance from those industries and those interests that correspond so exactly with it.

Turning from the theoretical to the practical consideration of the question, a remedy for the evils of the general property tax has been sought in the creation of State Boards of Equalization, with power to raise or lower the assessed valuation of any county, in the hope of securing uniformity of taxation. Have these boards proven effective? They have been tried in thirty-one states of the union and have utterly failed to remedy the conditions in any state in which they have been employed. The California State Board of Equalization says, "The strife between counties has not ceased, and in all probabilities will not, as long as assessors are elected, or selfishness remains a passion in the human breast." In a late report the State Assessor of New York made this statement: "No board of

officials, however diligent or however conversant they may be with the subject, can make equalization which to themselves will be absolutely satisfactory." David A. Wells says: "The most intelligent members of such boards have recorded their opinions, that it is impossible under the present system, to effect any just distribution of the incidents of taxation."

And just here will appear the first great advantage to be derived from separation. It would abolish at once the friction and annoyance of the vain attempt to equalize among the different counties. It is self-evident that if separation of sources be effected, a state board of equalization would be unnecessary, since the evils which called them into being,—the incentive for undervaluation, the spirit of rivalry and the resulting friction among the counties,—these, by the very nature of things, would be eliminated from the system, because the counties would not need to contribute toward the state expenses according to apportionment made by state officials, based on local assessments, as is largely the case at present. Separation means that there would be an end to this everlasting piling up of rate on rate on the same subjects and on the same foundation that is the bane of our present system of taxation.

The second great advantage to be gained through the adoption of the proposed system, is that the different taxing districts could then have practically local option in matters relative to the administration of their taxes. The local governments would have an opportunity to work away from the general property tax as at present administered in the smaller taxing units, benefiting by the experience of all of the other local taxing districts.

Can this be done now? No. The state laws prescribe to the last conceivable thing, what shall and what shall not be taxed. No change can even be made *within* the present system itself, save to a very limited degree, and then only through the long and complicated process of getting a law enacted instituting the change. To give local option without separation would cause the wildest confusion.

The point is simply this. There has never been before in all history such a crying need of reform in matters of local taxation, not a greater demand for it. It is at local conditions that we direct most of our attention, because it is there that the evils are most glaring, and there that the problem touches us most closely.

Reform must come, but it must come gradually, and the first step must be separation of sources, for with that can come quietly and easily local option. Then the local governments may undertake

the much needed reform unhampered by unnecessary state interference. Then experiments may be tried and proposals investigated, whenever the people by a referendum vote so express their wish. If the experiment fails a city or a county suffers, temporarily, not a state for a much longer time. And if it succeeds a whole nation benefits as a result. This point in itself is sufficient for upholding separation.

This plan is not a mere theory,—it has been tried in many places and has been conceded by all experts to be the most perfect system known. It is the fundamental feature of the Prussian tax system. Canada has tried it, notably in Ontario and Quebec, and its success has been unparalleled. The number of states in our own country that seek improvements in separation, partial or complete, increases every year. *No state or country that has tried separation has abandoned it.*

Take Pennsylvania, the pioneer in the movement, where separation has been in effect, to some extent for over twenty-five years. W. P. Snyder, auditor general of Pennsylvania, says (in a personal letter to the writer): "We think Pennsylvania has the best system for state taxation purposes of any state in the country."

In the report of the State Treasurer for 1899 we find the following: "After another year's experience and study of the revenue laws of this state, I am more than ever convinced, that while some modifications might be made, from time to time, the general scheme of state taxation is a good one and would advise its continuance. I do not believe there is anything superior to our scheme in existence in any state, and while it might be going too far to say that nothing better could be devised, it is certainly true that no one has thus far proposed any thing anywhere near its equal."

The New York Special Tax Commission in its report of January of last year, says: "It is for these reasons that your commission believe that we should maintain the separation of sources as between state and local revenue."

The United States Industrial Commission (1901) in summarizing the report of the Joint Committee, created to inquire into the problem in New York, and which made its report in 1900, say, "The committee formed the opinion, which it positively expressed, that the most practical reform in the existing tax laws of the state lies in the direction of raising state revenues otherwise than by direct levy upon the assessed valuations of real and personal property by annual bills, and laid it down as a fundamental principle of government that such a political entity as a state should have independent

jurisdiction into which it alone may go, and from which it may realize sufficient revenue for its own support."

In the final report of the West Virginia Tax Commission for 1902, we find, "Early in its deliberations the Commission was impressed with the importance of raising revenues sufficient for general state purposes and for the state's share of the support of free schools without levying any tax upon property, real or personal, within the state."

In addition to these, Connecticut and New Jersey have almost complete separation, while Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont and Delaware all have separation to a greater or less degree, the divorce becoming greater each year. A Maryland Tax Commission urged separation as early as 1888. The California Tax Commission, in the report of 1906, urged it as the reform most needed of all, and upon which all subsequent reform must be based. Political Economists, financiers, and students everywhere see in it the only sane solution of the problem. And all this without the additional benefits to be derived from local option. As for its success, we need only glance at the rapid strides being made yearly wherever it is in effect, to satisfy ourselves as to its desirability.

This can show but one thing, that the tendency of all reform in taxation is toward separation, that in the most advanced states it has become firmly embedded in the system, and is recognized as the fundamental principle in it.

Separation, then, must form the basic principle upon which any successful reform in taxation must be based. But the question immediately arises, where will the line of demarkation be drawn, and upon which sources shall each be allowed to draw? The answer is not far to seek—follow the example of every other state that has ever embraced separation,—relegate the general property tax to the local communities, and draw the state revenue chiefly from taxes on corporations, together with certain other special taxes.

Why this division? Because as yet no adequate substitute has been found for the general property tax as a local tax, and because from the very nature of it, that is where it belongs. On the other hand, as I have shown earlier in this article, corporate property is closely allied to state government. But even if it were not so, experience has shown the local authorities unable to handle this class of property. Let me illustrate.

The attempt has been made on the part of many of our states to tax great corporations through their local assessors, and the result has been a signal failure in every case. The reason why it



should be so is very evident. How *can* a city or a county assess with any degree of equity or justice on that portion of a great corporation, whoses business may even be interstate, that lies within its small territory? The assessors can see but a small part, and not the whole. It is like attempting to judge the value of an entire building through the study of one brick. Is it just to the corporation to have it so—its property valued, as is usually the case, by men unfamiliar with their work, and a different value placed upon the same subject in every county in which it is assessed?

What makes the matters still worse, it has been recognized from the very beginning that the many different classes of corporations cannot be successfully taxed by one and the same method. The local assessors being engaged, as they must necessarily be, largely in the administration of local taxes, cannot be safely or wisely entrusted with several other sorts of taxes. "Nor have these officials shown any ability in the past," says the Massachusetts Tax Commission, "to cope with these broader matters of taxation." And it goes on to say, "Wherever it is attempted, it is a rare occurrence indeed that they do not have to call in the assistance of some sort of a state board to obtain any degree of equality, uniformity, or justice."

To establish this point still more firmly, allow me to present two instances to illustrate the attempts on the part of local assessors to value one form of corporate property, viz., railroads. According to the New York Tax Commission, the assessment of the same identical railroad in two adjoining and strikingly similar counties varied \$25,000 per mile of track (Wells). The state of Wisconsin offers even a more striking case. In Waukesha county of that state the assessment of one of the leading railroads of the state varied \$90,000 per mile of track, and this within the same county, the assessment being made by township assessors.

These are but specific illustrations, but to show this sort of thing is universal wherever the local assessment of corporate property is tried, see also what the Industrial Commission says about the state of Texas, "Valuations of different roads are very unequal, and those of the same road vary greatly in different counties. As in the case of individuals, each corporation strives for low assessments, and corporations do not seem to object to this inequality."

And one thing further. It is as the Commission from New York in its report for 1907 says, "It must also be remembered that a local assessment and collection of most classes of taxation, outside of the real estate tax, is, for obvious reasons, less effective than if

the assessment and collection are put in the hands of state officials. The truth of this statement is amply attested by our experience in New York with the liquor license tax, the special franchise tax, and the corporation taxes."

Both experience and logic would, therefore, seem to indicate that this step, taken gradually, perhaps, yet aiming at ultimate complete divorcement of the sources of revenue to be the fundamental principle in the much needed reform. Working out this principle there can be no doubt but that a plan may be developed which, if not absolutely perfect, will, at least, be relatively better than the existing one, and so far superior to general property tax, as now administered, that we can feel satisfied with it as a substitute for the improvement of present conditions and one which will prepare the way for further changes as opportunities present themselves and needs arise.

## CHRISTIANITY AS THE PLEROMA.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONTINUED.]

### GNOSTICISM AND THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

WE call Christianity the grandchild of paganism because there is an intermediate link between Christianity and the ancient polytheistic paganism of Græco-Roman mythology. Ancient paganism represents a stage in the religious development of mankind which has become typical for all religions characterized by being limited to well-defined boundaries. These boundaries were very narrow in the beginning. There were state religions in Athens, in Sparta, in Ephesus, in Syracuse, in Rome, in the several cities of Egypt, in Tyre and Sidon, in the great centers of population in Babylonia, Assyria, Phœnicia etc., and the mass of people in each district came little in contact with their neighbors. But as trade and commerce expanded, people of different cities became acquainted with each other and with their several religious views. The different legends were retold in foreign countries and persisted there, so far as it was possible, side by side with the native religion. We know that much confusion originated in this way; e. g., the genealogies of the gods were different in different cities, and so were the marriage relations between gods and goddesses. Thus in Greece when the different local traditions were combined and systematized, the conflicting traditions were adjusted as well as could be done in the haphazard way in which the religious development took place. It is in this shape that Greek mythology has been preserved in the well-known poem of Hesiod, and students of classic lore are sometimes puzzled by the many contradictions.

It frequently happened that the same god or goddess was called by different names in different localities. In one country one feature was developed, and in another, others; and the legends told of

them were so modified that when they were retold and compared, the several devotees no longer recognized that these figures had once been the same. So we know that Astarte, Aphrodite or Venus develops one feature of the great female divinity while Hera, Athene and Artemis develop others. The Babylonian Istar combined all of them and yet the Greek worshiper saw no resemblance between Artemis and Athene. The same is true of such heroines as Danae, Andromeda, Io, and others. This state of affairs naturally tended to obscure the issues.

A similar state of confusion existed in Egypt, where we are unable to present a perfectly consistent mythology of the popular gods. The official priests in ancient On, or as the Greeks called it, Heliopolis, made an attempt to settle all disputes and to systematize Egyptian religion, but their creed does not solve all difficulties, nor does it help us to bring order into the chaos of previous times.

It is obvious that the religious development of mankind could not halt at this stage of a unification of the mythologies of the several nations. When the differences of nationality and language ceased to constitute dividing lines, the problem of adjustment presented itself in a renewed form, and this happened in the history of the antique world through the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great.

On the ruins of the Persian Empire a number of Greek kingdoms were established. The old barriers that had separated the East and the West had been removed, and a new period originated in which Eastern lore became known in the West, and Western views superseded and modified the traditions of the hoary Eastern civilization. This Hellenistic period affected religion more than is commonly known, and the period from Alexander's overthrow of the Persian Empire to the time of Christ was the preparatory stage for the formation of a new religion that was destined to be the religion of the Roman Empire.

The exchange of thought that took place between the East and the West discredited the belief in the traditional gods. The old priesthood lost its hold on the people, and complaints of infidelity were heard everywhere; but the cause was not (as it was then thought) a decay, but rather an expanse of the religious spirit.

Even before the conquest of Alexander the Great we notice a strong influence of Eastern religion upon ancient Hellas which found expression not only in philosophy (e. g., Pythagoreanism) but also in religious institutions, mainly in the mysteries such as were celebrated at Eleusis and in other cities. They fascinated the

Greek mind, for they taught more plainly than the ancient myths the eternal repetition of the life of nature, deriving therefrom an evidence for the immortality of the soul, the promise of which was held out to the initiates in dramatic performances and suggested through allegories. We know that ears of wheat, phallic symbols, and other emblems of regeneration played an important part in the mysteries. There were ablutions or baptisms, the lighting of torches, the blindfolding of the initiated and the removal of the veil, exhibiting a vision of deep significance; there were trials and tribulations finding their climax in a descent into the underworld, and finally a great rejoicing at the conquest of life over death.

In their later stages of development, the mysteries incorporated more and more a great moral earnestness, for we find purity of life and freedom from guilt demanded as the most indispensable condition for participation in the bliss that was to be gained through initiation. All this infiltration of Oriental lore into Western countries took place before the expedition of Alexander the Great. It would have continued even if Alexander had not crossed the Hellespont, but here as in many other cases, a catastrophe hastened the historical process that was slowly preparing itself in the minds of the people.

The process of the formation of modern England is similar, and in this respect we may compare Alexander's expedition to the invasion of William the Conqueror into England. Norman words and Norman civilization had invaded the Saxon kingdom long before the Norman conquest, and might have produced by a slow and peaceful process some kind of modern English, such as we have it now. But the Norman conquest was a catastrophe in which the factors at work gained a free play by an overthrow of the retarding conservatism and thus hastened the process that was actually going on. The old Saxon England could not have remained isolated and would have modified its institutions as well as its language under the influence of continental Europe. With or without the Norman conquest its destiny was in all main features foreordained and the same law of history holds good in other cases, especially in the formation of the religion of Europe which we call Christianity.

When the barriers of the different countries broke down in the time of Alexander the Great, a religious movement spread during the Hellenistic period over the Mediterranean countries which received no definite name, but in its religio-philosophical form, may best be characterized as pre-Christian gnosticism. While gnosticism is generally treated as a phase in the development of Christianity,

we insist that it existed before Christianity. Its beginnings lie in the first century before Christ and it reached its maturity before Paul wrote his Epistles.

Biblical scholars have repeatedly called attention to the fact that the Epistles of St. Paul abound in the most important terms of gnostic philosophy. We will mention here only such gnostic notions as the doctrine of the three bodies, the corporeal body, the psychical body and the spiritual body; the ideas of the pleroma, the fulfilment or the fulness of the time; of the parousia, the presence of the saving deity; of the mysteries; and there are some others all of which are presupposed as known to the congregations whom the Apostle addresses. He uses these terms freely as known quantities, and nowhere deems it necessary to explain their meaning. This proves that his Epistles represent the conclusion of a prior movement, the development of gnosticism, as much as the beginning of a new one, the formation of the Church which is a definite individualization of the preceding gnosticism.

It was a natural consequence that the gnostic sects which preserved some of the original and tentative, or we may say cruder, types of the movement, were repudiated as heretical, and Church historians, ignorant of the fact that they represent an older phase than Christianity, regarded them as degenerate rebels. We may well assume that some of the later gnostics were Christian heretics, i. e., they were unorthodox members of the Church but assuredly not all, and we have reason to believe that not a few of the later gnostics such as the Manichæans had developed on independent lines religious notions that were not derived from, but were parallel to Christianity.

One thing is sure, that the appearance of Christianity cleared the situation at once. So far the movement had developed among Jews and Gentiles around various centers with general tendencies, all verging in the same direction. The world was in a state of fermentation and the idea that the saviour had come acted like a reagent which caused the turbid ingredients to settle. To use another allegory we may say that pre-Christian gnosticism was like a liquid ready for crystallization, as for instance a cup of water chilled much below the freezing point. The walls of the vessel being smooth, the water does not crystallize, but as soon as a straw is dipped into the water a point of attachment is given around which the ice forms and the water of the whole cup freezes with great rapidity. When St. Paul preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ, a definite issue was raised which could not be ignored, and forced all gnostics to take

issue with it. The hazy and vague conception of a Christ appeared here actualized as a tangible personality which had either to be rejected or accepted.

All minds of a religious nature were full of expectancy and in the circles of Jewish gnostics the expected saviour had already been identified with the Messiah and was called Christ. The term occurs frequently in the Solomonic psalms which were sung as hymns in the synagogue of Alexandria in the first century B. C. So we see that a vague notion as to the nature of the Christ existed long before Paul had come to the conclusion that Jesus was he. In the New Testament, mention is made of an Alexandrian Jew, by name Apollos, a gnostic teacher who was well versed in expounding the scriptures and knew all about "the Lord," but he had not yet heard of Jesus. A few lines in the Acts of the Apostles (xviii, 24-25) throw a flood of light on the situation. They read thus:

"And a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the scriptures, came to Ephesus. This man was instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John."

Apollos was converted to the belief of St. Paul, as is stated in verse 26: "And he began to speak boldly in the synagogue: whom when Aquila and Priscilla had heard, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly." The conversion of Apollos consisted simply in this, that henceforth when he expounded "the way of the Lord" he identified the Lord with Jesus, as we read in verse 28: "For he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publickly, shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was Christ."

Of Gnostic sects we will mention the Zabians, the Ophites, and the Simonians, all of which are pre-Christian, although we know them mainly in later forms of their development, or from the polemical literature of Christian authors.

#### THE MANDÆANS AND ZABIANS.

An old form of gnosticism which has its home in Babylon and is still in existence, is the religion of the Mandæans who worship as their saviour a personification of the gnosis under the name Manda d'Hajjê, the Enlightenment of Life. Remnants of this sect still exist in the swamp districts of Mesopotamia and in Persian Khusistan. They claim to be Zubbâ, i. e., Zabians,<sup>1</sup> or "Baptizers,"

<sup>1</sup> זבאי

whereby they mean to establish an historical connection with the disciples of John the Baptist. Though this claim has been suspected of being invented to gain the respect and toleration of the Mohammedan authorities, it seems not improbable that the Zabian or Baptist sect in Palestine in the first century before the Christian era must be regarded as a kindred movement among the poorer classes of the Jews, for the Zabian creed bears many resemblances to the gnosticism of the educated people of Asia Minor and Alexandria.

The great prophet of the Zabians in Palestine was John, surnamed "the Baptizer," or as we now say, "the Baptist." He was one of their leaders, perhaps their chief leader in the times of Christ, but we need not for that reason assume that he was the founder of the sect, for the Zabians counted many adherents outside of Palestine, in Samaria as well as Asia Minor, at the time when the apostles began to preach the Gospel of Jesus. They were called the disciples,<sup>2</sup> and when we read the passages referring to John the Baptist in the Gospel, we are involuntarily under the impression that they were written to gain converts among the Zabians. No doubt that many Zabians were gained for Christianity, but large numbers kept aloof and fortified themselves against further inroads of Christian proselytism by an intense hatred which shows itself in the sacred books of the Mandæans.

In their complicated system Manda d'Hajjê is again and again incarnated for the sake of salvation, his visible image on earth is called Hibil, and he appeared last in John the Baptist, called Yahya. This Yahya baptized Yishu M'shiha (i. e., Jesus), a false Messiah. To remedy the mistake, Anush 'Uthra, a younger brother of Hibil, came down to earth, and while Yahya was slain by the Jews the false prophet was crucified. Then Anush 'Uthra punished the Jews by the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the nation.

The Mandæan religion is an extremely complicated system which in its present form bristles with polemics against Christianity and Mohammedanism, but there can be no doubt that the nucleus of this queer faith in its main tenets is derived from ancient Babylonian sources, and many of its points of resemblance to Christianity must be explained as parallel formations.

If the religious tenor of a religion is best known from the hymns which the devotees sing, we must look upon Mandæism as a Babylonian faith which had broadened by the acquisition of the knowledge of the age as it was imported into Mesopotamia from the east, i. e., Iran and India; the extreme west, Hellas and also Asia

<sup>2</sup> *μαθηται*.



Minor; and from the southwest, Egypt, Palestine and Syria. The foundation remained the same, the world-conception of ancient Babylon, as modified by Persian monotheism, now commonly called Mazdaism or Zoroastrianism. The prayers of the Mandæans retain the ring of the ancient Babylonian hymns.

For all we know it is not impossible that the Mandæan religion originated under Indian influence and the word *manda*, which corresponds to the Greek term *gnosis*, i. e., cognition, knowledge, or enlightenment, may be a translation of the Buddhist *bodhi*.

#### THE OPHITES OR NAASÆANS.

One of the strangest gnostic sects are the snake-worshippers, called Ophites or Naasæans,<sup>3</sup> whose pre-Christian existence can scarcely be doubted and here even the old Neander when referring to the probability that their founder Euphrates<sup>4</sup> lived before the birth of Christ, says:

"We would thus be led to assume a pre-Christian gnosis which afterwards partly received Christian elements, partly opposed them with hostility."

Like the Zabians, the Ophites are of pagan origin and incorporated traces of ancient Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, and perhaps also of Indian notions. The snake is originally the symbol of goodness and of wholesome life, the good demon,<sup>5</sup> as we find him represented on the Abraxas gems. The snake was sacred to Hygæa, the goddess of health, and also to Æsculapius, the god of healing. We can not doubt that the brazen serpent which was erected by Moses for the healing of the people had a similar meaning, and *seraphim* in the original Hebrew means serpent-spirits.

In Christianity the snake of paradise is identified with the principle of evil, represented in Parseeism by the dragon; and so the Christians were greatly offended at the idea of revering the snake as the symbol of divine wisdom. On the other hand the Ophites, as also the Zabians, regarded the Jewish God, whom they called Ialdabaoth, as the prince of this world, the creator of material existence and of evil, and they pointed out that the snake promised to Adam the boon of the gnosis, i. e., of the knowledge of good and

<sup>3</sup> From the Greek *ὄφεις* or the Hebrew *נָחָשׁ*. The term *nakhash* is the snake of the occultists. It is the name of the constellation called the great serpent, or the dragon, and the Piel of the verb *nakhash* means "to practice sorcery, or to consult an oracle; to have forebodings, or receive omens."

<sup>4</sup> Origen, *c. Cel.*, vi. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *ἀγαθοδαίμων*.

evil, which the jealous Ialdabaoth tried to withhold from man. The Ophites distinguish between a psychical Christ and a spiritual Christ.<sup>6</sup> The former was present in Jesus at his birth, it is the lower form of mind, but the spiritual Christ descended upon Jesus at the moment of baptism in the shape of a dove and abandoned him when the passion began. This, they claim, explains also that Christ could no longer perform miracles and became a helpless victim of his enemies.

The Ophites criticise the God of the Jews, whom they regard as the demiurge, for his many vices which indicate the low character of his divinity, especially his pride, jealousy, envy, wrath and love of vengeance. The highest God, the God of love and mercy, he whose messenger is the snake, and whose representative is the spiritual Christ, is absolute benevolence, and he communicates himself lovingly to all things, even to the inanimate things of nature. The Ophites say, as we learn from Epiphanes (*contra Haeres*, xxvi. c. 9):

“When we use the things of nature as food, we draw into us the soul that is scattered in them and lift it up again to its original source.”

In quoting this passage Neander comments on the Ophites, that “thus eating and drinking became to them an act of worship.”

Further we read in one of their gospels that the Deity thus addressed those who consecrate themselves to him: “Thou art I and I am thou. Where thou art I am, and I am in all things. Thou canst gather me up wherever thou mayest desire, but when thou gatherest me up, thou gatherest up thyself.”<sup>7</sup>

The Ophite doctrines may also contain traces of Indian influence. Bodily existence is regarded as evil *per se*; and the gnosis or enlightenment, like the Buddhist *bodhi*, is the means as well as the end of salvation. We know their doctrines only as preserved by their Christian critics and must assume that the Ophites themselves were perhaps only superficially acquainted with the Hebrew scriptures; and their identifications of the God of the Jews with the evil deity and of the snake with the principle of wisdom would appear in a different, probably in a better, light if we could fall back upon statements of their belief as formulated by themselves.

#### THE RELIGION OF MANI.

How powerful the non-Christian gnosticism was appears from the fact that Manichæism, a doctrine that in spite of its resemblance

<sup>6</sup> ψυχικός and πνευματικός.

<sup>7</sup> See Neander, Germ. ed., p. 246.

to Christianity originated from non-Christian sources, could spread so rapidly over the Roman empire in the third century A. D., and remain a most powerful rival of Christianity down to the time of Pope Leo the Great.

Mani, the founder of this sect, was born (according to Kessler<sup>8</sup>) in the year 215-216 A. D., as the son of Futak<sup>9</sup>, a Persian nobleman of Ecbatana. He was most carefully educated and raised in the faith of the Zabians, but being of an intensely religious nature, he devoted himself to religious exercises and speculation and became a reformer. His efforts resulted in a revival that gradually developed into a new religion on the basis of the traditions from which Mani had started, and this religion, called Manichæism, is distinguished not only by devotion and earnestness but also by the most rigorous asceticism which is but the moral application of a dualistic world-conception. What interests us here in the Manichæan movement, is the great similarity it bears to the dualistic and ascetic tendencies of Christianity which continued to influence the Church down to the time of the Reformation. Though Manichæism belongs to the Christian era, it is not a Christian sect; it has acquired its similarities to Christianity from other sources; it is a development of impulses which started in ancient Babylon and its relation to Christianity is more an attitude of hostility based mainly upon rivalry and intensified by competition.

Harnack<sup>10</sup> says, "Manichæism did not originate on Christian ground. . . . It is Kessler's merit to have shown that the ancient Babylonian religion, the original source of all the gnosis of Western Asia, was the basis of the Manichæan system."

If Manichæism had not come in contact with Christianity it would in all main points have been the same religion, and so we are justified in looking upon the Manichæan movement as a strand of religious tendencies which represents a parallel formation to Christianity and which will therefore help us to understand the general drift of the age.

#### THE SIMONIANS.

Samaria seems to have been a hot-bed of religious sects, for we know that several prophets arose there at the time of Christ who claimed to be Messiahs of Israel and incarnations of God. They

<sup>8</sup> *Genesis des Manichaischen Religionssystems.*

<sup>9</sup> The Greeks call him Πατέριος.

<sup>10</sup> See *Enc. Brit.*, s. v. "Manichæism," Vol. XV, p. 485.

are Simon Magus, Dositheus, Cleobolus, and Menander, the first having been the most successful among them,<sup>11</sup> for the sect which he founded spread beyond the boundaries of Samaria and was still flourishing in the second century.

Simon Magus was a gnostic who, as we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, came in contact with the disciples of Jesus, especially Philip and Peter. The very existence of Simon Magus in the forties of the first century, his claims and doctrines, prove that gnosticism antedates Christianity, for even before St. Paul's conversion, it was a powerful movement while the Christian Church was still in its infancy.

We read in Acts viii. 9-10:

"But there was a certain man, called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God."

"The great power of God,"<sup>12</sup> is a gnostic expression and the original reads literally, "This one is the Power of God, the so-called Great One," which indicates that we have to deal here with a technical term.

We know of the Simonians who worshiped Simon Magus as God incarnate, through Justin Martyr,<sup>13</sup> Clement, Irenæus, Hypolytus and Origen, also through Celsus as preserved by Origen.

Their doctrine must have been very similar to the Christian faith and it is a strange fact that they taught a trinity long before the Christian Church adopted or even began to discuss this conception of God. The founder of the Simonians continued to live in Christian legend as a kind of Antichrist, and the supernatural power with which the faith of his adherents had endowed him, was changed to a charge of sorcery and black magic.

#### THE THERAPEUTES, THE ESSENES, THE NAZARENES, AND THE EBIONITES.

There are some more pre-Christian religious movements which are inspired by the spirit of gnosticism. In his *De vita contemplativa* Philo tells us of the Therapeutes in Egypt who led a life of

<sup>11</sup> Eusebius. H. E. N., 22.

<sup>12</sup> Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ Δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη Μεγάλη.

<sup>13</sup> Justin Martyr wrote a book on Simon Magus entitled *Syntagma*, which is unfortunately lost, but he refers to him frequently in his other writings, and the main contents of the *Syntagma* has been preserved by Irenæus.

holiness, religious contemplation and divine worship, anticipating so much that is commonly regarded as typically Christian that the date and the authority of the book and even the genuineness of his reports have been questioned by Eusebius who discusses the problem at length in his *Ecclesiastical History* (II, ch. 17), and by others who accept his arguments. But it is difficult to discover a motive for such an intentional falsification of history, and after all the opinion of Eusebius rests upon a very weak foundation, namely the assumption that Christian ideas, and with them the aspiration for leading a life of holiness in the fashion of monks, can not have antedated the Christian era. Yet this is exactly the point which has to be conceded. Even if the evidence of the existence of a pre-Christian gnosis which originated in Mesopotamia and spread to Asia Minor and Egypt and thence over the whole Roman Empire counted for nothing, we have still the Scriptural evidence that Christianity has developed from the Zabian movement, that Jesus was baptized by the leader of the Zábians in Palestine, and that Christ was a Nazarene. In fact the Jerusalemite Christians continued to be called Nazarenes even after the death of Christ.

When St. Paul visits Jerusalem and creates a disturbance he is accused before Felix, the governor, in these words: "For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes."

It is absolutely excluded that Nazarenes can mean men born in Nazareth; the word must be the name of a sect of which Jesus was a member, a sect which had its headquarters at Pella after the destruction of Jerusalem, and which is mentioned by Epiphanius (*Pau. XXX, 7*) and Jerome (*Epistle 72*, addressed to Augustine).

The Essene communities constitute another unequivocally pre-Christian sect with similar tendencies as the Nazarenes. The two sects are so much alike that there is some reason to believe that they are identical, but it will be difficult to bring proof for this contention.

The Essenes are mentioned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud. II, 8* and *Antiq. XVIII, 1, 5*), by Philo (in his *Quod omnis probus liber*), by Eusebius (*Pr. Ev. viii. 11*) who quotes from a lost book of Philo's, and by Pliny (in his *Hist. Nat. V, 17*). They date back to the second century B. C., and Josephus himself joined their community for a while.

The meaning of the name is unknown and need not concern us now. Our main purpose is to point out their kinship to the

gnostic movement which is indicated by their religious seriousness, the similarity of their views to Persian and Babylonian doctrines, and the ascetic tendency of their moral teachings.

The Ebionites, i. e., the sect of "the poor," may have been a name for the Nazarenes, for it is probable that Jesus referred to them whenever he spoke of "the poor." We know that the Nazarenes were communists who required those who joined their ranks to deliver all their property to the authorized leaders of the sect. In the Acts we are told the grewsome story of Ananias and Sapphira who, having kept back part of the money they had received for the sale of their property, fell dead before the feet of St. Peter. If the Ebionites are indeed the Nazarenes we might interpret the proposition of Jesus to the young rich man, "Sell all thou hast and distribute unto the poor," as an invitation to join the congregation of the Nazarenes.

Wherever we turn, we find that tendencies and movements animated by the spirit of gnosticism existed at the beginning of the Christian era, and that even the New Testament presupposes their existence in Palestine, for Christianity itself is stated to have developed from the local gnostic sects.

\* \* \*

Gnosticism therefore is older than Christianity. It is a religio-philosophical movement which originated through a fusion of the Eastern and Western civilizations during the first century before the Christian era. Eastern doctrines were studied in Greece in the light of Western conceptions having as a background the religious traditions of the Western, especially the Greek, nations together with the impressions which the dramatic performances of the initiations into the mysteries had left upon the people. Thus gnosticism, the product of a fusion of all pagan religions of classical antiquity, is the real mother of Christianity.

Our proposition seems strange to those into whose minds the idea that Judaism is the mother of Christianity has been inculcated since the days of childhood, but the facts of history speak for themselves.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

## THE GHOST OF A LIVING PERSON.

COMMUNICATED BY THE EDITOR.

THE Society for Psychical Research has investigated a great many cases, but as far as I can remember they have not as yet seriously considered instances of spirit-manifestations of living people. Dante in his *Divina Commedia* speaks of a man whose soul he met in the Inferno where it was tortured for the many crimes committed on earth. Yet the person to whom the soul belonged was still living, at least to all appearances. Dante informs us that this person was animated by a devil who had taken the place of his real soul which had already descended to the place where it belonged. Now if contemporaries of Dante had asked this unfortunate person whether Dante's report was correct or not he would have vigorously declared that he knew nothing of the predicaments of manifestations of his soul in other parts of the universe.

Here is a problem, and we have an opportunity to report a case which is similar in kind. A friend of ours, Rev. W. H. Withrow, wrote a book on Egypt some thirty-odd years ago, and an unusual number of copies were by some chance circulated in Melbourne, Australia. The result was he was looked up to in that part of the world as an authority in Egyptian lore.

Some people live longer than might be anticipated, and this happened to Mr. Withrow. His readers in Melbourne thought he had long been gathered to his fathers while he was still continuing his labors as an editor in a publishing house in Toronto. It happened that his ghost appeared in Melbourne at a seance while he was quietly attending to his work in Toronto, when by some accident he saw the report of what his ghost had done and vigorously objected, declaring the whole phenomenon a fraud. We republish here his statement, quoted from the illustrated weekly *Onward*, which goes far to prove that a person need not be aware of the caprices which his ghost may perform during his lifetime.

Mr. Withrow denies all responsibility for what his ghost may have stated and calls the whole a "bare-faced fraud." He writes as follows:

"I have before me the number for July 1st, 1906, of *The Harbinger of Light, A Monthly Journal, devoted to Psychology, Occultism and Spiritual Philosophy*, published at Melbourne, Australia. It devotes four columns to 'Mr. T. W. Stanford's seances with the medium Charles Bailey, reported by Mrs. Charles Bright.' The substance of this seance is an address purporting to be given from the spirit world by the present writer on February 2, 1906. We all remember Mark Twain's reply upon a rumor of his own death that the report was 'very much exaggerated.' I share the feelings of the veteran humorist and would remind the medium at the Antipodes that he is 'a little too previous' in his alleged posthumous revelation, that I am at this writing very much alive and in good health, and that, moreover, I repudiate some of the sentiments attributed to my ghost. I will not say with the Southern senator that I deny the allegation and defy the alligator, but the said medium is quite astray on matters of fact and not less in some matters of opinion held by me.

"I am informed that I proved to be a great acquisition to the meetings, and that I told those present that in the flesh I was attached to the Established Church of England. Now I have a great respect for that Church, but I never was a member of its communion. I am described as having written largely on the Catacombs of Rome and their inscriptions, which is quite true, but my book on that subject was published thirty-three years ago, reached a sixth edition in England, and sold largely in Australia, so it did not need a spirit 'from the vasty deep' to reveal that fact.

"A citation of an inscription from my *Catacombs* is given in support of the theories of spiritualism. This I never wrote nor anything bearing the least degree such an interpretation. I hope that when I shall have shuffled off this mortal coil I shall not be capable of the incoherent utterances and crudities of thought and expressions which are attributed to me. My alleged address begins as follows:

"Rev. W. H. Withrow: 'My name is Withrow. I am exceedingly pleased to speak with you once again. I reckon these to be grand opportunities—happy privileges, when I am asked to speak to you,' and so on for three solid columns of gush and mush. I am made to say, 'You are living now in a blessed dispensation and are privileged to see signs and wonders which you call psychic phenomena. I do not care how great may be the nation. . . . if they cast aside



their spirituality, persecute mediums and those who seek to lead them into light, they will and must ultimately decline.'

"After the fashion of many 'spiritualists' I am made to berate the Church of to-day, which is described as 'nothing but a valley of dry bones.' On the contrary I revere that Church, with all its imperfections, as God's agency for the uplift of the world, and never so strenuous and successful in its efforts as to-day, as its renewed missionary, religious and social activities demonstrate.

"I am made to sneer at parents 'sending their children to orthodox Sunday schools where they will receive for the truth Church doctrines, fables and legends.' On the contrary the greater part of my life has been devoted especially to the promotion and aid of these institutions which, in a country where religious instruction is excluded from the public schools, I regard as a necessary complement of civilization.

"I am made to say with reference to the education of children, 'teach them to look for messages from the spiritual realm and tell them that perchance God has given them a most holy gift of clairvoyance and trance-speaking.' I am made to close my long harangue with what is called 'a grand peroration' from Robert Ingersoll, which I never before read and whose perfervid rhetoric I do not admire—'Strike with hand of fire O weird musician, thy harp strung with Apollo's golden hair,' and so on.

"So far as I am personally concerned this of course is very amusing; but is it not abominable that some charlatan, some fake or fraud should impose on the credulity of men and women seeking to catch some whisper of the spirit life by citing opinions supposed to have special weight or authority as coming from the other world, opinions which the alleged author never held, and the chances of his seeing or hearing of which are almost infinitesimal. It is only by the merest accident that this screed came under my notice, much of it of baldest platitude and some of which I utterly disavow."

This communication was sent us by Mr. Withrow under date of November 22, 1908, and we regret to add that our friend has died in the meantime. In spite of the righteous indignation shown in his communication he took the case rather humorously, for he was glad that he was still alive at the time to enter his protest. He has now become indifferent to frauds practiced in his name and mediums are at liberty to let his ghost appear at seances, without fear of having the living man turn on them in repudiation of his own double.

## AN EVENING WITH C. C. FOSTER.

BY A SKEPTIC.

THE article in the February *Open Court* containing a reminiscence of C. C. Foster's work as a medium, with a marvelous instance of his clairvoyant power, interested me very much because I had an experience with him, not quite so tragical, but of the same order, which was followed by an explanation and a demonstration so complete that I think it worth recording.

About thirty years ago, when Foster was at the height of his popularity and power as a trance medium, and as a master of the various arts of communication between the spirits and those who sat at his table, I was one of a party of five who paid ten dollars for the privilege of spending an evening with him. We were all what are called educated men with literary tastes and habits, and were all greatly interested in the phenomena of spiritualism and clairvoyance then so ably set forth and illustrated by many skilful advocates.

The evening was filled with interesting exhibitions of Foster's power as a medium; but I will select only two or three which illustrate his methods. After we were seated at a long table, which was apparently an extension dining table of the ordinary type, the door opened and Mr. Foster appeared in one corner of the room advancing toward us with a sinuous motion of his head and body which reminded me of the progress of a serpent. He sat down, a little away from the table, quite at ease, and began to converse with us. Meanwhile the table began to undulate, the various parts rising and falling with a regular motion. I asked, "Is this part of the demonstration?" He said, "What do you mean?" I said, "This motion of the table, what is it?" "I don't know," he said, "I have nothing to do with it." The exercises began, and after some time Mr. Foster suddenly turned to me and said, "Here's something peculiar. A cloud appeared in the upper corner of the room yonder and

floated down like a cloud of cigar smoke till it came to your side and gradually assumed the form of a little child who wishes to speak to you. Have you ever lost a child?" I said, "No. But I lost a little brother many years ago." "Well, he is here and wishes to speak to you." Then he told me to take a card containing the alphabet and a pencil and touch every letter in the alphabet, and when I came to the first letter of the name he would tap three times with his pencil on the table and then my next neighbor, without Foster's seeing the letter, was to write it down at a table by his side. In this way he quickly spelled the name Joseph, telling me of what he died and various other particulars which were very surprising and unknown to any in the room but myself. After that I carefully watched his methods, as he applied the same tests to my companions. I saw that he watched them as they went over the alphabet, and I did the same. Very soon I saw that I was able to tell as well as he when the right letter was reached, because instinctively the person who held the pencil paused a moment, looked up, or did something which indicated expectation on his part, at which Foster promptly rapped. When he came around to me again he asked me to think of some friend who had recently died. He then asked me to use the alphabet as before. I did so, but this time I carefully beat time on the letters and he went through the alphabet and found nothing. He said, "That is strange." He went through again and rapped on the wrong letter. Then he said, "Well, let's try something else. I will make the initials of the name appear in red letters on my arm." He made some very lively motions in the air with his two hands flying around each other, and then pulled up his sleeve and exhibited some red marks which only faintly resembled D. P., the letters I wanted. I asked him what the letters were. He said he did not know. I declined to exercise my imagination, and he said, "Let's try something else." He then told me to write the proper name among a dozen fictitious names. Whereupon he took a pencil and with a rolling motion went through every name on the list excepting the one I had in mind. I said, "Very well, that would be more satisfactory if you had never seen the name." He said, "I do not know the man." I said, "That is impossible. You have passed his sign on the street hundreds of times and must have seen it." "Well, let that stand for what it is worth," he said, "The man is here and wishes you to ask him three questions which he will answer." The first question I asked was, "Where did we ride last together?" Foster gave a wrong answer, saying we rode on the seashore when, in fact, I went to Boston with the man to consult a medium about his illness.

I then asked him to repeat the conversation he had long before with the honorable C. W. W., a well-known member of Congress. His reply was, "He says he will tell you this if you will have a private sitting with me." The next day I went with a friend well-known to Mr. Foster from his boyhood and he refused to admit us on the ground that every moment was pledged so long as he was to be in town.

The main incident which I wish to relate came late in the evening. While there was a lull in the proceedings, Foster suddenly threw himself back, grabbed the arms of the chair in which he was sitting, and seemed to be resisting some physical force applied against him. He exclaimed, "I won't, I won't say that, it is too disagreeable." We asked the meaning of this explosion and he said there was a spirit trying to make him say things which were unpleasant. We urged him to report and he turned to Mr. H., one of the circle, and said, "He says he is a friend of yours, and he says he was hung." The man said, "No friend of mine was ever hung that I know of. What was his name?" Foster immediately seized a pencil and wrote on a pad W. C. Mr. H. said, "That means nothing to me." Then Foster, as he often did, spoke in his own person for the spirit behind him, and said, "It's me, Bill Carter." Mr. H. said, "I never knew any Bill Carter." "It's Julia's brother Bill," Mr. Foster said. "I did not know that Julia had any brother Bill," Mr. H. said, "but my wife will know." Then he asked, "Where was he hung?" Foster said, "No more, he's gone."

The next day I met Mr. H. in the street and sung out, "Well, what about Bill Carter?" "Oh, my wife says that Julia Carter did have a brother William who went to Cuba, was there in the rebellion, and may have been hung, for he has not been heard of for two years."

After this it became a customary thing for me as a joke, when I met Mr. H., to ask him about Bill Carter. One day he answered, "I have been to P—, where the Carters live, and found that Foster was an intimate friend of the family, that he had spent as much as a week at a time at their house, and that he of course knew all about him and played off Bill Carter on me knowing that I should be able to find out who he was, if I did not know already." After about six months one morning I asked the usual question, "How about Bill Carter?" "Oh," he said, "He's come home all right."

The two incidents that I have related, at first seemed inexplicable by us on any theory except the possession of supernatural or superhuman power by the medium. He told us about things that

in my case no one know but myself, and in the other case about a person of whom no one in the circle had any knowledge. Very early in the evening Mr. Foster discovered that I was not only skeptical but that I was catching on to his methods and became very wary of me. The next day one of the party discussing the exciting evening which we had passed together and admitting that Foster cheated said, "There was so much skepticism in the circle that he could not succeed with us, and so he took to playing tricks."

## THE SEMITES.

THEIR ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS ACCORDING TO PROFESSOR SAYCE.

PROFESSOR SAYCE, of Oxford, is recognized as one who speaks with authority and may be regarded as representing the views current among scholars. We here reproduce illustrations of some types of the races of the Old Testament from his book on the subject (published as Vol. XVIII of the *By-Paths of Bible Knowledge Series*, by the Religious Tract Society of London).



THREE AMORITE HEADS FROM THE TOP OF THE PYLON OF THE RAMESSEUM, TIME OF RAMSES II.

Commenting on the "Semitic race" Professor Sayce declares in his fourth chapter that the term is really a misnomer. There are Semitic languages, but properly speaking there is not a Semitic race. The term, however, is too firmly established to be dislodged now.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Semitic languages is that of triliteralism, which means that all roots consist of three con-

THE BLACK OBELISK OF SHAL-  
MANESER II.

(Front View.)

This monument, five feet in height, found by Layard in Nimrud, now in the British Museum, records the triumphs of Shalmaneser II in the year 842 B. C. There are five rows of bas-reliefs. The upper one pictures the homage of Shua, king of Gozan, and the second that of Jehu, king of Israel. In the third row tribute bearers lead animals from Musi or India, the first being Bactrian camels. The fourth row exhibits lions and deer, followed by other tribute bearers, which also continue in the fifth row. The inscription referring to Israel as translated by Sayce in *Records of the Past*, (Vol. V, 41) reads thus: "The tribute of Yahua (Jehu) son of Khumri (Omri) silver, gold, bowls of gold, vessels of gold, goblets of gold, pitchers of gold, lead, scepters for the king's hand [and] staves I received."



sonants, while the grammatical meaning depends on the vowels with the help of which the consonants are pronounced and "the principle



SHALMANESER RECEIVES THE AMBASSADOR OF KING JEHU, WHO  
KISSES THE GROUND BEFORE HIM.

of triliteralism is carried out with such regularity as almost to seem artificial."



TWO ASSYRIANS FOLLOWED BY THREE ISRAELITES.  
The first raises his hands in greeting, the second carries a platter  
with offerings, the third one a flask.

The home of the people of Semitic speech is Northeastern Arabia, where the inhabitants still lead the nomad life of the Bedou-



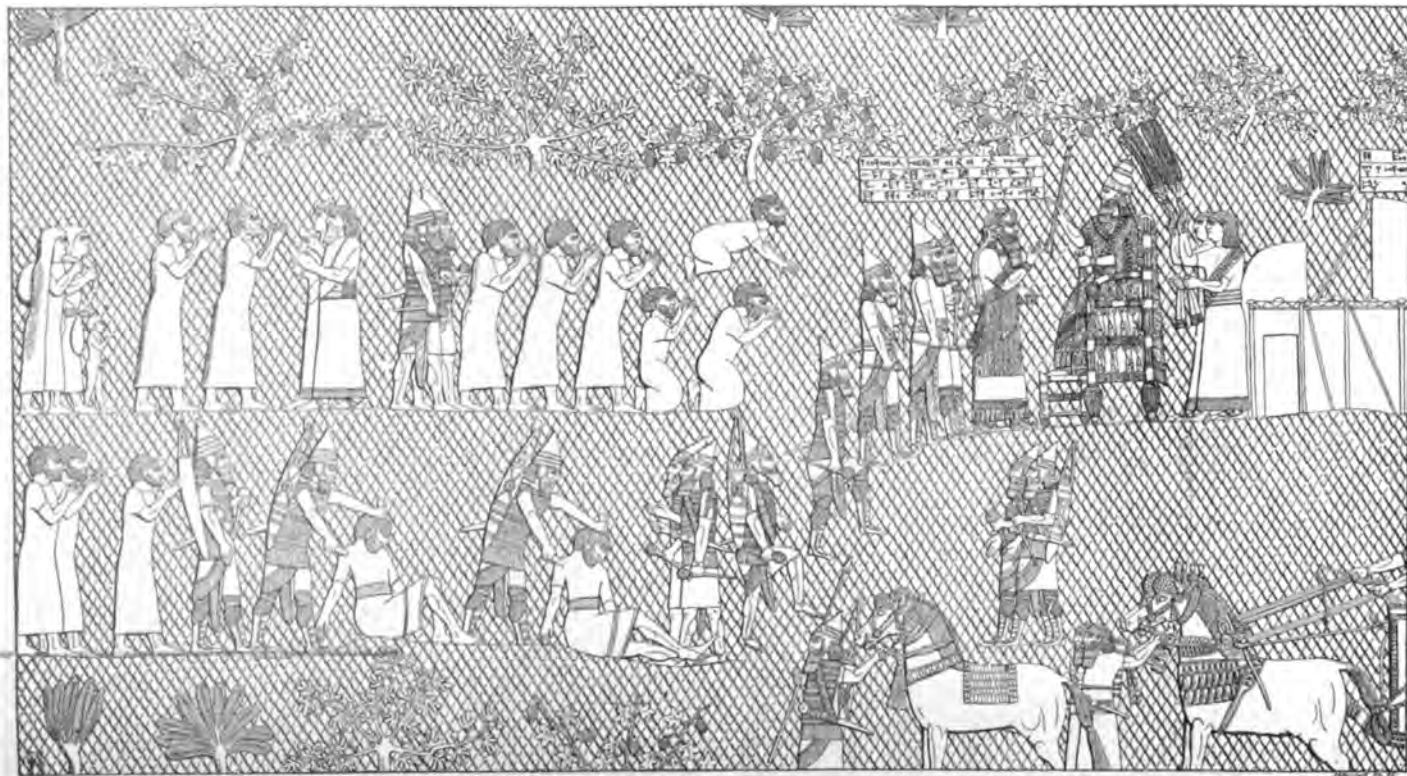
ins and have remained most faithful to the character of Semitic speech. Further if we trace the racial characteristics we find a type which is similar to the modern Jews as well as the ancient Assy-



TRIBUTE BEARERS OF KING JEHU CARRYING VESSELS AND PRECIOUS WOODS.



TRIBUTE BEARERS OF KING JEHU OF WHOM TWO CARRY BOXES, TWO BAGS OF JEWELS AND ONE A TRAY OF FRUIT.



SENNACHERIB RECEIVING THE SUBMISSION OF THE JEWS AT LACHISH.

Marble slab from the palace of Kouyunjik in Nineveh, now in the British Museum. (After an engraving in Lenormant's *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, Vol. VI, p. 304.) The inscription according to Winckler reads, "Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, took his seat on the throne, and the captives from Lachish marched up before him."

rians as depicted on their monuments. Concerning the Jews Sayce says:

"The Jewish race is by no means a pure one. It has admitted proselytes from various nations, and at different periods in its career has intermarried with other races. There are the 'black Jews' of Malabar, for example, who are descended from the Dravidian natives of Southern India, there are the 'white Jews' of certain parts of Europe whose type is European rather than Jewish. The Falashas of Abyssinia are Jews by religion rather than in origin, and it is only by the aid of intermarriage that we can explain the contrast in type between the great divisions of European Jews—the Sephardim of Spain and Italy and the Ashkenazim of Germany,



THE JEWISH DELEGATES OFFERING SUBMISSION OF THE CITY OF LACHISH.

Detail of the marble slab reproduced on page 242.

Poland, and Russia. Indeed we know that few of the leading Spanish families have not a certain admixture of Jewish blood in their veins, which implies a corresponding admixture on the other side.

"Even in Biblical times the Jewish race was by no means a pure one. David, we are told, was blond and red-haired, which may possibly indicate an infusion of foreign blood. At all events he surrounded himself with a body-guard of Cherethites or Kretans, and among his chief officers we find an Ammonite, an Arabian, and a Syrian of Maachah. The ark found shelter in the house of a Philistine of Gath, and one of the most trusty captains of the Is-

raelitish army, whose wife afterwards became the ancestress of the kings of Judah, was Uriah the Hittite. But it is the Egyptian monuments which have afforded us the most convincing proof of the mixed character of the population in the Jewish kingdom. The names of the Jewish towns captured by the Egyptian king Shishak in his campaign against Rehoboam, and recorded on the walls of the temple of Karnak, are each surmounted with the head and shoulders of a prisoner. Casts have been made of the heads by Mr. Flinders Petrie, and the racial type represented by them turns out to be Amorite and not Jewish. We must conclude, therefore, that even after the revolt of the Ten Tribes the bulk of the population in Southern Judah continued to be Amorite, in race, though not in



A

B

A. Head of the chief of Ganata or Gath from the temple of Shishak, the contemporary of Rehoboam, at Karnak. B. Head of the chief of Judah-melech or Jehudham-melech, "Jehud of the king" (probably the Jehud of Josh. xix. 45), from the temple of Shishak at Karnak. The type of both is Amorite.

name. The Jewish type was so scantily represented that the Egyptian artist passed it over when depicting the prisoners who had been brought from Judah.

"Palestine is but another example of an ethnological fact which has been observed in Western Europe."

"The Jews flourish everywhere except in the country of which they held possession for so long a time. The few Jewish colonies which exist there are mere exotics, influencing the surrounding population as little as the German colonies that have been founded beside them. That population is Canaanite. In physical features, in mental and moral characteristics, even in its folklore, it is the

descendant of the population which the Israelitish invaders vainly attempted to extirpate. It has survived, while they have perished or wandered elsewhere. The Roman succeeded in driving the Jew from the soil which his fathers had won; the Jew never succeeded in driving from it its original possessor. When the Jew departed from it, whether for exile in Babylonia, or for the longer exile in the world of a later day, the older population sprang up again in all its vigor and freshness, thus asserting its right to be indeed the child of the soil.

"It must have been the same in the northern kingdom of Samaria. To-day the ethnological types of Northern Palestine present but little variation from those of the south. And yet we have con-



ARAMAEAN WARRIORS.

From Egyptian monuments of the 18th dynasty.

temporary monumental evidence that the people of the Ten Tribes were of the purest Semitic race. Among the spoils which the British Museum has received from the ruins of Nineveh is an obelisk of black marble whereon the Assyrian king Shalmaneser II has described the campaigns and conquests of his reign. Around the upper part of the obelisk run five lines of miniature bas-reliefs representing the tribute-bearers who in the year 842 B. C. brought the gifts of distant countries to the Assyrian monarch. Among them are the servants of Jehu, King of Samaria. Each is portrayed with features which mark the typical Jew of to-day. No modern draughtsman could have designed them more characteristically. The Israelite of the northern kingdom possessed all the outward

traits by which we distinguish the pure-blooded Jew among his fellow men. The fact is remarkable when we remember that the subjects of Rehoboam are depicted by the Egyptian artists of Shishak with the features of the Amorite race. It forces us to the conclusion that the aboriginal element was stronger in the kingdom of Rehoboam [Judah] than in that of Jeroboam [Israel]. There, too, however, it mostly disappeared with the deportation of the Ten Tribes. We need not wonder, therefore, if its disappearance from Southern



A HITTITE BACCHUS AND WORSHIPER.

Relief on a rock at Ibriz in ancient Lycaonia. (From *Trans. of Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.*)

Palestine was still more marked when the dominant class in Judah—the Jewish people themselves—were led away into captivity.

“The true Semite, whether we meet with him in the deserts and towns of Arabia, in the bas-reliefs of the-Assyrian palaces, or in the lanes of some European ghetto, is distinguished by ethnological features as definite as the philological features which distinguish the Semitic languages. He belongs to the white race, using the

term 'race' in its broadest sense. But the division of the white race of which he is a member has characteristics of its own so marked and peculiar as to constitute a special race,—or more strictly speaking a sub-race. The hair is glossy-black, curly and strong, and is largely developed on the face and head. The skull is dolichocephalic. It is curious, however, that in Central Europe an examination of the Jews has shown that while about 15 percent are blonds, only 25 percent are brunettes, the rest being of intermediate type, and that brachycephalism occurs almost exclusively among the brunettes. It is difficult to account for this except on the theory of extensive mix-



LATE PATRIARCH OF ARMENIA.

NEW PATRIARCH OF ARMENIA.

Note the similarity of these representative Armenians with the Jewish type.

ture of blood. Whenever the race is pure, the nose is prominent, and somewhat aquiline, the lips are thick, and the face oval. The skin is of dull white, which tans but does not redden under exposure to the sun. There is usually, however, a good deal of color in the lips and cheeks. The eyes are dark like the hair."

It is commonly believed that the Jews were strongly mixed with Hittite blood, and this accounts for one peculiar trait which is frequently but not always found among the Jews. At the same time it explains the similarity in type so often found between the Armenians and the Jews.

Professor Sayce offers the following general description of the Semites:

"In religion the Semite has always been distinguished by the simplicity of his belief and worship; in social matters by his strong family affection. Another of his characteristics has been fondness of display, to which must be added the love of acquisition, and unwearied industry in certain pursuits. But he has little taste for agriculture, and except perhaps in the case of ancient Assyria, has always shown a distaste for the discipline of a military life. Intense to fanaticism, however, he has proved himself capable, when roused, of carrying on a heroic struggle in contempt of pain and death. Along with this intensity of character goes an element of ferocity to which the Assyrian inscriptions give only too frequent an ex-



KING OF THE HITTITES WITH PIGTAIL.



HEAD OF PULISTA OR PHILISTINE.

(From Medinet Habu, time of Ramses III.)

pression. The love of travel and restlessness of disposition which further distinguishes the Semite must probably be traced to the nomadic habits of his remote forefathers.

"Physically he has a strong and enduring constitution. The Jews have survived and multiplied in the mediæval towns of Europe under the most insanitary conditions, and if we turn to the past we find the reigns of the Assyrian monarchs averaging an unusually long number of years. Diseases that prove fatal to the populations among whom the Jews have lived seem to pass them over, and like the natives of Arabia they resist malaria to a remarkable degree."

In conclusion we will say that though Jesus was a Jew in his religion, the Jesus of Christianity has always been understood to be



or interpreted as an Aryan. This can be seen mainly in the pictorial representation of the figure of Christ, which has never been Jewish except in most recent times, and we may say that in spite of the artistic value of such paintings as Munkacsy's Christ before Pilate and Tissot's illustrations of the Bible, the popular conception of Christ still remains such as Raphael, Titian, Murillo, Fra Angelico, etc. presented it.

As frontispiece we select the transfigured Christ from Raphael's famous painting in the Vatican, *La Trasfigurazione*.

## THE NUMBER OF THE BEAST.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

IN the very interesting article "The Necromancy of Numbers,"<sup>1</sup> the opinion is expressed that the Apocalypse of John is a treatise on the esoteric doctrine of the Cabala especially in regard to the number 666, Rev. xiii, 18. Yet both the Apoclypse and this number may have another meaning. We must not forget that in the first place Revelation is a Judaic-Christian, or we might say religious-political, secret pamphlet, designated for primitive Christian circles and dealing with matters of great importance to them, pertaining to the immediate time in which they were living. The Jewish Apocalyptic literature, making its beginning with the Book of Daniel in the second century B. C. to be followed when Christianity arose, by the Christian Apocalyptic literature, consisting in the Revelations of John and extracanonical Revelations, deals mainly with the final fate of God's people and their enemies. The chosen people on the one side, or rather the faithful part of it, will reign finally with the Messiah, and their enemies, the world-powers, rising from the empire of Alexander the Great or the Roman power, will be destroyed; likewise the faithful Christian believers will reign gloriously with Christ, and their persecuting enemies, the worldly Roman power, will be destroyed. This kind of literature was mainly written for the purpose of comforting and admonishing the faithful in the times of persecution and oppression. It was naturally of a mystical character, couched in hidden language, partly for the reason of giving it an oracular occult color, partly also to conceal the meaning of the language from uninitiated ears, in case such writings should fall into the hands of enemies. For this reason such writings frequently made use of what the rabbis called *Gematria* or the numerical indications of names, something also practiced among Greeks under the name of *Isosephia*. Sometimes even only the number

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. H. R. Evans in the February *Open Court*.

which the initial of a name stood for, was used to designate names. Thus in the apocalyptic literature called the Sibyllines, Nero is described as the emperor whose sign is 50, "a fearful serpent who shall cause a grievous war,"—this phrase referring probably to the stories of the serpent which had crawled from Nero's cradle and his serpent-amulet. This made the meaning of the Greek letter N = 50 more certain. Other strange symbolic devices were the following. In the Sibyllines viii a ruler is described as "having a name like a sea" and "the wretched one." This is of course Aelius Hadrianus, the Greek *eleinos*, "wretched," pointing to Aelius, the sea (the Adriatic) to Hadrian.

It was the Roman empire upon which all the hatred of the Palestinian Jews was centered and later also the Christians saw in Rome their greatest enemy. The Roman empire was considered to be the last of the empires symbolized in the image in Dan. ii, according to the wrong interpretation of the times, after which would come the kingdom from heaven symbolized in the stone smashing the image. So Josephus even understood the passage according to Ant. x, 4 and xi, 7, but he was careful not to explain the meaning of the stone. Likewise the writer of Revelation was careful. Therefore he uses the number 666. Now this number can mean according to the most plausible interpretation either *Lateinos*, "the Latin one," the sum of the Greek letters of this word according to their numerical value being 666, an interpretation introduced already by Irenæus; or *Neron Caesar*, the sum of the Hebrew letters of the latter words according to their numerical value also being 666, an interpretation held by a number of modern expositors. As Revelation is very Hebraic in spirit and language, the Jewish-Christian readers might easily hit upon the value of the Hebrew characters. That a proper name or adjective is meant, can be inferred from an analogy in the Sibylline books where the word Jesus is indicated by saying that it has four vowels and two consonants and that the whole number is = 888, i. e., of course according to Greek writing. *Lateinos* would simply denote the beast of Rev. xiii as some man arising from the Roman empire as the Antichrist, while *Neron Caesar* would point to the belief current in Christian circles for centuries after the death of Nero, that he would arise again and appear as the incarnate Evil One. This belief had its source in the false rumors arising right after Nero's death, that he was not dead, but had escaped to the Parthians and would return to take vengeance on his enemies, a report chronicled by such writers as Tacitus and Suetonius. A false Nero had even found a following among the Parthians. Sibyl-

lines viii. 71 express this belief very plainly in the words: "When the matricide fugitive returns from the opposite part of the earth."

That Rome is meant from which the Antichrist was expected to come is plain to any historical student of the Apocalypse. In chapter xiii the beast comes from the sea, just as in the Sibylline books the beast rises from the western sea and in the fourth book of Esra the eagle also, both referring to Rome. In verse 3 this beast is referred to "as though one of his heads [seven] had been smitten unto death and his death-stroke was healed." If we compare these words with chapter xvii. 9-11, which gives an explanation of the woman sitting on a scarlet-colored beast with seven heads represented in that chapter and plainly referring to Rome, the idea of a Nero Redivivus seems quite plausible. The words are: "Here is understanding which has wisdom. The seven heads are seven hills on which the woman sits. And these are seven kings. Five have fallen, the one is, the other has not yet come. And when he comes he must remain a little while. And the beast which was and is not [designated in verse 8 preceding as about to come from the abyss] is himself eight and is of the seven and goes into perdition." Counting from Augustus, with Nero's death five heads had fallen. Cutting out the usurpers Otho, Galba, Vitellius, who followed each other in rapid succession and in fact not reigning, and then taking the longer reign of Vespasian and the very short one of Titus we arrive at Domitian as eighth. At this time the writer must have expected the incarnate Antichrist. Whether he believed in a literal Nero redivivus or the reappearance of the spirit of Nero in another Roman emperor we don't know. If he shared the latter view he might have taken Domitian as the second reappearance of Nero, who, as Juvenal says, (*Sat. iv. 34*) "was rending as the last Flavius the half-dead world, Rome being enslaved to the bald Nero," the common nickname by which Domitian was called in Rome, from comparison with the previous Nero, while Pliny (*Panegy. 48*) called him "the most savage beast," and Tacitus in his parallel between Nero and Domitian speaks of the former to the disadvantage of the latter. (*Agric. 45.*)

Whether the interpretations of 666, *Lateinos* and *Neron Caesar*, shared by many, are correct we will not affirm, but this much is sure that the number has an eschatological meaning.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE CALAVERAS NATIONAL FOREST.

COMMUNICATED BY THE FORESTER.

By signing the bill for the creation of the Calaveras National Forest, California, President Roosevelt has completed the legislative act which saves for all time the most famous grove of trees in the world. The people of California, particularly the 500 women of the California Club, have been working to interest the Government in this wonderful grove of Big Trees for more than nine years, but not until now has it been possible to arrange a plan satisfactory alike to the owner of the land and to Congress.

The Senate Bill has been passed by the House of Representatives and signed by the President. Every one interested in the great natural wonders rejoices that as a means of saving the Big Trees, the way has been paved for a practical exchange of the timber in the groves for stumpage on other forest land owned by the Government. The first Calaveras Bill was introduced in the Senate four years ago by Senator Perkins of California. Bills for the same purpose were passed in the upper house of Congress a number of times, but always failed of favorable consideration in the House until Senate Bill 1574, also introduced by Senator Perkins, was called up by Congressman S. C. Smith, of California.

Robert B. Whiteside, of Duluth, Minnesota, a prominent lumberman operating in the Lake States and on the Pacific Coast, is the owner of the Calaveras Big Trees. After his agreement to the proposals which are simply a practical exchange of timber for timber, the entire California delegation gave its solid and enthusiastic support to the bill. No appropriation is needed to carry out the provisions of the act.

The land to be acquired under the bill includes about 960 acres in what is known as the North Calaveras Grove in Calaveras County, and 3040 acres in the South Grove in Tuolumne County. The North Grove contains ninety-three Big Trees, and in the South Grove there are 1380 of these giant sequoias. Any tree under eighteen feet in circumference, or six feet through, is not considered in the count of large trees. Besides the giant sequoias there are hundreds of sugar pines and yellow pines of astonishing proportions, ranging to the height of 275 feet and often attaining a diameter of eight to ten feet. There are also many white firs and incense cedars in the two tracts. A government study of the land was made by a field party under the direction of Fred. G. Plummer, United States Forest Service, in 1906.

The Calaveras Big Trees are known the world over. The North Grove contains ten trees each having a diameter of twenty-five feet or over, and

more than seventy having a diameter of fifteen to twenty-five feet. Most of the trees have been named, some for famous generals of the United States and others for statesmen and various states of the Union. "The Father of the Forests," now down, is estimated by Hittel, in his *Resources of California*, to have had a height of 450 feet and a diameter at the ground of more than forty feet when it was standing. "Massachusetts" contains 118,000 board feet of lumber; "Governor Stoneman" contains 108,000 board feet, and the "Mother of the Forest," burned in the terrible forest fire which licked its way into a part of the grove last summer, contains 105,000 board feet. Each of these trees named grows as much lumber as is grown ordinarily on fifteen or twenty acres of timberland. The bark runs from six inches to two feet in thickness. Among the other large named trees in the two groves are: Waterloo, Pennsylvania, James King, Old Bachelor, Pride of the Forest, Daniel Webster, Sir John Franklin, Empire State, U. S. Grant, W. T. Sherman, J. P. McPherson, Abraham Lincoln, Connecticut, Ohio, Grover Cleveland, Mrs. Grover Cleveland, Dr. Nelson, General Custer, Dr. J. W. Dawson, General Hancock, Knight of the Forest, Two Sentinels, and Old Dowd.

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#### BROADENING.

BY CHARLES J. WOODBURY.

Mary may not have been of all  
 Immaculate of mothers.  
 May be the flash that blinded Paul  
 Has blinded more good brothers.  
 Perhaps from Patmos what John saw  
 Was but a passing panic  
 Of sea and sky disturbed by law,  
 A spectacle volcanic.  
 What if within Messiah lurked  
 Some flaw that found correction?  
 What if there were no wonders worked;  
 And if no resurrection?  
 Yet dreams and gleams as high as these  
 Come, blessing and unsealing,  
 To those who seek the verities  
 And follow their revealing.  
 And Heaven is his who now on earth  
 Gives Heaven or tries to give it.  
 There is no faith of better worth;  
 And good believers live it.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

ASCHERA UND ASTARTE. Von *Paul Torge*. Leipsic: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902.  
 Pp. 58. Price, \$2.50.

The name and the meaning of Aschera has offered many difficulties to translators of the Old Testament. Professor Smend regards it as a substitute for a holy tree. Professors Guthe and Hoffmann speak of it in a similar

sense and declare that this pole represented Yahveh or Baal. Professor Stadel regards the Greek hermae, viz., the pole terminating in the head of a god as a counterpart of the Semitic Ashera. The Deuteronomic authors of the Old Testament would make us believe that Aschera is a Canaanitic goddess who is presumably to be identified with Astarte. The historical passages of the Old Testament prove that it is a sacred pole which is put up, painted and hewn down, burned, etc., all expressions indicating that it is a wooden pillar. Professor Robert Smith thinks that it is sometimes a real tree, and Professor E. Meyer insists that it is a sacred tree, not the goddess herself. Professor Baethgens looks upon the Aschera as a phallic symbol, while Professor Movers declares that Aschera is an old Phœnician goddess of a licentious character, different from the virgin deity Astarte. Professor Torge has devoted the present essay to an investigation of the nature of Astarte, and he discusses in several chapters the tree worship of the Old Testament, the meaning of Aschera in the several Old Testament passages; the introduction of the Aschera into the cults of Israel; the material of which it is made; the significance attributed to the Aschera in the Old Testament; the difference and the similarity between the Aschera or wooden pole and the stone pillar called Masseba; the goddess Baalat and her relation to Astarte and Aschera; the queen of heaven; the distribution of Astarte worship; and finally the goddess Aschera.

Paul Torge comes to the conclusion that the wooden pillar called Aschera represents a definite deity which however, has almost disappeared from the Semitic pantheon. Only some stray notes are preserved but they offer definite evidence of her existence. Professor Winckler has traced her name in the Tel El Amarna tablets, and a man bears the name Abad Aschera. He is said to be the son of Azir and was successful in reconquering the country Amuru from the Egyptians and restoring it to his countrymen. In these tablets the name Ashratum is marked with the ideogram of gods which makes it unequivocal that it is the name of a deity. According to Delitzsch's Assyrian Reader the name is the feminine form of Asar, and means the splendor of bliss or the Saviour goddess.

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An encyclopedia of religious knowledge is a tremendous undertaking, and the publishers of the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* have done their best to bring up to date the standard work of German scholarship edited by the late Herzog, an enterprise which was begun by the late Rev. Schaff. The work is very extensive and it is natural that here and there an error might slip in. Our attention was called to a mistake in this great work, through an item which appeared in *The Chicago Tribune* under the date of March 18, which concerns personally the Editor of *The Open Court*. We will add that the item which appears under his name was not submitted to Dr. Carus, and that it contains an error to the correction of which he is anxious to give the utmost publicity.

We wish also to say that by a strange oversight this same encyclopedia does not contain the name of the Hon. C. C. Bonney, the originator of the Religious Parliament, an account of whose life and work was published in *The Open Court*, Vol. XIV, p. 4. We here reprint the *Tribune's* entire review of the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*:

"The second volume of *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Funk & Wagnalls Company) abundantly maintains the promise of the initial volume. The aim to combine the two qualities, the scholarly and the popular, has plainly kept in view. To do this has required no little sagacity and skill on the part of the chief editor, as well as of all of his associates. Of extreme importance of course is the just sense of proportion. Certain subjects, as that of the 'Bible,' for instance, are treated with great fullness. As in the previous volume, the element of biography, modern as well as ancient, is given much prominence. In fact, the department of what might be called 'Who Is Who' is much in evidence. Perhaps in some cases too much so.

"The biographical sketches of so many persons, more or less known to fame, who are still living, have an interest to the reader if he happens already to know something about them. A pleasant account is given of our friend, Dr. Paul Carus, 'philosopher and student of comparative religions,' but he is mistakenly credited with being the 'inaugurator and president of the parliament of religions' in connection with the Chicago exposition. That great distinction, it should never be forgotten, belongs to the late Charles C. Bonney. It was he who conceived the idea and the scheme of all the various world's congresses, including that of the parliament of religions. Nobody could be more earnest in according to Mr. Bonney this unique honor than Dr. Carus himself, who was to the end one of Mr. Bonney's closest friends.

"This encyclopedia is sure to prove a publication of a truly immense educational value that will be keenly appreciated by thousands of intelligent laymen, as well as ministers. To have it and have the habit of continual reference to it would be in fact a kind of constant 'university extension' course."

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Ettie Stettheimer has published in the *Archives of Philosophy*, edited by Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, an addition to Professor James's philosophy under the title *The Will to Believe as a Basis for the Defense of Religious Faith*.

The pamphlet bears the subtitle "A Critical Study." After an exposition of James's doctrine, it is treated as a defense of religious faith at the cost of pure knowledge and of objective reality. In Chapter V, the defense of religious belief is set forth as a "vicious circle."

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We wish to state that the editorial article on "Nestorius and the Nestorians," which appeared in the March *Open Court*, contains a number of errors. But as it is to be reprinted in a revised form in a pamphlet on *The Nestorian Monument*, it is hardly worth while to mention here the corrections in detail. This pamphlet will also contain the Chinese text and English translation of this Chinese monument of early Christianity with special reference to Mr. Frits V. Holm's expedition and preparation of a replica of the tablet, and other notes of interest on the early Christian sect known as Nestorians.







HEAD OF THE VENUS OF MILO.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

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the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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## THE VENUS OF MILO.

BY THE EDITOR.

PERHAPS the most valuable piece of art which the Louvre of Paris possesses is the famous statue that commonly goes under the name of the Venus of Milo. It has a room of its own where maroon walls throw the white marble in strong relief. An inscription informs us that it was acquired by M. de Marcellus for the Marquis de Rivière, at the time ambassador of France, who presented it to King Louis XVIII in the year 1821. It was discovered in a hiding place on a farm on the little island of Milo where it was but slightly covered with stones from a quarry near by. It was noticed afterwards that some marks were made in the stone on the roadside, with the apparent design to enable the person who had hidden the treasure to find the place again.

There is no question that the statue represents Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, and we have before us one of the greatest masterpieces of ancient Hellas. The goddess is represented in the form of a woman in her full maturity—her dress is falling down leaving the upper body entirely uncovered, and yet in spite of the nudity of the figure we are struck with the unparalleled purity and nobility of expression.

There is always a group of admiring visitors sitting quietly before this goddess of Greek paganism, and there is often a hush in the room which recalls the sanctity of a pagan temple visited by quiet worshipers; and yet the goddess before us is mutilated, has lost both arms and has suffered much maltreatment by brutal hands.

Having searched art books in vain for an explanation of the history of the statue, we will here briefly recapitulate what the simple facts of the statue, its workmanship, its mutilated condition and place of discovery, can teach us.

It is obvious that the statue has been hidden, and we need not doubt that it was concealed by pagan worshipers who wanted to preserve the effigy of the goddess. The marks of brutal treatment



THE VENUS OF MILO.

visible all over the body of the statue indicate that it was cudged by heavy clubs, that it was upset and thrown from its pedestal; the arms seem to have been smashed to small fragments, of which only one hand remains intact which grasps an apple, the symbol of Venus. This hand is preserved in a glass case standing by a window in the same room in the Louvre. The statue is made of Parian marble, and the artistic work proves that it must have been executed in the best days of Greek sculpture. The sculptor apparently worked after a definite model, for the features are not idealized into a composite personality, and we may be sure the artist would have taken liberties in some details, had it not been made from life. It has been noticed that the feet of the Venus are larger than those of the average woman of to-day.

Whence can the statue have come, and how did it find its way to this little island in the Ægean Sea?

The island of Milo was too small a place to have a temple that could afford a statue of such extraordinary value, and we must assume that it was carried thither on a ship. Athens is the only

place that we can think of which might have been its original home.

The classical name of Milo was Melos, meaning "apple." It was originally inhabited by a Dorian population, but during the Peloponnesian War the island was conquered and its inhabitants replaced by Athenian colonists. From that time it was the most faithful ally of Athens and remained subject to the authority of the city after all her other possessions had been lost.

At the beginning of the Christian era were troublesome times. Lawlessness prevailed and a general decadence had set in, which



VENUS ON THE SWAN.  
A Kylix from Capua.

was due to the many civil wars in both Greece and Italy. The establishment of the empire checked the progress of degeneration but only in external appearance. In reality a moral and social deterioration continued to take an ever stronger hold upon the people. The old religion broke down and the new faith was by no means so ideal in the beginning as it is frequently represented by writers of Church history.

Our notions concerning the vicious character of ancient paganism are entirely wrong. Even the worship of Aphrodite and of the

Phœnician 'Astarte was by no means degraded by that gross sensualism of which the Church fathers frequently accuse it. Wherever we meet with original expression of the pagan faith we find deep reverence and a childlike piety. In many respects the worship of Istar in Babylonia and of Astarte in Phœnicia, of Isis in Egypt, of Athene, Aphrodite and Hera in Greece, of the Roman Juno, and Venus, the special protectress of the imperial family, was noble in all its main features, and did not differ greatly from the cult of the Virgin Mary during the Middle Ages. We reproduce here an ancient platter which is ascribed by archeologists to the fourth century B. C., and shows a noble and serene Venus who is fully draped and flying on the swan.

When Christianity spread over the Roman empire, the city of Athens was the last stronghold of paganism, but even there the mass of the population had become Christian. There was a time in the development of Christianity when it was hostile not only to ancient pagan mythology but also to pagan science and to pagan art. This is the age in which almost all the statues of the Greek gods were either destroyed, or maltreated and shattered so that not one has come down to us un mutilated.

Professor F. C. Conybeare of the University College of Oxford describes in his translation of the *Apology and Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Christianity* as follows:

"The obvious way of scotching a foul demon was to smash his idols; and we find that an enormous number of martyrs earned their crown in this manner, especially in the third century, when their rapidly increasing numbers rendered them bolder and more ready to make a display of their intolerance. Sometimes the good sense of the worldly prudence of the Church intervened to set limits to so favorite a way of courting martyrdom; and at the Synod of Elvira, c. A. D. 305, a canon was passed, declaring the practice to be one not met with in the Gospel nor recorded of any of the Apostles, and denying to those who in future resorted to it the honors of martyrdom. But in spite of this, the most popular of the saints were those who had resorted to such violence and earned their death by it; and as soon as Christianity fairly got the upper hand in the fourth century, the wrecking of temples and the smashing of the idols of the demons became a most popular amusement with which to grace a Christian festival. As we turn over the pages of the martyrologies, we wonder that any ancient statues at all escaped those senseless outbursts of zealotry."

It must have been in one of these "outbursts of zealotry" that the temple of Aphrodite was attacked and the statue of the goddess brutally assaulted. The mutilated statue presumably lay prone upon the ground at the foot of its pedestal at the overturned altar. When night broke in and the rioters sought their homes the few friends

of paganism, perhaps the priests, perhaps some well-to-do philosophers and admirers of the ancient Greek civilization, came to the rescue. They met stealthily at the place of the tumult and with the assistance of their servants had the statue carried away down to a ship at anchor in the harbor. Before the riot could be renewed the ship set sail for the island of Milo where the devotees of the



HEAD OF THE VENUS OF MILO.  
Profile view.

goddess may have had friends, or where possibly one of their own number possessed a farm. There they hid the statue, and it is certain that the act of concealment was done in the greatest haste, for it was only lightly covered over, and it is strange that it had not been found before the 19th century.

The pagan remnant was small and kept quiet for fear of persecution, but we may very well imagine how they lived in the hope that paganism would celebrate a revival, that the storms of these barbarous outbursts would pass by and the temples of the gods would be restored in all their ancient glory. Then would come the time to bring the goddess back to their ancient dwelling place, to raise her altar again and light the sacrifice anew. But though the riot ceased and the authorities restored order, though for a short time a pagan emperor sat again on the throne of Cæsar, the ancient gods never returned and Christianity replaced paganism forever. The devotees of the lost cause died without seeing their hope fulfilled. The desecrated statue remained hidden and their secret was buried with them in the grave.

\* \* \*

We can not doubt that in large outlines such is the history of the statue. These are the facts which are revealed through the condition and the circumstances in which the statue has been found.

One thing is remarkable, that with all the skill of modern sculpture no artist has as yet succeeded in restoring this wonderful statue to its pristine completeness. None of the attempted restorations appear satisfactory, and it seems hopeless to venture upon the task. It almost seems as if the torso in its pitiful condition had acquired a new beauty of its own, and if we saw the original in its integrity it might not fulfil our expectations.



## CHRISTIANITY AS THE PLEROMA.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONTINUED.]

### ANCIENT BABYLON.

HOW much Christianity has been prepared in Babylon appears from our more matured knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions. The subject is discussed by Schrader in *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*,<sup>1</sup> p. 377 ff., where the points of identification between Marduk, Yahveh and Christ are thus enumerated:

1. Christ's preexistence as a divine being and as creator of the world.

2. Christ's miraculous birth. Prototypes of this doctrine are not yet known of Marduk, but rather of Babylonian heroes such as King Sargon I, King Gilgames<sup>2</sup> and Assurbanipal.

3. Christ as the saviour, as the inaugurator of a new age, of a time of prosperity. Under this heading we must also mention the fact that in the inscription on an ancient cylinder Cyrus is called "Saviour-King" just as Isaiah calls him "the Messiah of Yahveh" (Is. xlv. 1). What Isaiah says of Cyrus<sup>3</sup> is referred directly to Jesus by John the Baptist.<sup>4</sup>

4. Christ as the pleroma, or fulfilment of the times, which is closely connected with the Babylonian notion of cycles, involving the idea that in the proper season of a periodic round of ages a certain consummation is attained.

5. Christ as sent by the Father. In the same way God Marduk looks upon the world with compassion whenever it is in a state of disorder and tribulation, and sends the saviour to rescue mankind from evil.

<sup>1</sup> 3d. edition. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> As related by Aelian, *Anini Hist.*, XII, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 2; cf. xl, 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4; John i. 23.

6. The passion of Christ. It is noteworthy that in Babylon the king assumes the part of the penitent for his people and takes the guilt and punishment upon himself.

7. The death of Christ. The death of Marduk is not directly known, but can be derived from the name he bears as "Lord of the lamentation," and the fact that in the cult of Marduk his tomb is mentioned. Other deities who must be named in this connection are Shamash, Nergal, Tammuz, Sin and Ishtar.

8. Christ's descent to hell. Here the same names must be mentioned as above.

9. Christ's resurrection. That the time of Christ's sojourn in hell is said to be three days is probably based upon the old Babylonian conception. Three days in spring the moon is said to be invisible, which fact may be compared with the story of Jonah who stays in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.

10. The ascension of Christ.<sup>5</sup>

11. The exaltation of Christ.

12. The *parousia* of Christ and his second advent.

Jesus prophesies that great tribulations shall precede his second advent and here also we find some close parallels in Babylonian inscriptions. The time of tribulation stands in contrast to the time of prosperity which is assured through the appearance of the saviour. The renewal of the world is preceded by a breakdown of the old order. Men will become wicked and horrible crimes will be perpetrated. We read in one text (K. 7861.—Cun. Texts, xiii, 50), "A brother will kill with weapons his brother, a friend his friend." In another text (K. B VI, I, p. 275 f.) we read of eclipses of sun and moon and the quarrels between inmates of the same house and between neighbors. A third passage (K. 454—Cun. Texts, XIII, 49) reads thus: "Such a prince [who would not obey the commandments of the gods] will experience misery; his heart will not rejoice; during his rule battles and combats will not cease. Under such a government brother will devour brother; people will sell their children for money; the countries will fall into confusion; the husband will leave his wife and the wife her husband; a mother will bolt the door against her daughter; the treasury of Babylon will be carried to Syria and Assyria; the king of Babylon will have to surrender the possessions of his palace and his treasury to the princes of Assyria."

13. Christ as a judge.

<sup>5</sup> This point and the following two are not satisfactorily treated and so we mention them without entering into details.

14. The marriage of Christ; or rather the symbolical marriage of the Lamb in Revelations and the allusions to Christ as the bridegroom have their prototype in the marriage of Marduk celebrated on the Babylonian New Year's day.\*

#### THE PROCESS OF IDEALIZATION.

The pagan saviour idea was gradually transformed into the conception of Christ. We can trace the process in different places and everywhere it follows the same law. In primitive times the saviour is simply a strong man; unarmed and naked he wrestles with the lion, but he is also brutal and gross. Such is Samson of the tribe of Dan, and such is Heracles in the ancient myth.

As civilization advances the hero acquires the gentler and nobler features which are now more highly respected than superiority of brawn. Moral stamina becomes an indispensable condition for respect and so it is unhesitatingly attributed to the national ideal. In this phase Heracles is represented as choosing between the pleasures of vice and the practice of virtue and he prefers the latter, setting a noble example to all Greek youths.

The Heracles of the classical period has his faults still, yet the philosophers claim that the real Heracles had none, and that the stories of his frolicking and rude exploits are inventions of myth mongers and should be regarded as perversions of the truth. He was a saviour and he labored for the best of mankind without any thought for himself. So the idealizing process goes on and reaches a climax at the beginning of the Christian era when Seneca speaks of him with the same reverence as a Christian would speak of Christ. He says:

"Heracles never gained victories for himself. He wandered through the circle of the earth, not as a conqueror, but as a protector. What, indeed, should the enemy of the wicked, the defender of the good, the peace-bringer, conquer for himself either on land or sea!"

This conception was not peculiar to Seneca but was at that time common to all pagan sages. Epictetus speaks of his sonship to Zeus and says: "He knew that no man is an orphan, but that there is a father always and constantly for all of them. He had not only heard the words that Zeus was the father of men, for he regarded him as *his* father and called him such; and looking up to him he did what Zeus did. Therefore he could live happily everywhere."

\* See the author's *Bride of Christ* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1908).

This final conception of Heracles as the ideal hero, the god-man, the son of Zeus, is presented in Schiller's great hymn "The Ideal and Life" in the two concluding stanzas. And we may be sure that the German poet, perhaps the best representative of the religious spirit of classical antiquity, is not conscious of the similarity of the Greek hero with Christ. Their resemblance at any rate in this poem is unintentional. Schiller says:<sup>7</sup>

"Heracles in deep humiliation,  
Faithful to his destination,  
Served the coward in life's footsore path.  
Labors huge wrought he, Zeus' noble scion:  
He the hydra slew and hugged the lion,  
And to free his friends faced Pluto's wrath;  
Crossed the Styx in Charon's doleful bark;  
Willingly he suffered Hera's hate,  
Bore her burdens, grievous care and cark  
And in all he showed him great,

"'Til his course was run, 'til he in fire  
Stripped the earthly on the pyre,  
'Til a god he breathed Emyreal airs.  
Blithe he now in new got power of flight  
Upward soars from joyful height to height,  
And as an ill dream sink earth's dull cares.  
Glory of Olympus him enfoldeth;  
'Mongst the gods transfigured standeth he,  
From the nectar cup which Hebe holdeth  
Drinks he immortality."

Schiller touches on the same topic of Heracles as the divine saviour in one of the *Xenions* where Zeus addresses his hero son in these words:<sup>8</sup>

"Thou hast divinity, son, not acquired  
By drinking my nectar;  
But thy divinity 'tis  
Conquered the nectar for thee."

This idea does not quite agree with the accepted view according to which Heracles, being the son of Zeus, was born immortal. In the same way Jesus is born as Christ, but Schiller's idea of Heracles corresponds to the doctrine held by a fraction of the early Christians, which makes Jesus acquire Christhood by his saintly life.

The belief was quite common, especially among docetic Chris-

<sup>7</sup> For our version we have utilized an unpublished translation by the Rev. W. N. Guthrie.

<sup>8</sup> *Goethe and Schiller's Xenions*, p. 34.

tians, that Jesus became Christ at the moment of his baptism in the Jordan, and this was the original meaning of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon him. The Cambridge Codex of the New Testament (6th century) still preserves the old reading which is a quotation of Psalm ii. 7, and declares most positively that in this very moment Jesus becomes the Christ and is to be considered the son of God. The passage (Luke iii. 22) reads in the Cambridge Codex: "And the Holy Ghost descended into him in a bodily form as a dove; and there was a voice out of the heaven: Thou art my son; this day I have begotten thee."

When with the growth in a literal belief in dogmas this version was felt to be in conflict with the dogma of the virgin birth, the words, "this day I have begotten thee," were changed to, "in thee I am well pleased," but in the epistle to the Hebrews (i. 5) the passage is still quoted in its original form.

The ideas of the acquisition of Christhood by Jesus and the birth of God the Son from eternity, need not contradict each other, as we learn from Buddhism, where the Bodhi (i. e., "enlightenment") is an eternal condition of the world-order, and Gautama acquires it by his virtues and his wisdom. The Bodhi is personified as the Eternal Buddha, corresponding to the Christ who says of himself, "Before Abraham was, I am." In a later version this Buddha of Eternal Bliss lives in the Tusita heaven and decides to descend into the womb of Maya, for the purpose of salvation, just as Christ is born through Mary as the child Jesus. Buddha is not born as Buddha, but as Bodhisatva, viz., a being that is destined to develop into a Buddha. He possesses the potentiality of acquiring the bodhi and he then actually acquires enlightenment under the bodhi tree.

The same story of the incarnation of the Saviour God, of a supernatural fatherhood, of great merits etc., is told of Krishna, of Horus, of Samson, of Zeus, of Dionysos, and of every other hero and god-man. These stories are repeated everywhere and the figure of the saviour is more and more idealized and spiritualized as civilization progresses.

The same process of idealizing and spiritualizing the figure of a saviour went on in all pagan countries in the Orient as well as in the Occident. As we trace the several steps in the Heracles myth, so we are confronted with the same result in the Orient. In India the process was indeed faster, or may be it was begun earlier. In the ancient Brahman religion we meet with the deified Krishna, the rollicking hero, the lover of sport and dance, the saviour from oppression and the bringer of joy; but his type is supplanted in the

fifth century B. C. by a new and a higher ideal, suggested by the respect for wisdom, for enlightenment, for *bodhi* or gnosis. The people now looked forward for the incarnation of profound comprehension and perfect virtue, a sage; and the development of the thought reaches a climax in the Buddha-conception which justly commands the admiration of Occidental students of Orientalism. The life of Gautama Siddhartha was shaped under the influence of these conditions, and Professor Fausbøl, the great Danish scholar, used to say, "The more I know of Buddha, the more I love him." We need not ask in this connection whether Buddha is historical or no,—just as little as we need care whether the details of the life of Jesus are historical. It is the ideal which exerted its influence in the history of mankind as a formative presence in the hearts of the people, and we know that this living ideal has been a most potent factor in history; the transient figure of the man in whom it was either supposedly or truly actualized is of secondary importance. Nor do we care here to trace historical connections; we are confronted with a law in the history of religious thought. So for instance the Buddha ideal (or if you prefer, the historical personality of the Buddha) has been worked out on pagan ground in perfect independence of other ideals, such as the Christ ideal of the Christians and the spiritualized figure of a Heracles among the Græco-Romans.

#### PAGAN PARALLELS RECOGNIZED.

We know little of the later period of the Babylonians, but we have a rich literature of the religion of Zarathushtra which originated in ancient Iran and was embraced by the Medes and Persians, the Aryans who resided among the Semites and for some time dominated the Orient with great ability.

The religion of these Aryan people is a most remarkable faith which was destined to play a great part in the world. It entered the Græco-Roman world in the shape of Mithraism and it anticipated the dualism of Neoplatonism by two or three centuries.

We deem dualism to be a necessary phase in the development of religion and think that it contains a truth which finds its solution but not its abolition in a subsequent monism. There is a duality in the world which cannot be denied, although it can be solved in a higher unity and thus be explained as two sides of one and the same process. Existence originates through the contrast of duality, and thus only can it manifest itself in multiplicity. This truth remains

true even when we have succeeded in reducing it to a monistic conception.

Even orthodox Christians who still adhere to a literal belief not only of the dogmas but also of the historicity and uniqueness of a special revelation, have to recognize as soon as they know the facts the similarity of the pagan saviours to the Christ of the Christians. Here is a remarkable instance and it is interesting to note the explanation offered for this coincidence. Commenting on Dr. Hugo Radau's brochure, *Bel the Christ of Ancient Times*, Rev. Alan S. Hawkesworth, the author of *De Incarnatione verbi Dei*, says:\*

"The general conclusion is the by no means startling one, that the men of ancient Babylon felt the very human need for comfort and hope amid the ever present grim facts of suffering and death; and thus created for themselves in their own image, as they must needs have done, a redeemer who should conquer death and hell and bring to weary souls redemption and immortality.

"This, we say, is both as it should be and as it must be in all ages and among all races. The Egyptians had Osiris, their suffering redeemer. Greece and Rome had the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries and Mithras. The Aztecs, the Incas, and the primitive American Indians all had quite similar faiths. And were we to hereafter discover a hitherto unknown hyperborean race, we may be confident that whatever philosophy and religion they may have created, will be along these age old lines. For its roots lie, ineradicably, in the fundamental needs and aspirations of man.

"And it is a familiar commonplace of Catholic theology, that it was this universal desire for and expectation of the Man-God Redeemer, that imperatively demanded and necessitated its fulfilment in the Incarnation of Him, who was "the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world"; and the "Desire of all nations." So that here as in lesser cases prophecy, whether heathen or "revealed," was merely insight into what by dire necessity had to be. And Christianity, therefore, is not, as Puritanism heretically conceived, an artificial "scheme of salvation," foisted upon an unwilling and utterly alien world. But is, on the contrary, the *Catholic faith*, which summarizes, completes, and makes secure all the various partial broken insights and wavering desires for good, in the heathen religions and philosophies; which heathen faiths are indeed, by their very nature, nothing more than the instinctive gropings of men after truth and God, if "haply they might find Him." They had faults and defects unquestionably,—many and obvious. But these, in

\* For Mr. Hawkesworth's review see the April *Monist*, p. 309.

nearly every case, were simply the defects of imperfect insight springing from the unavoidable limitations imposed by racial capabilities and environment. In short, they were "right in their assertions, but wrong in their negations." So that Christianity comes, as the Catholic faith, not to destroy, but to *fulfil*,—and to fulfil not merely Judaism, but all the other ethnic beliefs; and only supersedes, because it so fulfils.

"Hence, not only Bel, but all the gods of the elder world were in a very real sense the "Christs" of their several times. And, in each and every case, much of their mythology and doctrines can be paralleled by something in Christianity,—indeed, must be paralleled, if that is to be the final truth.

"But to turn this the wrong way about, as some may seek to do, and claim that Christianity is therefore nothing better than a revamped Babylonianism, or Buddhism, or Parseism, as the case may be, is surely to woefully misread the story! It is quite as if some one claimed that the events in American history were by no means new, but were word for word, and act for act, not merely similar in some respects to, but identical replicas of the words and events in Babylonia 8000 years ago!"

Mr. Hawkesworth is a scholarly High Church Episcopalian; who in a private letter characterizes himself as "Broad, Evangelical, High Churchman. Broad, but *not* Latitudinarian; Evangelical, but not Platitudinarian; and High, yet not Attitudinarian." It is instructive as well as interesting to know the opinion of a man of this type, with special reference to many curious similarities that obtain between the ancient paganism and Christianity. He says in his letter:

"I may say, too, that my statements, in my review of Dr. Radau's book, concerning the heathen gods and religions, were not my individual opinions merely. If they were, they would have but little value on such a subject. But they are rather the commonplaces of all orthodox theologians. And when I say 'orthodox,' I, of course, do *not* mean what is frequently understood by the term in America; namely an ill assorted 'hodge-podge' of Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Revivalist 'doctrine.'

"Not only St. Augustine, but St. Athanasius, and *all* the Church 'Fathers,' and later 'Doctors'—like St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. John Damascene—taught the doctrine I mention.

"The Hegelian pulse of 'sub-lation,' in his logic, by which each category develops its latent contradictions, collapses; and is then restated in a revised, truer, and more ample form; thus 'fulfilling,'



and by so fulfilling, thereby abrogating the previous categories; is precisely the way that Christianity fulfills and abrogates all the partial ethnic faiths.

"Thus, 'becoming' has all the truth in, and reconciles the contradictions in 'Pure Being,' and its equally valid opposite, 'Pure Nothing.' But, in its twofold form of 'coming to be' and 'ceasing to be,' it unfolds contradictions of its own, which are, in turn, subsumed and sublated in '*Daseyn*'—. But, you know the march of that wonderful dialectic.

"And furthermore; even as each of the more perfect categories, yet needs the previous incomplete and faulty categories as a prerequisite underpinning (so to speak), so also does the Christian Catholic Faith imperatively need, because it is Catholic, the preceding Jewish and Heathen Faiths. St. Clemens Alexandrinus, and the other Fathers, say that, not merely the Jewish, but all the Heathen Faiths, were 'schoolmasters' (*παιδαγωγοί*) to bring men to Christ.

"Preaching the Christian faith to a people who never had had any religious ideas, would surely be like talking 'Calculus' to savages ignorant of elementary arithmetic! Christianity presupposes the inbred belief in sin, atonement, and redemption. It is inbred, because all religions have it, more or less. And all have it, because of the fundamental facts of life.

"After all, a 'heathen'—or 'countryman,' *paganus*—is simply the natural man and the Christian is, or ought to be, the natural man of the '*n*th power,'—the ideal man. Even as the Christian priest is all that the Christian layman is, and more; and the bishop all that the priest is; and so on.

"I would like to put the argument in a quasi-mathematical form, like this:

"Many Christian doctrines = Many Babylonian doctrines, say.

"Now this equation, as it stands, might have the orthodox interpretation that Christianity is perfected 'Babylonianism.' Or it might bear the interpretation that Christianity is merely a rehashed Babylonianism. But the same equation holds even more truly for *all* the other religions, none of which have, in general, things in common with each other. For

|              |   |                            |
|--------------|---|----------------------------|
| Christianity | = | Parseeism,                 |
| "            | = | Egyptian secret doctrines, |
| "            | = | Confucius,                 |
| "            | = | Buddhism,                  |
| "            | = | Judaism,                   |

and so on.

“So we might say that Christianity is the  $\Sigma$  or Sfmation of the Infinite Series.

“Finally, it is not the dead showcase of beetles and butterflies (so to speak), like the Eclectic systems of the neo-Platonist, and modern Eclectics; but is a vital and living organism. All the partial truths in the various faiths being integral and coherent parts in a vital whole. It cannot be the rehash of any one for it reproduces *all*. And it cannot be simply the eclectic rehash of *all*; for it holds their doctrines in living coherent unity.”

I quote the letter of Mr. Hawkesworth *in extenso* because it sums up the orthodox Christian view in the tersest way I have ever seen, and it proves that consciousness of the continuity between Christianity and its pagan predecessors is still alive among many well-informed theologians. The statement is the more noteworthy as it reached me after the completion of my own essay. I insert it simply as a witness, and it is not astonishing that this testimony comes from an Episcopalian, for the Episcopalians have always distinguished themselves by their love of preserving historical connection.

It is true that the pagan saviours are prototypes of Christ and the pagan religions are prophecies of Christianity. This is as natural as the experience that the bloom of a tree finds its fulfilment in the matured fruit.

We do not mean to philosophize here, but we insist on the necessity of the historical law which is strictly regulated by the broader law of cause and effect, and which renders it necessary that every new phase in the development of mankind should be prepared by its precedents. The continuity of the process is nowhere broken, and when a new era begins which seems to change the entire appearance of mankind it will be found to have been gradually prepared below the surface of events.

Christianity was prepared in those parts of the world where it was destined to prevail—among the Gentiles and especially the Aryan nations. All our studies in the history of the several pagan religions and the results of comparative religion point in the same way and our scholars have frequently been puzzled by the facts. As a remarkable instance I will quote Prof. Lawrence H. Mills, the great Zend scholar of Oxford, a theologian of high standing belonging to the Church of England. He says in the introductory comments to his most recent essay entitled “Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia”:

“What is here intended is to call attention to the better-known,

though long since reported fact, that it pleased the Divine Power to reveal some of the fundamental articles of our Catholic creed first to the Zoroastrians, though these ideas later arose spontaneously and independently among the Jews."

Professor Mills insists on the independent origin of the same ideas among the Jews of the exile who as we may well assume came into close contact with Persians and gained their confidence to such an extent that Cyrus, the Persian king, on his accession to the sovereign power of the Babylonian empire reestablished the exiled Jews in their old home at Jerusalem. I will neither deny nor insist on an independent development of the same ideas; there are enough instances of parallel formations in history to render it possible in the case of the Jews. Professor Mills continues:

"I wish to show that the Persian system must have exercised a very powerful, though supervening and secondary influence upon the growth of these doctrines among the Exilic and post-Exilic Pharisaic Jews, as well as upon the Christians of the New Testament, and so eventually upon ourselves."

Now the truth is that the saviour-idea developed more rapidly and reached a higher plane among the Gentiles than the Jews. While the Persian Mithras is very much like the Christian Christ, a superpersonal presence of preeminently moral significance, the Jewish Messiah remained for a long time on the lower level of primitive paganism, a national hero who was a ruthless conqueror and gory avenger of his people. How crude still is the Messiah of Henoah! But even here Gentile influence can be traced. And it is noticeable that the Jews of the Dispersion developed a nobler ideal of the Messiah than the Jews of Judea.

It can not be denied that when they translated the word Messiah into Christ, the very substance of the idea imperceptibly changed and incorporated many features of the idealized saviour-conception of the Gentiles. Such was the Christ of the first century B. C. among the Jews of Alexandria.

#### THE CHRIST OF THE REVELATION.

A most important witness of the transitional phase through which the Christ ideal passed before it became the Christ of St. Paul, is found in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, chapters xii and xix, 6-21. Gunkel has pointed out<sup>10</sup> that the author of this description of the appearance of Christ, though he calls him Jesus,

<sup>10</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos.*

knows nothing of Jesus's birth in Bethlehem, nor of the Sermon on the Mount, nor of his crucifixion, nor of his resurrection. The Jesus of St. John is not a man, but a god. The report of his life is not a human story but mythology; it is not enacted on earth but in the universe, mainly in the heavens; his antagonist is the great dragon who with his tail draws down the third part of the stars. The mother of Jesus is not Mary, the wife of Joseph, the carpenter, but a superhuman personality clothed with the sun and having the moon at her feet, and wearing upon her head a crown of twelve stars, emblems of the twelve constellations of the zodiac. The dragon is dangerous even for the Celestials and the newly born Saviour has to be hidden from him and protected against his wrath. But he is overcome by the Lamb, or as the Greek text reads, by the young ram,<sup>11</sup> the sacrifice in which the saviour-god offers himself in the form of the animal sacred to him. We quote this remarkable chapter in full (Rev. xii):

"And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars and she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

"And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.

"And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

"And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.

"And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.

"And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven.

"And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

"And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of

<sup>11</sup> ἄρνιον.

Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night.

“And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.

“Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.

“And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man child.

“And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

“And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.

“And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.

“And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.”

The subject of the saviour-god who dies in the shape of a ram is continued in chapter xix, verse 6, where he victoriously reappears from the underworld to celebrate his marriage and is greeted by a great multitude of worshipers. We quote again in full:

“And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

“Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

“And to her it was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.

“And he said unto me, Write, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God.

“And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellowservant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

"And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

"His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself.

"And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God.

"And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

"And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

"And he has on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.

"And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

"And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

"And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

"And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh."

This is not the meek Jesus; this is the Babylonian hero, a king of kings, who crushes his enemies and rejoices at the horrors of the battlefield. The redactor of the story is a Jewish Christian but the body of the legend has remained pagan and still bears all the symptoms of mythology.

Obviously this fragment is the echo of a Christianity which was quite different from that of the Gospel as we know it and it is scarcely probable that the author of these passages had ever seen any of the three synoptic Gospels, or even their prototypes.

If Revelations had not by some good chance found its way into the canon, the book would most likely have been lost and with it would have perished this valuable evidence of the existence of several rival Christianities, for we may assume that there were quite a number of such tentative formations of old traditions reconstructed in the spirit of the several authors.

#### WHY CHRISTIANITY CONQUERED.

We have seen that Christianity was not the only religion which claimed to be a world-religion and struggled for supremacy. There were several others, viz., neo-Platonism, Reformed Paganism, Mithraism, Mandæanism, Manichæism, Simonism, and a few others. We know that it had much in common with all of them including those features which we now would point out as typically Christian, especially the saviour idea and a belief in the immortality of the soul. We shall have to ask now what distinguishes Christianity from its rivals and we may point out a number of features that helped to advance its cause.

Of the several reasons which insured the final success of Christianity we will here enumerate the most important ones.

1. First in order in our opinion stands the human character of the Christian saviour which rendered the story of salvation realistic and made it credible.

2. Another point in favor of the personality of Jesus was his passion and martyr death. Nothing sanctifies so much as suffering. Compassion and sympathy are powerful emotions and make zealous converts.

3. Jesus was perhaps the only saviour who was not compromised by any relation to the old pagan gods.

4. It appears that the narrative of Christ's life especially in the form of the Fourth Gospel, is more sober than the story of any other saviour.

5. Christianity was less dualistic and less ascetic than most of its antagonists. We know that most of them, especially neo-Platonism and Manichæism were very stern in their psychology and ethics.

6. Another reason was the democratic, we might almost say the plebeian spirit of the primitive Church and the simplicity of its ritual which made religion immediately accessible to the masses of the people. The ancient mysteries communicated the revelation of their religious truths to a select class of initiates, and Mithraism

has preserved this feature which made its congregations resemble Masonic lodges with their several degrees.

7. We believe also that the cross of Jesus appealed to the mystic in whose mind still lingered the significance of crucifixion as an ancient offering to the sun, and who contemplated with satisfaction the contrast of the deepest humiliation of a shameful death to the highest glorification of the risen Christ. It will further be remembered that crucifixion was the death penalty of slaves and so the slaves saw in Christ a representative of their own class; but slaves and freedmen constituted an enormous part of the population of Rome and must have been a formidable power in the capital. The Crucified One was an abomination to the Jew, an object of contempt for the few aristocrats, but he was the brother of the lowly, the down-trodden, the slave.

There may be many other reasons for the supremacy of Christianity, but we will mention only one more, which may appear to be quite indifferent, but has, in our opinion, been extremely effective. This is the connection of Christianity with Judaism.

The Jews of the dispersion were ever present before the eyes of the Gentile world, and their very existence served to call attention to Christianity and to support its claims.

The theories and doctrines of the rival religions of Christianity appealed to things distant, to abstract ideas and seemed to hang in the air, while Christianity could produce living witnesses in the shape of the Jews. The Jews contested the conclusions which the Christians drew from their literature, but they did not deny the main facts in question and supported the proposition that the God of Israel was the only true God who had chosen the Jews as the vehicle of his revelation.

The history of Israel was appropriated by the Christians, and at the very start the Jewish canon furnished them with a respectable literature which was both venerable by its antiquity, and imposing by the wealth of its contents. It took a man of uncommon scholarship to understand the Hebrew scriptures, let alone to refute the arguments based upon them.

It seems strange that Judaism which had originated in contrast to paganism and consisted in a denial of its salient doctrines, should be deemed the proper authority from which a paganism *redivivus*, which under the name of Christianity was destined to become the state religion of the Roman empire, should claim to have descended after the extinction of the old paganism. But the very



contrast in which Judaism stood to the ancient paganism rendered it fit to serve as a medium of purification.

Judaism repudiated the polytheistic mythology of ancient paganism, which had become effete among all classes of the Græco-Roman world. Now when a new religion, a monotheistic paganism, a purified religion of the Gentiles, rose from the ruins of the old paganism, it sought for an authority that could worthily father the new movement and justify its condemnation of the objectionable features of its own past. None seemed better adapted to this purpose than Judaism for the very reason of its hostility to the old paganism.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

## REVELATIONS OF AN EX-MEDIUM.

COMMUNICATED BY THE EDITOR.

[CONTINUED FROM THE FEBRUARY NUMBER.]

Having become an avowed spiritualist the hero of our account "discussed spiritualism at home and elsewhere whenever he found any one who would talk on either side of the question." Nevertheless on reading the reports of exposures in the newspapers, doubts arose in him which, however, he might have overcome; but most jarring on his budding faith were the seances given by amateurs and parlor mediums. The circles of these dilettantic performances disgusted him and he describes the occurrences, which he witnessed there, with much sarcasm.

He might still have given up his quest for the mysterious if he had not met with a representative of the profession of such a remarkable personality and polished manners that he was again attracted to mediumship. He became so passionately interested in the mysteries of these spiritual powers that he finally made up his mind to venture into experimenting with them himself even if it were merely for the purpose of getting at the truth of the matter.

We will let the ex-medium describe in his own words the seance which impressed him so deeply.

### THE SEANCE WHICH MADE ME A MEDIUM.

There came to the writer's city, during the year of '71, and after the time of visiting the circle just described a professional, traveling "test medium." In this instance I will give the name, for there is nothing to be said concerning him as a reason I should not. His name was Frank T. Ripley. A glance at the "Movements of Lecturers and Mediums," in the pages of the *Banner of Light*, to-day, will disclose his name. He is still doing business in the old line. He was to occupy the rostrum at the Spiritualist's hall four Sundays, afternoon and evening. A lecture at 2:30 p. m. and "tests" beginning at 8 p. m. The writer visited each lecture and test tournament. Mr. Ripley's professional work did much to strengthen his weakening faith.

The particular meeting that made a medium of him was on

Mr. R's third Sunday evening. A description of the proceedings on this evening will suffice for all, as they were all very similar. The festivities would open with singing by a choir, then Mr. R. would offer an invocation; then more singing. During the singing of the second song Mr. R. would make passes before his face and eyes with his hands, and his hands, limbs and body would twitch and jerk convulsively.

As soon as the singing ceased, he rose from his chair and came hesitatingly forward to the front of the rostrum with one hand spread open across his forehead and the other raised aloft and seemingly feeling for some object. Arriving at the front of the platform he stood some seconds in silence and then with a start his hands dropped to his sides and he began to speak, saying:

"I feel an influence, as though I were sinking in salt water. I am drowning. I have fallen from the yard of a vessel that is moving before the wind in mid-ocean. I had been sent aloft to make fast a brace that was playing through its thimble, lost my footing and fell. I have a brother in the audience. My name is ——, Does my brother recognize me?"

"He does, beyond any doubt," answered a gentleman in the audience, having the appearance of a working man. "If you are not my brother, you are some one who knows me and all the circumstances of my brother's death."

"Now," said Mr. R., "I see standing in the aisle beside you, sir," addressing a gentleman, "an old gentleman, with gray hair, gray eyes, one eye being sightless; he is bowed with age and has a cane on which is inscribed 'From —— to ——, his father, on his sixty-fifth birthday.' He says you are his son and the donor of the cane. He passed away about three years ago, of paralysis: Is what I have said correct, sir?"

"It is, sir, in every particular," declared the gentleman.

"Now," continued the medium, "there stands by you sir," addressing the writer, "a gentleman of apparently thirty years of age, tall, slender and lithe of form, with light hair, blue eyes, fine features and even, white teeth. He served a few months in the army and came home sick. He did not pass over through the sickness but was accidentally shot. He says his name is L—— A——, and that he is your uncle. That you mistook another spirit for him at a seance not long ago. He says to tell you that if you will sit for development in the cabinet you will get manifestations as wonderful as any you have witnessed. Do you recognize the person as the one he claims to be?"

The author could not have told the story better himself, and as everything he had said concerning him was correct, there was nothing to do but admit it as a fact.

After from ten to twenty of such tests the meeting would close. What would you think, reader, to sit in a public audience and have a man single you out and tell you all about some loved spirit relative, when it appeared impossible that he should know even yourself and much less your spirit friends.

The writer had been careful to take a seat in some remote part of the room and never enter or leave in company with his sister. He avoided an introduction to him and had never exchanged a word with him, arriving at his meetings at the last moment and taking his departure during the singing of the closing hymn. It was very satisfactory to him; but the memory of those private circles would present itself and he was in a quandary. One hour he would feel that there was a truth in it and the next he would declare to himself that it was all "bosh." Had the writer never come in contact with other than finished, professional mediums the chances are excellent that he would not have become an adventurer. It finally struck him that, in order to make certain of the truth of the matter, it would be the proper thing to sit for the development of a "mediumship" of his own. He would use every endeavor to obtain some "mediumistic" gift, and if he succeeded, that would finally and indisputably settle the matter. If he did not succeed he would, of course, have the same uncertainty about it as before he attempted his development. It would cost nothing but a small portion of his time, and even if it was a failure there would be no loss.

Having made up his mind to become a medium our author procured a cabinet and began seances for which his spiritualistic friends and supporters constituted the audience, but having gone into the business with honest intentions, the first seances were absolute failures, until he grew tired, and once having fallen asleep, his audience thought he had been in a trance. They expected great things, and he was anxious not to disappoint them. So he, at first perhaps without any deliberate intention of helping the spirits, caused some raps to appear. Says the writer:

"Nothing but raps occurred at this sitting and the sitters were much pleased that the raps had been made to answer their questions. This was looked upon as a decided improvement over the preceding sittings."

The incipient medium felt some pangs of conscience, but his pride and vanity prevented him from confessing that he had produced the raps and so he continued with his experiments. His friends took pride in the hope that a genuine medium, in whom there was no fraud, was developing under their very eyes, and they were confident at each little progress he made that they thereby gained unequivocal evidences of the truths of spiritualism.

We now let our ex-medium explain how it came to pass that he entered upon a professional career.

#### MY FIRST PUBLIC SEANCE.

At the next meeting of the "developing circle" each one was in a state of pleased expectancy, and some very intemperate predictions made as to the wonderful nature and vast amount of phenomena that would be presented. From the expressions of what was expected to occur, the medium was positive that there would be some disappointed sitters present after the seance. By no possible means could he fill the bill they had prepared in their minds and were so confident would be produced at this sitting. They appeared more anxious than the medium had ever been, even in his most impatient moments. However, after being bound, and this time in a manner different to the previous occasion, and in a way that created a healthy doubt in the medium's mind as to whether or not he would be able to free himself, the singing was begun. This time his hands had been tied to the front legs of the chair, at his sides, and there was no possible way to get them together. However, after a dint of hard work and much experimenting, he found his right hand free, and that the tactics employed on the previous occasion would restore the ropes to their original condition. He had been careful to place in the cabinet a chair that was sound in all its parts and would not creak with every movement, and he was enabled to work when the sitters were not singing. At this sitting raps were produced, the guitar twanged, louder than before, the tea-bell was heard to skip across the floor of the cabinet with considerable force, lights appeared at the opening in the cabinet, three or four at a time, and a message written, declaring that the development was progressing favorably, and signed Jno. King, control. At the seance previously witnessed by the medium, Jno. King was the control and seemed to be quite well appreciated by the Spiritualists present, therefore the medium, in this case, concluded he might as well have a control of favorable mention as not, as all that was necessary to procure him was to subscribe his name to the communications written. This he did and great was the pleasure expressed by the sitters, all of whom had attended the seances of the aforementioned physical medium. They were now positive that full-form materialization would be the ultimate outcome of the sittings, as Mr. King was identified with nearly every medium getting that phase of physical phenomena. On the gentleman entering the cabinet to inspect the ropes, he declared he smelled phosphorus, brimstone, or matches. The medium's heart

jumped, and he was sure that his manner of making lights was about to be exposed. However, it was passed by as probably being an odor induced through some chemical proceedings on the part of the spirits in producing the manifestations. That theory was accepted and restored the medium's peace of mind, but he swore to never make any further use of matches in producing spirit lights, but would find some safer way or dispense with them entirely. After a few more sittings of substantially the same manifestations, except the lights, and being secured with the ropes in a different manner each time, the lights were missed by the sitters and their absence remarked. The medium saw that he must either furnish lights in some way, or lay the previous ones open to suspicion. An idea struck him. He procured a flat, two-ounce druggists' bottle, and filling it about one-fourth full of water, cut the heads off about one hundred parlor matches and dropped them in. When the composition was dissolved he poured off the water, saving it, and threw away the bits of pine left in the bottle. He now returned the brown fluid to the bottle and corked it. After labelling the bottle "Cough Medicine," he put it in his pocket and sought a dark closet to see how his "cough medicine" would work. Getting into a dark place he took the bottle from his pocket and was not disappointed to find that it was not at all luminous, and of course a failure. However, he thought he would smell of it and see if it would have passed for a cough mixture in odor as well as appearance. What was his surprise, on admitting a little air, in the effort to extract the cork, to have the bottle become a beautiful yellowish luminous shape. Ha! now he could furnish all the lights they wanted without any betraying odor being able to fill the cabinet or escape into the room. He actually exulted over the success of his experiment and was as pleased as though it was an invention for some useful purpose and would win for him fame and fortune. Really, it has won fame of a certain kind, and money enough to travel and live comfortably upon. But he did not yet know of the possibilities of his "cough medicine," and in the course of a few months had discovered a way in which to produce a great deal of interesting phenomena with its aid that was new to most Spiritualists. Try it, reader—you will be astonished at the results you can obtain from a bottle of this "cough mixture," a white handkerchief and a dark room. More concerning it presently. After having been tied in several different ways and easily freeing his right hand and replacing it so as to present the appearance of not having been removed or tampered with, the medium began to have a pretty good opinion of his abilities to

deceive, and a feeling of pride in his deceitful work took possession of him. By this time it had become noised about the city that some wonderful manifestations were occurring through him under test conditions, and many persons were clamoring for admission to the circles. It was denied them on the ground that to admit strange "magnetisms" at this juncture would have a tendency to retard the progress in development. So many of them importuned so lustily and incessantly that it was finally agreed that the sitters would ask Mr. King, the control, and be guided by what he said. Accordingly, at the next sitting Mr. King was approached on the subject with the following question:

"Mr. King, do you favor the admittance to our circle of persons other than the regular members thereof?"

The medium being anxious to see what would be said of the manifestations by others than his developing sitters, caused Mr. King to reply that they could admit four at the next sitting, two ladies and two gentlemen. They were to sit by themselves, in a row back of the regular sitters. One of the strangers would be permitted to do the tying. One of the ladies then asked Mr. King if he did not think it would be the fair thing to charge them an admittance of twenty-five cents for wear and tear on the carpets. Mr. King, after thinking a few moments, said he thought that would be about right. The medium knew his manifestations did not compare at all with those he had witnessed, but that they were worth one-eighth what was asked for the better ones, besides, since burying his conscience he was of the opinion some one, other than himself, should pay the funeral expenses.

The night arrived and with it the four persons privileged to attend. They were Spiritualists, all of them, but exercised the privilege granted of making an examination of the cabinet.

As the medium did not invite an investigation of his pockets, none was made. A twenty-five cent medium could not be expected to submit to such indignities and reflections on his uprightness. The hour for the seance to open arrived and the medium seated himself with the ropes in his lap in front of the curtains. One of the regular sitters assumed the management of the seance and announced that either of the gentlemen strangers would be permitted to bind the medium in any manner he chose. After some hesitancy and protestations that neither of them cared whether the medium was tied or not, one of them came forward and undertook to make him fast.

The medium had learned a thing or two about this time about stealing some of the slack of the rope for future use, while being

tied. By sitting well forward on his chair when the ends of the rope were made fast to the back rung, he could, by sliding back in his seat afterward have the use of as much slack rope as any ordinary unselfish medium could wish. The coat falls close up to the back of the chair, thus hiding a move of that kind.

When the wrists have been tied and are being drawn down to the knees, to the chair-legs or together at the back, one twist of the hand, and, consequently the two ends of the rope, and by a reverse twist, when the time arrives, you have all the slack you need, or you should go out of the business.

There is never any occasion to free but one hand. It will astonish you to know what a number of things you can accomplish with one hand, your mouth and elbow. If you fail to get in the twist do not allow it to disconcert you, and result in your being helplessly tied. But, if they proceed to tie your hands to your knees, sit up straight, thus compelling them to tie around the fleshy part of the leg. All you have to do to obtain the coveted slack is to lean forward and force your hands toward your knees where the leg is much smaller and the slack is yours to command.

If they proceed to tie your hands to either the front or back legs of the chair and you do not have an opportunity to twist on them, without their observing, which sometimes happens, sit very erect and shorten your arms by not allowing them entirely to straighten and by elevating your shoulders as in shrugging, thus making the distance from the point on your wrist where the rope is tied to the top-most rung about four inches. It will always be their endeavor to tie below the top rung around the leg. By slipping down in your seat you ought to have all the slack you could possibly make use of. If they are tying behind you, turn the inside edges of your hands together, and when they make the ends fast to the bottom rung, or any point below the hands, sit up straight, drawing the hands up just far enough to avoid it being observed, and there will be plenty of slack. You can, by reversing the tactics used to free yourself, get back and leave every rope taut and drawing by giving an extra twist to the ropes where they pass around the wrists. Never furnish a soft, cotton rope or you are a "goner" except your hands will permit of your drawing them out of any loop as large as your wrist. Even if you succeed in doing that you cannot possibly get back again. The fact of the matter is, if you practice a few weeks, it will be an exceedingly difficult matter to tie you so that you cannot readily get out. More on this subject later on. As a matter of course, there are very few experts at tying and the gentle-



man who tied the medium on this particular occasion was no exception to the rule, and before he had finished his undertaking to his satisfaction, the medium was as good as free. Before he reached his seat the tea-bell was violently ringing and the guitar sounding. Now a hand was thrust out at the opening and the fingers snapped. The trumpet was thrust out and an unintelligible sound made through it. One of the gentlemen strangers mistook the sound to be the word William and exclaimed: "William, is that really you come to see your old father?"

"Yes," replied the horn, and the old gentleman stated it was the first time he had been able to get his son's name through a medium.

Once more the medium made a noise through the horn that could be mistaken for Charles or Clarence or almost any name beginning with C, and again was it recognized as a son, this time of one of the lady strangers. She mistook the sound to be Clarence. The horn was dropped, and a communication written from Clarence to his mother. It proved satisfactory, and the medium concluded that was tests enough for the initial seance. An examination was now made of the condition of things in the cabinet, and the gentleman who did the tying stated that he was positive the ropes were in precisely the shape he had left them. Mr. King now requested that the room be made dark, as they desired to illuminate their hands. The lights were turned down and a screen put between them and the cabinet. The medium brought forth his "cough medicine," and after wrapping his handkerchief about it to conceal the shape of the bottle, gave it a dash up and down the front of the cabinet. This light was different from the former ones, being the size of a man's fist, while the first ones had been only small specks. The lights were the hit of the seance, and drew forth many expressions of wonder and delight. Especially were the regular sitters delighted. After showing the light three or four times, always in motion, he loosened up the handkerchief, making it stand away from the bottle on all sides, thus producing a light about the size of a human head. This he slowly pushed through the opening in the cabinet and allowed it to stop a few seconds and then he drew it back and put it away. The sitters now claimed that the last light was a human head and face, the features being distinguishable. It was set down as a case of etherialization, as they declared they could look right through it, and see the curtains behind it. One gentleman, a doctor, declared he could see the whole convolutions of the brain. Thus they helped out the show with their imaginations and made a reputation for the medium.

Another examination was made of the ropes and all pronounced satisfactory, another song, the medium is untied and the seance is at an end. Many were the congratulations received by the medium over the progress made and the wonderful manifestations just received. The strangers paid their admission fee and expressed themselves as well pleased that so wonderful a medium was being developed right there in the city, and they should not have to depend upon traveling mediums when they wanted communication with their friends.

After his visitors had departed, the medium took the dollar from his pocket and wondered what he should do with it. He had made up his mind, now, to become a professional medium, and concluded he would keep it for the purchase of articles he would require in his business. Since his sitters had mistaken his handkerchief for a human face, he had an idea that he could provide something that would not require so much of the imagination to make it appear a face, and to that use was put the dollar received at his first public seance.

Repairing to a toy and novelty house he purchased one of those wire gauze masks, which would permit a light to shine through it. This he trimmed down until it could be put into the breast pocket, and yet enough remained to make quite a good spirit face. By putting this mask in front of the luminous handkerchief a luminous face and head was presented. It was bald of course, until he discovered that with a small piece of black cloth he could put hair on the gentleman. The wire mask has been recognized by dozens of persons as fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, cousins, sweethearts, wives, husbands and various other relatives and friends. None but the medium knew that it was only a fifty-cent wire mask, hence none but the medium could enjoy the humor of the occasion.

His fame rapidly spread now, and the people became even more clamorous than before to get in. His first sitters had gone away and told wonderful stories of the strange phenomena they had witnessed at the seance, and it went from one to another until it appeared the whole city knew of it and wanted to witness it for themselves. The medium concluded that now was the time to make it pay in that particular city if he ever intended to attempt it. Accordingly Mr. King was made to say that he would admit eight persons in future, and that the fee for admission should be fifty cents. He would also advise holding an additional seance on Thursday evening, each week. He also selected one of the regular sitters as master of ceremonies, who was to have charge of the

seances, without other recompense than the glory he could get out of the position. He was much pleased at the confidence manifested in his ability, and all that kind of thing, and accepted the position.

Our medium was now in the business for what there was in it, in a financial way, and for several months he had all he could do. By that time, not having been detected at his tricks, he was fully persuaded to undertake his mediumship as his profession and make his living with it. Articles had appeared at different times in the various Spiritualistic journals from the pens of those who had attended his seances, descriptive of what occurred and the conditions under which the seances were held, and the medium was in receipt of a number of letters, the writers of which were desirous of engaging his services as a medium in their respective towns. He gave up his position, had some cards printed and set out on his career of travel and adventure. He has been continuously on the road ever since that day, stopping nowhere more than a few days at a time, and having never as yet figured in an expose. To be sure his seances are very different from what they were when he started out, they improved each time he sat. He met many mediums the first year and from each gained the admission that they were frauds. They would also tell him who to look out for in the towns from which they had just come. His manifestations were pronounced "out of sight" by every medium who ever witnessed them, and many were the entreaties to tell them how it was done. He would not reveal the simplicity of his operations, however, as he did not want any opposition in his particular line, and having the reputation, now, of being one of the finest physical mediums in the country, did not care to have to share it with any one. He made it a point to learn all possible from the mediums which he met, but to give up nothing himself but what they already knew. By following up this plan of taking all the information possible and at the same time keeping a still tongue, he came to know the methods pursued by a great many mediums, which was of much use to him in his own work. He will say, just here, that of all the mediums he has met, in eighteen years, and that means a great many, in all phases, he has never met one that was not sailing the very same description of craft as himself. Every one; no exception.

Converts to a belief in the extraordinary power of mediums are made not so much through their feats in the cabinet and in seances as through the many mysterious communications of a personal nature which are the more wonderful as they are most striking when the medium is a perfect stranger whom they had never met before.

Our readers will remember that the subject of this sketch was most deeply impressed at the beginning of his career with the inexplicable tests that were given him at several seances. The acquisition of this power is related by him in the following chapter.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF MEDIUMS.

The one thing that puzzled him most was the source of the information he had regarding persons who were absolute strangers to him. How came he to know that Mr. and Mrs. E—— had a son Willie E——, and that he had owned a pony that the parents still kept and that the pony was called "Midget?" Whence came the faces that were recognized in every feature and spoke so certainly on subjects the medium could not possibly know anything about? How came he to know the names of my spirit friends and the names of members of my family not present? Even if he *did* know them, how came he to know that I was their relative? I had not had an introduction previous to the seance. When he would think of these things he would be fearful, for a time, that he was perpetrating these deceptions on his friends, and under the eye of his sorrowing spirit relatives, and was inviting all kinds of catastrophes to blight and ruin his prospects and life. Again he would explain the whole proceeding to his satisfaction as the result of mind-reading, and determined, within himself, to acquire that power if it were a possibility.

It was during the third year of the writer's travels that he became a member of an organization of mediums that discovered to him the manner in which the first medium visited by him came by the information he possessed regarding the writer and the writer's family. It was made clear to him, how, without any mind-reading powers, he could probably have given a test to every spiritualist or investigator in the city who had ever received a test prior to his visit to the city.

The writer was asked how he was fixed for tests, and had to admit he had none that he had kept track of. Well, the organization was for the purpose of keeping each other posted on tests in the territory in which we traveled.

The writer was not long in discovering that it was an excellent organization to belong to. He was supplied with all the tests known by from one to twenty mediums who had done the territory he intended covering, and was expected to make notes of any new tests he should discover.

You can see, reader, what an impression a medium so prepared could make in Cincinnati. He would have, say five hundred tests

for Spiritualists and frequenters of seances in a city of that size, and could give three or four to a dozen wonderfully accurate tests each night so long as he remained. Here is what a page of those note books looks like:

## FOR CINCINNATI, OHIO.

G. A. WILSON, (Merchant).

- Spt. Dau. Elsie—Died '76, age 14 mos. diphtheria, blonde, blue eyes.  
 Spt. Moth. Elenor Wilson—Died '67, consumption, age 56, dark.  
 Spt. Fath. Nathan E. Wilson—Died '71, pneumonia, age 64, light.  
 Spt. Friend. Andy Nugent, schoolmates at Oberlin, O.

S. O. WILBUR, Shoe Dealer.

- Spt. Son. Albert E., '74, lung fever, 19 years, blonde, only child. His parents keep his books and clothing. He is always described as a student, with book in hand. Good mark for private sittings.

R. B. YOUNG, rich.

- Spt. Dau. Alice E., aged 19, pneumonia, '79, upper front teeth gold filled. Extraordinarily long hair. Quite an artist, and one of her landscapes hangs in parlor in gilt and plush frame. Spirit painting of her in the sitting-room, that is kept curtained. She is an artist in spirit world. Supposed to have a son in spirit that had no earth life named Egbert O.  
 Spt. Son. Egbert O. never had earth existence, an inventor in spirit life and supposed to work through Thos. Edison. Is especially interested in electrical work.  
 Spt. Father. Robert B., Died '69, paralysis. Manufacturer of machinery, two fingers off left hand.  
 Spt. Moth. Sarah—died when he was a child.  
 Spt. Broth. James and Samuel.  
 Spt. Aunt. Lucy Wilkinson, Mary Wilkinson and Eliza Shandrow.

Remarks—A good marks for private seances at his home, and will pay well. Dead gone on physical manifestations and materialization. Will get up lots of seances. Agree with everything he says and you are all right.

A. T. YOUNGER.

- Spt. Son. Albert F., drowned under suspension bridge, May, '87. Sends message of greeting to Aunt Mary and Cousin Harry.  
 Spt. Fath. A. O. Younger, died '84 railroad accident in Illinois. Is looking for private papers supposed to have been left by him. Sends love to his wife Kate in Covington.

There, reader, is one page out of sixty-three similar ones all relating to Cincinnati Spiritualists and investigators.

Could you not go to Mr. Young, having arrived direct from Denver or the Pacific coast, and never having previously visited Cincinnati, and astonish the gentleman as to your knowledge of his family and affairs? Would it not be possible to give him a number of absolute, pointed tests?

Suppose you were giving a seance, and should put out a face. Nobody recognizes it. Mr. Young is in the audience. All that is

necessary to have a grand test out of the unrecognized face is to cause it to announce in a loud, labored whisper the name "Egbert O. Young. My father, R. B. Young is present."

If, as is sometimes the case, Mr. Young desires to make a still stronger test, he is likely to ask:

"How old were you when you passed over?"

The spirit now replies, "I had no existence on the earth plane."

"What are you engaged in on your side," continues Mr. Young.

"I am still working on electrical problems through Mr. Edison."

The spirit might now *clinch* the proof of its identity by saying:

"Grandfather Robert B. Young, and great aunt Lucy Wilkin-son are with me to-night. Uncle James Young has something of importance to say to you at first opportunity."

It may be that Mr. Young has heard nothing of the spirit Egbert for a year or a greater length of time, and on your causing him to manifest his presence, it being the first time you have met Mr. Young, and your first visit to his city, it is likely to place you high in the esteem of that gentleman.

As he is rich and in the habit of having private seances at his home and paying well for them, as you will learn by referring to the Y's in your note book, it is quite desirable that you make an admirer and champion of him. Many will be the twenty dollar seances given at his home by yourself, and frequently will you be called upon for slate-writing, if you are doing that phase at two dollars per writing.

If you are a close observer you will manage to pick up many new tests.

Where one is not a member of the mediums' brotherhood and finds it necessary to rustle for tests, there are many ways open for obtaining them. You know the names of a large number of the Spiritualists of the city in which you are stopping and by a dint of careful questioning, can learn the names of a great many persons who are regular attendants at the seances held by the traveling mediums.

Armed with a list of such names, make it your business to visit the cemeteries, and it is more than likely you will be able to pick up considerable information that will be useful to you before you leave the city.

It is always a fruitful piece of work to buy the back numbers of the newspapers of the city and carefully read all the funeral notices. The State Library will usually furnish you with much information regarding the old settlers and their history. Besides this you can usually pump tests from one Spiritualist or another by a

little fine work on your part. We will say you are in search of information regarding the friends in spirit life of Mr. Brown. You meet Mr. Smith, who is an intimate friend of Brown's, and after a little general conversation, say to him:

"The gentleman who was in company with you at the social last Tuesday evening, would make a fine 'medium.' I saw a great number of bright spirits about him. He must have a large number of friends or relatives in the spirit land. I think his father and mother were both with him the evening of the social. Have they ever told him he would make a physical medium, do you know?"

"I believe the mediums do tell him occasionally that he could develop a fine phase of mediumship. I do not know what particular spirit furnishes the information, although it is probably his father, who was quite a strong Spiritualist for many years previous to his death, and was the cause of many persons investigating it in his town in Ohio," replies Mr. Smith.

"Why, you don't mean to say Brown is a native of the Buckeye state?" exclaims the medium.

"Yes born and raised in Dayton, where his father died and his mother still lives with his sister," replies Mr. Smith, who is pumping wonderfully easy.

"I think I have heard of him or read articles from his pen in the Spiritual papers. His name was Ebenezer Brown, was it not?" queries the pumper.

"No, his name was Elijah," corrects Mr. Smith.

"Oh, yes; now I remember! Ebenezer Brown was from Pennsylvania," says the medium, "but Mr. Brown certainly has a host of friends on the other side, and death must have many times bereaved him."

"Yes; he has many relatives over there. He has four sisters and two brothers that I know of, and a great many uncles and aunts," states Mr. Smith.

"That is quite a number from his immediate family," remarks the medium; "there must have been some hereditary disease running in the family."

"I believe they all went with lung trouble," assents Mr. Smith, and the medium has learned enough regarding Mr. Brown to make it interesting for him when he visits his seance room or calls on him for slate-writing. He can now pump Mr. Brown regarding his friend Smith, with possibly just as fruitful results.

The medium's ear is always open for tests, and not one escapes him. Family Bibles and albums are very interesting books to him,

and if there are any children in the family he is visiting, he will await an opportunity and learn all the child knows regarding the portraits in the album.

A good way to keep posted as to tests on the Spiritualists is to subscribe for the Spiritual Journals and keep an alphabetically arranged scrap-book for the clippings you cut from them.

#### A MASTER AMONG THE MEDIUMS.

Having acquired the necessary skill to produce physical phenomena and having at the same time procured the connections by which he could give tests our ex-medium became a past-master in the art of spiritual powers. Here follows the description of his activity:

The writer was now "in it" all over. His seances were equally as wonderful as the one he had first witnessed. He could now have the instruments floating about in space over the top of the cabinet without visible support. He had also a guitar that would play on itself and was a wonderful instrument in more ways than one. It had, also, the small hole bored in the neck, for the music-holder. It *would* contain a music-holder, but was also useful for other purposes.

He could, without any danger of detection, permit a thorough search of his clothing and person for apparatus that might be accessory to his manifestations. He could produce full-forms with faces that could be recognized beyond doubt by various visitors to his seances. He could clothe his spooks with robes that appeared to have a great number of yards of material used in them, and still no piece of white larger than his handkerchief could be found about him. It had been long since his last lingering doubt, but what there *might* be something in it, had disappeared.

His guitar was an innocent appearing but wonderful affair. It was decorated by dividing the sides into small panels by gluing strips of ornamental moulding from top to bottom. The panels thus formed were further decorated by inlaid designs in pearls. One of the panels on the large end of the instrument could be displaced leaving an aperture sufficiently large to comfortably insert the hand and fore-arm. Inside it was arranged for holding various articles, in such a way as to be impossible of discovery except through the defective panel.

Besides this the machinery from a small one-tune spring music box had been affixed to the wood forming the top, just under the strings. Wind this up, set it in motion, take your reaching rod and insert it in the hole in the neck of the instrument, raise it into view, slowly turning it round and round and waving it back and forth,



and you present the strange phenomenon of a guitar floating in the air and performing a tune upon itself. It does not sound exactly as though the music was produced on the strings; but near enough so that the true explanation, or any explanation other than the one the medium is supposed to offer, has never been advanced for it.

In this guitar were kept the flowing robes with which the spooks were clothed. The robes were of white netting so very fine that enough of it could be compressed into a space no larger than an ordinary tin blacking-box to furnish a full evening suit for the largest spirit. Enough more can be carried in a hollow boot-heel to dress up a couple more with an abundance of clothing. In the other boot-heel can be carried an assortment of netting-masks with which to transform your own face a half-a-dozen times.

In the envelopes supposed to contain letters you have the water-color faces for completing the forms, when their relatives are in attendance.

If the reader is a Spiritualist, who has attended full-form materialization seances in New York, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles or New Orleans, he or she will say:

"Oh, pshaw! that don't explain it at all. I have never seen any materialization in which the explanation given would answer, in any way. In all the full-form materialization I have seen, the forms have come out from the cabinet, walked and talked with the sitters, and the medium could be seen sitting in his chair. I have seen as many as ten spirit forms out at one time and of different sexes and sizes. They were not all dressed alike by any means. You cannot stuff that down me as an explanation."

It may be possible that you have not visited the writer's seances in years past, but he gave scores of them just as have been described and he is personally aware of several others who gave the same manifestations, making use of the same apparatus and methods. However, he will come, in due time, to the class of seance, you *have* seen. He has participated in many a one. Mission Street in San Francisco, at one time harbored some very fine mediums, for full materialization. It is possible you have shaken the writer's hand at some of the full-form seances you have visited, and called him husband, father, brother, and, possibly sister. Many rich stories could be told by various mediums, did they dare open their mouths.

The apparatus just described is quite costly for the reason that you must go to the manufacturer to have your guitar made. It would be a very simple matter to remove a piece of the guitar so

that it can be replaced, but it is entirely another matter to so accomplish it that the instrument will not be ruined as to its musical qualities, and in such a manner as to avoid detection of the defect.

It must be so arranged that the apparatus concealed inside will be immovable and will not rattle, in handling the instrument, thus disclosing the fact that it is loaded. Seventy-five dollars will pay for an instrument that will be perfection in its way and defy detection under a most critical examination.

The shoemaker, for twenty dollars, will make you a pair of congress gaiters with hollow steel heels veneered with leather, by raising the insole of which discloses quite a roomy "cellar." Of course these shoes are to be worn only while at work.

The writer has also carried effective apparatus in his elegant gold watch. The watch was without a movement, and a watch only in appearance.

At one time in his career the writer ran afoul of one of nature's sharp newspaper men, in a southern city who proposed to stop all the horn manifestations given during one of his seances. He did not succeed in it, but tried to the best of his ability.

In order to stop the voice through the horn, he brought a horn of his own, and after the medium was tied, he produced a flask of wine and had the medium fill his mouth. After the manifestations on the horn, if any occurred, he was to spit out the wine, thus showing conclusively that the medium's voice was not the one heard.

Here is the means by which the medium beat the reporter's game. Freeing his hand, he obtained possession of the tea-bell. Turning it upside down, he emptied the wine into it and held it between his knees. It is needless to say that the horn put in its "best licks," and in addition a quick tune was performed on a mouth-organ. The wine was again taken into the mouth and spit out in the presence of the sitters including the reporter.

His conditions would not hold, and he went away wondering what *did* do the talking through the trumpet, anyway.

You must keep both eyes wide open if you would avoid all the impositions practiced by the slate-writing mediums.

Many persons will tell you that they have obtained slate-writing from the medium and besides furnishing the slates, which were screwed together, they were not out of their own hands a moment from the time they entered the medium's room until they reached home. They will also tell you that a list of questions secured between the slates were answered. Your informant will believe that every word he is telling you is the truth, for he has himself been

deceived. Don't laugh at his seeming gullibility, for were you to have the same experience he has passed through, it is more than likely you would be telling the same story. There are many men and women in the Spiritualistic fold who are just as intelligent as you may imagine yourself to be. It is only the fool who will deny the truth of any proposition when he is utterly ignorant on the subject.

It is very pleasant to *believe* that you do not stop in the grave, if you can; but a large majority of the people do not want to believe it any longer—they want to *know* it.

The writer has furnished positive proof of life everlasting to scores of skeptical minds that the church did not reach. It was very satisfactory proof to them but the writer knew just how much it was worth, and for his own satisfaction it did not fill the bill.

Our ex-medium never claimed supernatural powers. He left it to the audience to explain his mediumistic feats as they saw fit, and with this attitude he freely submitted himself to investigation by learned committees. But he exhibits a certain contempt for the intellectual abilities of these men who invented far-fetched explanations such as mind-reading and telepathy. His own statements are as follows:

#### A TYPICAL INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE.

Ordinarily, the physical medium is an artist in his line. He must be, else his calling is soon gone, and he must earn his bread in other and perhaps better occupations. If a man become at all clever in giving physical manifestations, he is assured of plenty of remunerative business, and can travel 'round the world and have his entertainment at the hands of Spiritualists, no matter in what country he may tarry. And just here it may be said that his entertainers would by no means be the people of the lower classes.

Those whose business it is to attempt an exposé of Spiritualism in order to please and gratify the desires of their congregations, or to create a little cheap notoriety for themselves make many gross misstatements regarding the believers and adherents of that religion. They are invariably depicted as a mob of "free-loving, licentious and bestial lunatics and criminals," and it is claimed that "the insane asylums and penitentiaries are overflowing with them." They are said to be "lean, lank and lantern-jawed, with clammy hands and long or short hair," as best suits the fancy of the speaker....

As to the morality of the Spiritualists, as a class, outside of the fraternity of mediums, it would prove a difficult task to establish their rating one jot below that of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic or any other denomination of Christians.....

Denunciation of the Spiritualists, as a class, will not answer for arguments against their philosophy, nor disprove one of the miraculous manifestations they will tell you they are receiving daily....

The writer, it will be seen, is especially disgusted with the rattletrap explanations offered by the learned gentlemen occupying pulpits in the churches of various denominations....

The writer during his mediumistic career was never heard to claim that his phenomena were the work of spirits, always dodging the question. However, he never objected to persons other than himself, calling it whatever they chose. His little speech before taking his seat in the cabinet being in these words:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: You are here to-night, and pay your money to witness and pass judgment on the phenomena presented in my presence—phenomena that have been occurring through *me* since I was eighteen years of age. I am not here to proselyte any one to Spiritualism, simply to present to your notice the phenomena that are described as wonderful by all who have witnessed them. I make no claims, and you are welcome to explain them in any way you choose after witnessing them. I will say that they are not the work of the Devil."

A sample verdict of a learned and scientific committee will be of interest here, as illustrating the far-fetched and absolutely ridiculous solutions of the physical phenomena, concocted and offered the hungry skeptic and churchman, by those who, through their intellectual capabilities and scientific attainments are supposed to be eminently fitted for the task they assume.

The writer had been giving seances in a Western city, for a number of weeks, in 1887. The phenomena produced at these seances had created considerable discussion and newspaper comment, besides converting quite a number of well-known, and a portion of them prominent citizens of the town. In a near-by city there lived and transacted business a preacher, of the Presbyterian persuasion, and a physician of great prominence and supposed learning in the sciences and wiles by which the ancient Prince of Black Magic, Cagliostro, produced the results that puzzled the wiseacres of his day and generation. These gentlemen concluded to form an "investigating committee" of a dozen persons, from among their large number of friends, choosing none but those gifted beyond the ordinary in intellectual attainments, or versed in some of the sciences that it was supposed would materially aid in disentangling the web of mystery surrounding this young man and his strange phenomena.

Accordingly, there finally was associated together the minister, who was noted for his scholarly sermons, disclosing a deep knowledge of many of Nature's laws and the isms and ologies that perplex so many of lesser learning and researches; the physician, who also bore a reputation for a profundity of information on subjects other than physics; a very popular lecturer on occultism, hypnotism and kindred subjects; two wholesale merchants of the city, who were blessed with extraordinary large bumps of self-esteem, with the perceptive faculties largely developed; and a state legislator, who had the points down fine, but withal a well informed individual. Each gentleman was accompanied by his wife, each of whom was accredited with a large share of brilliancy in an intellectual way. This composed the circle or committee of twelve, sharp and keen, who were to wrest from the blonde, hatchet-faced, gentle-eyed medium all his secrets, whether he would or no. One of the merchants was deputed to visit the medium and bargain with him for his services one evening, to be designated by himself. The visit was duly made, arrangements satisfactorily concluded and the medium was in for it. A few evenings after the merchant's visit found the medium in one of the drawing-rooms of the minister's residence, in the presence of the aforementioned dozen of investigators. The time set for the seance to open was eight o'clock. At half past seven the ladies withdrew to another apartment, and the preliminaries began by the minister saying:

"Mr. Smith," I call the medium Smith for convenience, "It is my duty to inform you that you were engaged for this evening for the purpose of more fully and carefully testing your claims than possibly has ever yet been undertaken. Will you submit to the means proposed to be used by us, in our work?"

"I will submit to everything reasonable, and do all in my power to aid your experiments," replied Mr. Smith, "but as to my claims, I will say that I make none whatever."

"We have understood that you are a Spiritualistic medium, for materialization and physical phenomena," pursued the minister.

"I believe myself to be equal to the best of them, and yet do not make any claims for the phenomena produced in my presence. I leave all conclusions and deductions to the investigators, and am satisfied to have them name it what they choose. What I do claim is that the phenomena are very wonderful and given under test conditions that make my participation in their occurrence, apparently one of the impossibilities. It is your business to discover whether I *do* have a hand in it or not," replied Mr. Smith.

They now searched his clothing thoroughly, and even took the precaution to explore his mouth and ears. After satisfying themselves that he carried nothing contraband, he resumed his clothing, the ladies re-entered the room, and he proceeded to arrange them in a semicircle, male and female alternating, in front of the cabinet, which was constructed by hanging a pair of heavy curtains across a corner of the room and making a cover to it with a pair of blankets.

The seance now began, it will be minutely described later on, and continued about one hour and a half, to a successful termination. Everything, including the medium, was examined every few minutes, by the learned gentlemen, who felt the pulse, took the temperature, and affixed some kind of apparatus on his limb for recording the muscular activity or contractions, pried into his eyes and mouth and conducted themselves very much as learned men are supposed to do in their experiments in quest of more light.

At the conclusion of the seance the ladies were a unit in declaring it as wonderful as the printed stories of the wonders worked by the fakirs of the Indies. The gentlemen held a conference of their own in one corner of the spacious apartment, in low tones, while the medium made mysterious passes about his own anatomy, presumably to aid in recovering the exhausted vital forces, expended during the seance.

After some thirty minutes had passed, the gentlemen, after making a last examination of the medium's condition, confided to him that they were positive that "the manifestations were not caused by the spirit-world at all." They also stated to him, in reply to an interrogation, that they did not think, in fact were positive, that he did not cause the manifestations knowingly, but innocently made the entire entertainment.

On being asked for an explanation, the lecturer on hypnotism unburdened himself in the following fashion:

"Our solution to the matter, and I, for one, would stake my professional reputation upon its correctness, is that you throw yourself into a self-induced, cataleptic trance, and, while in that condition, your soul-principle leaves the body and causes all the manifestations, causing the pictures hung on the walls twenty feet from the cabinet to rattle, and the piano to sound, besides the dozens of other manifestations occurring in and about the cabinet. Your soul principle can read our minds as easily as we could read a printed book, and that is the source from whence came the names given, of our spirit friends."

They expressed themselves as immeasurably pleased and satis-

fied with the seance and its results. There, reader, is an explanation of some really very simple operations, that are, in reality, more wonderful than the performance itself, even though it was produced through the agency popularly supposed to cause it. There is an explanation calculated to cause the medium to smile right out loud, every time he thinks of it.

Think of the aggregate of intellect there on that evening, using their every faculty to discover the true source of the manifestations, bringing in such a verdict.

It is the opinion of the medium of the occasion, that, in reality, they were convinced it was the work of disembodied spirits, but it would never do to admit it; hence the ridiculous explanation as the only respectable way out of it. It is only the medium who can enjoy these displays of brilliant ideas and profundity of the supposed profound men and women who undertake to unearth the true inwardness of our puzzling isms, for only the medium is absolutely certain they are wrong, and he alone could tell just how simple were the operations that befuddled the brainy man of science.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

## A WORD FOR ARYAN ORIGINALITY.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

WHILE not denying at all that words have been taken over from Egyptian into Greek, I nevertheless would modestly submit the following to show that Aryan languages are not so unoriginal as Hon. W. Brewer in his three articles since last spring attempts to present by a long array of Egyptian words, which he thinks may throw light on the origin of Greek and Latin words.

If the Greeks identified Aphrodite with Hathor, what has *hetaira*, fem. of *hetairos*, "companion," to do with Hathor? *Psyche* is pure Greek from *psychein*, "breathe," as *anima* from *animare* in the Latin. *Rex* is as indogermanic as can be, the root of that word occurring even yet in the modern Hindu *rajah*.

Likewise the purely Aryan "Jupiter" has nothing to do with the Egyptian *Egyptur*, the "great Egypt." All philologists connect the syllable *Ju* with Sanskrit *djause*, which root also occurs in Zeus or *Sdeus*, genitive *Dios*, the Iranic *deva* and its cognate *diu*, Latin *deus*, *divus*, *dium*, old German *Tius* or *Ziu*, whence our Tuesday and the modern Allemannic *Zistig*. And the meaning of that root is "heaven" and Jupiter is the "heaven-father." The Egyptian *da*, "to give," has nothing to do therefore with *deus*.

Dr. Carus has previously shown that *Natura* has no connection with Egyptian *netor*, divine. The Greek *paradeisos* and Hebrew *pardes* are generally acknowledged to come from Armenian *pardez* and Zend *pairidacca*. In deriving the word "Hades" the iota subscriptum must be taken into consideration, and the form *A-ides*, i. e. "the unseen," just as our "hell," is connected with the old verb *helan*, "to conceal." As we have a *Pro-metheus*,\* "forethinker," we have

\* According to Steinthal and others, "Prometheus" is connected with the ancient Indian name for the fire-drill, *pramantha*, though this derivation is rejected by more recent Sanskrit scholars on philological grounds. Even if this derivation would stand, it would speak for the Aryan originality of "Prometheus."



an *Epi-metheus*, "afterthinker," the second part of these words being connected with the root *math* or *meth*, occurring in the future and past tenses of the Greek verb *manthano*, "to learn, ascertain. I see no reason to derive it from the Egyptian *Perom*, "heaven-man."

I do not see how Hebrews could have ever hit on the play "Alexandros" as meaning the "lion-man." "Alexandros" means "a defender of men," just as there is the form in Greek *alexanemos*, "warding off the wind." And even if the Hebrews had no *x*, they could easily express the *x* in Alexander by the letter *kaph* combined with *samech*.

"Horizon" has nothing to do with Horus, but is the present-participle-form of the verb *horizo*, "to bound, define." And *orison*, from old French *orison*, has likewise no connection with Horus.

"Demeter" is persistently twice brought into connection with the Egyptian *Te-mut-ur*, "the great mother." But we doubt whether *De* is the same as *Ge*, "earth." Now any one who is acquainted with Grecian dialects, knows that *d* stands many times in Doric for the Ionic *g*, thus, Doric *dnophos* for Ionic *gnophos*, "darkness." Any good Greek dictionary will show this under article "Delta" and "Gamma." If *Da* and *De* in Doric means "earth," and we yet find the Doric vocative form *Damater*, who gives us a right to doubt even the Greeks themselves, who surely knew what their own words meant? That the Egyptian Temutur and Demeter are mythologically the same deities, I do not contest, but I contest it philologically. There is no necessity to say that the Greeks got their Demeter from the Egyptians. The old Teutons had their earth-mother Nerthus as well as the Egyptians and I suppose every people had such a deity. Mr. Brewer also connects Egyptian *Atef* with Latin *atavus*. Now the *at* in the Latin word is only another form for the preposition *ad*. We have in Latin *adnepos*, corresponding in the descending line of grandchildren to *atavus* in the ascending line of grandfathers. And what does Mr. Brewer say of such forms as *abavus*, *proavus*, *tritavus*, which all occur in Latin? Let us always remember that we must keep the word *avus*, "grandfather," apart from the preposition placed before it. If there is any connection between the Egyptian *Atef* and Indogermanic words it is in such children-sounds as, Greek and Latin *atta*, Greek *tetta* and *tata*, Swiss *aetti*, etc. Just as in the case of Greek and Latin, I have my serious doubts in regard to some Egyptian derivations of Hebrew words which Mr. Brewer produces. I am told that for the scientific investigation of Semitic languages Arabic has the same importance

as Sanskrit for the Indo-Germanic. But I will not enter into that here.

Philology may not be an exact science as Mr. Brewer says, but it is nevertheless not so inexact as he thinks. It has put up laws as exact as those of the natural sciences by which words can be traced to their origin, though it seems impossible. Just as the trained naturalist reads in the rudimentary organs of present living forms the remains of fully developed organs in their ancestors, so the trained philologist in present decayed word-forms sees the remnants of more developed forms far back in history. One of the first warnings scientific philology gives us is to beware of being deceived by similarity of sound in tracing a word to its origin. The ancients especially were deluded in this way, and very probably among them Herodotus also, to whom Mr. Brewer appeals. I fear Mr. Brewer has also been led astray too much by this delusion. Who would suspect any relation between the French *larme* and English "tear"? And yet philology traces both to the same source, namely that they are both connected with the Latin *lacrima* and Greek *dakry*, Gothic *tagr*, *lacrima* being only a later form of the older *dacrima*. Languages in the course of history have a tendency to phonetic decay. "Proximity of peoples," to use Mr. Brewer's words, will doubtless tend to exchange and borrowings of words, but "the consonance of words as a guiding rule" in tracing the origin of words is extremely misleading. To prove that a word is borrowed or that words in different languages are related to each other, more is needed than mere consonance of sounds. The strict laws of scientific philology, those of the shifting of sounds etc., are to be taken into consideration. How much consonance is there between the German *Pfütze*, "puddle," and the Latin *puteus*, "well"? And yet the former is borrowed from the latter and has assumed its present form in consequence of certain philological laws. Who suspects the relation between Greek *chen*\* and English "goose"? And yet both words have the same root and their difference of orthography and sound can be explained historically and scientifically.

\* χήν.

## THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

BY THE EDITOR.

ENGLAND and Germany, the two main representatives of the Germanic nations, are not only brothers according to blood but are also interrelated in their history, especially in the development of liberty in both religion and politics. The truth is that together with the United States of America they are called upon to establish an international policy of goodwill and peace on earth, and the sooner the leaders of these three most powerful nations would recognize their duty the better it would be for mankind.

Schiller, representing the good spirit of the German nation, echoes the deep-seated sympathy of his people with the liberty-loving spirit of England in his poem "The Invincible Armada" which we here reproduce in Bowring's translation:

She comes, she comes—Iberia's proud Armada—  
The waves beneath the heavy burden sigh;  
Laden with bigotry and chains, the invader,  
Charged with a thousand thunders, now draws nigh;  
And as she sweeps along in stately motion,  
With trembling awe is fill'd the startled Ocean.  
Each ship a floating citadel,  
Men call her "The Invincible!"  
Why should she boast that haughty name?  
The fear she spreads allows her claim.

With silent and majestic step advancing,  
Affrighted Neptune bears her on his breast;  
From ev'ry port-hole fierce destruction glancing,  
She comes, and lo! the tempest sinks to rest.

And now at length the proud fleet stands before thee,  
Thrice-happy Island, Mistress of the Sea!  
Mighty Britannia, danger hovers o'er thee,  
Those countless galleons threaten slavery!  
Woe to thy freedom-nurtur'd nation!  
Yon cloud is big with desolation!

How came that priceless gem in thy possession,  
 Which raised thee high above each other State?  
 Thyself it was, who, struggling 'gainst oppression,  
 Earn'd for thy sons that statute wise and great—  
 The MAGNA CHARTA—'neath whose shelt'ring wings  
 Monarchs but subjects are, and subjects kings!  
 To rule the waves, thy ships have prov'd their right,  
 Defeating each proud foe in ocean-fight.  
 All this thou ow'st,—ye nations, blush to hear it!—  
 To thy good sword alone, and dauntless spirit!

See where the monster comes—unhappy one!  
 Alas, thy glorious race is well-nigh run!  
 Alarm and terror fill this earthly ball,  
 The hearts of all free men are beating madly,  
 And ev'ry virtuous soul is waiting sadly  
 The hour when thy great name is doom'd to fall.

God the Almighty look'd down from his throne,  
 And saw thy foe's proud "Lion-Banner" flying,  
 And saw the yawning grave before thee lying,—  
 "What!" He exclaim'd, "shall my lov'd Albion,  
 And all her race of heroes, now so free,  
 Pine in the galling bonds of slavery?  
 Shall she, whose name with dread all tyrants hear,  
 Be swept for ever from this hemisphere?"

"Never," He cried, "shall Freedom's Eden true,  
 That bulwark of all human rights, be shatter'd!"—  
 God the Almighty blew,  
 And to the winds of heaven the fleet was scatter'd!"\*

\* These last two lines refer to the medal struck by Queen Elizabeth to commemorate the overthrow of the Armada, on which was the inscription—*Affavit Deus, et dissipati sunt.*

## THE BUDDHA OF KAMAKURA.

BY THE EDITOR.

**U**NDER the warlike Minamoto shogunate during the feudal days, Kamakura was the capital of Japan, but when the government passed into other hands it ceased to be a political center, yet it retained its significance as the home of historical recollections, antiqui-



ENTRANCE TO HACHIMAN TEMPLE AT KAMAKURA.

ties, venerable temples and quaint traditions which are so attractive to travelers. In Kamakura too stands the famous colossal statue of Buddha, grand in its noble simplicity, and beautiful from whatever side we may see it. Here are Shinto temples of national reputation



THE GREAT BUDDHA STATUE OF KAMAKURA.  
As seen from a hill.

among which is especially worthy of notice the temple of the war god Hachiman, the favorite deity of the Minamoto government.

Kamakura is not so much a city as it is a conglomeration of villages nestling in peaceful beauty among the wooded hills, and this natural attraction had made it one of the famous summer resorts of Japan.

The great statue of Kamakura represents Amitabha, the Buddha of Infinite Light. It was erected in 1252 of the Christian era in imitation of an older statue of the ancient Japanese capital Nara. Its height is forty-nine feet, and we can form an idea of its immense proportions when we consider that its mouth is three feet long.



THE TEMPLE OF NARA.

When a friend of ours, residing in Japan, sent us at our request a photograph of the Buddha statue at Kamakura we were surprised to note that the plate from which the photograph was printed must have been defective, for the picture shows an exhalation of light emanating from the head of the statue and rising above it into the air like a luminous vapor. It strongly resembles some photographs taken by a lover of occult phenomena in which the psychical emotions of the photographed persons can be seen in the shape of such luminous emanations curling and whirling when indicative of excitement, and peaceful and restful when denoting a dignified and calm attitude of mind. Our occult friends would insist that in this case the super-



THE NARA DAIBUTZ.





THE ORIGINAL NARA STATUE.

(Reproduced from Murakami's *History of Japanese Buddhism*.)

sensitive plate has been impressed with the spiritual atmosphere that surrounds the statue. We reproduce the picture without removing



THE BUDDHA OF KAMAKURA.

Front view.

the spot since tampering with the original would only spoil its beauty.

Because of its extreme antiquity the Nara Daibutz\* which the Kamakura Buddha is intended to imitate, must be sheltered against the inclemency of the weather. It has suffered greatly from the effects of time, and parts even of the face have been restored when decay made it necessary, so that the present statue no longer represents accurately the ancient famous original. Photographs of this statue are very rare, and usually very unsatisfactory, because the light is poor on account of the shelter which is built closely around it. Not without difficulty we have finally procured a photograph which was taken by Mr. William Nash of Ottawa, Illinois.

An ancient picture of the Nara statue is preserved in Murakami's "History of Japanese Buddhism" (Nippon Bukkyo Shi), a description of the ancient Japanese fanes, and being inaccessible in this country we here reproduce the illustration.

The Nara Daibutz is less accessible to visitors than the Kamakura Buddha, and on account of its unfavorable surroundings can not be fully appreciated. For this reason the Kamakura statue is better known both at home and abroad.

Visitors are agreed that the famous Kamakura Daibutz exercises a peculiar influence upon the spectator. It is an extraordinary and masterful piece of skill and the product of a deeply religious mind. It has a calming effect upon the soul and appears like a glimpse into the peaceful realm of Nirvana, soothing the sorrows of life, assuaging pain, and lifting us above the many tribulations and distractions of our daily trials.

\* Daibutz is the Japanese name for Buddha.

## DEITIES AND THEIR NAMES.

BY SIGMUND FREY.

**I**N the February number of *The Open Court* the Hon. Mr. Brewer has a very interesting article on "Names of Deity." I think every one will gladly agree with the author that like *lucus a non lucendo*, philology, or rather etymology, is very misleading at times. Consonant syllables and similar sounds may prove nothing more than that the various nations followed one and the same idea and in their articulations coined the same word as the expression of the same thought. When we find identical words for the same idea in different languages we must study first the history of each nation—its birth, its growth, the itineraries of its tradesmen and statesmen, and the nations with whom they mostly came in contact.

The greatest scholars have given up their researches for the origin of language as vain and hopeless, and we therefore would have to look for the special nation of hoary antiquity that was the most speculative, had first developed ideas and had evolved its language. Perhaps the narrative of the confusion of languages in the Bible points to the period and country when and where the origin of language took place. This is naturally to be understood of one group of tongues, for just as we distinguish the various tribes and nations with regard to race we must discriminate with reference to language.

There are but two stocks of language to be considered, the Semitic and the Aryan, i. e., Sanskrit. Greek and Latin both point by construction of words and grammar to their kinship with Sanskrit. If we find words and thoughts expressed in Latin and Greek which seem to have grown on soil other than that occupied by Semitic or Aryan nations, there are but two possibilities: either they were borrowed or they sprang spontaneously from the same ideas. Two examples may serve to illustrate. The Hebrew word *barakh*<sup>1</sup>

ברך<sup>1</sup>

ערוה<sup>1</sup>

means to adore, to bless, and to curse, so does the Latin *sacrare*. The Hebrew *Erzah*<sup>2</sup> from the root *arah*,<sup>3</sup> to make naked, to uncover, to overthrow, is the same as the Latin *arva*, private part. The Greek *ἀρόω*, to plough, is used by Sophokles (*Antigone*, 456) for coitus. Noteworthy it is that the rabbis use the word "plough" in the same sense; e. g., Midrash Bereshit XLIV, 3. Perhaps the Biblical use (*Judg.* xiv. 18) conveys the same meaning. If we find in Babylonian and Hebrew literature the same ideas and expressions, yea even the same words, Delitzsch and others may claim that the Jews borrowed, but how do we account for the fact that in Homer the same ideas appear as in the Bible, or that in Virgil the same utterances are found as in the Talmud? It can hardly be supposed that Homer or Virgil studied Bible or Talmud and were guilty of plagiarism or that the author or authors of Bible and Talmud read the *Iliad* or *Æneid*. There is but one inference to be deduced, namely that poets and philosophers of all nations, of all climes, having the same idea under consideration, come to the same conclusion, since the logical operations of the human mind work in the same lines.

All the tribes and nations had deities, spirits good and evil, and names for them ere they came in contact with each other. They may have added certain attributes, which they found ascribed to the gods of other nations and representing the same ideas as their home deities. Will we construe Zeus in Agamemnon's appeal (*Iliad* II, 412) and Jehovah in the similar invocation of Joshua (x. 12) as the *ilu Zur shamshu*, the Mar(u)duk of the Babylonians? Or will we claim that Ex. xv. 3 has reference to Ares or Mars?

Lexicographers note that Pharaoh is a Phœnicio-Semitic word (see Gesenius *s. v.* "pharaoh," and some Hebrew commentators to Deut. xxxii. 42). We know that Pharaoh is derived from *Phra* or *Ra*, the sungod of Lower Egypt. We know also that the first kings of Egypt were not named Pharaoh until at a certain period the priests found it advantageous for some reasons to substitute Phra and to raise him to the dignity of the chief god. Then we must investigate whether the name Phra assigned to the sungod is not derived from some other language. Some scholars affirm that the Egyptians were a Semitic branch. Some words seem to point to a Semitic source, for instance *Anoki*, "I" the same in Babylonian, Hebrew and many more.

I agree with Mr. Browne concerning Herodotus. If Herodotus tells us that some Greek gods are identical in name or attribute with the Egyptian deities, some Greek writers claim that Egyptian gods

are the counterfeit of their own deities; for instance Ptah is said to be their Hephaistos, etc. If Pausanias relates that he found traces of Silenos among the Jews in Palestine, and some maintain that the Shiloh in Gen. xlx. 10 refers to Silenos because vine is mentioned there, we refuse to accept the conclusion for many reasons. Morgan in his *Ancient Society* proves conclusively that the Iroquois Indians had the same religious ceremonies and social institutions as the Greeks and other nations of antiquity of whom the aborigines of America never heard and with whom they never were in touch.

Therefore I do not agree with either Mr. Browne or the Hon. Mr. Brewer with regard to Mars. Mars and Mar(u)duk are as much related to each other in name as an apple to a pineapple. It seems to me that Mars is an evolution of *Mavors*, "war, deeds of arms." Aron Berith (not Barith), Ark of the Covenant, cannot be in any relation to the Egyptian *Bari* as it has been suggested that the Hebrew *Berith* means "banquet," and the Covenant was considered by the ancient Hebrews as something that is living and not something that is dead. *Le'h-le'hi* does not anywhere in Hebrew appear as "shining" or "rays."

With regard to "Allah" the Hon. Mr. Brewer is decidedly mistaken. The word originally is 'ilah. *Alif Lām Hā*, not *Chā*, is undoubtedly related to the Babylonian *ilu*, Hebrew *ail*, "power, strength, omnipotence." From *ilāhnu* when connected with the article the first sound is dropped and by that *Allāhu* is formed as the Aramaic *ha-elovah*. Not only among the Egyptians were the names of gods forbidden to be uttered but also among other nations. "As Jews are commanded not to utter the S<sup>em</sup> of Jeohah," is an inaccurate statement of the author of the article. There is no such Biblical commandment. The Rabbinical injunction is to pronounce *Shaim* in place of "Jehovah" in ordinary conversation or *Eloqim* instead of *Elohim*.

Mr. Brewer in his desire to make Egypt a source of architecture, language and religion overlooks some facts. "To give," is in Sanskrit *dā*, Assyrian *na-dā-nu*, Hebrew *na-tha-n*, Arabic *a-ta*, Slavonic *dā-vatī*, Sanskrit *div*, *dyaūh*, Greek *Zeus* (locative *divi*, neut. plu. *dīvah*, *v* here transcribing a digamma), hence we have *dævas*, *divine*, *deus*, *dieu*, *dio*. It remains to be determined from what language the Egyptian *Dai* or *Daa* originated.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### SUBCONSCIOUS VERSE.

A prominent journalist who has written poetry of unusual merit and whose verses have appeared in the most critical magazines of this country, sends a poem automatically written which he introduces with the following explanation:

"I am sending you a queer thing, some verse I wrote automatically. It welled up out of my subconscious mind—I suppose that's where it came from—with no effort of my own at all. When I wrote the first line I did not know what the next one would be at all; when I got as far as the fourth stanza I began to influence the thing consciously just a bit, but not much. It reads like the wail of a Scotch Presbyterian who had somehow made a mistake and got into a Catholic Purgatory. The writing took only a very few minutes; I am afraid to say how few. Usually when I write verse I have to spend a long time over each stanza. This isn't very good verse; the fifth stanza is the only one in the whole thing that I'd care to print over my own signature; and yet the manner in which I got it is rather interesting.

"I have a theory about how I got it that may interest *The Open Court*. I have a great deal of Scottish blood in me; and in my family for generations back there have always been a lot of Presbyterian preachers. And—whether I like it or not!—I have inherited their mental make-up to a certain extent; I do not consciously subscribe to their beliefs; nevertheless, they insist on occupying a certain portion of my mind. The conscious part of my mind took a vacation for a few minutes, as happens in dreams, and the subconscious part got busy before I could stop it. I do not write Scots dialect, nor read it easily; there are doubtless many imperfections in this; if I had been getting it from a Scotch Presbyterian ghost he would certainly have got his dialect right. But I didn't; I got it out of myself; and there being no correct Scots dialect in me, not any could come out of me.

"And the thing which pulled the trigger and let this loose—at least I presume it is the thing—is not uninteresting in its relationship to the whole stunt. For a long time I had been making a lot of psychological experiments; on several occasions I had been very much frightened by getting into communication with—well, really with a series of memories and impressions of my dead grandfather which are stored away in that same subconscious mind. That is what my conscious mind *really* got into communication with, although a spiritualist would say I had been in communication with the ghost of that grandfather. But, as I say, I had been frightened; especially on one occasion. A person need not believe in ghosts to be afraid of them, you know. This grandfather was a strict Presbyterian.

"Shortly before the enclosed verse was written I had sent to my sister, at a distance, a magazine article in which I took a rather didactic and preacher-fied tone. She laughingly wrote me that my grandfather's ghost had finally succeeded in making me his mouthpiece; that I was turning into a Presbyterian preacher. It was this suggestion with regard to the Presbyterian ghost that wanted a mouthpiece on earth which ripened in my subconscious mind to the conception embodied in the verse—the conception of a wraith between two states of existence. And it was only natural that when the impulse came the verse should be written *in character*. In short, I had been consciously thinking about Presbyterians, ghosts and ancestors so much that day that my mind hypnotized itself into the belief that it was the mind of a Presbyterian ancestor's ghost, and spoke in the terms of that assumed personality.

"At the same time, I should not like to be condemned to writing verse automatically. In the first place it is not such good verse as I can write myself; and in the second place I don't like the uncanny, creeping feeling—the sense of being the tool of another and distinct personality—which was on me as I wrote.

"If you care to use this verse, and the rational explanation of it I have tried to make, I would rather you did not use my name; but sign it Sanders McIvor. And for these reasons: There is so much flub-dub being written now about communication with spirits, that the writers of it would be sure to take up an instance of this kind as a proof that some ghost wrote it, instead of my subconscious mind, in spite of my explanation; and I would get a kind of notoriety I don't want. And in the second place, as I am a writer myself, they would be apt to think that I had written this long explanation as a medium for advertising my wares; there is so much of that sort of thing done nowadays by writers.

"It is characteristically Presbyterian that the ghost's trouble and doubt is not with regard to his opinions; whether he may have lived up to his faith or not, he is quite sure that the faith itself is all right. He is not afraid to put the matter to the test and face God because he is afraid God isn't a Presbyterian, you know; he is still sure of that; his system of theology hasn't failed him because of the mere accident of dying—his trouble and doot is about his actions—never his *opinions*! Isn't that Scotch, though? He thinks he is humble in this poem; but he is really so proud of his humility that he becomes arrogant."

LIGHT.

Licht! Licht! Licht!  
 O, God, I pray Thee, gie to me  
 That licht of which Thou saidst: "Let be  
 Its glory ower baith land and sea  
 Through time and through eternity!"

I dreeft in darkness; I'm a soul  
 That weevers t'ward an unkent goal  
 Set middlins twaxt far pole and pole  
 Whaur astral tides unplumbit roll;



I am not flesh, nor yet fu' wraith;—  
 I'm twaxt twa lives, whaur love's too rathe  
 A fashion noo';—though I hae faith  
 O' love at last too strang for scathe.

Not altogether purified,  
 I keep the shape whaurin I died,  
 The smack of sin, the reek of pride,  
 The vanity o' God denied.

Yon outer wards twaxt world and world,  
 Whaur God the sinnin' angels hurled,  
 Wax red wi' flags o' flame unfurled  
 Whaurin dead souls like leaves are swirled;

I skirt the brink o' that fell place,  
 Too fair for Hell, too foul for grace;  
 I yearn to meet God face to face,  
 Yet scarcely dare to plead my case.

Thairfur, the trooble and the doot;  
 Thairfur, the ghaist that dangs aboot,  
 Strang braced wi' faith, and yet wi'oot  
 The heart to face the matter oot!

SANDERS McIVOR.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

HOW TO TALK WITH GOD. By a Veteran Pastor. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Company. Pp. 99.

Under the veil of anonymous utterance the author is able to give more of his personality to his readers than an unavoidable self-consciousness might otherwise permit. Himself a minister of forty years' service, and the son of a minister, he has had intimate knowledge of the importance of carefully worded petitions in their influence on the minds of their hearers. With the utmost humility of spirit and modesty of expression the Veteran Pastor follows a "Personal Explanation" with a short essay "How to Talk with God," which gives seventeen informal rules for beginning and growth in the power of prayer, based on the principle that "the method and the conditions of true prayer are largely indicated by the habits of the normal child in the normal home." The book concludes with many instances of "A Veteran Pastor's Prayers," which are beautiful examples of the principles the author has endeavored to inculcate. To no one else, it is certain, will they appeal as "lamentably stiff, formal and artificial," or weighted with "the clumsiness of self-consciousness" which "signifies a defective piety."

AT THE DOOR. By *Katherine M. Yates*. Chicago: K. M. Yates & Co., 1908. Price 50 cts. Leather \$1.00.

This is a dainty little allegory written as is stated on the title page to be read "both on the lines and between." The heroine Marjorie is led by the

Little Brown Dream to Folkstown, where she sees beautiful white mansions, and learns that each proprietor must guard the door of his house, granting or refusing entrance to each new comer according to his own will. The house represents the mind and the guests are thoughts, either good or evil, and by herself taking the place of porter at the door of one of these mansions Marjorie learned by some sad experiences that she was able to act as porter at the door of thought, but that she had to watch every minute of the time, and must learn to be on good terms with "Love," "Understanding," "Endeavor," and all other good thoughts. In teaching Marjorie that bad thoughts are only the absence of good, that hate is the absence of love but in itself is nothing, Mrs. Yates commits the fallacy of teaching the unreality of sin.

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CHÂNAKYA'S ARTHASASTRA, or Science of Politics. Translated by R. Shama-  
sastry, B. A. Mysore: G. T. A. Press, 1908. Pp. 186.

This is the first English translation of an important and well-known Sanskrit work of political science believed to have been current in India before the Christian era. The date of Chanakya is disputed but he lived about the 4th century B. C.

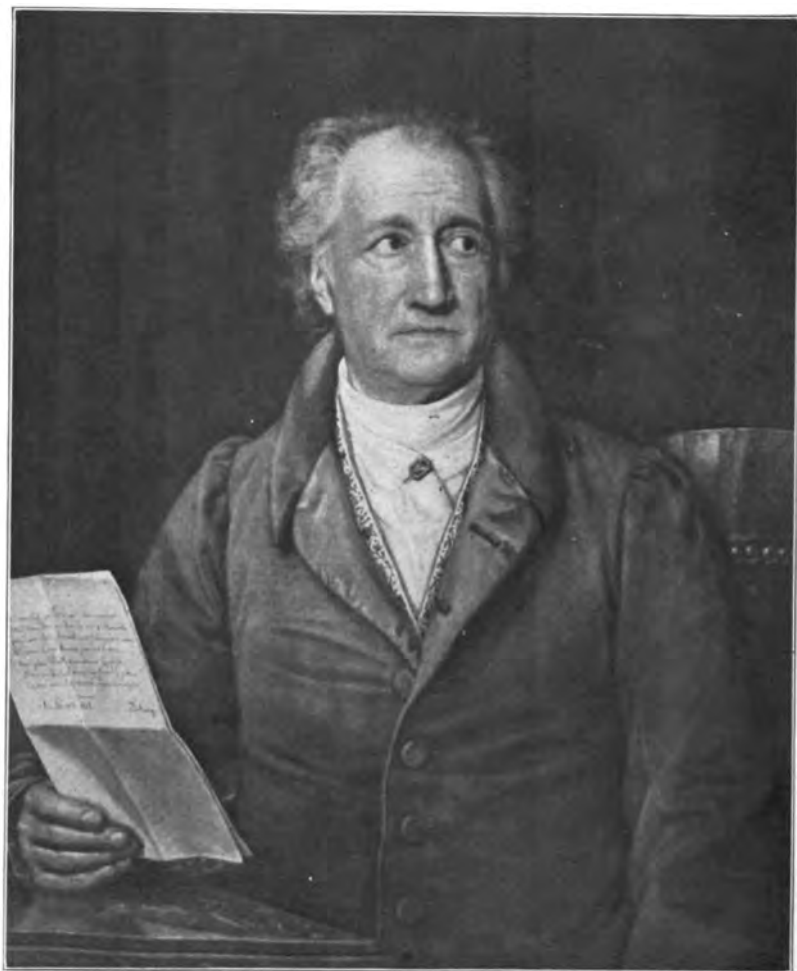
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GAVAM AYANA, THE VEDIC ERA. By R. Shamastry, B. A. Mysore: Wes-  
leyan Mission Press, 1908. Pp. 155.

The author is librarian of the Mysore Government Oriental Library and in trying to find a solution to the remarkable statements with regard to time made by the poets of the Vedas, has become greatly interested in the comparative study of calendar systems. These ancient Hindu poets frequently used expressions which to-day have no sense at all in their literal meaning. "The Vedic poets, for example, now and then speak of the failure of Speech to bring the moon, of the loss of a feather or nail sustained by the bird-like Gayatri, a verse of twenty-four syllables, in bringing the moon, and of cows sitting at a sacrificial session extending over a number of days. The commentators attribute these and other exploits narrated in the Vedas and Brahmanas to the tutelary gods or goddesses of speech, of meter, and of cows, while modern European critics regard these stories as mythological legends, having their origin in the wild imaginations of the poets.... My attempt is to unveil the mystery in which the sacrificial calendar of the Vedic poets is enshrouded, to recover that lost and forgotten era which the poets themselves had invented and continued from 3101 B. C. to about 1260 B. C., and to secure thereby a key to explain a number of theological or mythological stories of the pattern mentioned above."

One of the most common units of time is the *gavam ayana*, or "Cow's Walk," and the author has come to the conclusion from his study of the early folklore and mythology that "cow" refers to the intercalary day on which originally a cow was doubtless sacrificed. "A cow, therefore, means a set of four years, and Cow's Walk of two days, a set of eight years. Similarly a Cow's Walk of one month or thirty days signifies one hundred and twenty years, and that of ten months, one thousand and two hundred years. Accordingly, the two kinds of Cow's Walk, one of ten months and the other of twelve months, so vividly described in the Yajurveda and the Brahmanas, must necessarily mean two periods, the one of 1200 years and the other of 1440 years, corresponding to the 300 and 360 intercalary days, respectively."





GOETHE IN MATURE YEARS.

After the painting of J. K. Stieler, 1828.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

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the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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## SOME FALLACIES OF THE PEACEMAKERS.

BY THE EDITOR.

MOLTKE used to say, "War is a part of the divine world-order," but he is also reported to have acknowledged that "even a victorious war is a misfortune"; and to complete his views on the subject we will add a third dictum of his: "The purpose of every war is the establishment of peace." None of these sayings need be contradictory; they may all be true, for life is a struggle, and every struggle involves risks of wounds and of defeat which in desperate cases means death. Life is not a play for fun like children's games. Life is a serious conflict for success and sometimes a very strenuous competition among all those who have a chance of survival. Some always go to the wall and few only can be in the lead, but all are subject to suffering, and there is not one who can escape death.

It has been said that "war is hell," but a pessimist (a man like Schopenhauer) can rightly declare that since the whole world is but a large battlefield, all life is hell, and we can temporarily build up a heaven in it only by daring courage and unflagging energy in struggling with all the evils that beset us.

A well-known Roman proverb runs "*Si vis pacem para bellum,*" "wouldst thou have peace, prepare for war," and these words incorporate the experience of millenniums. Perhaps we may add the reverse: "Wouldst thou conjure upon any country the clouds of war, induce its government to disarm; to indulge exclusively in the joys of peace, and to imitate the lamb, the symbol of peaceable innocence and perfect goodness."

In order to have peace, we need the good will of all parties concerned, but a brawl may be caused in any company by but one disturbing element. Peace breakers can be kept in order only by

the strong hand of those who are willing to fight for order and to bring any unruly spirit into submission.

Peace has been the desire of the nations since the beginning of the human race, and the choir of the angels promised "Glory to God in the highest and peace on earth to the men of good will."<sup>1</sup> Wars have been lessened since then, but they have never been abolished and even to-day the great world-powers are ready and prepared to go to war if it be necessary.

\* \* \*

During the first week in May, Chicago saw a remarkable conference, called the National Peace Congress, the second of its kind. A letter from President Taft was read and a number of renowned speakers appeared on the platform, among them President David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford University; Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; Gov. Deneen, of the State of Illinois; Rabbi Dr. Emil Hirsch; Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones; Miss Jane Addams; Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, of Boston; Mr. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston, who was delegate of the American Peace Society to the congresses of Glasgow and Rouen, and chairman of the executive committee of the 13th International Peace Congress, at Boston in 1904; Prof. Graham Taylor, of the Chicago Commons; and Carl D. Thompson of Milwaukee, who represented the socialists.

The general tone of the speeches was denunciatory of war, of its preparations, and of all that belongs to war. The place of meeting was Orchestra Hall, a fairly large auditorium which seats about 1500, and although on the average scarcely more than 500 persons were assembled, not all of them peacemakers, the enthusiastic delegates to the Congress congratulated each other again and again declaring that this was the best meeting so far ever held. Chicago was declared to be the fittest center for a peace propaganda because it was an hospitable and central city, and just as soon as a sufficient number of generous Chicago gentlemen could be found who would add to the funds a guarantee of \$5000.00 a year for five years, the problem of war and arbitration would soon be solved.

President Taft's letter will have the endorsement of every sensible person in the United States,—yea in the whole world. He expresses sympathy with the aspirations to preserve peace, and the tenor of his views is characterized by the following paragraph:

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the correct reading.

"The policy of the United States in avoiding war under all circumstances except those plainly inconsistent with honor and its highest welfare has been made so clear to the world as hardly to need statement at my hands. I can only say that so far as my legitimate influence extends while at the head of this government, it will always be exerted to the full in favor of peace, not only as between this country and other countries but as between our sister nations."

Similar sentiments were expressed by others connected with the administration. Thus M. J. Buchanan, of New York, denounced the yellow press for the mischief it does in creating bad feeling between nations. He said:

"It seems to me that the greatest step toward peace and the greatest step forward toward a better understanding between the countries would be reached if all of us were more temperate and conservative in our views with regard to disputes that arise between our own country, let us say, and some other country. I believe that the best arbitration is to prevent arbitration, to make arbitration unnecessary. In my own experience this has been verified."

We must remember that Mr. Buchanan acted as arbitrator between Chili and Argentina, served as United States Commissioner to Venezuela and sat in the Hague Conference as an American delegate. He condemned formal correspondence between disputing nations and said he reached an agreement to arbitrate the Venezuela cases after a pleasant talk with Castro's minister of foreign affairs lasting twenty-seven days, during which time all letter writing was suspended.

No one could find fault with any peacemaker who bears in mind the exception that war should be waged only when the honor of a nation or its highest welfare is at stake. The spirit of the Peace Congress tended in another direction. It denounced *all* war, and proposed peace at any price.

David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford University, announced his subject as "The Biology of War," but his remarks were chiefly on the deterioration of the classical races, which according to him was due to the slaughter of the best men in war. According to other authorities, the deterioration of Rome was due partly to the neglect of the warlike spirit, partly to the inrush of lower races, among them the Africans. It is true enough as Professor Jordan says that Rome had excellent men even during the period of decay, but she had no heroes. Almost all her officers and soldiers were barbarians. Some of President Jordan's sentences are quite unimpeachable. He says:

"The republic of Rome lasted as long as there were Romans; the republic of America will last as long as its people in blood and in spirit remain what we have learned to call Americans.

"Whatever the remote and ultimate cause may have been, the immediate cause to which the fall of the empire can be traced is a physical, not a moral decay. In valor, discipline, and science the Roman armies remained what they had always been, and the peasant emperors of Illyricum were worthy successors of Cincinnatus and Caius Marius. But the problem was how to replenish those armies. Men were wanting. The empire perished for want of men.

"Does history ever repeat itself? It always does if it is true history. Where the weakling and the coward survives in human history, there 'the human harvest is bad,' and it can never be otherwise."

Rome degenerated when there were no more Romans left like Cincinnatus and Marius. But what kind of men were Cincinnatus and Marius? Where they advocates of peace? Roman history tells us they were fighters. Marius was the only man in Rome who was not afraid of the Teuton invaders. He braced up the failing courage of the Roman legions, to dare in battle and even defeat the foe. Cincinnatus, however, was the man who left the plow to go to war and exchanged the plowshare for the sword.

Rome had enough people of culture, and the Roman army was excellent in valor, discipline and science, but it was composed of Germans and Gauls. The main cause of her downfall was exactly that state of things which our men of peace want to bring about. The Romans had become a peaceful nation and had forgotten how to fight. The result was they had not the courage to risk their lives, so Rome lost her supremacy.

Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, secretary of the American Peace Society, speaking on "The Present Position of the Peace Movement," prophesied regular world meetings to promote peaceful settlement of international disputes. In part, Dr. Trueblood's ideas were as follows:

"The powers of the conference will at first be only advisory, but in the nature of the case its conclusions and recommendations will be largely adopted, and in this way it will from the start be substantially a legislative world assembly. Its powers will naturally grow and be extended. Here we reach the real position which the peace movement has attained.

"The promise, therefore, is large for the years just before us, for when the nations meet representatively at regular periods and men of the highest ability and experience discuss in a friendly and frank way all of the common problems of the world the days of war will be numbered."

The literature distributed free of charge at the entrance to the Peace Congress meetings contained, among other things, an address by Charles E. Jefferson, D.D., LL.D., which is entitled "'Peace at any Price' Men." They are those, he says, "who never trouble themselves so much about national 'honor' as about the righteousness



of the national cause." With President Taft most people think that honor and righteousness are not contrasts, but Dr. Jefferson apparently means the wrong honor of jingoism.

Dr. Jefferson insists that "war is *always* unjustifiable, because there is *always* a better way of settling disputes. Killing men is not so good a way of deciding important questions as bringing these questions to the arbitrament of reason. Reason is stronger than force, and justice is more to be desired than might." These sentences contain great truths and they would be perfectly true if we could cancel the word "always," which we have here italicized. But it is this "always" that Mr. Jefferson insists on. He declares that there are other men of peace who do not favor disarmament. He ridicules them in very sarcastic language and since his arguments are very keenly thought out and sharply expressed we quote from them at length. He presents their views thus:

"Peace is the supreme blessing of the world. Nothing is so destructive and barbaric as war. War is not only hell, it is inconvenient. It interferes with commerce and throws the world's life into chaos. It is the one scourge to be dreaded, the one curse to be avoided. At all hazards and at any cost war must be rendered impossible. If you ask this new peacemaker how war can be escaped, his reply is 'only by colossal armies and gigantic navies.' Lyddite shells and twelve-inch guns are the only guarantees of peace. If nations are not armed they are certain to fight, but if properly equipped with deadly weapons they think only of peace. Nations not cased in armor inevitably fly at one another's throats, but when dressed in steel plate they coo like doves. Every battleship therefore is a nail in the coffin of war. Twenty-six thousand ton battleships are spikes, and no spike can be too long when you are trying to box up the devil. Cruisers and torpedo boats are messengers and tokens of good will. A naval cruise cements nations together wonderfully. Men fall in love when they look at one another through the bore of a gun. Nations are never so friendly as when they sit down in the midst of explosives. The old idea that guns are to fight with is obsolete, they are emblems of amity and work twenty-four hours a day for peace. Torpedo boat destroyers destroy nothing but the last vestige of a desire to fight. Lyddite shells annihilate nothing but fooling notions of waging war. Men spend years at target practice not for the purpose of taking life, but with the sole intention of saving it. It is for peace, therefore, that all military and naval appropriations are granted. The President, when he asks for new battleships, is aglow with enthusiasm for peace. Every Congressman who votes additional millions for cruisers and torpedoes does so in the conviction that in this way he is sounding the death knell of war."

Dr. Jefferson is the pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle church of New York City. His article was published in February, 1909, while the navy appropriation was before Congress, and one can see between the lines the real point of the article. He closes his

peace-making denunciation of war by saying that "the time has come to blow the trumpet and prepare for battle."

The keynote sounded by Gen. Frederick D. Grant was different. He is one of the peacemakers denounced by the Brooklyn pastor. General Grant spoke on behalf of the soldier. What he said was sensible and it would be difficult to upset his statements. He said :

"The soldier's whole profession, and study, and art is that of producing peace. It is your statesmen and your people that create wars. First, the people become irritated, generally through some commercial transaction. The statesmen then take hold of the matter, and they compromise, or try to compromise, if the nations are nearly equal.

"If they are not nearly equal, the stronger one simply slaps the weaker one in the face, and the soldier is called in to settle the difficulty. In the last 300 years I know of no case of war that was brought on by the soldier.

"Again, take the last great war between Russia and Japan. That was not a soldier's war ; it was brought on because of a desire of commerce on the part of those two nations in Corea and the holding of a balance of trade and what they called the sphere of influence in China. The soldiers fought it out. As soon as that came about, the English had desires in Thibet and they put the troops there. They did not have much resistance and the troops brought about peace.

"Just before that we had the South African war. Soldiers did not bring that about. The real foundation of that was the big gold mines that they found there. The cube of gold in those hills was too much for a small people like the Boers to have, and the great nation takes it. The Boers gave them some trouble for awhile, and the soldiers settled it.

"Just before that we had a war ourselves with Spain. The people here, of course, think that it was caused by the blowing up of the Maine ; that is not true.

"It was previous to that that we had a rebellion in Cuba. In that rebellion they issued bonds. Those bonds were distributed and the rebellion ceased. Those bonds got into the hands of a few commercial men, peace lovers, and they agitated a rebellion there again in Cuba, and then our peace-loving papers, our yellow press, stirred up our people in order that we would take Cuba and pay these bonds to them.

"I was only a soldier there on the field, but I did not bring about that war ; I helped to settle it. So you will find that the soldier is the peace lover, whose profession it is to make peace. We love peace so much that when you are in trouble we fight to bring about peace.

"I believe it behooves the people of this country to maintain their army and their navy in an efficient condition, and I believe that 12-inch guns along the coast of the Atlantic and the Pacific, with a well drilled body of men in this country, will do far more toward maintaining peace than all the talk that all the good people of all the countries of the world could do in times that are not strenuous, and when everybody is sitting down to a good table, and have plenty to eat and are feeling happy, contented, and well disposed toward all mankind."

General Grant was pretty isolated. We note among the few who would side with him John Callan O'Laughlin, a Washington newspaper correspondent, who comments in the *Chicago Tribune* on the Peace Congress as follows:

"It is about time for the country to realize that great obstacles lie in the way of universal peace. Much has been done toward ameliorating the hardships of war and in limiting the causes of war. But no nation will consent to arbitration which involves loss of territory or violation of its honor, or, as the Chicago platform puts it, 'which may involve the national life and independence.' This is a broad exception and could be applied to almost any dispute that might arise."

Every country must be able to protect itself, but we do not say that every country should keep a big army or navy; we insist that Goethe's verse is good advice:

"Trotz aller Gewalten  
Sich selbst zu erhalten."

The problem of self-defense is different for every country. So, for instance, Germany with her long open frontier of lines has come to the conclusion that her best method of defense is to take the offensive and carry the war into the enemy's country. She needs a strong army. While Switzerland, too weak for aggressive operations, would in case of war, pursue the plan of closing up the mountain passes and prevent the enemy from breaking through her territory. That would be the only reason for which she would be invaded. The United States, however, does not need a strong army as Germany, but it does need a strong navy.

\* \* \*

The banquet given by the Chicago Association of Commerce was an elaborate affair. Several plenipotentiaries from great nations graced the occasion. Conspicuous among them was Dr. Wu Ting-fang from the Celestial Empire and seated beside him was the Hon. Kazuo Matsubara, the Japanese Consul, as a peace delegate from Japan. The French Consul, Baron Houssin de St. Laurent, representative of France, partook of the same cheer as did his neighbor from across the Rhine, Count Johann Heinrich von Bernsdorff, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Germany. The Hon. Herman de Lagercrantz, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Sweden, represented his nation as Dr. Halvdam Koht, professor at the University of Norway, did his, while England was present in the person of Mr. A. Mitchell Innes, Councillor of the British Embassy. President Taft's proxy was secretary of the

Interior, Richard A. Ballinger; and the Hon. Richard A. Bartholdt, member of congress from Missouri, and the Hon. James. A. Tawney from Minnesota were on the program.

The table of the speakers presented a study in physiognomy. Some of the men and women possessed a complaisant and benign expression which indicated that they could be roused to quarrel only by the idea of war. There were finely cut, noble features with a slight touch of sentiment, or even sentimentality, in their eyes which contrasted well with the combative zeal for a great cause; and who would not be in sympathy with those who demand that war shall be relegated to the limbo of the infernal regions!

The representatives of the foreign countries, especially the Chinese ambassador, were obviously in sympathy with the peace movement! From the tone of conviction they used in commending the idea of American disarmament it seemed as though they intended to write to their respective governments to sell the navy as old iron at once and dismiss the army.

The Chinese have long been a peaceful people. Generals and soldiers are not valued high in their annals. The highest renown and glory is given to sages, such as Confucius and Lao-tze. The army of the Chinese was no match for the European troops and the result is that China's existence to-day is mainly due to the jealousy of the Western nations. Of late, however, she has begun to reorganize the army after the model of European civilization and we dare say that China will be left alone in exactly the proportion that she will be able to resist infringement upon her territory. Requests for 99-year leases on whole provinces will be disregarded as soon as she is strong enough to demand respect for her rights.

The Chinese ambassador, decidedly the most picturesque and interesting figure among the speakers, was the favorite of the audience as he is also the most popular member of the foreign embassies at Washington. It did not matter what he said, whether relevant or otherwise, the guests enjoyed it. His quaint costume together with his very good English made his speech a delightful entertainment. His subject dealt with the charm of American ladies. He alluded to the fact that in his country, women were excluded from banquets and kindred festivities; but for his part he preferred the American custom. In China women were kept strictly at home, while in America they went about everywhere, and when he saw husbands traveling with their wives, he knew at once that there was a state of peace. The burst of applause which interrupted him at this point almost upset his Oriental composure and though

he managed to finish his speech with entire success, one could notice that he was puzzled to know what the joke was in his peace proposition concerning husband and wife.

The German ambassador added his mite to the appreciation of peace. Among other things he said that even in the times of mediæval instability peace was relatively insured by the merchant classes whose power lay in the Hanseatic League. These merchant cities equipped some well-armed battle-ships and called them Ships of Peace, which were to insure the safety of the merchant vessels on the high seas.

Some speakers thought that a democratic country would never go to war because, they argued, only kings and princes quarrel, but the people want peace. The governments were blamed for all international conflicts. This is not true, for the people are more easily excited and inflamed to make war-like demonstrations than governments and if people had to decide questions of war and peace the world would never be at rest.

This age is an age of industry and commerce, and all the world is filled with the desire for progress and the spread of civilization. To be sure we all want education and a higher standard of morality. We want the general application of the golden rule not only in private affairs, but also in the intercourse between nations. But there is a hitch in the realization of this ideal. There are clashing interests, and though we all clamor for justice, the question is, what is justice? In each conflict there are at least two views of justice, and who shall decide? How shall an international dispensation of justice be made, except by the powers themselves for they being sovereign recognize no higher authority. Our peacemakers want an international court, but how can we expect them to submit to a verdict if it can not be enforced, and who will compel the powers to obey? Here is the point where the fallacies of our men of peace come in.

Now and then it happens that interests conflict and the problem of justice becomes to a great extent a question of power. Our friends of peace (one of them said) "have done a little thinking," but their thoughts move in an ideal realm. They have done their thinking without sufficient reference to the actual world. Their arguments are theories and they forget that there is no right in this world except it be backed by might to enforce it.

It is true enough that through the progress of civilization wars have become less and disputes are now settled peaceably more frequently than in former centuries, but this is not due to the propa-

ganda of peace congresses but because both statesmanship and war are now conducted with method and have become sciences.

The principle of war is to defeat the enemy. This does not mean to kill his entire army but to endeavor to compel him to give up those positions which command the situation. The sacrifice of men is made solely for holding or taking positions and to kill the men of the enemy simply because they belong to the enemy or to expose those of one's own party without a definite purpose is now considered barbarous.

While war becomes more and more scientific, it grows more formidable where the decision lies, but otherwise less destructive. Formerly any cannon temporarily taken or lost was spiked to render it unfit for further service. At present no artillery-man would think of spiking his own gun even if by any means the enemy compelled him to abandon it. He would simply render his gun useless for the enemy by taking out of it the part which is necessary to its use, an elastic ring which is fitted into each individual gun by a tedious process and which makes the chamber fire-tight between the barrel and the lock. Without this most essential part the gun is temporarily useless and of no advantage to the enemy.

Destruction in modern warfare has become limited more and more to what is essential, to what is needed to keep one's own position or to take that of the enemy. Unnecessary destruction is brutal, frivolous and stupid and this rule refers also and mainly to human lives. There would be no longer any killing in war to-day, nor a desire to do so, if there could be any other way to compel the surrender of strategic positions.

In a similar way, one might play a game of chess without losing or taking any one of the figures, and to destroy the enemy's property without gaining an advantage is like making a useless move in chess for the sake of taking an unimportant figure, whereby valuable time is lost in which the adversary may gain a position assuring him unimpeded access to his enemy's king.

Here is an instance of the difference of modern warfare and the "club tactics" of the Middle Ages: Two detachments were once sent through the enemy's lines into unprotected villages to interrupt telegraph connections, one of them trained and the other consisting of raw recruits ignorant of modern methods. The first detachment took the keys from the telegraph instruments and disconnected the wires; the second smashed the entire outfit with the butts of their rifles. In the first case, when the victorious army afterwards entered the village the damaged lines could be restored and used with

but little delay, while the destroyed telegraph station could not be used by either the victor or the vanquished and this second case was a senseless work of destruction. The main point was to render the equipment unfit for service but not to destroy it. The plan of taking out certain necessary connections of the telegraph instruments which could not be replaced or refitted except by the help of skilled workmen, was to harass the enemy and prevent the use of the instruments but not to destroy something which might later be necessary to the success of the conquering army. This illustration is not an invention of the fancy. It happened in the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, when the German confederates were not yet uniform in training.

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When the great interests of a nation, her dignity, her rights, the resources of her livelihood or even her liberty and her honor are at stake, men are in duty bound to go to war, to wage battle and risk their lives. There are goods in this world which are higher than human lives. There are super-individual interests, there are ideals dearer than our own persons for which it is worth while struggling, suffering, fighting and dying. Life is not the highest boon of existence, and no sentimental reason, based on the notion of the sacredness of life, will abolish struggle in the world or make war impossible.

The world is not a paradise of unmixed blessings and we progress only by hard work. The welfare of to-day has been wrung from fate with an iron hand by energy and toil. Even peaceful exertions demand sacrifices,—sometimes very hard sacrifices, and it is probable that more lives are lost in the endeavor of industrial progress and even in scientific research than in war. But our friends of peace are possessed with the monomania that war alone devours human life; they seem to forget how many men die in the mines, fall from the scaffolds of edifices in construction, are crushed to death in railroad accidents, die of consumption and other destructive diseases. How many physicians die in their vocation by blood poisoning, etc., and inventors in their attempt to discover new appliances, flying machines or new chemicals. The sacrifices on the altar of progress are untold and the victims on the battlefield who die for the preservation of the liberty of their country are the smaller fraction of the total number lost.

The liberty and prosperity of the nation has been dearly bought by the fathers of this country. The heroes of the Revolution gained

our independence and if we did not possess the strength to defend the liberty they won for us, we would surely lose it sooner or later.

We are now convinced that the independence of the thirteen colonies was their good right, and all the world is convinced of it too because they won in the fight. But in the days of Washington, the question of justice was by no means so plain. England was the sovereign of these settlements; she had charge of the interests of the entire empire, including her colonies in North America, and paid the expenses incurred for their protection. So she deemed it but just that they should defray part of the heavy debt she had incurred on their behalf. She had as much right to have a word to say concerning the government in her colonies as Spain had in Cuba, and when the colonies denied these rights to their government and mother country, they set up a new standard of justice. The letter of the law was distinctly on the side of England and if a new standard was to be recognized, it had to show its right to existence by the power with which it was maintained.

Questions of right are to some extent questions of power, and how shall they be decided unless their representatives are willing to fight for the cause? Remember the story of the lamb and the wolf. The lamb is devoured in spite of its innocence, and as a rule we condemn the wolf because the wolf is also an enemy of mankind and is treated as an outlaw to be killed wherever found. But what about the butcher? Has not the lamb a right to denounce man if he slaughters a harmless animal that never did him the least harm, merely for the brutal and selfish purpose of eating it? And here at the banquet of the Peace Congress were peace delegates eating the tenderloin of meek herbivorous oxen and continuing their banquet with squabs, under which culinary title lie concealed the innocent doves of peace—the same doves which taxidermic art has displayed at the meetings and in the banquet hall by the side of the rapacious American eagle. We may well wonder whether any one of our friends of peace ever thought of it or had his appetite spoiled by the idea that these dainty birds were the emblems of their highest ideal.

The tone of the discussion at the banquet was radical, for the speakers demanded nothing short of absolute disarmament and one of them denounced another movement which while strengthening the navy, proposed to advocate arbitration. He claimed that if the world is to be pacified we must do it in the right way and must have peace at any price. "Why," he added, "these advocates of



peace by arbitration would have us believe that a man-of-war looks like a dove of peace."

It happened in the days when the flag and national emblem were to be adopted that the American eagle was proposed for the coat of arms of the United States. One of the peace-loving delegates of Congress denounced the eagle as a bird of prey and with rustic oratory endeavored to discredit the idea that a peaceful nation should find its symbol in this aristocratic and warlike bird. His antagonist while pointing out that the pride of a nation lay in its power, wittily remarked that if his critic's opinion prevailed, a more democratic and peaceful bird should be chosen for our national symbol, such as a turkey; or better still a goose which would offer an additional advantage, for while a big goose would ornament the dollars a gosling might do for dimes. History tells us that the man who spoke a good word for the eagle was victorious, but nevertheless liberty is not curtailed for no one prevents the goose from gabbling without restriction.<sup>2</sup>

There have been peaceful people in the world but their experiences are bitter. These men of good will could not long stand the pressure of their less well-intentioned neighbors and in order to survive had to take up sword and shield.

There was a time when Germany was defenseless on all her frontiers and her neighbors knew of it. They poured in from every side and took possession of the border lands without compunction until "good-natured Hans" was aroused to indignation and whipped them out of the country. Then his neighbors complained about his rudeness. If Germany is now too belligerent, it is the result of untoward circumstances for which the neighbors are themselves to blame. There is only one means by which the men of good will may enjoy peace on earth and that is by being themselves so powerful that no rascal dares carry on his villainy.

There are many good people in the city of Chicago who fondly imagine that the city could be run without police, and it is quite true that in some well-frequented parts, the absence of the police would not greatly be noticed. But the condition of civic peace is due solely to the circumstance that men interested in the welfare of the city have the means to enforce order at any moment it might be needed. There is an enormous resource of reserve power which is never utilized and, let us hope, will never be needed, but whose very

<sup>2</sup> For details of this contest in Congress which even led finally to a challenge, see the author's article "On the Philosophy of Laughing," *Monist*, VIII, p. 209.

existence ensures peace and order. This resource surrounds us unnoticed and none but thinking people will be aware of it; but nevertheless it is present like the air we breathe and in which we live and move and have our being; which is impalpable and the bodily nature of which remained unheeded until a thoughtful scientist measured its presence and proved its actual existence.

The same is true of international safety. There are no pirates on the high seas to-day because they could not live in the presence of modern warships. Perhaps we have forgotten that our own navy exists because there was once an insignificant little pirate, the Bey of puny Tripoli, who levied taxes on our merchantmen and compelled America to pay tribute to him because she had no navy.

It happened in the days before the American navy was respected that some American youths, fired with enthusiasm for Cuba's struggle for liberty embarked with European adventurers in the dangerous undertaking of assisting the rebels. Their ship was caught by a Spanish cruiser and before they had set foot upon the Pearl of the Antilles, they were court-martialled and condemned to death. The English consul at once came to the aid of those of the captives who were English subjects. They were immediately released upon his demand, but the Americans had no one to come to their rescue and were led out one by one and shot,—and this great peace-loving republic did not stir in their behalf, presumably because it would have been ridiculous to have made a remonstrance at Madrid for we had no navy to back our demands.

The late Spanish-American war would never have taken place, had the Spaniards known that our navy was up-to-date. There was a general opinion throughout the world that the Americans were a commercial people who preferred the almighty dollar to national honor and dignity, and at the mere thought of war would shrink from any desire for expansion, or recognition, or national growth. It was commonly assumed that they would not only suffer the slap on one cheek, but would turn the other in Christlike meekness for a second slap, provided they would be allowed to go on peacefully making money. Happily these notions were erroneous, and Spain found out to her bitter loss and humiliation that the warlike spirit of the Saxon blood was still alive in the citizens of the United States. And it seems a fair prediction that while peace congresses may come and go, the spirit of the Saxon will after all remain the same in this fair land until the end of time.

The German army is frequently denounced as a tyrannical institution and the greatest burden of the people. This is a great error which is maintained by social democrats in the fatherland and in the United States by deserters, by those who never served in the army and know of it and its institutions only by hearsay. The writer of these lines has fulfilled all his duties as a German soldier in the ranks as well as an officer in the reserves. He knows what he is talking about and he here most emphatically contradicts the statement that the army is a tyrannous institution and a burden on the country.

The German people are not belligerent, they want war as little as, and probably less than, other nations; for they themselves have to go to war, and mothers must send their own sons, not hirelings nor mercenaries. The German army is simply the German people in arms; and the standing army is a school the influence of which is entirely beneficial.

The men who have served in the army are worth more because of their training. They have learned the meaning of duty; they have become reliable, more orderly in dress and bearing; through military discipline they have acquired self-control, and above all else, they have become more manly. I have not yet met any one who served in the German army and has regretted it.

The national wealth is advanced far more through the army, this school of military training, than it costs to maintain it. Enemies of the army may deny these facts but they cannot refute them. It is true, it costs millions of marks to keep up the army, but when we consider it as a school for the teeming population of Germany the figures are not too high nor out of proportion to its usefulness, and thus even aside from war purposes, not a penny of it is wasted. If the same training could be acquired in the United States for approximately the same cost, we ought to be grateful to have an institution in this country similar to the German army in the fatherland.<sup>3</sup>

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The progress of civilization has a strong tendency to reduce war, and the curve of war will gradually approach the straight line of peace, but the line of peace is like an asymptote, which means that the curve of war will approach almost to touching; but that even in infinity the two will never coincide. Thus the club law has been

<sup>3</sup>In a former article in *The Open Court* the author suggested that some army drill after the pattern of the Swiss army would be a very desirable institution in the United States.

abolished by the institution of courts, but who for that reason will say that civil wars, rebellions, riots and any other kind of civic disturbances have been abolished forever? War becomes rarer and rarer, but not only because people grow more intelligent and more cultured so as to take every possible step to avoid war and settle by arbitration the disputes that involve their respective interests.

The most potent factor that tends to abolish war is the cost of its maintenance. War is daily becoming more expensive. In the ages of club law, war was comparatively cheap. Every baron or robber knight could start a feud without any more risk than the bones of his retainers who were perhaps, like their masters, daring but otherwise good-for-nothing fellows. But nowadays the mere mobilization of an army devours millions and millions of dollars daily, not to speak of the incalculable losses caused by the interruption of commerce and trade. War has grown less because the great powers can not afford to go to war and they gladly welcome the opportunity of arbitration.

One important step toward the abolition of war is noticeable in the increase of the rights of neutrals. Formerly, neutral powers were treated almost like enemies, and even at present they must submit to many infringements (such as search for contraband etc.) which in times of peace would never be tolerated. The time may come when neutral ships will be as much respected as is now neutral territory, and if the belligerents would be held responsible for all damage done to neutrals, the costs of war and the risks of being unable to pay war debts would make war a very undesirable luxury.

Suppose that one of the belligerents sends out a number of floating mines which drift beyond the waters of the theater of war and destroy some vessels of a neutral power. In that case, should not the belligerents be made responsible for the damage done and should they not pay an indemnity just as much as Russia had to pay for the slaughter of the innocent fishermen of Hull?

There is only one way for neutrals to assert themselves; they must compel the belligerent powers, by military and naval forces, to respect their rights. They can not do it by an appeal to justice or an international tribunal—unless the latter has the active support of the majority of the powers.

The International Hague Tribunal is a natural step in the plan of human evolution. It would perhaps have come a little sooner, had its establishment not been retarded by the impatient advocates of piece-at-any-price who suffered under the fond delusion that an international court of judges could be established which would de-

cide the international disputes and dictate to the powers the terms of peace. The Hague Tribunal became an established fact only when it was plainly understood that it would not make the slightest pretense to assume jurisdiction of any kind, and would remain always conscious of the fact that it constituted a mere advisory council without any authority whatsoever over the powers.<sup>4</sup>

The famous European concert of nations is nothing more than the equilibrium of forces, and the several statesmen allow each one of the parties exactly as much of right as they could maintain in a dispute if it were to be settled by the sword. If our sword is rusty it no longer counts. We want peace, but not the peace which would cause our neighbors to speak of us with contempt and treat us as a negligible quantity. Such would be the case if our lovers of peace would have their way.

My kind readers may be under the impression that I am a partisan of war. Such is not the case. On the contrary, I advocate peace. If ever I were in any position to influence a decision on war or peace, I would always endeavor to avoid war, provided there would be no sacrifice of honor or the legitimate rights of the nation. But I know too well that this world is one in which we have to maintain our place, a world in which interests clash and that even in times of peace there is a constant tug of war between the nations. Difficulties are not settled by any such ideals as Tom, Dick and Harry may call justice, but they are so settled that the results are the same as if the different powers actually went to war.

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There were many present at the banquet in Chicago who noticed the fallacies of the speakers' arguments, but they said little. Afterwards I heard it remarked that the speakers were a harmless lot of men and women and if their ideas were based on fallacies they were certainly inoffensive; but we must not be too confident on this point, for when Gladstone, a man of peace, whose peace-loving nature was known to all the world, stood at the helm of England's government, England became implicated in more wars than under his Tory predecessor. Every little power, the Boers in Africa, the Egyptians, the Hindus, thought they could trifle with Johnny Bull with impunity now that he had grown tame and the result was the very opposite of what the Grand Old Man had dreamed. Now if the sentiments that we must have peace at any price which the Peace Congress

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the significance of the Hague Conference see the author's article "Peace on Earth," *The Open Court*, XIII, 306.

entertains would influence Congress, our Government will have more and more trouble to secure the necessary appropriations for the expenses of properly maintaining an efficient army and navy. But unfortunate would be the day when our coasts would be left unprotected, and when in the world's history the name of the United States would no longer be heard in the concert of the world powers. No nation will be minded unless she has the power to make good her demands and if the United States were defenceless, how long could it be respected by the world?

In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God." It is truly a noble task to appear as a peacemaker in this world of quarrels, but woe to the peacemaker who steps like a sheep between the lion and the tiger, or to the gosling who interferes with the hawk and the eagle. No one has a right to appear as a peacemaker except he be a man of power. To bring peace on earth is a great ideal, but in order to deserve it we must acquire the strength to perform that grand office.<sup>5</sup>

To disarm or wilfully weaken ourselves is to play the part of the lamb and deliver ourselves over to the wolf. The highest ideal is the spread of good will on earth, but it is worthless unless it be accompanied with manliness and strength, unless our good will be backed by the determination to fight for, yea, even to give our lives for our ideals. We must bear in mind Cromwell's words, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry."

While the aspiration to avoid war and preserve peace is shared by every one, and while so far, the peace congress has our undivided sympathy and support, we cannot help insisting on the seriousness of the blunders made incidentally which we deem important and even injurious. It would go too far to enter into all the slight errors to which the peace congress has committed itself. We will only refer to one little statement which occurs in a flyleaf called "Peace Facts." There it is stated that the pacification of the world has made great progress and that large territories have been neutralized.

While it is true enough that the progress of civilization means an amelioration of warfare, we doubt very much whether it will eventually lead to its elimination. Other so-called peace facts are mistakes. That Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Norway

<sup>5</sup> The peace-at-any-price movement is similar in character to the aspirations of the anti-vivisection movement. The arguments against war are practically the same as those against the latter. An editorial article on this subject appeared in *The Open Court*, Vol. XI, No. 6, p. 370, entitled "The Immorality of the Anti-vivisection Movement."

have been neutralized is a statement for which there is not the slightest authority; Norway has but lately been on the verge of a war with Sweden. Further, that organized labor is against militarism is true enough, but organized labor itself is militant. If there were no militia in this country and no standing army, organized labor would have an easy time to dictate terms where it now clamors for arbitration.

Our Peace Congress passed some resolutions and the last one demands immediate disarmament and obligatory arbitration, but no provision was made in case some nation would not submit. How would an international Hague tribunal enforce its decision if the universal principle were adopted of peace at any price? It is to be feared that deadlocks would frequently be the result. We might just as well pass resolutions for capital and labor, that strikes should be no more; and that before strikes begin, they should be settled by compulsory arbitration. We know that social upheavals come just as disease invades a body, and we might as well pass resolutions that no evil shall befall us; that hurricanes and earthquakes, pestilence, poverty and tidal waves shall be abolished and that the millennium be at once realized on earth.

## REVELATIONS OF AN EX-MEDIUM.

COMMUNICATED BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUSION.]

### DARK CIRCLES AND FULL FLEDGED MATERIALIZATIONS

A good medium always changes his methods so as to lead his patrons astray, and if they guess at the right explanation of his tricks he employs some other method which their explanation would not cover. From the explanations of a number of methods we here reprint a description of one familiar kind of seance.

Reader, have you ever attended *dark circles*? If you have, and were not convinced it was the work of the spirit world, the writer would enjoy hearing your theories as to how the manifestations were produced. You have probably explained them to your own satisfaction in a hundred or more impossible ways. It is the simplicity of the operations that protect the medium from exposure; for the reason that you will think that such wonderful manifestations can not be the result of any but the most complex manipulations.

You will accuse the members of the household where the seance is held of being accessories, and imagine that the room is strung with wires so fine as to be invisible and worked by some one in an adjoining room or closet, or even in a house next door or half a block distant. You will think that electricity or mesmerism is at the bottom of the whole affair. It does not appear possible to you that the medium can, alone and unaided, cause the manifestations you have witnessed.

A description of a dark seance as given by a celebrated medium for that phase of manifestations will be given and explained afterward. You will recognize the description as substantially the same as you have heard from others, if you are not a Spiritualist, and set it down as a fabrication or the narrator as the most consummate fool you ever encountered. If the narrator happened to be a respected friend of yours, you concluded he had been mesmerized,



hypnotized or bamboozled in some way that he could not exercise his senses, and only *imagined* he saw the things he described.

If you are a Spiritualist and have ever visited a dark circle you will realize that the writer is not guessing at anything in the description, and if you will read the explanation and experiment on the methods exposed, you will be forced to admit that he is correct as to the causes and had probably been there himself as the medium. You will be amazed at the simplicity of the means used to produce the phenomena that had seemed so marvelous, and astonished that you can so easily produce the same results. It is possible that you may feel disposed to hire a large, strong man to pound you on the head with a rail-splitter's maul for a few hours, or exercise himself by kicking you all over a ten-acre field.

Do not swear vengeance on the poor medium who has fooled you out of fifty or a hundred dollars; but give him the credit due him in having so completely deceived you. Do not act the baby and ask the law to restore to you the money you had not brains enough to keep. Be a man and catch even by beating some one else. The best man is he who wins, and if the medium has beaten you doff your hat to him and be careful in the future.

Into a room that has been darkened so that not a single ray of light can penetrate is placed a large dining table and chairs sufficient to seat the persons in attendance. On the table is placed a guitar and a tablet of pencil paper. The investigators are now seated in a circle around the table, male and female alternating. The person sitting on the medium's right, for he sits in the circle, grasps the medium's right wrist in his left hand, while his own right wrist is held by the sitter on his right, and this is repeated clear around the circle. This makes each "sitter" hold the right wrist of his left-hand, while his own right-hand wrist is held in the left hand of his neighbor on the left. Each one's hands are thus secured and engaged, including the medium's.

It will be seen that no one of the sitters can have the use of his or her hands without one or the other of their neighbors knowing of it.

Directly behind the medium's chair is placed a musical instrument, usually a dulcimer, on a stool. There is also a tin trumpet, tea bell, tambourine and accordeon. The medium can not use them for his *hands are held*.

The light is turned out and after a song has been sung, lights are seen darting about near the ceiling. They fall toward the medium and disappear, raps are heard on the table and the guitar is twanged. The sitters are permitted to ask questions that are

answered by raps on the table. Should you ask those sitting next the medium they will tell you that they still have his hands.

Presently the trumpet is felt by those sitting farthest from the medium. It is traveling about the circle where the medium cannot possibly reach. Out of it comes a voice announcing a name. The name is recognized by one of the sitters as belonging to some friend or relative. The voice may or may not give a message, but after the horn has been heard scraping along the ceiling it falls on the floor behind the medium's chair.

Touches are now felt by the sitters and the table jumps up and falls down several times in succession creating quite a noise. More lights are seen darting about and keeping time, in their motions, to an air being *whistled* by the medium.

After the music or whistling has ceased, a light is seen over the table and the sound of writing is heard. Presently the sheet of paper is put into the lap of one of the sitters, who will keep it until the seance closes before he can read it. Usually every member of the circle gets a message before the close of the seance. Some of them contain tests of an indisputable nature, while others are merely a name or some advice as to mediumship or business from the medium's controls. The teabell is heard ringing in different parts of the room, against the walls and ceiling from eight to twelve feet from the medium.

It touches the sitters on the shoulders and head and skips about from one locality to another with remarkable quickness. Now a luminous hand appears above the heads of the sitters. Hands of different sizes are seen, and finger-snapping is heard.

The medium now begins whistling and the guitar strikes up an accompaniment, and travels all about the room. When the guitar stops its accompaniment the dulcimer takes it up and continues to play as long as the medium will whistle. When he has stopped it strikes up a tune on its own hook and executes it in admirable style.

At different times during the seance the person sitting on the medium's left has been exchanged for another, so that no claim of there having been a confederate would stand. After an hour and a half or two hours' time the medium would announce the close of the seance.

On turning up the lamp the instruments that had been placed behind the medium would be found piled up on the table in the middle of the circle.

From what you have read regarding the cabinet seance\* you could understand how the medium accomplished these things if he only had the use of *one* hand. As each hand was held by a separate person, you can not understand how he could get the use of either of them except the one on his right was a confederate. Such was not the case and he *did* have the use of one hand, the right one. But how? He took his place before the light was turned down and those holding him say he did not let go for an instant during the seance. He did, though, after the light was turned out for the purpose of getting his handkerchief to blow his nose. After blowing his nose he requested the sitter to again take his wrist, which is done, but this time it is the wrist of the left hand instead of the right. He has crossed his legs and there is but one knee to be felt, hence the sitter on his right does not feel that she is reaching across the right knee and thinks the left knee which she *does* feel to be the right. He has let his hand slip down until, instead of holding the sitter on his left by the wrist he has him by the fingers, thus allowing him a little more distance, and preventing the left-hand sitter using the hand to feel about and discover the right-hand sitter's hand on the wrist of the hand holding his. You will see, now, that although both sitters are holding the *same* hand each one thinks he is holding the one on his or her side of the medium.

The balance of the seance is easy. His hands are made of pasteboard, painted black on one side and with luminous paint on the other. He fastens a hand to his reaching rod, and elevates it. As long as the black side is toward the sitters they do not perceive it, but on turning the luminous side toward them it is immediately visible. The guitar is so tuned that the accompaniment to his whistling can be performed without any fingering of the strings being necessary. This is not impossible, for who has not seen artists at variety shows play accompaniments and airs on guitars and banjos with one hand? The music on the dulcimer was easy enough of production after he had secured the release of one hand.

The seance, you will observe, depended entirely on the one feat, that of getting the use of his right hand. He has his note-books and if any are present at any of his seances who are mentioned in it, he will be sure to get some fine tests. One or two good tests in a circle is enough. Of course, if you have more it is well enough to give them. The more the better, although two or three is sufficient to demonstrate your wonderful powers in that line as well as helping out the physical portion of your entertainment.

\* See the article on the subject in the previous number.

Reader, have you ever attended a seance for full-form materialization? Have you ever thought you had met your dead relative's spirit at these seances? If you have never had the pleasure of attending a seance of this phase you have missed a rare treat.

The writer has assisted at many a one and will relate to you some of the wonderful phenomena occurring at them and the means used to produce them. He will mention no names but has no doubt that many will read these pages who will know who is referred to in the accounts of the manifestations. Many, too, may read who have been duped and deceived at the identical seances mentioned.

Many and various are the methods employed by the different mediums in producing this phase. It is in Boston, New York and San Francisco that it has been worked the finest. The full-form seances most often met with are very simply worked, and easy of performance by the medium. You are usually given a seat in a circle of chairs about the front of a cabinet made by hanging heavy curtains across the corner of the room. If you are a stranger or one who looks or acts as though he would grab the spirits you are seated at the furthest point from the cabinet, or, if there are two rows of seats you will be given a seat in the back row. There are usually three or four persons present who are regular attendants and who are placed in the front row and near the cabinet. These persons may not be confederates, but simply ardent believers in that particular medium, and, on account of their constant attendance are admitted at half price. This is a very acceptable state of affairs for the medium or her manager, for they help to fill the front row with persons who can be depended upon to do no harm.

After the spectators are seated and a song has been sung an Indian control, or a control other than Indian, usually has something to say before any manifestations occur, especially if the medium has not had time during the singing to get herself in shape to begin the manifestations.

It is always a female medium who gives *this* description of seance.

You will notice that before the seance begins the manager takes a seat close up to one corner of the cabinet. The room has been made so dark that you can hardly distinguish your neighbor. After the Indian control has unburdened itself of a lot of nonsensical trash, it will announce:

"Me's maked up a pitty white squaw, and she's tummin out."

The curtains part and there is a strip of white visible to the sitters.

"Who is this spirit for?" will ask the manager.

The spirit will probably raise a hand and point in some direction, but it is hard to tell to what particular person, and it is necessary that the sitters ask:

"Is it for me?"

"Is it Mary?"

"Is it Agnes?" etc.

One of them will be selected by the medium.

"Can you speak to me?" is asked.

If the person is some Spiritualist on whom the medium has tests the spirit can usually say a few words and retires to the cabinet. The next apparition, it is likely, will be a child or some spirit smaller in stature than the medium. After it has been made known for whom it came it will disappear.

If a stranger or one other than a Spiritualist has been claimed as a relative the spirit has been unable to talk except the sitter has inadvertently dropped some word from which a test can be worked up, as, "is brother Willie with you?" or, "have you met uncle Harry?" Now, one of the medium's controls puts in an appearance.

The control may be Queen Catharine or some less celebrated personage. However, when they make their appearance, they are attired in snowy white robes with a golden crown glittering with gems. They are gorgeously gotten up, and the wonder is, where did the medium keep the yards of white material in which they were clothed? She has no guitar to help her out this time. No; but the folds of her skirt will conceal much that she uses. Her stockings are very good receptacles for various articles, and if her manager is worth his salt in the position he occupies, there is no reason why he should not pass in a great many things she requires. Many persons recognize their friends in some of the make-ups of the medium. The writer has masqueraded as a spirit scores of times and has been recognized by three or four different persons at the same seance as brother or father and even mother.

A very little apparatus is necessary to make several changes in your appearance in the dim light that is furnished you to investigate by. The one robe answers for forty spirits, and, with two or three wigs and beards of different shapes, the color amounts to nothing as it is so dark you cannot distinguish red from any color save white, a crown, a cap or two, a piece of chalk, and you can by changing your height by stooping, and getting on your knees to represent children, produce quite an army of spirits, each differing in appearance from any other.

A large spirit leading a child can be produced by the medium stepping out and holding at arms' length a piece of the white robe-cloth. She has no white on the arm that is supporting the child. Her dress being dark and the curtain behind it dark, the arm is not seen and the child appears separate and apart from the large spirit. Of course no handling is allowed, and, for all you can see, the shape is a child. The medium simulates child's talk and the child is supposed to have spoken.

When there are present a very particular lot of sitters the medium allows the ladies to search her and takes off all white skirts. The manager loads up with the apparatus and after the light has been turned down, he either passes it inside as he sits in his chair, or the medium puts out her hand from underneath and takes it from under his coat. If he sit in an upholstered chair, there is no end to the apparatus she can lay hands on. It is ready for her at any time after the chair is in its place whether the manager is in it or not. Where an upholstered chair is used the medium can have several different costumes. No one thinks of searching the manager or chair.

There are no such things as rubber spirits that are blown up, although many hundreds of persons think there are.

You frequently hear of spirits materializing from the floor and again disappearing through the floor outside the cabinet. In this deception, you will notice that the floor is covered with a very dark carpet. When the medium desires to make her appearance through the floor she first puts on a glove that reaches her shoulder, and one that is about the same color as the carpet or darker. She now takes in her hand a piece of the white netting that when shaken out is about three yards long and one yard or forty-two inches wide. This is easily concealed by the hand when it is rolled into a ball. She now gets down on the floor inside the cabinet with her head gear on, and crawling as far to the front as the curtains will permit, thrusts out her arm as far as she can reach in front of the cabinet and on the floor. Her hand and arm cannot be seen. The white netting will show when she turns her hand over, appearing a white spot. She begins to shake it loose and the spot appears to grow. She continues to shake and release the netting raising her hand all the while until it is about four feet high, when, with one big founce she darts from the cabinet and pulling the netting about her, there is your spirit. If she desires to depart through the floor she gets partially into the cabinet, and getting hold of the netting so that she can dodge behind it, she suddenly raises it above her headgear and dodges behind the curtains. She now allows the netting to drop to the floor and

slowly gathers it into her hand, when she so suddenly takes it into the cabinet that, in the dim light it seemed to fade into the air.

There are several methods of materializing a spirit from the floor and the different ways will be given. The manner just described is very effective and in the dimly lighted room is very well calculated to deceive. It is the work of the ordinary medium, one who is not at all clever, and who depends rather on the gullibility of her sitters than the excellence of her work to pull her through all right. She will go along and make money though, even if her work is raw and bungling.

After all, it is not always the excellence of the work so much as the ignorance of the observer, that makes many things appear wonderful.

Our medium here inserts the report of one of his patrons who was cleverly duped, and who wrote down his account of the wonderful spiritual experiences he had had. In his anxiety to see his little grandchild, he frequented mediums and received most wonderful tests; he was led from one medium to another until in his quest he came to San Francisco. The report of this man, called Mr. Smith, continues as follows:

I made my way to the materializing seance at which my friends hoped to materialize. I was admitted to the seance room and found about twenty persons already assembled. I was seated in the front row of chairs. The cabinet used was a closet about six feet long and four feet wide. The ceilings of both the room and cabinet were of wood.

After a thorough examination had been made of the cabinet by all those who cared to do so, the sitters were rearranged to suit the medium. There were present now, thirty-five persons. The seance room was very large. The door had been taken off the closet that served as a cabinet, and in its stead were hung heavy curtains. The floor of the room was carpeted with a dark carpet as was the cabinet. The light was furnished by a lamp placed in a box that was fastened to the wall some eight feet from the floor. This box had a sliding lid in front, controlled by a cord passing into the cabinet. By this means the spirits could regulate the light to suit themselves, without any movement on the part of any of those in the seance room being necessary.

When everything was in readiness the medium entered the cabinet, seated himself and was tied, and so secured to his chair that it was impossible that he could have any use of himself. He was most thoroughly secured to his chair and his chair nailed fast to the floor by passing leather straps over the rounds in the side and nailing

the ends to the floor. After is was shown to the sitters that he was utterly helpless, the curtain was drawn.

The manager now placed an ordinary kitchen table in front of the door of the cabinet, so that it stood away from it about two feet. The table contained no drawer. On the table was laid writing material, a guitar and small bell. The manager seated himself close to one side of the cabinet entrance, and started a large Swiss music box. Before it had finished the first air the lamp was shut entirely off, making the room inky dark.

An illuminated hand and arm was now seen to come from between the curtain and played an accompaniment to the music box on the guitar. We could see plainly the movements of the hand, arm and fingers as it manipulated the strings of the instrument. It did not appear necessary to finger the strings on the keyboard, although the air was in a key that made it impossible to tune the guitar so that an accompaniment could be performed *without* fingering. However, but one hand was visible, and it was picking the strings.

After the tune was finished the hand left the instrument, and moved out into the room to the front of the table, and from the sound we knew it was writing on the tablet that had been placed there. The arm was of bluish light and appeared to end just above the elbow, and to have no connection with a body. It finished writing and seemed to float into the cabinet, near the top.

The light was opened and the manager requested those who had tied the medium to examine his condition and see if the ropcs had been tampered with. The examination was made and it was evident that the fastenings were undisturbed. The communication was read aloud to those present and contained the following.

"We are pleased to meet so many seekers after light and truth here this evening and from the conditions, as we sense them, we will have a satisfactory and pleasant seance. The way to obtain the best results is for each person to maintain a passive condition and take what we are able to give. You may rest assured that our best efforts will be put forth to give you entire satisfaction. The Control."

The writing was exactly on the ruled lines although written in absolute darkness. The hand and arm, although luminous, did not give out a particle of light. The arm had been at least five feet from the cabinet opening and seven feet from the medium. Surely, it was not he. The message read, the light was again shut down and the music again started.

Once more a hand appeared and, floating out to the table again



began writing. Of a sudden the hand disappeared, and, after a few seconds I was astonished to feel a hand thrusting a paper into my top coat pocket. Now appeared two hands and they played an air on the guitar. Now came three, then four hands were visible, bright as the day. Two of them began writing again and when they had finished, two more sitters were the recipients of sheets of paper.

Soon the light was opened for an inspection of the cabinet, which was made, with the conclusion that the medium had not moved. Those of us receiving communications were afforded an opportunity to read them. We found them nicely written as before and all contained tests, of which I will give my own. On my sheet was written:

"My dear brother, I can not express the pleasure I experience on this occasion. We will, before the seance closes, endeavor to so materialize that you can see and recognize us. Spiritualism is a most glorious truth. Continue to investigate until you are so positive of your knowledge that nothing can shake you. Spiritualism will answer both to live and die by. Your sister, Mrs. Harriet Mansfield."

One of the other gentlemen receiving communication had been investigating Spiritualism for a few months and this was his first visit to this medium, while the other was a Spiritualist and had visited this medium once before, although he had not received any communication on his previous visit, nor seen any spirit he recognized. This time his communication contained very fine tests.

After the light went out again, more hands were seen, the table was floated about, over the heads of the circle, as was the music box, which weighed at least fifty pounds, two more satisfactory communications written. Another examination of the cabinet was made and everything found satisfactory. This time the light was not put entirely out, but a very dim light was allowed.

The music-box was again set playing, and while yet it was playing the first tune a tall figure appeared, robed in creamy white with gleaming sparks in her hair and on a crown she wore. She was recognized by a gentleman present, a Spiritualist, whose spirit guide she was, and who addressed her as "my queen." She stood a few seconds behind the table and then stepped out in the open space between the sitters and the table. The gentleman now arose from his seat and standing beside her holding her hand, conversed in a whisper with her for some seconds.

This was most assuredly a lady, if appearances go for anything. Her hands were quite small, and were warm and life-like, as several, including myself, can testify, having been permitted to shake hands

with her. At last she started to the cabinet, and as she went appeared to grow shorter, until, as she disappeared between the curtains she was not much taller than the table. The manager now explained that the spirit had remained out rather too long and came near dematerializing before she reached the cabinet.

Now came the spirit of a young man, dressed in a light suit of clothes, who gave his name and said his mother was present. She was, and had a few words of conversation with him when he disappeared into the cabinet. The lady said that it was unmistakably her son; but there was *something* that was not as he had been, but what it was she was unable to describe.

The next spirit to present itself was my son Eddie. He came from out the cabinet, calling, "papa, papa." The manager asked, "who is your papa?" and he replied, "Mr. Smith." All this time he stood between the table and cabinet, and only his head and shoulders could be seen. The manager told him to step out where he could be seen, when he came around to the front of the table.

It was rather dark but I would swear it was my son. He was just the right size, with long flaxen hair, with a very pale face. He wore a light-colored waist and darker knee-breeches and stockings, with a large black bow at his throat, just as I remembered seeing him last in health.

While Eddie was still standing in front of the table a large man came out and took him by the hand. Eddie spoke, saying:

"Must I go back, grandpa?" The form turned toward me, saying: "My son, this is a great pleasure to us, but we must not long remain, as it is our first attempt at materializing." He turned to go when the manager said to him: "If the gentleman is your son you ought to give him your name."

"The name of the child is Eddie, and my own is J. A. Smith," replied the form as they vanished into the cabinet.

The manager suggested that it would be well to examine and see whether the medium had been out or not. The cabinet was examined and everything found satisfactory.

Spirit after spirit came from the cabinet, one and two at a time for an hour, some of them came to friends and others were controls of the medium. Many of them were recognized by different ones of the sitters in the room. I, for one, could swear to the identity of my own son Eddie, while my father was plainly recognizable.

The control announced from the cabinet that a very distinguished spirit would now present itself, if the music-box was started. Accordingly the manager allowed the box to start, and but a few bars

had been played when there appeared from the cabinet and to the front of the table a tall spare man. The light was made a trifle brighter and each one present recognized the form and features of Abraham Lincoln. He spoke a few words relating to the progress of the country since the troublous times at his death. He was dressed in a black suit with a white shirt to which a rolling collar was attached and around his neck was tied the old-fashioned black choker. It was certainly Abraham Lincoln. After speaking he retired to the cabinet, and was seen no more that evening.

When he had disappeared into the cabinet the room was again made dark. Suddenly there appeared on the floor in front of the table a light about as large as a base-ball. It moved about in a circle of perhaps a foot in diameter and grew larger. It soon lost the shape of a ball and appeared to be a luminous cloud. Seemingly we could see into and through it. In the course of thirty seconds it had become as large as a six-year-old child, still there was no definite shape, only a fleecy cloud-like mass, turning, twisting and rolling. At the end of perhaps a minute it was the size and shape of an adult person. The face could not be seen, but bright, luminous spots were visible as though the hair and ears were decorated with gems. The shape spoke and requested light. As the light was turned on the luminousness disappeared, and we beheld a beautiful young lady clothed in a dazzling white costume. Her arms and shoulders were bare, and about her neck there was a necklace of what appeared to be very brilliant diamonds. Her feet were encased in white slippers, with straps across the instep. In her ears and hair glistened and shimmered beautiful diamonds. Her face and arms were as alabaster, and altogether she was one of the most beautiful women I had ever beheld. She was recognized by a lady and gentleman present as their daughter. They had met her here before. They were from the East and were wealthy. The spirit requested that they come to her, which they did, and were each kissed and embraced by it. They held a moment's conversation with her and resumed their seats, when the lamp was slowly turned down. As the light became dim the spirit became luminous. The face and arms disappeared and the body became as a cloud again, turning and twisting and growing smaller until it was nothing but a small light spot on the carpet, which of a sudden disappeared entirely.

Immediately after this manifestation an examination of the medium and cabinet was made, and it was certain the medium had not been away from his chair. The light was again turned out and

the music-box started, when two bright spots appeared on the carpet, one at either end of the table. These went through the same process of development until, when the light was turned on there was another beautiful female spirit at one end of the table, and a child of perhaps eight years of age at the other. The child was recognized by a lady present as her daughter, while the adult spirit was recognized and rapturously greeted by a gentleman who sat near me on my left, as his "darling angel guardian." They had quite a long conversation in which they made use of very endearing language, each to the other. I supposed it was the gentleman's wife. The spirit's name was said to be Isis, and he was said to be a denizen of the planet Jupiter. [More about them later.] These spirits did not disappear as the first one had, but when the light had been turned off, the luminous shape revolved a few times, and on two occasions assumed the garb and shape of men, and when the light was turned on again there stood the men with beards and men's forms.

After some eight or ten of these materializations and dematerializations before our eyes, the last couple completely disappeared.

The light again turned down and a luminous shape came from the cabinet followed by others, until seven of them stood on the floor. The light was turned up until we could see the seven spirits. Five were females and two males. They were of different sizes. The curtain at the door of the cabinet was pulled aside and we could see the medium sitting in the chair in which he was bound. The forms now filed into the cabinet again while the music-box played and the light was turned down. After they had disappeared, the light was turned up again, an investigation made of the cabinet, and the seance was over.

There, reader, is a truthful description of what can be witnessed at the seances of mediums who are artists. None of your bungling, amateur work here. The work of such a medium is always satisfactory for the reason that if a man feels *sure* that the medium is a fraud, he has been so well entertained that he does not regret the money paid for the opportunity to witness it. This is the class of medium, also, who frequently succeed in getting large sums of money from wealthy persons they have converted to Spiritualism.

Did the writer not give you the true explanation of the manner in which these things were produced, you would probably say it was a "fish-story," conceived by a very fertile imagination. If you believed that he saw these things you would perhaps offer the preacher's explanation, by saying, "it is the work of the devil;" or of the scientist, by asserting that "it is the mesmerist's power over

your mind; or the operator has discovered an odd force in nature;" or go off on a long dissertation on hypnotism and fourth dimension of space problems. However, it is not the work of the devil, neither is there any but *natural* laws necessary to its production.

\* \* \*

Our ex-medium adds:

The seance actually occurred and was described in writing by Mr. Smith in the language used, although it was not printed, and the writer was one of those who assisted in its production. He will now proceed to explain this particular seance.

It will be remembered that the room and cabinet was carpeted with a dark carpet, and that the ceilings were of wood. The ceilings were decorated by being put on in panels. The ceiling of the cabinet would not have been like that of the room, had the closet been a part of the architect's plans for the house. It was not, but was made by the medium. He simply built a lath and plaster partition from the corner of a wide chimney to the wall, thus inclosing a space six by four feet.

The panel in the ceiling of the closet was twenty inches square. This panel was "doctored" and could be displaced leaving an aperture large enough for the spooks to get through with perfect ease. A light ladder that reached within three feet of the floor of the cabinet was hooked fast above and furnished the means of getting down and up again.

There were eight persons connected with the seance described by Mr. Smith, seven up stairs and the medium in the cabinet. Of course it was not necessary that the medium got out of his fastenings, and the facts are that he did *not*.

The table was placed across the cabinet door, not to lay the instruments on, but to be very much in the way should any one make a rush and grab for the materialized forms. In case this occurred, the spooks above would close the light, making the room perfectly dark and the manager would do his utmost to turn the table on end, or side, with the legs out in the room. Before the grabber could get the lay of things and get past it, the spooks would have gone through the trap, pulled up the ladder and have closed it. The grabber would have found the medium writhing and groaning and bleeding from the mouth. The bleeding was for effect and would be caused by sucking very hard on his teeth or gums.

The table also served a convenient purpose in the materialization and dematerialization through the floor.

Now let us see how the spooks managed the manifestations and the properties used to produce them. The trap and ladder were practically noiseless in their operations, but the music-box made assurance doubly sure that the least sound from the cabinet should not be heard in the seance-room.

When the box began its first air the trap door opened and down the ladder came a young man clad in a suit of black tights. He was entirely covered with black with the exception of his right arm, which was bare to a point a little more than half way from the elbow to his shoulder. The bare arm glowed with a luminous bluish light.

This condition of things was brought about by powdering his arm with pulverized luminous paint. If you are not told the method of transforming the sticky paint to powder, you will not be able to do it and conclude the writer was romancing in this case. In order to reduce it to powder, thin the contents of one of the glasses with one pint of turpentine. When it is thoroughly cut and incorporated into the turpentine, soak strips of muslin and hang them up to dry. When thoroughly dry you can shake the powder from the cloth.

In order to powder one of your arms, gather one of the cloths in your hand, and use it as a powder puff on your arm. You will not be able to get *all* the paint out, but the pieces will make luminous crowns, slippers, stars and luminous decorations for your robes. You will be under the necessity of perfuming your robes each time they are used, for the odor of the turpentine will always remain to a greater or less degree.

To illuminate a robe or costume (the mediums always say robe) you proceed the same as in the powdering process, except that to the pint of paint you will add a wine glassful of Demar varnish which will prevent it falling or being shaken off in powder. You are not to make the robe of muslin but of white netting. Every lady will know what the netting is. It is the lightest, thinnest material the writer ever saw sold in a dry goods store. Ten yards of it can be put into the vest pocket. Do not scrimp the material, but get as much of it into your robe as possible.

When he of the luminous arm steps from the cabinet into the dark room no part of him is visible save the arm. He picked the strings of the instrument with the illuminated hand and fingered the keyboard with the other. He makes a sound of writing on the tablet and tears off a leaf which he conceals, and, drawing a long black stocking over the luminous arm places in the pocket of the sitter a communication that had been written up-stairs in a good light. This accounts for the even beautiful writing, supposed to have been done

in the dark. He covers the luminous arm so that any one so inclined could not locate it in order to grab it when he is near enough. By mounting the table, that luminous hand and arm can be made to show as though it was floating about near the ceiling.

When four hands were visible there were two spooks at work with both arms illuminated.

You already know how the spirit got its information regarding Mr. Smith. You can readily understand the forces that floated the music-box and the table above the heads of the sitter, and an explanation is useless.

When the first female spirit appeared, it was, in reality a young woman, dressed in a gorgeous white costume without paint, hence the light was turned up instead of down, in order that she be visible. Rhinestones and Sumatra gems being cheap she was plentifully supplied with "diamonds," although many of those who are the queens and spirit guides or controls of wealthy Spiritualistic fanatics wear real diamonds, the gift of their wealthy charge or king as they usually call them.

When she started for the cabinet she used her hands to keep her robe from under her feet and as she went stooped lower and lower, until as she disappeared in the cabinet she was on her hands and knees. This is what caused the appearance of dematerialization.

When Mr. Smith's son, Eddy, came from the cabinet he was represented by a boy about eight years of age, the son of one of the female spooks up-stairs. He receives two dollars a night for his services, the same as the larger spooks. He was powdered until he was very white, a blonde wig put over his own hair and dressed as most boys are at the age Mr. Smith's son died. Mr. Smith recognized him by his size, his light complexion and flaxen hair, and the fact that he called him papa and gave the correct name. His father was made up from the description given by the medium and acknowledged by Mr. Smith as correct. Of course he knew his own name, for it was given him by the slate-writer.

Mr. Lincoln was represented by one of the spooks who could easily make up for him. These materializations of illustrious persons are only fancy pieces and used to fill in with.

Now we come to a part of the phenomena that all Spiritualists who have witnessed it will swear by. What is referred to is the materializing and dematerializing of the spirit from the floor and before your eyes. In this you see first a small light, which grows larger and larger, until there stands before you a fully formed lady or male spirit, as was described in Mr. Smith's experience.

In order to accomplish what he witnessed, the same spook who had before been recognized by a gentleman as his queen, prepared herself in the following way. Divesting herself of all clothing she donned simply a long chemise that reached her shoe-tops. She drew on a pair of white stockings and over them a pair of white slippers. Into her hair and ears she put rhinestone diamonds, and around her neck a necklace of the same beautiful but valueless stones. On each ear lobe and around her neck were put small spots of the luminous powder to represent the diamonds while it was dark. Her face was powdered and her eyebrows and lashes darkened, while a dark line was drawn under each eye. She now took a black mask that covered her head to prevent the luminous diamonds being seen until the proper time. She carried her robe in a black bag.

Crawling from between the curtains and under the table she exposed on the floor a small part of her robe. This she shook and moved about, allowing it to escape from the bag until it was all out. She was now from under the table and on her knees, and it was time the head show on the form, so, getting close to the robe she threw off and under the table the black mask.

The shape was now the size of an adult, she adjusted the robe to her person, and rapped for light. As a matter of course, when any light was made the luminousness of the robe was drowned, and she appeared simply in a white costume. The necklace and earrings could now be seen, but when the light was such as to reveal them the luminous spots had disappeared, leaving the spectator to think the ones he now saw were the ones he had seen in the dark.

The process of dematerialization will now be apparent and a description will only tire the reader. One small spook was all that was required as he could be made to represent boy or girl as was desired by clothing him in the garments of either sex.

At the close of the seance, the full force of spooks came into the room. After disappearing they shinned up the ladder, drew it after them, closed the panel and the trap in the floor above it, replaced the carpet and pushed over the place a heavy bedstead from which they took the castors. They now carried the ladder down stairs and concealed it in the coal house as they went through it on their way home. They will get their pay next day.

Should ever so close an examination of the cabinet be made you would not find anything wrong. This particular medium has taken investigators into the cellar beneath the cabinet and the room above it scores of times, yet nothing was discovered.



The most remunerative business of mediums consists in catching "suckers." This name is a term in mediumistic language and a description of the species is given in the following lines:

#### THE SUCKER.

What is meant is that some gentleman who is either wealthy or earning a large salary will become interested, and, finally, convinced that spirits do return and materialize, and will be a constant attendant at the seances of this particular medium. When such a man is caught by the medium, plans are laid to relieve him of his wealth, or a goodly portion of it. The spirits give him to understand that they can work much better when he is present and that the Princess So-and-so, his soul-mate or affinity, is always present at the seances to meet him. This affinity Princess is supplied with an elegant costume that will glitter with tinsel and gems. She will wear a white crown (signifying purity) on the front of which blazes a star, indicative of the advanced sphere in which she exists in spirit life. This Princess will conduct herself very much like an ordinary mortal in the private seances she induces him to obtain from the medium, at twenty-five or more dollars per seance, at which time he is always welcomed with a royal kiss and embrace, and will sit on his lap a half hour at a time, telling him of the beauties of spirit life, and the home they are to occupy together when he comes to her side of life. These loving actions are not always confined to the private seances, but the writer has been present when a gentleman met his royal spirit lover, and kisses and embraces were indulged in in the presence of a public circle of as many as twenty persons. He would call her his "pet," "darling," "sweetheart" and other endearing names, until he made the writer most outrageously "tired." Others were "tired" too, judging from the smothered exclamations heard in various parts of the room.

When he has arrived at the kissing and embracing point, he is ready to pluck. There are various ways of doing this. He is given to understand by the spirit lover that her medium must have certain things that she will not herself purchase, in order that conditions be made more perfect, for their communing together. No sooner is this left-handed request made, than a check is written and the spirit sees to it that her medium gets it. There are a great many things, now, found necessary to secure better conditions and a great many checks written, ranging from ten to two or three hundred dollars. When he has been bled until he will stand it no longer, or has no more money, his Princess tells him she must return to her heavenly sphere again, not to return for a number of years; or he is sent, to

Europe on a fool's errand, to find something or to take his place in her family. If it is the latter, he is, no doubt, speedily shown the door, and possibly kicked through it. The reader may think such a thing as the foregoing never transpired, but it has. The man, in this case, appeared a thorough gentleman, and was certainly educated and intelligent enough to make considerable money. He is now "broke."

You may think he was crazy but he transacted business all the time that a crazy man could not handle. He was no more crazy than the women who become nuns or the men who will fortunes to the Church, leaving their relatives out in the cold. He fell in love with the spirit and did no more than men will do who are madly in love with a *mortal* woman. Men are continually doing crazy acts when they are in love, up to their ears. These love affairs between mortal and spirit have even gone on to a termination in marriage, an account of which will be given later on. The writer knows all the details in this case, as he was an acquaintance of one of the spirits who brought it about, and also partook of the wedding supper that was given in honor of the occasion, at the bridegroom's expense.

The medium is sharp enough not to attempt his or her games on a man who is not either wealthy or the head of some large firm or business that brings him a large enough salary or income, so that the money he gives up will not be *very* hard to spare. Should they work a man who has only a moderate income or salary, without any great number of friends and he "tumbles" to their game, he is liable to "roar," and if the medium does not disgorge will probably see to it that they are placed where they will do no more spooking for some months or years.

The man of brains and fortune will say to himself: "Well! I have been taken in and nicely done for. Should my family or associates learn of this affair I should be the laughing-stock of several States, and my good name for business tact and intelligence will suffer a terrible blow. I will just drop the matter, hoping it will never leak out. I have had some experience that I have paid dearly for, but the price is nothing if I can keep it dark."

The other man will probably think differently. He will say: "Of all the infernal swindles that I have ever heard of, this one is the most damnable. These people have preyed upon my most sacred affections in order to get money from me. Well! I will see to it that they pay dearly for it. But what will my friends say when they know what a fool I have made of myself. I don't like to have it get out. Let's see; how much have they got out of me?"

He will now figure up the different amounts paid the medium and will probably ruminatè as follows :

"Great Scott! I had no idea I was spending that amount of money on the infernal swindlers! Why in fourteen months it amounts to over two thousand dollars. That is enough to make quite an addition to my stock of goods or would go a long way on my year's rent and expenses, or would make a comfortable addition to my bank account. They are making money faster than I, and they have nothing invested. I can not afford to lose that amount of money for nothing, friends or no friends. I will first go to them and if they will settle, it need not get out. If they do not, I will send a lawyer and see it through, no matter how much publicity my foolish actions receive."

You will see, that it does not pay the medium to pluck the small fry, for ninety-nine times in a hundred he would be compelled to disgorge, and all his hard work would be wasted.

The writer agreed to give the details of the courtship and marriage of a mortal and a spirit, and this is a fitting place to give it. The real name of the gentleman will not be given, but the name of the spirit was supposed to be Isis, and she an inhabitant of the planet Jupiter. Mr. Smith, on his visit to the materializing seance witnessed a meeting of the gentleman and his spirit bride. The conditions that led to this marriage were as follows :

The bridegroom, whom we will call Mr. Brown, began an investigation of Spiritualism in one of the Eastern cities. He was a man of wealth and traveled much as a means of pleasantly passing away the time. He was educated, a bachelor, and held that all the planets were inhabited by races of human beings similar to ourselves, though much in advance of us in everything. He believed that the inhabitants of Jupiter were once a people on this earth, but that since death they may have lived on several of the different planets, and as they progressed were placed on planets that contained everything and every condition that their state of development entitled them to.

How much of this strange belief was obtained through the medium the writer cannot say. However, when the 'Frisco medium learned these views he at once set to work to make them pay him.

Mr. Brown was first convinced that the medium was genuine. His own views were then made to appear as correct, thus he was certain to continue his investigations with this medium.

At one of the materializing seances, one of the female spooks was made as handsome as a new robe trimmed with satin and other

things, a Rhinestone necklace, ear-drops, hair-pins, bracelets and brooch, along with plenty of powder and pencil-work would make her, and she "came" for Mr. Brown.

It was no one Mr. Brown remembered, and he was told that it was a spirit from Jupiter and was his spirit guide or guard, and his affinity. He was also told that he had just begun to attain a Spiritual condition that would permit her to communicate with him.

In her make-up the spook was certainly very beautiful. Especially was this true when she was looked upon in the very dim light of the seance-room.

Mr. Brown fell in love with Isis, very much in love. So much so that he was present at every public seance, and had one and two private seances each week. It may not have been so much the physical beauty of the spirit as the supposed exalted sphere of progression she existed in, and the thought that she was his guardian angel.

Besides this, her conversation with him was always of spiritual sciences and matters that were of interest to him. She also gave him to understand that they always had been affinities, and that some time in the future they would be mated. He was informed that the reason he had never married was because of her influence, that had she remained on earth they would as certainly have met and married as it was that the sun rose and set that day, also that it would have been infinitely easier for both to have reached the perfect state if it had transpired that way. He was told that these communions together would materially aid him in his progression when he came to that side of life. This was kept before him so constantly that he finally asked if it would not be possible to consummate the marriage between them.

This was rather unexpected and the medium and spook consulted on the matter and concluded they could get a little extra, perhaps, by getting up a mock marriage ceremony.

The medium set his wits to work, and when Mr. Brown had his next private seance he was told that the marriage could be consummated if it could be arranged so as to not kill or injure the medium. It was satisfactorily explained to him why there was danger of any thing of the kind occurring, and that the medium ought to be handsomely rewarded if he could be persuaded to sit for him for that purpose. It was left to her to name the amount and she made it five hundred dollars. She bade him make the arrangements with the medium and confer with her again next day. This he did, and the medium after *much persuasion* was induced to ac-

cept a check for five hundred dollars, the seance to occur at any time named by the spirit Isis.

At the private seance the next day Isis informed Mr. Brown that a large amount of fine silks and jewelry would have to be purchased and placed in the cabinet so that she and the company would have abundance of material from which to materialize their clothing. He was told that the occasion should be honored with a grand supper after the ceremony, and he would see to it that it was arranged for. She said there would be six materialized spirits present and twenty who would be invisible.

The date for the wedding was named and the number of private seances to be had previous to it. He was instructed to give the money to the medium to purchase the silks and other material they were to "draw from."

These things were to be touched by no hand save the medium's else they would receive a magnetism that would prevent the purpose for which they were furnished. The astral magnetism would control all the proceedings, and none other must be allowed to contaminate it.

The wedding night came around and the seance room was decorated with flowers and shrubs, besides a long table being laid for twenty-one persons. It will suffice to say that the wines and viands on the table cost close to three hundred dollars. No one was present save the medium and Mr. Brown. The medium enter the cabinet and went into a trance.

Soon there stepped into the dimly-lighted room a tall and magnificently gowned and crowned person who appeared to be a priest or a high functionary of some sort. He was followed by the bride and she by four other beautifully costumed spirits, two ladies and two gentlemen. The writer will only add that the tall spirit performed the marriage ceremony, after which all sat down at table although nothing was eaten, as Mr. Brown had not yet been brought to a point where he could believe a spirit could eat and digest solids. They were supposed to feast on the aroma or essence or spiritual part of the feast spread for them.

The medium had fine wines and high living for several weeks after the wedding. He did not purchase silks and laces with the money furnished but placed in the cabinet some bundles of paper.

All the properties furnished for the wedding went to the medium. He made in the entire transaction, including private sittings, more than four thousand dollars in six months. This from *one* man, alone. He may have had three or four "suckers" beside Mr.

Brown. To be sure, the "sucker" is cautioned to secrecy regarding all these occurrences, for were it to become known by any of his friends it might result disastrously to the medium.

The recital of Mr. Brown's experience will not be believed by a great many who read this; but it is a *fact*.

The writer knows of another case of mortal falling in love with a spirit, in which the spirit, too, became smitten. It resulted in the spook going to the gentleman and confessing that she was the spirit. They are married now, and as the gentleman is wealthy, the medium has levied blackmail on the poor spook wife until life is a burden to her. The medium threatens to tell the public how she obtained her husband.

The extracts which we have made must not be understood to mean that the writer who tells them is an enemy of Spiritualism, nor that he ridicules those who by their belief in Spiritualism have allowed themselves to be duped by mediums. He describes his attitude toward Spiritualism thus:

It is not the writer's desire to deprive any Spiritualist of the comfort they must certainly derive from their belief in Spiritualism. There is nothing so calculated to give the believer such solace in their hours of trial and tribulation. No church deals out to its congregation anything so satisfactory, so comforting and so much in accord with our ideas of Almighty and indiscriminating justice. The author's entire family are Spiritulists, made so from mediums who were frauds, but the writer would no more take their Spiritualism from them, even though he *knew* it was a farce *from beginning to end*, than he would deliberately set to work and take their lives.

Bear in mind that men and women may be mistaken in regard to a great many things and still be of sound mind. . . . Remember, that no matter what manner of man or woman the medium may be, that it does not follow that the Spiritualist has the same taste and desires. If you must have it that there is nothing in the Spiritualist's belief, do not set him down as a fool or a knave, or as one who is insane; but say, simply, that he holds mistaken ideas. You would not accuse a man who was color-blind of all these things because he mistakes red for yellow.

The writer is, perhaps, more Spiritualist than anything else. He believes that he will live again although that belief was not the result of listening to the sermons of the preacher, nor through anything read in the Bible.

The author sincerely hopes, and firmly believes that wherever his book is read it will result in a general purging of the ranks of the Spiritualists of all unclean mediums and hangers-on.

## CLASSICAL AND ROMANTIC LITERATURE.

COMMENTS ON GOETHE'S POEM, "NATURE AND ART."

BY THE EDITOR.

**B**Y classical we understand everything in art and literature that has become accepted as a model of perfection, or at least that

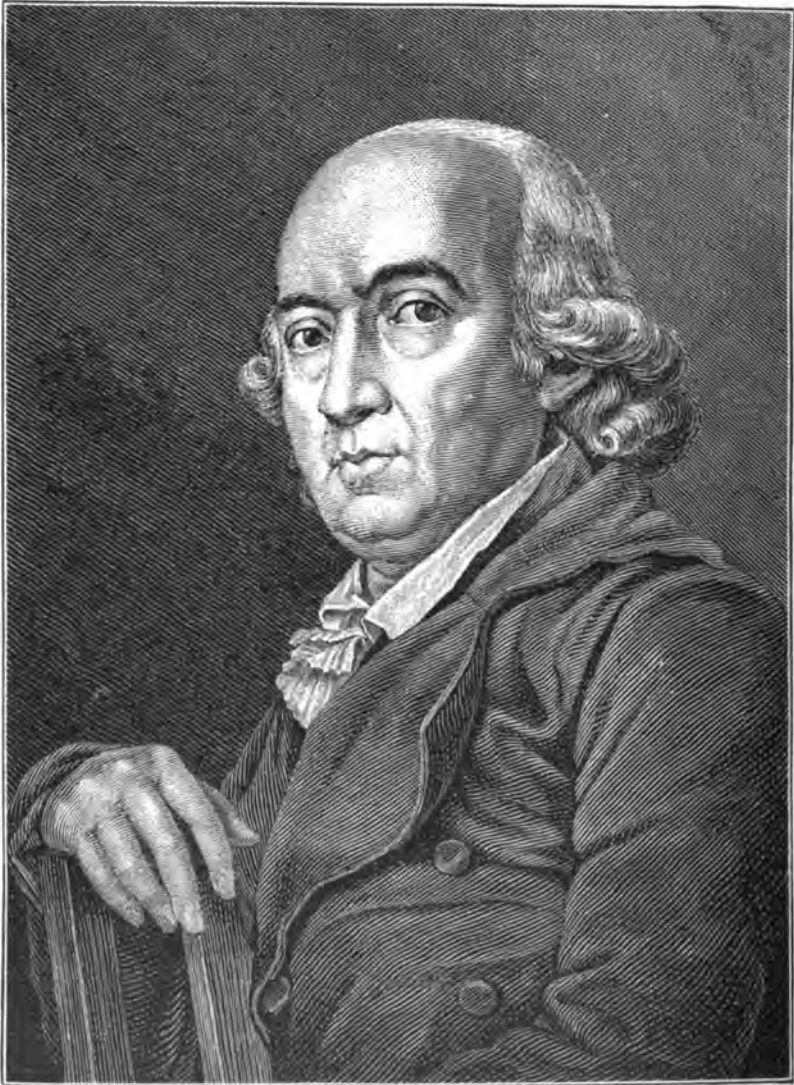


A CONTEMPORARY CARICATURE.

complies with, and conforms to, the rules of the recognized standard. In contrast to the classical, stand all those, be they artists or authors, who repudiate rule, or standard, or authority and proclaim the liberty of genius. These opponents of classical taste go under different names. They were prominent before as well as after the appearance of Goethe's most classical literature, and it seems as if epochs of classicism were constantly alternating with anti-classical tendencies.

The poets of the time of Goethe's youth reveled in the thought that genius should be untrammelled by conventionalities, traditions or considerations of any kind. No standards, not even those of common morality, must be tolerated, while full play should be given to sentiment, to a most vigorous self-realization, to an unimpeded actualization of an exuberant joy of life, of *Lebenslust* and of passion, which was

justified by the plea that passion represented the promptings of nature. Nature was the ideal of this period, and "Back to nature"



JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON HERDER.

After a crayon drawing from life by Bury. Original in possession of Herder's grandson, Councillor Stichling of Weimar.

was the slogan, whose note had first been sounded by Jean Jacques Rousseau.



The leading spirits of this epoch, viz., the time preceding the efflorescence of classical literature in Germany, named this movement the period of genius, and one of the most prominent among them, Klinger, characterized its aspirations in a drama which in its days was much admired, but is now generally known only for its title, *Sturm und Drang*, i. e., "Storm and Stress," a title which after-



FRIEDRICH MAXIMILIAN KLINGER.<sup>1</sup>

After a drawing by Goethe, 1775.



MALER MÜLLER.<sup>2</sup>

After an engraving by Ludwig E. Grimm, 1816.

wards furnished the name by which this period of German literature became known.

The main poets of the classical period, Goethe, Schiller, Herder and even Lessing, took an active part in this movement of Storm and Stress, or as it was then thought to be, of untrammelled genius. Herder wrote in 1777 "The Fragments," from which the beginning of the epoch is dated, Goethe wrote "Werther" and "Goetz," and

<sup>1</sup> Klinger was born February 17, 1752; he came in contact with Goethe at Weimar in 1776; he served first in the Austrian and then in the Russian army, rising in the latter to the rank of lieutenant-general; in Russia he was knighted. He died February 25, 1831, at St. Petersburg.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Müller, born January 13, 1749 at Kreuznach, became a convert to Roman Catholicism and died at Rome April 23, 1825. He combined with his poetic talent other artistic gifts, and is generally known as "Painter Müller" (*Maler Müller*) to distinguish him from the many other Müllers.

Schiller, "The Robbers." Even the sober Lessing was for some time not a little under its influence, but while Klinger and Maler Müller never outgrew the crudities of this naturalism all the others here



FRIEDRICH SCHILLER.  
After a drawing by Jagemann.

mentioned matured when they developed to the fulness of their manhood and sobered down to a recognition of the need, or perhaps the helpfulness and indispensableness of rules, and they adopted the

standards of former classical periods, especially those established in Greek antiquity. Through the observance of rule they succeeded in rising above nature and building there with nature's own materials a realm of a higher and purer nobility, the realm of art.

The triumph of these greater men ended the period of storm and stress and rendered impossible a further recognition of these



THE YOUNG GOETHE.

After a crayon drawing by Johann Hieronymus Lips in 1791. The original is preserved in the *Freie deutsche Hochstift*, Frankfort on the Main.

wild geniuses. The epoch of the men of nature, or raw genius, of the spirit of rebellion, ends with the appearance of Schiller's "Don Carlos" in 1787, and posterity judges of this movement merely as a time of preparation for genuine art and the higher classical literature which developed out of it. It was the age of the immaturity

of genius, and so it is well characterized as a period of storm and stress.

Goethe and Schiller as well as the other classical writers, among whom Herder, Wieland and Lessing deserve special mention, did



AUGUST WILHELM VON SCHLEGEL.

Painted by Hoheneck.

their best work when they allowed their poetical effusions to be guided by rule. To be sure we find nature in their works, yet its impulsive impetuosity is moderated by the dignity of art.

Both the young Goethe and the the young Schiller were for

some time in search for an expression of the highest and best, and in their younger years they passed through a period of wildest irregularities which, however, they gradually outgrew without losing the genius and vigor of their early aspirations. In his best years Goethe was apt to antagonize those who would take nature as the only



LUDWIG TIECK.  
Painted by Joseph Stieler.

guide, and for a long time he was prejudiced against Schiller because he disliked his drama "The Robbers." In his later years, however, Goethe broadened and without losing his preference for the classical, he saw more and more the significant part which these

wild promptings play in the development of man. In the history of literature the pendulum naturally swings back from classic regularity to a recognition of sentiment, and in his old age, Goethe may at the same time have felt that nature, even in her irregularities, is dominated by a law which will gradually assert itself, even in those who scorn the rule of art.

Under these impressions Goethe wrote a sonnet for which the preceding remarks will serve as a commentary. In this Goethe returns to a recognition of the rights of nature, and he concedes that nature with her immediate promptings will help to warm our hearts, but after all, he remains faithful to the classical ideal by saying:

"Who wants great things must practice self-control;  
In limitation shows himself the master,  
And liberty needs law for wise direction."

In the year following the classical period, a reaction set in against the rigidity of classical taste, and thus we find again a number of men who, scorning a definite standard, prefer to follow sentimental impulses. They were not as wild and reckless as the geniuses of the period of storm and stress, but they yielded the more to the vagueness of mysticism and reveled in religious as well as patriotic sentimentality. They fled from the present and sought their ideals in the past, especially the Middle Ages with their knights errant, crusades and adventures, mostly recorded by authors of the Romance nations. Hence they are called by the collective name of romantic school.

It seems as if mankind can not cling to a definite ideal for any length of time. Whenever men attain the classical, they long for a change, and so history repeats itself. Even in our days we witness again the upheaval of a sentimental revolution which would discard all norm even in science and philosophy. It appears that people have become tired of definiteness in their conception of truth, and wish to replace it by something quite original, the result being aberrations and vagaries. And yet these periods are natural and in many respects even justified and helpful, for they teach mankind to dig for the truth again and again; for the truth is not true if it is not true to me, and nothing is really true to me unless I have searched for and found the truth myself. Therefore we—every one of us—must discover the same old truths.

Says Faust in the first act of Goethe's great drama:

"Yea, the inheritance which parents left thee  
Earn it anew to really possess it."

Goethe's sonnet to which we refer here has never as yet been translated and we have attempted to put it into English verse, thus:<sup>3</sup>

"Nature and art each other seem to flee,  
 Yet unexpectedly again they meet.  
 All my objections now are obsolete  
 For both apparently with me agree.  
 Honest endeavor here will needed be,  
 And when in hours with thoughtfulness replete  
 We give ourselves to art with zeal complete,  
 May nature warm our hearts and make them free.

"Thus only culture can attain its goal.  
 In vain wild spirits will, with methods faster  
 And broader, seek the heights of pure perfection.  
 Who wants great things must practice self-control;  
 In limitation shows himself the master,  
 And liberty needs laws for wise direction."

The meaning of the terms Nature and Art will be understood by those who have followed our expositions. Nature is the ideal of the men of storm and stress, of impressionists, of the Romantic school, of sentimentalists. Goethe had been opposed to genius that was sowing its wild oats, but now he grants it the right of existence, but prophesies that it will not reach the perfection of Art. He wants liberty, not license, even in poetry, and declares that great things can be accomplished only by self-control and self-limitation.

Mankind, however, tires easily of self-control, of rule, of limitation and also of the classical. The pendulum swings to and fro and after the classical period Germany experienced a vigorous re-

<sup>3</sup> On reading this sonnet before the *Verzin alter deutscher Studenten*, I learned from Prof. J. T. Hatfield, of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, that he also has translated the same poem, and with his permission I take pleasure in reprinting it here from his series of "Poems from the German," published in No. 10 of William S. Lord's little leaflet entitled *Noon*:

"Nature and Art seem oftentimes to be foes,  
 But, ere we know it, join in making peace;  
 My own repugnance, too, has come to cease,  
 And each an equal power attractive shows.  
 Let us but make an end to dull repose:  
 When Art we serve in toil without release,  
 Through stated hours, absolved from vain caprice,  
 Nature once more within us freely glows.

"All culture, as I hold, must take this course;  
 Unbridled spirits ever strive in vain  
 Perfection's radiant summit to attain.  
 Who seeks great ends must straitly curb his force;  
 In narrow bounds the Master's skill shall show,  
 And only Law true Freedom can bestow."

vival of Romanticism. Its leading spirits were the Schlegel brothers (of whom August Wilhelm is the more important), Tieck, and a great number of minor poets of whom we will mention Hardenberg



HEINRICH HEINE.

Born, December 13, 1797 or 1799, at Düsseldorf; died February, 17, 1856 at Paris. (After a painting by Moritz Oppenheim.)

who under the pseudonym Novalis has written some very touching religious lyrics, some of which will remain for all ages a most noble expression of Christian piety. We may also classify Heine with



them, although he was least tinged with the reactionary spirit and a hankering after the poetry of the Middle Ages.

Romanticism has produced many beautiful works of literature, but after all, the classical productions of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing



NOVALIS.

and Herder have proved more enduring. Romantic poetry is almost forgotten while we return again and again to the great masters of classic art.

## JUDAS AND THE KINGDOM.

BY DUDLEY WRIGHT.<sup>1</sup>

PROBABLY there has been no character in sacred or profane history who has been more abused on such slender evidence than the Apostle Judas. Some, like the late Rev. H. R. Haweis, who claimed that Judas Iscariot and Pontius Pilate were about the two most blackened characters in history, have sought for redeeming features in the Gospel narratives, but the majority have inclined more to the opinion of Dr. George Reith who, commenting on John vi. 70, wrote: "Judas Iscariot was not even a child or son of the devil but a devil himself." A few like the Rochester professor, Dr. A. H. Strong, have been more charitable and admitted that "Judas was an able man and a practical administrator" and that "he probably experienced strong emotions and received strong impulses toward good under the influence of Christ." The name "Judas" however as the Rev. William Bruce, Swedenborgian, has pointed out has come to be regarded "as a name to express the lowest depths of humanity; and his case affords, if not an example, at least a type of the extremity of human degradation and depravity which rendered the Lord's death at once inevitable and necessary." In the spirit of speculation dear to Swedenborgians Mr. Bruce regards Judas as the type of the Jewish Church, which was about to betray and crucify Jesus, killing the Just One whom they professed to be longing and looking for as their deliverer.

The character of Judas has, however, always been considered too much in isolation from his surroundings. Jesus, who declared that he came to convict the world of sin, righteousness and judgment, who was not sparing in his invectives against the Pharisees, Sadducees and Scribes, who called Herod "a fox," has no word of rebuke to the only one among the twelve who, according to the

<sup>1</sup> Assistant Editor of *The Annals of Psychological Science*, Author of *Was Jesus an Essene?* Contributor to *The Homiletic Review*, etc., etc.

generally accepted belief, was guilty of the heinous crime of treachery. The soldier, who is guilty of that crime, may be condemned to be shot. The most highly civilized nations reckon it as a crime in the first degree and the less civilized of that number regard it as an offence entailing capital punishment. The writer of the Fourth Gospel volunteers the information that on one occasion Jesus called Judas a devil, but there is no evidence to substantiate that statement, and, having regard to the fact that he had already called Peter by that name, and the after event of the betrayal, it is more than probable that Jesus was referring not to Judas at all but Peter; the expression, it will be remembered, was used on the occasion of Peter's declaration that Jesus was the Christ.

As to his fate, Matthew says (xxvii. 3): "Then Judas, who betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned repented himself and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying: 'I sinned in betraying innocent blood.' And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, departed and went and hanged himself;" while Peter, in his speech after the Ascension says that "he purchased a field with the reward of his iniquity, and falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst and all his bowels gushed out." With the aid of the imagination it is perhaps possible to reconcile these two statements but they are both opposed to that of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, who says that "Judas walked about in this world a sad example of impiety, for his body having swollen to such an extent that he could not pass where a chariot could pass easily, he was crushed by the chariot, so that his bowels gushed out," which is not opposed to the information supplied by Theophylact that "his eyes were so swollen that they could not see the light, that they were so sunk that they could not be seen even by the optical instruments of physicians, and that the rest of his body was covered with runnings and worms." He further states that "he died in a solitary spot which is left desolate; and no one could pass the place without stopping up his nose with his hands." Misfortunes almost if not quite as dire have overtaken other people who have not been charged with the crime of Judas. Suicide seems to have been a most unlikely event. Repentance, though necessarily bringing remorse in its train, does not lead to self-destruction, but rather to the recognition of the real self within. The Roman Church, of course accepts the suicide and eternal perdition view, though Cajetan has declared that the lips of Judas may be worshipped as having once touched Jesus with a treacherous kiss.

The references to Judas in the Gospel narratives are not nu-

merous, but he is never mentioned without the information being vouchsafed that he was the betrayer, though few commentators have the honesty to point out that the word used for "betray" does not imply treachery. Is it not possible that jealousy may have influenced the Gospel statements concerning Judas, for whether the name Iscariot is derived from Kerieth in Judah or Kerieth in Moab it seems certain that he was the only apostle selected from a place beyond Galilee.

The word "sinned" in Matthew xxvii. 4, has no special meaning but implies, as it invariably does, the committal of a mistake.

It is evident from Matthew x and Mark iii that Judas was among the number who had "power over unclean spirits and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of diseases" and was one sent forth to "heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead and cast out devils," so that if the orthodox conception be the correct one he was empowered to do what in Matthew xii Jesus is represented as describing to be impossible. We have only the unsupported statement of the Fourth Gospel that he was a thief, although from this slender foundation a writer in the *Pulpit Commentary* states that Judas "began with petty peculations which were not discovered by his comrades." The position of steward in Essenic communities was one of great responsibility, and the following statement of Mr. Haweis in *The Picture of Jesus* seems a nearer approximation to the truth:

"Had Judas really been a thief, would he have been left with the bag and trusted as almoner, as he was down to the last day of Jesus's life—the day before the crucifixion? Not likely. In fairness to the poor, if not to his own apostles, Jesus would not have allowed that. No, the blot on Judas so far is not that he carried the bag and filched, but that incessant care about money bred in him avarice and insensibility to the spiritual side of life, the opposites of which were manifested so touchingly by the woman who broke the alabaster vase full of precious ointment for love of the Lord."

Arguing by deduction it would seem that there was this scarcity of money for, although the thirty pieces of silver are said to have been returned to the priests, there is no mention of the transmission of any money to the remnant of the apostles when the stewardship of Judas came to an end.

There are discrepancies in the Gospel narrative as to the precise moment Judas succumbed to the temptation to betray Jesus, or, rather, when "the devil entered into him." According to the Fourth Gospel this did not happen until after the morsel had been handed him by Jesus, while Luke says that this event happened before the

supper, and all the Synoptists agree in placing the bargaining with the chief priests and captains before the supper. According to the *First Gospel of the Infancy* Judas was possessed by Satan from a very early age, and one day when sitting by Jesus "he went to bite him. And because he could not do it he struck Jesus on the right side, so that he cried out. And in the same moment Satan went out of the boy and ran away like a mad dog. And that same side on which Judas struck him the Jews pierced with a spear."

There seems however to be little ground for the somewhat extravagant language employed by Dean Farrar in his *Life of Christ* when he says:

"As all the winds, on some night of storm, riot and howl through the rent walls of some desecrated shrine, so through the ruined life of Judas envy and avarice, and hatred and ingratitude, were rushing all at once. In that bewildering chaos of a soul spotted with mortal guilt, the Satanic had triumphed over the human; in that dark heart earth and hell were henceforth at one; in that lost soul sin had conceived and brought forth death."

If an unprejudiced view of the Gospel narratives is taken it is highly probable that Judas acted not only with the full knowledge and approbation of Jesus, but even by his direct command. Dr. Stalker is of opinion that Judas "hoped to become chancellor of the exchequer in the new kingdom" which seems not at all unlikely. He was the least obtrusive character among the apostles, and had not Jesus declared that the one who humbled himself would be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? Mr. Matthew Arnold and other writers of repute have traced the gradual growth of the Messianic idea and the usurpation of the spiritual conception of dominion by the materialistic one of kingdom, and the devout Jews who based their faith upon the literal interpretation of prophecy believed in the advent of a personal Messiah who would sit upon the throne of David. Simeon, the priest, was waiting for the consolation of Israel and had been told in a dream that he would see the Messiah before he died. Anna, the prophetess, when she saw the infant Jesus spake of him to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem. There is nothing supernatural or impossible in these supernormal phenomena. Similar authentic occurrences are happening daily, and are encountered in the biographies of saints, preachers and other public men. John the Baptist evidently expected Jesus to assume the rôle of Messiah, and it would seem from the questions he asked Jesus by the medium of his disciples that he was somewhat impatient at what he regarded as the unnecessary delay which was

taking place before putting in his claim to the throne. The massacre of the infants at the instigation of Herod is attributed to his fear of the establishment of a rival kingdom, and they who listened to the wild utterances of the Judean preacher would place a material and not a spiritual interpretation upon the message he delivered.

At the outset of his ministry Jesus taught in parables the spiritual nature of the kingdom, but, afterwards, in the progress of his career he seems to have adopted the prevalent materialistic views. He who had left the multitude when they wanted to make him a king, entered Jerusalem as a would-be king and refused to rebuke his disciples when they joyfully publicly proclaimed him to be such. The expectations raised by this triumphal entry were not fulfilled; there was no inauguration of government by an earthly conqueror and no rewards meted out to his followers, and from that time Jesus's invectives against the Scribes and Pharisees increased in number and force. After this triumphal entry Jesus was asked to state by what authority these things were done and refused to give any answer. The activity of the priests to secure his arrest increased and the Pharisees tried to inveigle him into expressing a negative opinion against the paying of tribute to Cæsar. The hopes of the disciples had been raised to the highest pitch, and, though, at the Paschal Supper, there was strife among the apostles as to who should be the greatest in the kingdom, the rebuke of Jesus was of the mildest description and even that was toned down by the promise that they should eat and drink at his table in the kingdom and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

There was undoubtedly a secret understanding between Jesus and Judas. "That thou doest do quickly," he said, "and no man at the table knew for what intent he spake this unto him." The passing of the morsel was regarded as a mark of high honor and there is no hint that the incident here was an exception to this general rule. Dr. Plummer thinks that Jesus, as a forlorn hope, gave the traitor a mark of affection, but such a view is hardly consistent with the general narrative. Certainly the words of Dr. Reith: "What a moment in the history of a soul! Life and death, heaven and hell, God and the devil, contending for him; and the scale going to eternal misery and loss," seem not only extravagant but almost bordering on the blasphemous to thus describe Omnipotent Love worsted in a conflict with an evil power.

The disciples merely thought that Judas, as steward, left the company to make some purchases for the coming feast, which proves that though they may have been sitting at a Paschal Meal it was not

the Passover, when no purchases could have been made. The fact that Judas left the gathering immediately after receiving the morsel and before Jesus broke the bread, drank wine and distributed the elements to the remaining apostles, destroys the reality of the scene made familiar to us by artists of the Judas with cunning countenance listening to the words of Jesus and upsetting the salt cellar at the same time, as well as causing to vanish the superstition with regard to the number thirteen because of the presence of Judas at the Last Supper.

The apostles' hopes of the immediate establishment of the kingdom must have been raised when Jesus declared "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom." Words of joy and exultation fell from Jesus' lips immediately after the departure of Judas, followed as quickly by the full realization of the consequence of his act when he declared, "All ye shall be offended because of me this night," whereupon he once again rose to the spiritual conception of his mission in the discourse narrated in John xiv-xvii.

That Jesus had a large following is evident by the desire of the priests to effect his arrest "in the absence of the multitude," or, as the alternative reading gives it "without tumult."

The two disciples who were journeying to Emmaus from Jerusalem had no words of regret for the fate that had overtaken Jesus: they thought only of their own loss. "We trusted it had been he who should have redeemed Israel."

No artist has yet done justice to that scene upon the Mount of Olives in the Ascension morn and depicted the earnestness and agitation with which the Apostles asked the question, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel?" They clung still to their belief in an earthly kingdom and, doubtless, again literally interpreting prophecy, thought of the words uttered over 500 years before: "And his feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem in the east, and the Mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and the west, and there shall be a very great valley: and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north and half of it toward the south."

## THE MYSTIC NUMBER NINE.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

MY eye has just fallen on "The Necromancy of Numbers and Letters" in *The Open Court* of February, 1909, and I am moved to steal a few seconds in which to clear away a little of the mystery that seems to hang over 3 and 9. It really may not be worth while, so *kindisch einfach* is the matter, yet it seems to have puzzled not a few.

The trouble is all due to the lamentable fact that we are *pentadactyles* instead of *hexadactyles*. *Nine* is merely 10 less 1, and also the square of 3. If we had had twelve fingers and had accordingly adopted twelve instead of ten as the base of our number system, then the Great Giant Arithmos would have been shorn of half of his terrors, two years would have been saved to human life just where they are most needed, in the 'teens, and we should now be a century or so ahead of where we are now. In that case we should have twelve digits (counting 0) instead of ten; 10 would mean *twelve* and we should count thus: one, two, . . . . ten, eleven, twelve, telone, teltwo, telthree, telfour, . . . . telten, tellen, twentel, twentel-one, . . . . thirtel, . . . . fortel, . . . . . . . . . . ninetel, tentel, lentel, Dipo, . . . . Tripo, . . . . . Everything would thus be done according to apostolic precept, in decency and in order.

We should need two new symbols, for ten and for eleven. In this sketch we will represent ten by  $\ominus$  and eleven by  $+$ . The numbers would then be written:

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,  $\ominus$ ,  $+$ , 10,  
11, 12, 13, . . . . . 19, 1 $\ominus$ , 1 $+$ , 20,  
21, 22, . . . . . 2 $\ominus$ , 2 $+$ , 30,  
 $+1$ ,  $+2$ ,  $+3$ , . . . . .  $+\ominus$ ,  $++$ , 100, . . . . .

The number *Dipo* (100) means simply *second power* of the base twelve (10); so *Tripo* (1000) means *third power*, and so on.



They correspond to our present 144 and 1728. Fractions become immensely simplified. Thus there is no chasm between common fractions and duodecimals, as there is between common fractions and decimals. For  $\frac{1}{2}=.6$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}=.4$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}=.3$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}=.2$ ,  $\frac{1}{12}=.1$ . The multiplication table becomes much simpler and easier. All our present cumbrous armor of tables falls away, the spirit steps forth as an athlete eager for the victorious fray. The metric system passes away with a great noise, like the Petrine heavens, but a new system and new notation take its place, the symmetric *Duodenary*, wherein dwells rationality. The year, the circle, the clock, the coin—all are divided simply, consistently, intelligibly, for all earth and for all time. Consummation devoutly to be wished!

But what has all this to do with the mysteries of 9 and 3? Much every way. Chiefly, that the properties of 9 would then pass over to the now dishonored eleven (+), because it would be twelve *minus* one (10-1). Regard for a moment these "curious facts," as that in any multiple of 9 the sum of the digits is itself a multiple of 9. Why not? Write the number backwards, thus:  $a+b(9+1)+c(9+1)^2+\dots+l(9+1)^h$ , where each coefficient,  $a, b, \dots, l$ , is one of the ten digits, 0, 1,  $\dots, 9$ . Now multiply by 9, that is by 10-1; we do so by increasing each exponent of (9+1) by 1, and then subtracting the original number.

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Thus } 347285 \times 9 = \quad 3472850 \\ \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 347285 \\ \hline \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad 3125565 \end{array}$$

The sum of the digits is  $27 = 3 \times 9$ .

In getting the digits of the remainder we do in each case one of two things: we subtract one digit from the next following in the number either with or without adding 10; and whenever we add 10 we increase the next digit (to the left) in the subtrahend by 1; hence in this latter case, we increase the mere absolute value of the minuend figure by 9. Hence then, so far as this absolute value of the minuend figures is concerned, we increase each by 9 or not all and then subtract each unincreased; of course then there is left a multiple of 9, namely as many 9's as the times we increased the minuend figure. Thus in the example we increased the 0, the 5, and the 2, — three increases, hence the sum of the digits in the remainder is  $3 \times 9$ . The general formula would be

$$a-a+b-b+c-c+\dots+l-l+m \times 9$$

where  $m$  is the number of times we increased the digit in the minuend. It is seen that the digits destroy each other so that the sum is just  $9m$ . Once more, reverse this number and take the difference, thus:

$$\begin{array}{r} a+b(9+1)+c(9+1)^2+\dots\dots\dots+l(9+1)^h \\ l+k(9+1)+\dots\dots\dots+a(9+1)^h \end{array}$$

We see that on expanding these powers of  $(9+1)$  we should obtain in each term  $1+m9$ , i. e.,  $1+$  some multiple of  $9$ ; adding all of these we should get the sum of the digits ( $S$ ) plus some other multiple of  $9$ , in case of the minuend  $S+M9$ , and of the subtrahend  $S+M'9$ . On subtracting, the  $S$ 's annul each other, and there is left  $(M-M')9$ , i. e., some multiple of  $9$ , positive or negative.

Consider this other "vagary of the nimble nine," e. g.:

$$1234567 \times 9 + 8 = 11111111.$$

Remember that  $9 = 10 - 1$ ; hence we multiply by  $10$ , add  $8$ , and then subtract the original number, thus:

$$\begin{array}{r} 12345678 \\ 1234567 \\ \hline 11111111, \end{array}$$

Not so strange after all!

We shall not insult the reader's intelligence by further explanations.

The superstition as to the number Thirteen goes back millenniums behind the Last Supper. In the ancient Zodiac there were (and still are)  $12$  Signs (animals), to each a month corresponding. In calendars using lunar months (of  $29$  or  $30$  days) there would accumulate an excess of a month every few years, which had to be corrected by inserting a thirteenth intercalary month. This month would of course not appear the next year; it would be *absent* from the circle or Table Round of the Zodiac. Hence its number Thirteen became the unlucky number, and its sign (the *Raven*) the unlucky Bird, symbol of Death: He who sat Thirteenth at the table, as supernumerary, would not reappear in that circle the next year. So at least thinks Winckler, who teaches all men on the subject of *Die babylonische Kultur*.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN JAPAN.

In Japan the custom prevails that on a memorial day the spirit of the dead is addressed personally, and this custom is considered very impressive by foreigners who have witnessed such ceremonies.

We learn from the *Japanese Evangelist* that the Japanese Christians continue their practice after conversion, and the *Evangelist* finds nothing un-Christian in the custom. It says in commenting on this memorial ceremony:

"There are those who affirm that it shows clearly that survivors believe in the real individual existence of the spirit addressed. We have often consulted Japanese on this point and have been informed that what is said on such occasions, though actually addressed to the spirit of the departed, is intended to serve as solace for bereaved relatives. No public addresses to the spirit of the dead are allowed in Protestant Churches. At Catholic funerals they occasionally are given. A very beautiful French oration of this kind was published in the columns of the *Japan Mail* a few years ago. Japanese addresses delivered at memorial services usually contain a short sketch of the life of the deceased. The July number of the *Universalist*, the organ of the Christian Progressives, contains two addresses to the spirit of the late Dr. Cate."

As an instance we quote from the *Japan Mail* some extracts from an address made to the spirit of Dr. Cate who seems to have been a beloved missionary teacher and leader:

"How can we who have been taught and led by you fail to be stimulated by your example to do all we can to carry out your wishes? When you fell asleep, we were given strength. Pray note this in the spirit land... Be at rest. The liberality, the sympathy, the patience, the many fine traits of character which your life taught us, along with your departed spirit, will ever abide with us. You will remain our teacher for all time. You are not dead. You live and work among us still. Mourn not your bodiless state, for the strength of your spirit is yet great. Let this comfort you in the other world."

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### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

A LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS, FORMER U. S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION. By *Henry Ridgely Evans*. Washington: Gov't Printing Office, 1909.

Henry Ridgely Evans has contributed an important chapter to the 1907 report of the United States Commissioner of Education. It deals with pub-

lished articles and addresses of former United States Commissioner William Torrey Harris, beginning with a brief biographical note and concluding with a first-class subject index. The chapter is a tribute to Mr. Harris's scholarship and high place in the history of public instruction. It is also a model of accuracy and simplicity in the plan of its arrangement and subject index, for which Mr. Evans is to have full credit.

The articles are numbered consecutively from 1 to 479, and arranged chronologically beginning with the year 1866, when Mr. Harris was a teacher in the public schools of St. Louis, Mo., and continuing thereafter during the years of his service in the Department of Public Instruction at Washington until he resigned his government position in order to devote his whole time to literary work. He is now editor of Appleton's International Education Series.

This plan of arrangement allows for the addition of forthcoming articles as they may appear, and permits a comparison of Mr. Harris's earlier with his more mature utterances on methods in education and philosophy. The full subject index is unusually good; it not only indicates the topics treated under each caption, but these are selected with such understanding of the writer's point of view that even the most unpracticed student will be able to use the list to his own great convenience and instruction. The economy of using numbers for reference to the articles, instead of titles or abbreviations is very apparent. Altogether, the chapter is a good bit of work, and far more interesting than the usual public document.

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SCRITTI E FRAMMENTI DEL MAGO DEL NORD (JOHANN GEORG HAMANN). A cura di Roberto G. Assagioli. Naples: Francesco Perrella, 1908, Pp. 184.

Roberto G. Assagioli has written an attractive little volume under the title *Scritti e frammenti del mago del nord* in which he publishes an Italian translation of the most interesting writings of Johann Georg Hamann, a German skeptic, who lived at the time of Goethe and Kant, and was generally known under the name of "the Magus of the North." An introduction about Hamann gives the necessary explanation concerning the life and philosophy of this interesting and strange thinker.

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The author of the article "An Evening with C. C. Foster" in the April number of *The Open Court*, who signs himself "A Skeptic," informs us that he was mistaken as to the middle name of Mr. Foster. The man is not "C. C." but "Chas. H." Foster, whom the author knew pretty well from childhood. The anecdote (as we think was generally inferred) relates to the same medium who is the subject of "An Incident in the Life of a Medium," in the February number.

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The continuation of Dr. Carus's article "Christianity as the Pleroma" is postponed until the July number in order that "Some Fallacies of the Peacemakers" may be inserted before the occasion which gave rise to it is too far in the past.





THE PHILOSOPHER ADRIFT.  
By Murata Tanryô.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA.

ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSHTRA) AND THE BIBLE.\*

BY PROFESSOR MILLS.

[This essay, in its original form, was delivered twice as a public lecture before distinguished audiences in Oxford some years ago. It was soon after, or soon before, printed in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of January, 1894, also in its shorter form; and later, with the consent of the editor of that review and of the author, it was translated into Gujarati,—whether by Mr. Palanji Madan or not, the writer is not now certain, though he is under the impression that it was this scholar who translated it. He had previously translated the Gātha portion, that is to say, one-half of the XXXIst volume of the *Sacred Books of the East* into Gujarati in, say, 1889, and I take especial pleasure in expressing my acknowledgments for that distinguished piece of work here, in America, where the translator could hardly have expected that his name would become known. That translation of this essay into Gujarati was published by the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay in a large edition. The late very distinguished editor of the *Review* mentioned seemed gratified that the article was to be thus reproduced in an Oriental language, and he also later gave permission to the author to insert it in a volume of *Miscellaneous Pieces* upon Zarathushtrianism, which it is hoped will be soon forthcoming. (The lecture has also just lately been translated into Italian by a talented author entirely upon his own suggestion and initiative, and will soon be issued in that form.) Those who may happen to compare this lecture with either its original in the *Review*, or in its Gujarati translation, will notice at once that it is somewhat enlarged, and also that I seem to have altered my opinions to some degree as to one of the essential points, since I delivered the piece first, and since I gave it to the eminent periodical. This however is more apparent than real, although I have certainly felt, and somewhat pointedly the necessity for putting the possible, or probable, *independent origin* of our Jewish immortality in a clearer light. Readers will also easily recognize the later insertions, which may be printed in this present edition, from the difference in the stylistic flow of the language as a later and to some extent a more pointed animus imparts greater pungency and vivacity to one's mode of expressing oneself.]

MANY interested but necessarily hasty readers of the Zend Avesta overlook the fact that in the ancient documents comprised under that name we have works of many different ages; and even scholars eminently endowed with the critical faculty as applied to

\* See the *Nineteenth Century Review* of Jan. 1894, the title Zoroaster having been applied to the article by the Editor.

other specialties sometimes fall into a similar error, and ignore a characteristic which the Avesta possesses in common with nearly all other writings of its description; for they sometimes turn over its pages without perceiving, or seeming to perceive, that from leaf to leaf matter comes before them made up of pieces nearly or quite dissimilar, and sometimes separated as to the dates of their authorship by many hundreds of years. They are accordingly apt to make themselves merry over absurdities which prevail in the later but still genuine Avesta, as if they were peculiar to the original Zoroastrian writings.<sup>1</sup>

But the author or authors of the earlier Avesta had no immediate or certain connection with the superstitions of later centuries; and as to these quaint myths and trivial ceremonials which are preserved in the later Avesta, are we not apt to exaggerate the disadvantages which they bring with them? How can their presence affect the value of the nobler elements in these relics of ancient faith?

We are pained to read them, but analogous superfluities survive in many modern systems. And indeed some of the later passages in the Zend Avesta which describe the battle with the Demon of Putrefaction, and which might seem to some of us most grotesque, were hardly superfluities, for they showed a sanitation which it would be better for us to follow rather than condemn.<sup>2</sup> In tracing the following analogies, which for brevity's sake I take for the most part from the genuine, but still later,<sup>3</sup> Avesta, I shall leave out these grotesque details generally, abandoning them as rare morsels to the collector of ancient bits. What is here intended is to call attention to the little-known, though long since reported fact, that it pleased the Di-

<sup>1</sup> It is even not uncommon to speak or write of the Avesta as if it were identical with the later Zoroastrianism, the revived system of Sasanian times, which is however as different from both the earlier and the later Avesta as the lives of saints are from the New Testament records.

<sup>2</sup> Consciously or unconsciously they anticipated much modern theory on this subject, and led the way in the most practical of all sciences—disinfection.

<sup>3</sup> The original and earlier Avesta consists of the Gāthas, the original hymns of Zoroaster and his immediate associates or followers. They are most dissimilar to the rest of the Avesta and still more so to the apocryphal Zoroastrianism. They were carefully translated by me in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI, so long ago as October 1887, and their Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts were edited and the first three translated by me with a Commentary in my *Study of the Gāthas*, some 650 pages, 1902-94 (F. A. Brockhaus, Leipsic). They may be provisionally placed at about 700 to 900 B. C.; but, if they antedate the cults of Mithra, Haoma (Soma), and of the sun, moon, etc., etc., all of which they totally ignore, they must be centuries older. The remaining parts of the Avesta are of different ages, say from 600 to 300 B. C., while, as in the case of every other ancient book, spurious additions of an indefinitely later origin occur here and there. Some writers, while holding the Gāthas to date at about 700 B. C., put even vigorous parts at a thousand years later, quite an irrational suggestion.



vine Power to reveal some of the fundamental articles of our Catholic creed first to Zoroastrians, though these ideas later arose spontaneously and independently among the Jews: secondly I wish to emphasize the peculiar circumstances of this independent origin among the Jewish tribes of the Exile; and thirdly I wish to show that the Persian system must have exercised a very powerful, though supervening and secondary influence upon the growth of these doctrines among the Exilic and post-Exilic Pharisaic Jews, as well as upon the Christians of the New Testament, and so eventually upon ourselves.

After this brief preface, let me proceed at once to cite the documentary facts, only remarking that they are practically uncontested by any persons whose views are worth considering,—while the original passages could even be sufficiently learned by any apt scholar in the course of a very short time.

To begin with our excerpts from the Sacred Book of the Iranians, let us first trace the connection where it seems least obvious, that is, as to the *nature of the Deity*. Ahura Mazda, the Living Lord, the great Creator (or possibly the Wise One), has a most Bountiful, or most Holy Spirit, who is sometimes identical with Him.

Yasna xxviii. 1:

With hands outstretched I beseech for the first blessing of Thy most Bounteous (or holy) Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

See also Yasna i. 1:

I invoke, and I will complete my sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant, the glorious, the greatest and the best, the most firm, who sends His joy-creating grace afar, who made us and has fashioned us, who has nourished and protected us, who is the most bountiful (the most holy) Spirit.

In the seven Bountiful (or holy) Immortals (the Amshaspends of literature) we have a union which reminds us of the Sabellian Trinity (Yasht xiii. 82):

We sacrifice to the redoubted guardian spirits of the Bountiful Immortals who are glorious, whose look itself has power (their look produces what they wish), who are lofty and coming on to help us, who are swiftly strong and divine, everlasting and holy, who are Seven,\* and all of one thought, and of one word, and of one deed, whose thought is the same, whose word is the same, and whose deeds are the same, who have one Father and Commander, Ahura Mazda; each of whom sees the other's soul revolving good thoughts, thinking of good words, contemplating good actions, whose abode is the Home of Sublimity (or Song), and shining are their paths as they come down to us to offering.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> About B. C. 700-900 or greatly earlier.

<sup>5</sup> Literary confusion—; the word should be six, without Ahura.

<sup>6</sup> Say B. C. 300-100, or —?

While they are thus unified, Ahura Mazda being included within their number, they are yet separate. Vohu Manah is the divine benevolence, the good mind of the Deity, likewise alive within His saints, and later personified as a separate archangel, while even in the Gāthas it represents the holy or correct citizen. Asha the Vedic Rita, is the divine Order, the symmetry and perfection in the ritual and the soul, and at the same time a poetically personified archangel. Khshathra is His sovereign power realized in a kingdom of righteousness, and yet also poetically personified. Aramaiti, our piety, the Active mind, the inspiring energy of the Deity first thought of as the "ploughing of agriculture," and from this latter called the "earth" in both Veda and Avesta, as against the theft-murder schemes of the raiding Turks. She is also in figurative conception God's daughter, and this even in the Gāthas, where the only other similar relation made use of in this manner is that of "Father," for the Fire is "God's Son" only in the later Avesta.

She is also implanted within the minds of the faithful as a divine inspiration. Haurvatāt is God's Perfection as consummated through His foregoing Truth, Love, Power and Vital Energy, while the name is borrowed, or promoted from the Haurvatāt "wholesomeness," i. e., the "success" of man. It was God's completeness like that of man's as reflected in the body's health, then soon perfected in their weal of soul and mind as well as of body, an idea evidently necessary to the roundness of the scheme; while Ameretatāt is their Immortality, Death's absence, a veritable victory over it began in its long postponement to old age here, which last was indeed the original point of the word, but continued in eternal Deathlessness in a future state.

From the second to the seventh they are personified thoughts sent forth from the mind of God to enoble and redeem His people. That the general description of such an important conception as this, lying as it does at the logical root of Zoroastrianism, should have become known to the Jews of the Captivity and to their descendants before the date of some, if not of all, the Exilic Prophets, is scarcely less than certain. The Greeks themselves heard of them, and in their deepest and purest sense, before the date of Daniel; see the invaluable passage in Plutarch, evidently reproducing the ideas of Theopompus, also cited by me elsewhere. If the priests of Cyrus conferred to the smallest degree with those of Ezra, then not only the Gnostics felt its influence, but the pre-Christian and Christian theology. And in the Book of Tobit, which also contains prominently the name of an Avesta demon, we have an allusion to these

seven Spirits (chap. xii. 15). So also in Zechariah (iv. 10) we have the seven which are as the eyes of the Lord, and which run to and fro throughout the whole earth; and this is further expanded in Rev. v. 6:

And I saw in the midst of the throne a lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

How sublime this all becomes when we look at it in the light of separate unassisted and unarrested growth.

[Negative arguments drawn from the absence of the named "Seven," also from the absence of the name of Angra Mainyu from the Inscriptions are the mistakes of non-experts; as each is equally absent from large portions of the Avesta, and no inference can be drawn from their absence from the Inscriptions, while the prominence of the ideas, at least as expressed in the names of the Ameshaspends, is illustrated by the fact that two of them are combined in the name of the Emperor Artakhshatra, which is *Asha* (*Arsha*) plus *Khshathra*, while, as I have just noticed, the name of the large Eastern province, which we call Harachosia (?sic), or Arachosien, is purely and simply *Harauvati* on Behistûn and on N. R.; that is to say; it is the Av. *Ha(u)rvatât*, Sanskrit *Sarvatâti*, the fifth Ameshaspand; see also *Arminiya*, adj. *Armenia*, which recalls *Aramati*, the fourth Amesha.

Mithra and Anahita too seem to have stepped bodily out of the Avesta, while the Demon *Druj* under the other Avesta form of *drauga* = *draogha* = "the Lie," is present, but occurs most prominently under its verbal form, etc. Many turns of speech are strikingly common to the Avesta and the Inscriptions.

We must also never forget that the Achæmenian Inscriptions, while extensive as sculptured writings, are yet necessarily very circumscribed when regarded as "literature."]

Then as to the attributes of God more definitely considered. He is *our Creator* (see above), and perhaps also, in a theological sense, *sovereign* (Yasna xxix. 4) in *S. B. E.* xxxi, and in the Gathâs):

The Great Creator is most mindful of the utterances or commands which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto by demon-gods and by men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them hereafter. He, Ahura, is the discerning arbiter, so shall it be to us as He shall will (see also Y. xxxi. 14<sup>a</sup>). He is *omniscient* (see Y. xxxi. 13, 14<sup>a</sup>). He is our *lawgiver* (Y. xxxi. 11<sup>a</sup>) and teacher (Y. xxxi. 5; Y. xxxii. 13<sup>a</sup>). He will establish a *kingdom* (Y. xxviii. 4<sup>a</sup>). It is for the *poor* (Y. xxxiv. 3<sup>a</sup>). "What is your kingdom, what

\* These passages may be placed at about 700 to 900 B. C.

are your riches, that I may become your own in my actions with the righteous order, and thy good mind, to care for your poor?" (Y. liii. 9).<sup>6</sup> O Mazda, Thine is the Kingdom, and by it Thou bestowest the highest of blessings on the right-living poor." It is endangered, and yet in the end *victorious*. It has a propaganda (Y. xxxi. 3).<sup>6</sup> "With tongue of thy mouth do thou speak, that I may make all the living believers." God is our *friend, protector, strengthener, and unchangeable* (Y. xxxi. 7).<sup>6</sup> "These, O Spirit, mayst thou cause to prosper, Thou who art for every hour the same." He is our *Judge* (Y. xlii. 4).<sup>6</sup> There is a day or period of judgment (Y. xliii. 5, 6). "Yea, I conceived of Thee as Bounteous, O Ahura Mazda, when I beheld Thee as supreme in the actions of life, when, as rewarding deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for the evil, and blessings for the good by Thy great virtue in the creation's final change. In which last cffanging Thou shalt come, and with Thy bounteous Spirit, and thy sovereign power (see also Y. xlii. 19)."

Then as to the description of Satan; while criticism casts its doubt upon the presence of Satan in the serpent of Genesis, we gather from the Genesis of the Avesta that the Scriptural reptile may well be recognized as that old Serpent the Devil. A serpent tempts in Genesis, and the consequence is sin and the expulsion from Eden. In the Vendidad, the Evil Spirit opposes every good object of creation, and the implied consequence is an expulsion.

Vendidad 1. Ahura Mazda said unto Zarathushtra Spitama :

I, O Zarathushtra Spitama, made the first best place, which is Airyana Vaêjah; thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, a serpent in the river, and frost made by the demons. . . . The third place which I, Ahura Mazda, made the best was Moûru; thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, which was backbiting and lust. . . . The fifth place which I, Ahura Mazda, made the best was Nisâya; thereupon, in opposition to it, Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), full of death, created a counter creation, which was the curse of unbelief. . . . As the seventh best place I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Vaêkereta. . . . thereupon, in opposition to it, Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), full of death, created the evil fairy who clave to Keresaspa. . . . As the ninth place, I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Khneîta as the best. . . . thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, the inexpiable deed of Sodomy'. . . . etc.

These memorable fragments must have struck the attention of every learned scribe who heard them; and they must have been constantly repeated in greatly varied forms. They may well have helped to mould Jewish and Christian expressions.

Then the Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit (iii. 8, 17) is positively the Aeshma-daêva of the Avesta, and Aeshma was the wrath-demon of invasion (see Yasna xlvi. 7, etc.). The apparent and superficial variations between the Zoroastrian and the Jewish conception of the

<sup>6</sup> These passages may be placed at about 700 to 900 B. C.

<sup>7</sup> About 500 to 300 B. C.; so certainly in its main prior elements.

relation between the Deity and Satan are, of course, to be expected, but we should not allow their approximating resemblance to blind our eyes to the real difference.

[It would be a clumsy history of philosophy which would allow the present noble monotheism of the Parsis to cheat us of the speculatively precious element of dualism as it exists in their genuine writings. Whether the ideas which lay at the root of the doctrine of dualism were true or false, and whether the Jewish pre-Christian thought was infected with them or not, that post-Christian dogma was filled to repletion with diabolic demonism, though this was obviously still under the power of the exorcising Saviour, and therefore perhaps not an item within a true Dualism strictly speaking in the Zarathushtrian sense; but I very seriously raise the question whether the Jewish writers of the Old Testament earlier or late at all really believed that their *Jahveh Elohim* was (*sic*) the creator of either Satan, or of Baal, or of any of the Demon-Gods. We know indeed that they accredited the existence of these latter as a matter only too emphatically real, and by no means uninterruptedly regarded them as being altogether creatures of the imagination; see the frequent comparison of them with *Jahveh Elohim*. But when, and in so far as, they thus believed them to be really existing beings, in how far did they then suppose the *Jahveh Elohim* to have been their original creator, either bringing them into existence as being holy in their nature before a fall like Satan's, or causing them to arise as being *originally* of evil character? The question is very serious. The foolish relief offered us by the doctrine that *Jahveh Elohim*, as God the Father, was not responsible for the fall of beings whom He foresaw would become evil when He created them, is no longer available, and could not have long continued to satisfy any sober-minded sage. But if the leading Jews in large numbers thus in due sequence unconsciously or openly rejected the view that God created the Evil Gods of their enemies—directly or indirectly, in any shape or chain of causality or responsibility whatsoever; then the ancient Israelites were in verity, though they were not consciously, *dualists*, not far indeed from the type of Zarathushtra;—they held to the existence of a Being, or Beings, who was, or who were, originally evil, and so, to an original evil principle, which is dualism—and that dualism remains one of the most interesting suggestions which have ever been presented, and one indeed which, in its elements, if not in its detail, is still unconsciously but largely followed.\*]

\* What is the present advancing pessimism (so called) but the recognition of the original necessity of evil co-existing with good? The Avesta merely

A fall of man is included in the successive expulsions above related, but we have also in the original Avesta which was written still earlier than the Vendidâd a fall of man, or of spiritual beings, distinctly stated (Y. xxx. 3):

Thus are the primeval spirits which, as a pair, each independent in his actions, have been famed of old, as regards a better and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed, and between these two, the demons, or their worshipers, could make no righteous choice since theirs was deception. As they were questioning (in their hesitation) the Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen. Thereupon they rushed together unto the Demon of Rapine, that they might pollute the lives of mortals.<sup>9</sup>

As to *Soteriology*, a virgin conceives. It is not, however, to produce Zarathushtra, but the restoring Saviour of the latter age; nor does she conceive without seed although she is still a virgin. She conceives from the seed of Zarathushtra, which has been miraculously preserved.

The details, which show a gross deterioration from Gâthic times, are presented in their rounded form only in the *Bundahish*, which is perhaps more than a thousand years later than the date of the original passages in the genuine but still later Avesta. "Zarathushtra approached his wife Hvôv. . . the angel Neryosangh received the brilliance and strength of that seed, and delivered it with care to the angel Anâhid, and in time it will blend with a mother. Nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine myriads of the guardian spirits of the saints are intrusted with its protection" (see the *Bundahish*, *S. B. E.*, vol. v, p. 144). It is preserved in the Lake Kâsava till, at the end of the earthly cycle, a maid Eretât-fedhri bathing in the lake will conceive from it, and bring forth the last Saoshyant, or Saviour, while two of his predecessors are similarly engendered. These several items are likewise present in a scattered state in the ancient but still comparatively later Avesta. In Yasht xiii. 142, we read:

We worship the guardian spirit of the holy maid Eretât-fedhri, who is called the all-conquering, for she will bring him forth who will destroy the malice of the demons and of men.<sup>10</sup>

While in Yasht xix. 92, we read that

Astvatereta (the Saviour of the Restoration) will arise from the waters of Kâsava, a friend of Ahura Mazda, a son of Vispataurvi, the all-conquering, personified what so many of us now accept. Compare even the sublated dualism of Fichte and Hegel, which they, strange to say, may have derived unconsciously through Schelling, Jacob Boehme, and the Gnostics from the Avesta. This remark is suggested by one of Haug's, and confirmed in conversation with a leading specialist. The passage in brackets is an enlarged note.

<sup>9</sup> B. C. 700-900, or earlier.

knowing the victorious knowledge which will make the world progress unto perfection.<sup>10</sup>

And in Yasht xiii. 62, we learn that 9,999 spirits of the faithful watch over the seed of Zoroaster.<sup>11</sup> That we have here the hope of a *virgin-born Redeemer* admits no doubt. Whether such intimations, repeated under various forms, came from the hint of the Israelitish prophets or *vice versa* is of course a question, but that Zoroastrian or Mazda-worshipping Magi, if they came from the East to honor the virgin-born babe of Bethlehem, were familiar with them is certain. And as they expected a virgin-born Saviour themselves it is but reasonable to suppose that this pious hope may well have lain at the foundation of their divine call to discover him who was born "King of the Jews." Then as to the *Temptation*. If our Lord approached that great event in the spirit of wide humanity, one would surmise that He felt some sympathy with sages who had gone before Him in similar signal encounters; and there exists a temptation of Zoroaster of which He may have known through supernatural cognition, and to which for color that of Heracles, for instance, bears no comparison. The myth containing it doubtless expresses in its fragments what was once a real struggle, which, if it in any sense saved Zoroastrianism, was one of the world's crises. Zoroaster is besought by the Evil One to abjure the holy Mazdayasnian religion, and to obtain a reward such as an evil ruler got (Vendidād xix. 43)<sup>12</sup>:

He shouted, and shouted forth again, he Añgra Mainyu, the evil spirit who is full of death. He pondered, and he pondered widely, the demon of the demons, and he thus said, he who was the evil-minded Añgra Mainyu, "What! will the demons be assembled in an assembly on the top of Arezura,<sup>a</sup> they the wicked, evil-minded?"... They rushed and they shouted,<sup>b</sup> they, the demons. wicked, evil-minded, and with the evil eye: "Let us assemble in an assembly on the top of Arezura, for born indeed is He who is the righteous Zarathushtra of the house of Pourushaspa. Where shall we find destruction for Him? He is the demon's wounder, He is the demon's foe.<sup>c</sup> He is Druj of the Druj (a destroyer of the destroyer). Face downward are the Demon-worshippers, prostrate is the death-demon,<sup>d</sup> and down is the Draogha of the lie."

But (Vend. xix. 1) a rally is made. Añgra Mainyu, the evil spirit, coming from the north region of the North, orders the Lie-demon to assault and slay the holy Zarathushtra now no longer just born but

<sup>10</sup> B. C. 300-500; but the repetition of this myth argues its long previous growth through centuries.

<sup>11</sup> Compare this drivel with the grandeur and simplicity of the Gātha, S. B. E. xxxi, pp. 1-194.

<sup>12</sup> Say about 300(?). The footnote signs expressed in letters refer in each case to the corresponding analogy in note 17.

in the vigor of his age. The assault is at once repelled by prayer, sacrifices, and the fervent recital of the creed. The demon, frustrated, returns to Añgra Mainyu. She says:

O baneful Evil Spirit, I see no death for Him, for glorious is the righteous Zarathushtra.\*

Zarathushtra, seeing through their thoughts, says (within himself):

The Demons plot my death, they, evil-doing as they are.<sup>12</sup>

He arose, he went forth<sup>†</sup> uninjured by their plan and the hardness of their words. And Zarathushtra let the Evil Spirit know:<sup>12</sup>

O evil-minded Añgra Mainyu, I will smite the creation made by demons; I will smite the Nasu (putrid demon); I will smite the evil fairy (that seduced the early sages), till the Saviour is born victorious from the waters of Kāsava, from the utmost region of the East.<sup>13</sup>

And Añgra Mainyu answered, and shouting as he spoke:

Slay not my creatures,<sup>‡</sup> holy Zarathushtra. Thou art Pourushaspa's son, for from thy birth have I invoked<sup>§</sup>, (thee).<sup>‡</sup> Renounce the good religion of those who worship Mazda.<sup>†</sup> Obtain the reward<sup>†</sup> which Vadhaghan, the murderous (ruler), gained.

And Zarathushtra answered:

Never shall I abjure the good faith<sup>‡</sup> of those who worship Mazda; (no), let not my body, nor my life,<sup>‡</sup> nor my senses fly apart.

And to him then shouted the Evil Spirit of the evil world:

With whose word wilt thou thus conquer? With whose word wilt thou abjure? With what weapon as the best formed wilt thou conquer these my creatures?

And Zarathushtra answered:

With the sacred Haoma plant, with the mortar and the cup, with the word which God pronounced.<sup>†</sup> With these my weapons (will I slay thee), they are best. With that word shall I be victor, with that word shall I expel thee,<sup>‡</sup> with this weapon as the best made, O evil Añgra Mainyu. The most bounteous Spirit forged it<sup>‡</sup>; in boundless time he made it; and the Bountiful Immortals gave it, they who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright.

And Zarathushtra chanted:

As the higher priest is to (be revered and) chosen, so let the lower chief (be one who serves) from the righteous order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the kingdom<sup>‡</sup> is to Alura, which to the poor may give their nurture.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> A blessed quarter.

<sup>14</sup> First aor. mid.

<sup>15</sup> Other translators introduce an "if" to gain a better meaning, "Not if my body, nor my life, nor my senses fly apart."

<sup>16</sup> The texts cited are all of them metrical, hence the rhythm of the renderings.



Here we may well introduce the closing verse of the chapter (xix. 147):<sup>17</sup>

The demons shouted, the demons rushed, the evil-doing and the wicked; they rushed and they fled to the bottom of the place of darkness; that is, of frightful Hell.<sup>18</sup>

Few Medo-Persian subjects in the streets of Jerusalem being presumably Mazda-worshippers, like their emperors, here lingering in the Persian subject city soon after, or long after the Return, could have failed to know this striking myth; and none who knew it could have failed to tell it, if creeds were at all discussed.

The religion is *subjective*. Holiness is prayed for as well as the outward reward (Y. xxviii. 6); and Avesta is the document here:

O Asha, Angel of the Holy Law, when shall I see thee, knowing the Good Mind and Obedience, and finding the way to Ahura (or "Ahura's throne")?

We now come upon something which has the strongest claims upon our attention. Whereas much else in Zoroastrianism may present the analogies of an older but still sister religion, we have as to one great particular what all must acknowledge to be in a special sense a prior revelation in the Persian Bible. I fear we too little realize how very uncertain the doctrine of a future life was in the minds of pious Jews, even at the time of our Lord. The Sadducees, as we understand, believed in neither "angel, nor spirit, nor resurrection," and the Sadducees shared the power with the Pharisees; in fact, they seemed to have possessed greater social prestige, and several princely high priests were of their clique. It seems to many of us most curious that the sect among the ancient people of God, which especially claimed the title of purists and sticklers for the ancient Pentateuch, should have been absolute disbelievers in what are now widely regarded as the fundamental principles of religion. If such a state of things existed at the time of our Lord, when both the doctrine of immortality and that of resurrection had long been familiar as theories, what must have been the condition of opinion on these subjects while the influence of the Pentateuch, in which these doc-

<sup>17</sup> For detailed analogies, which are not close, recall perhaps <sup>(a)</sup>"the exceeding high mountain"; <sup>(b)</sup>"cried with a loud voice: My name is Legion"; <sup>(c)</sup>"Art thou come hither to destroy us?"; <sup>(d)</sup>"Death and Hell shall be cast into the Lake that burneth"; <sup>(e)</sup>"The Holy One"; <sup>(f)</sup>"was led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil"; <sup>(g)</sup>"And the Devils besought Him," etc.; <sup>(h)</sup>"I know Thee Who Thou art"; <sup>(i)</sup>"All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me"; <sup>(j)</sup>"I will give Thee this authority"; <sup>(k)</sup>"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God"; <sup>(l)</sup>"It is written"; <sup>(m)</sup>"Get thee hence"; <sup>(n)</sup>"The sword of the Spirit which is the word of God"; <sup>(o)</sup>"Him only shalt thou serve"; <sup>(p)</sup>"Then the Devil leaveth Him;" "into the abyss."

trines were not distinctly revealed at all, was as yet not affected by the large addition to canonical Scripture made later? And first as to immortality in itself considered.

Heaven and Hell were chiefly *mental states*, especially in the earliest Avesta (Y. xxx. 4):

The two spirits came together at the first, and determined how life at the last shall be ordered for the wicked (Hell), the worst life; for the holy the best mind (Heaven).

Rewards and punishments are *self-induced* (Y. xxxi. 20):

And this, which is such a life as your own, O ye vile, your own deeds have brought you (Y. xlv. 11): Cursed by their souls and selves, their being's nature, for ever in the Home of Lies their bodies rest.<sup>18</sup>

In Vendidad xix. 30, the soul is met on its arrival after death at the Chinvat, or Judge's, Bridge by a female form accompanied with dogs,<sup>19</sup> and in Yasht xxii. we learn who this female was. It was none other than the believer's *conscience*. The figure presents the typical features of female attractiveness; she is beautiful, she is noble, and in the flower of her youth. "What maiden art thou," he asks her, "who art the most beautiful of maidens that ever I have seen?" And she, who is his conscience, answers: "I am verily, O youth, thy conscience, thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds, thy very own." But he asks her, "Who hath desired thee hither with his love, coming with thy majesty, thy goodness, and thy beauty, triumphant and an enemy of grief?" And she answers: "Thou hast loved me and desired me hither, O youth, even thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds. For when thou sawest idol-worship. . . thou didst desist, chanting the Gāthas, and sacrificing to the good waters and to Ahura Mazda's fire, contenting the righteous saint who came to thee from near and from afar. It is thus that thou hast made me, who am lovely, still more lovely, and me who am beautiful hast thou made still more beautiful, and thou hast made me who am beatified still more beatified. . . through thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds." (Here we may observe, in passing, the same element of pleased surprise which we have in the sublimer Matthew xxv. 37; the soul is incredulous: "When saw we Thee a hungered and fed Thee?" and the answer is, "Thou hast fed and lodged Me," so here there is surprise; "who hath desired thee hither with his love?" And the answer is, "Thou hast; for thou didst content<sup>20</sup> the righteous man coming from near and from afar.") As the soul proceeds further,

<sup>18</sup> The earlier Avesta. "Sadducees" were named from one Zadok, but the name means "just."

<sup>19</sup> Related to Cerberus.

<sup>20</sup> The later Zoroastrianism explains "lodged and entertained."

it passes the Judge's Bridge and comes before the golden throne, where the Good Mind is seated (Vend. xix. 31). He rises to meet the soul, and welcomes it: "When didst thou come hither from that perishable world to this imperishable world?" and the saints who have passed away before him ask him the same: "How long was thy salvation?" Then said Ahura Mazda, "Ask him not what thou askest of that cruel way which is the dividing of the soul and body" (Yasht xxii.). And the first step, as he advances, places him in the entrance of the threefold Heaven, which is again the Good Thought, and the second step places him in the Good Word, and the third in the Good Deed.<sup>21</sup> Then the soul passes on contented to the souls of the saints, to the golden throne of Ahura Mazda, and to the golden thrones of the Bountiful Immortals, and to the abode of Sublimity (or Song), even to the home of Ahura Mazda and the other Immortals<sup>22</sup> (Vend. xix. 33). A corresponding evil spirit awaits the wicked; a hideous female is his conscience, the wicked and Añgra Mainyu mock him, and he rushes at last into the Hell of evil thoughts, and words, and deeds.

Few scientific theologians will deny that the *doctrine of immortality* was scarcely mooted before the later Isaiah, that is, before the Captivity, while the Zoroastrian scriptures are one mass of spiritualism, referring all results to the heavenly or infernal worlds. As to the unending futurity of the Zoroastrian heaven, if such a point needs proof, recall the epithets which describe its features; "for ever and ever" of itself suffices.<sup>23</sup> And this phrase, together with many similar ones, renders it incontrovertible that Ameretatât—Immortality—as one of the six personified attributes of the Deity, did not represent long life alone, but never-dying life.

*Corporeal resurrection* seems to be placed after the reception of souls into Heaven as if they returned later to a purified earth.

As to this doctrine,—which is, properly speaking, as of course, not identical with that of "immortality," but which may be fairly said to be closely associated with it,—aside from the constant implication of it throughout, we have in Fragment IV, "Let Añgra Mainyu, the evil spirit, be hid beneath the earth, let the Daêvas disappear, let the dead arise, and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies."<sup>24</sup> And, in Yasht xix. 83, we have resurrection

<sup>21</sup> A perhaps misunderstood echo of this is Rev. xxii. 11: He that is unrighteous, let him be unrighteous still; and he that is filthy let him be filthy still."

<sup>22</sup> About B. C. 300.

<sup>23</sup> Discussed by me elsewhere.

<sup>24</sup> These passages may be placed within three centuries B. C.; the date of the Gâthas alone is fixed at 700-900 B. C.

together with millennial perfections. "We sacrifice unto the Kingly Glory which shall cleave unto the victorious Saviour and His companions, when He shall make the world progress unto perfection, and when it shall be never dying, not decaying, never rotting, ever living, ever useful, having power to fulfil all wishes, when the dead shall arise, and immortal life shall come, when the settlements shall all be deathless." Contrast this with the earlier Scriptural passages, void as they are of any genuine statement of this essential dogma. Compare these then with statements which appear after the return from the Captivity, a captivity during which the tribes had come in contact with a great religion in which the passages cited describe a predominant tendency. What do we find in them? First, we have the jubilant hope expressed by the later Isaiah: "Let thy dead live, let my dead body arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the shades." And then the full statement in Daniel: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." And yet God's people, as we have seen above, had not fully accepted the meaning of this language even at the time of Christ. We draw the inference—*the religion of the Jews was originally Sadducaic.*

Such then are the historical literary facts,—uncontested for the most part, the great mass of them (see above), and also incontestable; and this, whatsoever may be their possible, or impossible, exterior historical connection, or disconnection, with the Hebrew theology, or our own. The points deduced from them clearly show that they contain the very most essential elements of "*our own religion*" in its advanced, if still formative, condition, from the date of the Captivity or before the time of Christ, and after the Restoration from the Exile. Let us collect the points for our convenience from the copious citations made above. First of all there was *A(r)sha* the Holy Law of Truth as to thought, word and deed, this being, however, rather a universal "persuasive principle" than a "doctrine." Next to this was *God's Unity*; then *His Creationism* of all Beings; then an *Angelic Host*, of both exalted and inferior Spirits; then *His Sovereignty*—*Divine Omnipotence*—which includes *Omniscience*; then *His Benevolence*—*God's love*—(His justice is included within the first); then *His inspiring energy* (compare the Holy Ghost)—with the result of *Universal Weal*, for the Righteous; then *Deathlessness*, which is God's *Eternity* and man's *Immortality*. A *Judgment* follows, both individual and general, which takes place—first in the *judged man's soul*, then in everlasting happiness in

various detail in *Heaven*, or upon a renewed and purified earth. A *Millennium* of terrestrial Perfection ensues with a restoring Saviour who is to be "*Virgin born*," and, perhaps a "*Seventh Heaven*" corresponding to the Seven Immortals. For the evil, a corresponding *Hell* exists in equal grades, with the most pronounced Satan of all literature. These are, as I need not repeat, the vital essentials of our own religion as it existed in its earlier stages in the Exilic period during and after the Captivity, and before Christ, being conspicuously manifested in the orthodox Pharisaism, while these elements existed in the Persian documents for unknown previous ages; see the *Veda* everywhere.<sup>25</sup> It can now be more plainly seen why I used the expression "*Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia*." Contrary, however, to many acute and able searchers, I hold that the two forms of this same religion were originally each of separate origin; see again above and below,—each being a regular spontaneous and parallel development from unchanging universal laws, proving the original Man-Unity, and strongly supporting the view that it was impossible to prevent the origin and development of similar ideas, entirely aside from all borrowing of them from one nation to another. But while I hold that these parallel views arose from "*parallel development*" having been caused by the disastrous afflictions of the Captivity, I lay no illogical straw in the way of those who hold to the view that the doctrines were, under God, taught directly to the Jews by their Persian protectors. In fact I would strenuously repeat, and with emphasis, what I wrote in 1894, viz., the principle, that any, or all of the historical, doctrinal, or hortative statements recorded in the Old or the New Testament might, while fervently believed to be inspired by the Divine Power, be yet freely traced, if the facts would allow of it, to other religious systems for their mental initiative;—that the historical origin of particular doctrines or ideas which are expressed in the Old or the New Testament does not touch the question of their inspiration, plenary or otherwise; that for instance as St. Paul freely discloses his mental peculiarities, and (as to citations) quotes a poet of his youth, so our Lord himself also reveals a mental constitution, and to a certain degree expressed, as all others express them, the convictions and enthusiasms which he has absorbed from earlier associations. And still more than this, unless we are prepared to accede to a docetic heresy, doubting the very reality of our Saviour's human nature, every sentiment of veneration ought to induce us to trace,

<sup>25</sup> Further citations on the contents of the Vedas will be given later in another article by the author on "*Veda and Avesta*."

if it be possible to trace them, not only the fountainheads of His human convictions but the supplying rills of His expression. If we carefully study the genealogy of His body, with how much greater earnestness should we examine that of his mind! For it was His thoughts, humanly speaking, and sometimes His earlier ones, which not only constituted a part of His momentous history, but, of course, also actually determined His career. In the source of His thoughts, therefore, the great motives of His subsequent history are to be sought for. Recall, for instance, what I also have just alluded to above in the citations as to the recorded experiences of the Persian Saint; as, for instance, He was gathering up his resolves for such a mental scene as that described in the fourth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, in which he purposed to meet in one decisive encounter a spiritual power which, as He believed, was threatening His creation, if there had been anything memorable of a similar kind in the experiences of prophets of kindred religions, and if they were known to Him by the exercise of a supernatural insight<sup>26</sup> it does not seem to me to be at all deniable that such preceding "*temptations*" (as He revolved them, with all that they signified) influenced Him. If He possessed that larger intellect which could see over the trivial paraphernalia of superstition, and look at the soul struggling in its sincerity for spiritual life, and for the spiritual lives of many who revered it, then if He were a man beyond the common measure, this must have moved Him. It would seem, therefore, to be a very pious act to search diligently for everything which Christ hallowed by His notice, and it would seem a very mistaken religious sentiment which would arrest one in such a course.

The most obvious place to search for the doctrines and opinions amid which our Lord grew up, has been, of course, the Jewish literature of His period, and of that which preceded His appearance. This has been examined to a considerable extent, and much of the greatest interest has been brought to light. The theologies of Egypt should be also examined as well as those of Greece and Rome. From India we have what seem a throng of rich analogies from the Buddhist Scriptures, but our highest authorities upon the subject are, or were, inclined to doubt the possibility of the historical later connection. There remains then this ancient Persian theology; and here, as we have seen, the later historical connection, amounts, at one stage of it at least, to historical identity,—it is as such, I believe, universally recognized. Cyrus took Babylon, say, about the year 539 B. C., and with it the Jewish slave colony, whose inhabi-

<sup>26</sup> See the Talmud article by Dr. Deutsch. (*Remains*, 1874.)

tants continued to be Persian citizens till the Achæmænian power broke. Jeremiah, foreseeing this future invasion of the dominant and restless Medo-Persian, thundered his anathemas against his Semitic Babylonian oppressors in view of it; the "Kings of the Medes" were to avenge him, and in due course did so, and later sent the Jewish people back from their captivity, rebuilding the Holy City when it had become a "heap," decreeing also the restoration of the Temple, the later Isaiah speaking in most astonishing terms of this restorer. The Book of Nehemiah discloses further scenes with Persian monarchs; section after section of the Bible dates from their reigns, while Magian<sup>27</sup> priests, who were of the religion of Cyrus, came later to do honor to the Son of Mary, and one of the last words uttered by Christ upon the Cross was in the Persian tongue.<sup>28</sup> The fact that Cyrus may have coquetted politically with the Babylonian priesthood, if it be a fact, is one which redounds somewhat to his credit and corroborates our argument. How much better that he should show some respect to the religion of his fallen enemies who now became fully acquiescent in their submission, than to crush them all wholesale with the usual slaughter. Were it even true that he was accurately depicted upon a stele as present at the worship of one of their chief deities, this would be but one proof the more of his considerate courtesy. He did not conquer to annihilate.

Whether the precise form of Mazda worship present on the Inscriptions was that of Zoroaster exactly or not is just at this point of our inquiries again a question which we need only glance at, as it is of little moment.<sup>29</sup> It seems likely, indeed, that it was an especially original form of Mazda worship. But whether this were the fact or not, it must have possessed the main features which have been more or less preserved to us in the Zend Avesta. The word *Mazda* (strictly *-dah*), meaning "the Great Creator," or "the Great Wise One," is an especially well-adapted name for God, much more so than our own name for Him, being the name used for Him by that great Mazda worshiper, who, under the providence of God, determined the entire later history of the Jewish people. For had Cyrus, the Mazda worshiper, not brought the people back, the later prophets

<sup>27</sup> The word "Magian" is with little doubt Avestic; the *Maga* was "the Holy Cause," occurring repeatedly in the Gâthas; the changed suffix *u* in *Magu* is of no importance, and the *o* of the Avestic *moghu* results from epenthesis, cf. *vohu* for *vahu*, Sk. *vasu*; *gh* also = Gâthic *g*. *Maga*, as being pre-Gâthic by centuries, may have been carried down to Akkad by Turanians, cf. Y. 46, 12.

<sup>28</sup> Luke xxiii. 43.

<sup>29</sup> See my remark in vol. xxxi, *S. B. E.*, Introduction, p. 30.

might not have spoken at Jerusalem, nor might Jesus have been born at Bethlehem, nor taught in the region. Indeed, the influence of the Great Restorer and his successors over the city was so positive that in the opinion of even popular religious writers Jerusalem was for a considerable period after the Return in many respects "a Persian city." Many indeed have been the erroneous statements made by well-meaning tyros in Christian pulpits, as by myself too, once among them, with regard to the "impossibility" of all later connections between our great doctrines and analogous truths once held by nations foreign to the Jews who may yet have been brought into connection with them; and the fervent novice may well be pardoned if, in his first sincere efforts, he is too decided in a negative sense; but in men of maturer years let us hope for better things. For surely—to be sentimental, if only for a moment,—let us recall that the first object of religion next after the suppression of unlawful violence or appropriation should be the suppression of inaccurate statement, and to deny without any effort to become an expert what every expert knows to be the truth is, so it seems to me, to commit a crime in the name of Christianity for which Christianity will be one day called upon to account. It is therefore to help the Church against well-furnished gainsayers, and to re-establish her character for conscientious investigation, that Christian specialists in Orientalism have given the best years of their life,—to save the endeared religion which once inculcated every honorable principle from continuing herself to be the victim if not the agent of that most sinister of equivocations known as "pious fraud."<sup>30</sup>

My procedure is thus, I trust, now clear to all. The connection between Persia and Israel has been found to approach identity, as was only to be expected, from the fact that the two nationalities, if indeed the Jewish could really be called a nationality, were parts of the same empire for close on, or more than two(?) hundred years. And this being a fact unquestioned *a posteriori*, so the doctrinal analogies were as probable *a priori* as presuppositions, as they have been proved to be historically actual through our Oriental research. And with this, note the unparalleled expressions of theological sympathy. If we have found a pictorial sculpture representing Cyrus as worshiping in a Babylonian temple, a sort of political manifesto,—and, if we regard this as showing clearly a strong leaning toward the Babylonian Baal-worship, what shall we say as to the astonishing language of this same Cyrus, with that of Darius, and Artaxerxes

<sup>30</sup> To emphasize such a point should be hardly our secondary object throughout such discussions as the present.



recorded in our Bibles, re-reading also what the Jewish prophets and historians have left written in response to it.

I hardly think that anything of their kind approaches these extended statements in the history of literature, as an expression of religious identity of feeling between two peoples similarly situated, or even more closely connected, certainly not at their date; that is, not, when all the other circumstances are held in view. Recollect that the Bible is beyond all other documents regarded as hyper-sacrosanct, and by nearly, or quite one-third of the human race,—even skeptics as to its detail acknowledging harmoniously its unspeakable influence—then re-read attentively what the Bible records of its own great Jewish-Persian emperors.

This then is our view: During the shock and sorrows of the Captivity God's people turned their thoughts from earth to Heaven,—just as we often do,—for the eventualities had proved that the temporal rewards so persistently promised to the righteous, had in some way, and for the time being, proved illusory. Then came their Deliverer with his thronging hosts, and with a change in their immediate circumstances which might well have reassured them that the Psalmist had indeed “never seen the righteous forsaken”; see above. And also that very same enormous event, which might well have convinced them that this world should at last show them better times as a reward for their fidelity, actually itself brought with it the same settled and worked-out doctrine of *another life* which the Jews had just acquired, but which had been believed in from their birth by those same large masses recruited from all parts of the Iranian empire, while priests of this Immortality accompanied every battalion, or made many groups of them for each corps, with an illustrious King of Kings at the head of all of them, who never dictated a word for an Inscription without attributing every victory to the “Life-Spirit-Lord, the Great Creator, Auramazda”; see Bahistún and elsewhere. What wonder then, as I have already implied, that the Jews listened to the unconscious expressions of their new-formed friends, whose fire altars at times glowed at evening everywhere, and that, listening, they began the more to vye with these Persian fellow-believers in the hopes and fears of what was now the common Faith,—and so the doctrine grew. While the more conservative party amidst the Jews, that of the Zadokians, (the Sadducées) clung with aristocratic tenacity to the old simplicity, and opposed this growing Zoroastrianism of the masses;—yet the new views, adapted as they were to appeal to the feelings of an afflicted humanity, *prevailed*, having first concentrated themselves in a sect

which termed itself, or which was termed by its indignant predecessors *Pharisees, Farsees, Persians*,<sup>31</sup> hardly "separatists," "dividers."<sup>32</sup> So that, at the time of Christ, it could be said, and upon His own authority, that "the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's seat," and it was from Him "who lived a Pharisee" that our own future hopes were chiefly handed down to us.

To sum up the whole matter in a single word, I would say, as if speaking from the orthodox point of view, that while the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are unrivalled in their majesty and fervor, constituting perhaps the most impressive objects of their kind known to the human mind, and fully entitled to be described as "inspired," yet the greatly more widely-extended, and as to certain particulars, long prior religion of the Mazda worshipers was supremely useful in giving point and body to many loose conceptions among the Jewish religious teachers, and doubtless also in introducing many good ideas which were entirely new, while as to the doctrines of immortality and resurrection, the most important of all, it certainly assisted and confirmed, though it did not positively originate belief.

But the greatest and by far the noblest service which it rendered was the quasi-origination and propagation of the doctrine that "virtue is chiefly its own reward," even in the great religious reckoning, and "vice its own punishment."

The time is now past, let us hope for ever, when the Christian apologist recoiled from recognizing the very important services which have been rendered to the holy faith by peoples foreign to the Jews. And surely no one will look askance at the happy fact that not only a small nation to the west of the Jordan held to those great truths on which rest our hopes beyond the grave, but that the teeming millions of Persia also held to them in successive generations *long earlier than the prophets*. These considerations entitle their ancient lore to our veneration and investigation. It now lies open not merely to the laborious specialist but to the intelligent student, and it is to be hoped that from the mass of human energy devoted to so much that is trivial, some effort may be spared for the study of this rich and influential monument of the past which holds such a conspicuous place among the records of our own religious history.

<sup>31</sup> The modern name of the original Province of Persia is *Farsistan*.

<sup>32</sup> It is bad etymology to trace words to an abstract.

## CHRISTIANITY AS THE PLEROMA.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUDED.]

### THE PAGANISM OF ANCIENT ISRAËL.

WE have so far spoken of Judaism as a known quantity and have used the terms "Jews" and "Gentiles" in their traditional meaning to express a contrast which was well established at the beginning of the Christian era; but Judaism has a history. For the sake of understanding how the new faith, though it had to be Gentile in character, could profit by becoming affiliated with the Jews, we must first acquaint ourselves with the nature of this remarkable people.

Judaism is a unique phenomenon in history. It is the product of contradictory tendencies which have been hardened in the furnace of national misfortune. The religion of the Jews combines the universalism of a monotheistic faith with the narrowness of a nationalism which localizes God and regards the Jews as the elect, the chosen people. Judaism is therefore characterized by a certain precocious maturity. At a time when monotheism was an esoteric doctrine in countries such as Egypt and Babylonia, a kind of philosophy of the educated classes, the Jews had adopted it as their national religion. Yet the revelations of this one and sole God, of the creator and ruler of the universe, were thought to have taken place in a very human way, and bloody sacrifices were still offered in the old pagan fashion at the altar of Jerusalem, which alone was declared to be the legitimate spot to approach God. Some antiquated and barbarous institutions such as circumcision and other requirements of the so-called Mosaic law were enforced, and the purity of Jewish blood, to the exclusion of the Gentiles as impure, was vigorously insisted on.

The history of Judaism is a long story which is of great importance for the development of Christianity.

We have reason to believe that the religion of ancient Israel was quite similar in belief and moral principles to the religions of the surrounding Gentiles. Yahveh (or as the name is now erroneously pronounced, Jehovah) was worshiped by other nations before the Israelites began to pray to him; it was Moses who adopted the Yahveh cult not from his own ancestors, not from Abraham or Jacob, the patriarchs of Israel, but from Jethro his Gentile father-in-law, a Kenite priest in the district of Mount Horeb in the Sinai peninsula.

Israel's God Yahveh was not very different from other gods. He demanded human sacrifices as they did and was originally the protector of his own people, a tribal deity. According to the Bible the Children of Israel despoiled the Egyptians at the express command of Yahveh and slaughtered the inhabitants of conquered cities in his honor just as did the Moabites in honor of their god Khemosh. According to the word (i. e., the command) of Yahveh did Hiel lay the foundations of Jericho in Abiram his firstborn and set up the gates thereof in Segub, his youngest son (1 Kings xvi. 34), while Jephthah sacrificed his daughter because he believed that Yahveh, the God of Israel, demanded it.

We know also that the patriarchs had idols, or *teraphim*,<sup>1</sup> for we learn incidentally that Rachel stole the images of her father (Gen. xxxi. 34). Even David, the hero of Israel, had such statues in his own house, for we read that when Saul sent messengers to slay David, his wife Michal helped him to escape by placing the figure of their house god<sup>2</sup> in his bed to mislead the King's messengers (1 Sam. xix. 12-17). The prophet Hosea (iii. 4) mentions the use of these idols, the teraphim, together with the Urim and Thummim, the Ephod and the Stone Pillar,<sup>3</sup> as an indispensable part of the religion of Israel.

Ancient Israel was not monotheistic. Yahveh was originally one god among other-gods but the patriotic Israelite was required to worship him alone. When the Israelites were saved from the

<sup>1</sup> תְּרָפִים

<sup>2</sup> The definite article is used תְּרָפִים־הַ which proves that it was a definite piece of furniture in their house, not an idol that by accident happened to be there.

<sup>3</sup> מַצֵּבָה

power of Egypt, Moses glorified Yahveh in a hymn in which he exclaimed: "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?"

There are many passages in the historical books which imply that it is deemed quite proper for Gentiles to worship their gods, but the Israelite is expected to worship Yahveh alone, the national god of the people.

Yahveh was worshiped in Israel under the form of a bull even in the days of the prophet Elijah. The subject is incidentally mentioned in Professor Cornill's *History of the People of Israel*, p. 127, where he says: "In this connection the fact is highly noteworthy, and yet is not generally given a clear explanation, that we do not hear a single word of rebuke on this subject from the prophet Elijah. When he denounces Baal in Samaria and Israel, he is simply advocating the 'calves of Dan and Bethel,' the only customary form of worship in the kingdom of Israel, and he himself did not attack it. The view that this whole species of worship was pure heathenism and the worship of God in an image folly and absurdity, is first found in the prophet Hosea and is an outgrowth of prophetic literature."

The temple of Solomon was built according to the plan of the Phœnician temples by Hiram, a Phœnician architect, and no objection was raised because a pagan built the temple of the God of Israel. This fact indicates that in the times of Solomon the Phœnicians were not regarded as idolaters by the Israelites. Even in the days of Manasseh in the seventh century B. C. the temple of Jerusalem was still in possession of all the paraphernalia of solar worship (2 Kings xxiii. 11).

In pre-Exilic times no objection was ever raised to intermarriage with foreigners. Moses married first the daughter of a Kenite and then even an Ethiopian woman, which is commonly interpreted to mean a negress. Solomon was the son of a Hittite woman, and yet he became king of Israel. Schrader points out that even David, now considered the national hero of Israel, was not an Israelite but a Gentile. It is a fact commonly agreed on by Old Testament scholars, and Professor Sayce calls attention to David's appearance described in Samuel (xvi. 12 and again in xvii. 42) as red-haired and of a fair complexion.<sup>4</sup> Schrader thinks that he belonged to the tribes of the Cherithites and Pelethites of whom his body-guard was

<sup>4</sup>The authorized version translates Sam. xvii. 42 "ruddy and of a fair countenance." But the Hebrew word רָדָדִים which is also used of Esau (as already stated by Gesenius) can not designate a ruddy complexion but means "red-haired."

composed. The etymology of Cherethites<sup>5</sup> has been brought into connection with the name of the Cretans and it seems probable that they together with their kinsmen, the Aryan Philistines, must have come from the Greek islands in the Ægean Sea. This would prove David to be an Aryan instead of a Semite. The hostility between Saul and David was not purely personal and it is noteworthy that when David fled before Saul he sought refuge at the court of a Philistine king. The historical truth which Old Testament scholars discover in the contradictory stories of David's life, points to the fact that he was the founder of the tribe of Judah which is mainly a conglomeration of southern clans of Edom, among them Kaleb, Peresh and Zerakh. Schrader (*Keilinschr. u. d. A. T.*, p. 228) says: "That there was no tribe of Judah belonging to Israel before David, can be safely concluded from Biblical sources alone. Further it follows that in prehistoric times Judah did not stand in any relation to the other tribes." David was first chieftain of Kaleb, his capital being Hebron. After a conflict with the kingdom of Saul, David conquered part of the territory of Benjamin incorporating the tribes Peresh and Zerakh. They were formerly regarded as belonging to Benjamin but later were treated as Judeans.

It was natural that later redactors with their tendency to represent David as a Judean and the national hero of Israel, tried to conceal his conflict with Benjamin. Schrader says (*ibid.*, p. 210):

"If the development of the monotheistic doctrine which was proclaimed in Judah-Israel in the name of Yahveh must be assumed to have had its roots in the center of civilization of Hither Asia, then the purpose of the patriarchal legend,—if it pursues at all an historical purpose besides the general one of instruction—can have been only to lay bare the threads which could be traced back to them from Judah. It is not the ethnological genesis of a small pure-blooded nation which is to be described, but the growth of its religion and its world-conception. To be the representative of this world-conception Judah ought to regard as her ideal calling,—although as a matter of fact she neither did nor could so regard it."

#### THE TEMPLE REFORM AND JUDAISM.

Monotheistic tendencies had manifested themselves both in Egypt and in Babylon, but they had remained limited to the educated classes and had not affected the polytheistic service in the temples. In Egypt at the time when the Tel Amarna Tablets were written,

<sup>5</sup> 2. Sam. xv. 18.

the monotheistic reform had tried to influence the religion of the people but had failed utterly. Conditions were more favorable in Persia; there it was a success.

We can not say how much Israel was influenced by these movements, but we know that a purer and deeper conception of God as a god of justice had been prepared through the prophets who denounced social wrongs as well as the abuses of religion in opposition to the established priesthood and aristocracy. The movement spread among those who were zealous for a purification of the official worship of the country and at last exerted a strong hold on the more intelligent priesthood of the capital. The result was the famous temple reform of the year 621 B. C. which may be regarded as the date of the birth of Judaism.

The temple reform was a compromise between the prophetic party and the Jerusalemite priests. The prophetic party denounced worship on the heights, but they looked up to the holy place on Mt. Zion as the national sanctuary and the favorite place of Yahveh, and the priests of Jerusalem were naturally pleased with this view, for it procured for them a religious monopoly.

The prophetic party was greatly respected in Jerusalem on account of a successful prophecy made by Isaiah about a quarter of a century before the temple reform. In the days of King Hezekiah he had glorified Mount Zion as the holy place of Yahveh, and when the Assyrians in their campaign of 702-701 threatened Jerusalem he declared "that the Lord had founded Zion and the poor of his people shall trust in it" (Is. xiv. 32; compare also 2 Kings xix. 31 ff.). Isaiah's confidence was justified by subsequent events for it is reported that "the angel of the Lord smote an hundred four-score and five thousand,"<sup>a</sup> and Sennacherib raised the siege and went home.

It is true that Jerusalem was spared the horrors of pillage and it is possible that the appearance of a sudden epidemic caused the king to lead the army home, but the event was not quite so glorious as it is described in the Bible and as it appeared in later times to the imagination of the Jews, for King Hezekiah remained a vassal of Assyria and Sennacherib had carried into captivity two hundred thousand inhabitants of Judea. It was merely the salvation of a remnant at which the prophet rejoiced, and Hezekiah was thankful that he did not suffer the terrible fate of Samaria.

Sennacherib's account of this same expedition is also preserved in a cuneiform text on a clay cylinder and the passage referring to Judea reads in an English translation thus:

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings xix. 35; comp. Is. xxxvii. 36.

“Six and forty of the fenced cities, and the fortresses, and the villages round about them, belonging to Hezekiah the Jew, who had not submitted to my rule, I besieged and stormed and captured. I carried away from them two hundred thousand and one hundred and fifty souls, great and small, male and female, and horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and sheep without number. In his house in Jerusalem I shut up Hezekiah like a bird in a cage. I threw up mounds round about the city from which to attack it, and I blockaded his gates. The cities which I had captured from him I took away from his kingdom and I gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod.”

The preservation of Jerusalem is commonly spoken of by orthodox Christians as a mysterious event and a wonderful occurrence, but the main thing is that it was believed to be a miracle by the Jews. This belief had fatal consequences. It made the Jews overconfident in their faith so that they clung to their cause even when there was no hope of success; but while they ruined thereby their national existence, they sunk their nationality in their religion and developed in this way into an international people.

The confidence that the walls of Jerusalem were impregnable because Yahveh would not suffer Zion to fall into the hands of the Gentiles, made the Jews stubborn, so as to render the eventual downfall of Judea an inevitable necessity. The immediate result of the fulfilment of this prophecy was an increase of power for the prophetic party in Jerusalem and thereby they were enabled to carry into effect their momentous plan of a temple reform.

The story of the temple reform is told in 2 Kings xvii-xviii, and we will recapitulate the events leading to it in Professor Cornill's words where, on page 81 of his *Prophets of Israel*, he says:

“The prophetic party, which had apparently not been persecuted for some time, must have kept up secretly a continuous and successful agitation. The priests in the temple of Jerusalem must have been won over to it, or at least influenced by it, and especially must its aspirations have found access to the heart of the young king, who, from all we know of him, was a thoroughly good and noble character.

“The time now appeared ripe for a bold stroke.

“When, in the eighteenth year of Josiah, 621 B. C., Shaphan the scribe paid an official visit to the temple of Jerusalem, the priest Hilkiah handed to him a book of laws which had been found there. Shaphan took the book and immediately brought it to the King, before whom he read it.”

The book was declared to be genuine and on the basis of it the



religion of Judea was newly regulated. Professor Cornill continues:

"Our first question must be: What is this book of laws of Josiah, which was discovered in the year 621? The youthful De Wette, in his thesis for a professorship at Jena in the year 1805, clearly proved that this book of laws was essentially the fifth book of Moses, known as Deuteronomy. The book is clearly and distinctly marked off from the rest of the Pentateuch and its legislation, whilst the reforms of worship introduced by Josiah correspond exactly to what it called for. The proofs adduced by De Wette have been generally accepted, and his view has become a common possession of Old Testament research."

The priests in the country who opposed the temple reform were treated with great cruelty (See 2 Kings xiii. 20) and the wizards and witches of the land were also exterminated, as we read in 2 Kings xxiii. 24:

"Moreover the workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the images, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the Lord."

#### THE BABYLONIAN EXILE.

The temple reform established the supremacy of the priestly party, but the priests were poor statesmen. Believing that Yahweh would not suffer the temple to fall into the hands of his enemies, they pursued a short-sighted policy siding always with the wrong party, and this ended in a most deplorable defeat. Jerusalem was taken, and the aristocracy of the people together with all their leaders, the educated classes, the scribes and even the smiths who could work in iron were deported into Babylon.<sup>7</sup>

This fate was sufficient to destroy any nation, but it did not ruin the Jews. Having gained the conviction by the temple reform that they were the chosen people of God, the exile only served to harden them in the furnace of tribulation, and so Judaism was prepared for the part which it was going to play in the further development of religious ideas.

When we bear in mind that the deported Jews belonged to the upper and more highly educated classes, we can easily understand that their ideas of monotheism, which in those days constituted an advanced stage of free thinking, soon became with them a mono-

<sup>7</sup> See 2 Kings xxiv, 14-16.

mania. They may have become acquainted with Babylonian monotheists, and whenever they had an opportunity to discuss religion may have claimed that their God was the only true God and that he had manifested himself in their literature. One thing is sure, they now interpreted the treasures of their literature in the spirit of this conviction, and their priests prepared new redactions of their old books in the light of the new faith.

While the Jewish conception of religion was rigorously monotheistic, for Yahveh was regarded as the only true God of the universe, the creator of heaven and earth, it was at the same time narrowed down to a most egotistical nationalism, and this nationalism was made the quintessence of their religion.

Every nation passes through a phase in which it regards itself as the favored people of the earth, looking with contempt or pity on all others. The Greeks called the non-Greeks barbarians, the Germanic tribes called the non-Germanic races Welsh, the Egyptians looked upon all foreigners as unclean, and the Chinese are possessed of similar notions up to this day. Among the Jews this idea was incorporated into the fabric of their faith, and thus we may say that while Judaism marked a progress in the history of religion it must at the same time be regarded as a contraction of the religious sentiment; instead of broadening the people, it restricted and limited their horizon. While liberating themselves from some of the grossest superstitions of paganism, the Jews cherished a mistaken and most fatal belief in their own preeminence over the Gentiles.

Their adherence to this notion made the Jews so intolerable to others that they bore the cause of their calamity with them wherever they went, however innocent the individuals may have been since they imbibed their ideas from childhood.

Whatever wrongs the Gentiles did, the Jews gave the first provocation, and the very way in which they are banded together against the rest of the world made them naturally the "odium" of the human race, as Tacitus calls them.

It is easy for us to see that the exclusiveness of the Jews was a fault, that their progressiveness was lamentably cramped by the reactionary spirit of a most Chauvinistic tribal patriotism, but this very fault rendered them fit to become the vessel that was wanted to hold the monotheistic belief. Without their superstition of the holiness of their tribal existence, they would never have persisted as Jews, they would have disappeared among the nations. In order to become the torch-bearers of the light of monotheism, their faith had to be hardened into a nationalistic religion and their very short-

coming rendered them fit to serve a higher purpose in the history of mankind.

We must grant one thing, that while the temple reform and the subsequent exile hardened the national character of the Jews to such an extent that the Jews remained Jews wherever they went, the persistence of the Jewish race ensured ultimately the success of Christianity as a world-religion.

#### THE DISPERSION.

One of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of mankind, and in its way quite unique, is the Dispersion of the Jews. The Jews are the only people of antiquity which exists still and has preserved its type, but the Jewish people differ from all other nations of the world in this one particular point that they are a people without a country. Ancient Judea is no longer Jewish, the Jews live among the other nations; they are scattered and wherever we go we find Jews. This Dispersion (or, as it was called in Greek, *Diaspora*) has been an object of awe and wonder; and though it gives the Jews a decided advantage in the struggle for existence, it has been regarded as a curse which rests upon this race of "rovers."

We are so accustomed to the dispersion of the Jews that it scarcely rouses our curiosity any longer, and I can not discover the slightest scientific attempt to explain the phenomenon. The best authorities, both Christian and Jewish, accept the facts in the traditional interpretation as a kind of mysterious doom. So for instance Professor Sayce, when discussing the peculiarities of the Jewish people speaks of the Babylonian exile and the world exile of the Jews as the two great national calamities of the race. He says:

"The Jews flourish everywhere except in the country of which they held possession for so long a time. The few Jewish colonies which exist there are mere exotics, influencing the surrounding population as little as the German colonies that have been founded beside them. That population is Canaanite. In physical features, in mental and moral characteristics, even in its folklore, it is the descendant of the population which the Israelitish invaders vainly attempted to extirpate. It has survived, while they have perished or wandered elsewhere. The Roman succeeded in driving the Jew from the soil which his fathers had won; the Jew never succeeded in driving from it its original possessor. When the Jew departed from it, whether for exile in Babylonia, or for the longer exile in the world of a later day, the older population sprang up again in all its

vigor and freshness, thus asserting its right to be indeed the child of the soil."

Professor Graetz, the best Jewish authority on Jewish history, expresses himself thus (*Geschichte der Juden*, I, 619-620):

"At the cradle of the Jewish nation was sung the song of ceaseless wandering and dispersion such as no other nation has ever known, and this dread lullaby came to fulfilment with terrible literalness. There was hardly a corner in either of the two dominant empires, the Roman and the Parthian, where Jews were not to be found, where they had not formed a religious community. The border of the great Mediterranean basin and the estuaries of all the main rivers of the old world, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Danube were peopled with Jews. As by an inexorable fate the sons of Israel were driven farther and farther away from their center. But this dispersion was likewise a blessing and an act of providence. It sowed abroad the seeds which were destined to bear to all directions a nobler God-conception and a purer civilization."

Even Karl Vollers, the most recent liberal writer on the history of religion, says in *Die Weltreligionen*,<sup>8</sup> that "the dispersion (*Diaspora, Gola*) which had started centuries before [the breakdown of the Jewish theocracy] now becomes general, and down to our own days forms the signature of the history of the Jews."

Convinced of the enormous significance which the fact of the dispersion of the Jews possesses in the history of Christianity, I have given the problem some thought and I have come to the following conclusion.

The name Diaspora or Dispersion is misleading because it suggests that some mysterious cause scatters the Jews among the Gentiles. The truth is that the Jews scatter no more and no less than any other nationality, but while all other nationalities become acclimatized to their new homes, Jews remain Jews wherever they go. The problem therefore is not how did the Jews scatter, but how did they preserve their own type, and the answer is not far to seek.

Judaism is a prematurely acquired belief in monotheism, which means that the Jews had adopted monotheism before they were able to grasp its significance.

The Jews of the Exile believed that there was but one God, the creator of heaven and earth and ruler of the universe, and that this only true God was their own God Yahveh; they identified him in their own history with the God-conceptions which their different

<sup>8</sup> Published at Eugen Dietrichs Verlag, Jena, 1907.

tribes had held at different times. He was the Shaddai of Abraham, the Elohim of the patriarchs, the Zebaoth of Ephraim, and above all he was Yahveh, the God of David and of Moses. All these names became designations of the same deity.

If the Jews had been ripe for monotheism, they would have abolished the barbarous and pagan institutions of which their religion was still possessed, as for instance the practice of offering bloody sacrifices to God, repeatedly denounced by the prophets. Had the Jews been sufficiently matured to understand the moral applications of a belief in one God, they would have seen that before God there is no difference between Jew and Gentile and that the chosen people are those who actualize the divine will in their lives. This inconsistency of the Jewish faith which combined a universalistic breadth with an outspoken and almost unparalleled narrowness pampered by national vanity, rendered it possible for them to cling to some old-fashioned institutions, called the Law, or the Law of Moses, which was kept with a remarkably punctilious piety that would have been worthy of a better cause. But circumcision, abstinence from pork, certain rules of butchering, a rigorous observance of the Sabbath, etc., would in themselves have been harmless, had not their religion at the same time become a belief in the Jewish nationality which established a line of demarcation between the Jews and the rest of the world. Here lies the root of the tenacity of Judaism which has produced that most remarkable historical phenomenon of the preservation of the Jews in the midst of the other nations, a phenomenon known as the Dispersion.

All the nations scatter. The great capitals of the world contain representatives of any race that is suffered admittance, but within the second or third generation these strangers are being absorbed. The Jew alone resists absorption. He remains a Jew. The newcomer finds his coreligionist, and associates with him. The circle grows and a synagogue is built.

How many nations have sent their sons into Germany! Think of the innumerable French Huguenots, Italians such as the Cottas, the Brentanos. From Scotland came Kant's father, and Keith, the famous general of Frederick the Great. Who now thinks of their foreign ancestry? They have all become Germans.

The same is true of the Germans who settle in other countries. France, Italy, Spain, etc. The traveler comes across them here and there, but their children scarcely know whence their father or grandfather came.

The truth is that the children of every nation are scattered

among the other nations. Everywhere there are people who go abroad to seek their fortunes. There is everywhere a constant tendency to migrations of small fractions of the population to distant countries where they are attracted in the hope of improving their condition. That the Jews are not assimilated as the others, is due to their religion, the main import of which, as we have seen, is the preservation of the Jewish nationality.

Every man has the inborn tendency of being a Hebrew, i. e., "a rover." All human life radiates. The Jew is not an exception. He simply follows the general rule, but he at the same time preserves his own kind. We find Jews everywhere, and this gives the impression that they are scattered all over the world. Not having a country of their own, the idea naturally originated that the Jews have become scattered because they no longer possess a country of their own, but the dispersion of the Jews antedates the destruction of Jerusalem and would be the same even if Jerusalem had never been destroyed.

The Jewish dispersion is frequently regarded as a mysterious curse that has befallen the race because they have rejected the Saviour and crucified Christ; and this romantic conception has found a poetic expression in the grewsome legend of Ahasuerus, the "Wandering Jew," the man who can not die. This occult interpretation of the phenomenon casts a glamor of mystery upon the Jews and makes them an object of interest; not indeed of love, but of awe. We need not add that this view is more poetical than true, for the Jewish dispersion existed before the crucifixion. Horace quotes a proverb, *Credat Judæus Apella*, viz.: "Try to make the Jew Apella believe it."—which implies that the Jews lived among the Romans and were known to them as sharp fellows who would not be taken in easily. They existed not only in Rome but all over the Græco-Roman empire, and wherever Paul went on his missionary journeys he found Jewish congregations,—in fact he himself was born in the Dispersion.

The Jews were known to the Gentiles as representatives of a rigorous monotheism; their claim that they were the worshipers of the only true God was reiterated, and their literature, written with mysterious characters in a strange tongue, was commonly accepted as a verification. The ancient pagan gods had lost the last semblance of authority and so the Jewish protestation that they were idols, nonentities, vain conceits of an idle imagination, was willingly believed.

Taken all in all, the Jew was surrounded with a mystery which

made it very plausible that some secret truth was hidden in Judaism. The striking characteristics which distinguish the Jew, called for an explanation and made it desirable for a universal religion, which like Judaism was monotheistic, to explain their existence and assign them a part in the development of truth.

This work was done by St. Paul, and his explanation was the more willingly accepted by the Gentiles as it explained also the odium in which the Jews were held. According to St. Paul the Jews had been the chosen people of God, who, however, were now rejected on account of their stubborn attitude toward the Gospel which he preached.

There existed for some time a few Jewish colonies which were not dominated by the spirit of the post-Exilic reform. We name the one in Elephantine (or Jeb) in Upper Egypt and the other one in Tahpanhes, in Lower Egypt, both flourishing communities where of late interesting monuments have been discovered; but it is noteworthy that none of them survived. Not being so narrow-minded as to condemn any approach to the life and habits of, and inter-marriage with, the Gentiles, they disappeared in the long run. They lacked that preservative talisman without which the Jew would not essentially differ from other human beings.

#### JEW AND GENTILE.

Now let us ask what were the objections of the Jews to paganism?

We know that in all pagan religions a belief in the immortality of the soul was dearest to the pious, and judging from an ancient Babylonian poem, "Ishtar's Descent to Hell," and from other indications, we must assume that the Babylonians and other Gentiles tried to communicate with the dead in some way after the fashion of spiritualist seances by professional conjurors.

These mediums of ancient times are called in the Bible "wizards and witches," and their controls "familiar spirits." Against this class of people the ire of the exiled Jews seems to have blazed up most furiously, for they are condemned in the strongest terms in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic insertions of the priestly redactors. We are told again and again that they were expelled from Israel and the penalty of death by stoning was imposed upon them. And yet they must have existed in ancient times, for we have a graphic account of the witch of Endor whom Saul visited. Those verses which mention the expulsion of the wizards and witches by

Saul (1 Sam. xxviii. 9-10) are perhaps a later insertion of the priestly redactor in order to explain how Saul could consult a witch, if witches were not tolerated in Israel. The account itself seems to be complete without these lines, and it would then appear that the king made no secret of his intention to seek an interview with the ghost of Samuel. At any rate this custom of citing ghosts was a great abomination to the Exilic and post-Exilic Jew, and it almost seems as if the leaders of the exiled Jews who gave a definite shape to Judaism by impressing their views upon the rest of the Jewish people, omitted on account of their aversion to a ghost-conception of the dead, all references to a future life from their sacred literature and so gave the impression that they did not believe in immortality. It is difficult to say what the Israelites thought of the soul in the times of Saul, but it is probable that then they shared the views of their neighbors, while in post-Exilic times the Jews were opposed to the immortality-conception of the Gentiles.

Now we know at the same time that the Gentile belief in immortality is closely connected with their legends of the God-man who is born on earth, becomes a hero and a saviour, struggles for the cause of mankind, and is slain to rise again from the tomb. All this was as much of an abomination to the Jew as was the worship of the Queen of Heaven. To the Jew, God was God and not a man, neither was he a woman. The idea of a mother of God, a Goddess mother, or even a Goddess bride was to them so senseless that the Hebrew language avoided the formation of the female form of God.

We do not mean to defend the ancient paganism and its superstitions, but in fairness to truth we must say that many accusations of the Jews against the Gentile conception of gods, is erroneous,—so especially the proposition that the Gentiles worshiped the very statues of their gods. The Psalmist says:

“The idols of the heathen are silver and gold,  
The work of men’s hands.

“They have mouths, but they speak not;  
Eyes have they, but they see not;

“They have ears, but they hear not;  
Neither is there any breath in their mouths.

“They that make them are like unto them:  
So is every one that trusteth in them.”

When we read the religious hymns of ancient Babylon and Egypt, many of which are full of noble inspiration, we receive quite



another impression of the pagan polytheistic faith. The statues of the gods in the temples were not deemed to be the gods themselves, but only their representative images, and we can see no difference between pagan idolatry so called and the use of icons in Christian churches. But this is a side issue; the main point is that the Jews were opposed to the worship of idols including the making of statues and images in any form; they were further opposed to the idea of a God-man, and to the belief in immortality such as was held by all the Gentiles. These ideas, however, reasserted themselves in the Apocrypha and thus prepared the way for the foundation of gnostic views resembling Christianity, among such Jews as Philo, Apollon and finally St. Paul, the Apostle.

The contrast between Jew and Gentile is fundamentally based upon a temperamental difference. The Jew wants religion pure and simple; he takes monotheism seriously and brooks no mediation of intercessors, no mysticism, no allegorizing, no profound and abstruse symbols. The Gentile sees the divine everywhere. His monotheism is no rigid Unitarianism. He is a dualist whose conception of the duality of things is explained by a higher union and thus he formulates his belief in God as trinitarianism. He loves art and myth, and this makes him appear in the eye of the Jew as an idolator, a worshiper of images. He seeks God not only above the clouds but also in the living examples of heroes, of ideal men, of the great representatives of God on earth.

This same contrast of the two attitudes gave rise to the rigorously monotheistic Islam, but as there are Unitarians among the Christians, so there are among the Moslems, especially among the Sheites, those who believe in a second advent of Mohammed, of a Mahdi, or a saviour of some kind; and Behaism, the new religion that originated in Persia, proves that the idea of a divine Mediator is still alive in Mohammedan countries.

#### THE JUDAISM OF JESUS.

St. Paul speaks of Christ as the Son of David according to the flesh and follows in this the rabbinical tradition which was commonly established at the time of Jesus. David was the great hero in the history of Israel whose rule marks the period of the nation's greatest glory. In the times of their oppression they longed for a hero who would reestablish the kingdom of David and so it was but natural that the expected Messiah was called the son of David. But though the Messiah was so called there is no reason why he should ac-

tually belong to the house of David. The house of David had died out with Zerubbabel, and if there were any of his family left they would have been able to trace their genealogy only indirectly to the royal house.

The genealogies of Joseph preserved in the New Testament are positively impossible and obviously of a late date. Even if they were tenable they would prove nothing of the descent of Jesus on the orthodox assumption because Joseph was not deemed his father. We ought to have had a genealogy of Mary.

We must assume that in the days of Jesus the claim of his disciples that he was the expected Messiah was met with the objection that nothing good could come from Nazareth and that the Messiah must be of the house of David. If Jesus could by any genealogy have established the claim of his descent from David it would certainly have been recorded, but we have in the New Testament a passage repeated in the three synoptic Gospels which proves the very opposite, viz., that Jesus in the presence of a large number of people assembled in the court of the temple disproves the idea current among the scribes and Pharisees that the Messiah must be a son of David. This incident is repeated in Mark xii. 35-37; Matt. xxv. 41-46; and Luke xx. 41-44.

We quote the shortest report according to the Gospel of St. Mark as follows:

“And Jesus answered and said, while he taught in the temple, How say the scribes that Christ is the son of David?

“For David himself said by the Holy Ghost, The Lord said to my lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.

“David therefore himself calleth him Lord; and whence is he then his son? And the common people heard him gladly.”

In reading these verses we must bear in mind that Psalm cx to which Jesus refers, was in his days commonly ascribed to David and the expression “My Lord” was interpreted to be addressed to the Anointed One, the Messiah. In claiming the dignity of Messiah, Jesus refutes the popular notion of a Messiahship which was constituted merely by descent, the aristocracy of blood.

The question here is not whether the Psalm was really written by David nor whether the point which Christ makes is unanswerable. We have simply to note that by this argument he silenced the claim of the scribes and Pharisees which they must have made; for if this is an answer to a point raised by his enemies it can only have been the proposition that no one else but a descendant of David ought

to be the Messiah. The answer presupposes that Jesus was not of the family of David but that while he did not claim to be a descendant of the royal house, he yet held to the claim of Messiahship. If he was after all called the son of David by his adherents and by the sick who sought his help, it was only because in popular parlance the terms Messiah and Son of David had been identified.

For these reasons we must assume that Jesus was born a Galilean, a child of the people, and the story of his royal descent was an afterthought. It was attributed to him in the same way as five hundred years before him it was claimed that Buddha was the son of a king.

While Jesus was probably a Galilean, and as such, though not of purely Aryan yet of Gentile blood, he was certainly a Jew by religion. He sent out his disciples to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," and adds the special injunction not to go to the Samaritans nor to the Gentiles (Matt. x. 5-6). How little tenable it is to interpret this as a temporary measure to be superseded afterwards by a world mission, appears from verse 23 where Christ declares, "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the son of man be come," which can only mean the second advent of Christ in all his glory, for in any other possible sense the first advent has taken place, since the son of man had come and was speaking to them.

According to Matt. xv. 22 ff. and Mark vii. 25 ff. Jesus refuses his help to a Gentile woman. She is called a Canaanite in the former account and a Greek of Syro-Phœnician nationality in the other. Jesus says to her that "it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs." She takes his harsh answer in full recognition of the superiority of the Jews, and taking up the same mode of expression which Jesus uses she answers, "Yet the dogs eat the crumbs which fall from their master's table." Only on account of her great faith Jesus yields and heals her daughter. Luke, who is a Gentile himself, omits the story.

We must remember that the Jews called the Gentiles "dogs" and "swine" and we may very well interpret Christ's saying (Matt. vii. 6), that that which is "holy" should not be given to the dogs, and that pearls should not be cast before the swine, in this same sense, that the blessings of his Gospel do not belong to the Gentiles.

The most important passage in which Jesus stands up for Judaism is contained in the Sermon on the Mount, where we read:

"For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."

The Greek words "jot" and "tittle" denote the diacritical points used in the Hebrew text, and so this saying of Jesus does not only insist on the law in the letter but includes the most unessential parts of the letter also. One could not express himself more severely as insisting on the significance of a literal presentation of the law than is done here in a word ascribed to Jesus, and this word stands in strong contradiction to the spirit which permeates the religion of Jesus as it is commonly understood, especially to the principles in which the Sermon on the Mount is written. In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus insists that the spirit is the main thing, and according to other passages he would abolish the letter in order to preserve and insist on the spirit which constitutes the purpose of the law. But if this passage means what it says, the fulfilment of the law must go down into the most minute details which is insisted on so vigorously that the law in its very letter is more stable than heaven and earth. Heaven and earth shall pass away before we can expect a relaxation of the Mosaic law. The parallel passage of this sentence is found in Luke xvi. 17, which reads as follows:

"And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail."

It is obvious that this doctrine is contrary to the interpretation which had been established in the Gentile churches, and we know that it was vigorously opposed by St. Paul. He claimed that the law had been fulfilled, and that the pagans need not be held to observe the details of the Mosaic law, such as circumcision, abstinence from pork, etc., and yet the passage is unequivocal. This seems to be the best proof of its genuineness.

Texts have often been altered to conform to new doctrines, and so we are justified in assuming that verses which incorporate an older but rejected view represent the original text and are traces of a belief that is no longer countenanced. Only by some inadvertence were they suffered to remain and after the text became too sacred for alterations, proved a stumbling block to exegetics. Our passage is to all appearance such a relic, the character of which still bears witness to an older tradition. The severity with which the preservation of the Mosaic law is insisted upon is modified however by the words "Till all be fulfilled."

It is not impossible that this second clause in the sentence "till all be fulfilled" is an addition made by a Gentile Christian scribe, with the intention of softening the meaning of this sentence. Paul claimed that the law was fulfilled in Christ, and for this reason it need no longer be observed by the Gentiles. Paul's arguments ap-

pealed to the Gentiles and they no longer felt bound to obey the Mosaic law, so the scribe by adding the clause "till all be fulfilled" reminds his readers of the Pauline doctrine that in spite of the acknowledged divinity of the Mosaic law it was no longer in force since it had been fulfilled in Christ; but in inserting this clause, "till all be fulfilled," he forgot to cancel the other statement which it was intended to replace, "till heaven and earth shall pass away;" and so we have here a double condition, one which reflects the original meaning, the other the new interpretation put on it.

Since it is not probable that these passages which indicate the Jewish spirit of Jesus were later inventions because the Gentile Church would not have invented these sayings and would not have superadded them to the sacred text, the opposite must be assumed to be nearer the truth, viz., that the original Jesus was and actually remained a Jew in his religion but that later traditions tended more and more to obliterate his Jewish conviction and superadded to the traditional text sayings of a more cosmopolitan character. It is noticeable for instance that the only important passage in which Jesus shows the intention of founding a universal religion is an utterance attributed to him after his death and before his ascension, when he says (Mark xvi. 15), "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

The personality of Jesus must have been unusually attractive and sympathetic especially to the poor, the lowly, the oppressed; but he was a Jew in his convictions, and had he not been a Jew he would have been out of harmony with his surroundings for cosmopolitan ideas would scarcely have appealed to the poor Galilean fisher folk.

We do not accept the theory that the life of Jesus was a myth. We believe that he was a real person and that ultimately the Gospel accounts are based upon fact. Nevertheless the Gospel story is not history, it is strongly colored by the Christology of the Church, and the modifications which the original story underwent are the communal work of successive generations, until the Gospel assumed a shape that was generally acceptable to the majority of Christians. New Testament scholars are fairly well agreed that Mark represents the oldest account of the historical Jesus. It presupposes an earlier Gospel, the so-called Proto-Mark, which served as a source for the three synoptic Gospels and is, in its turn, based upon still older documents, the Logia and other personal reminiscences of Jesus. Matthew is a Judaizing redaction and incorporates additional material, while Luke, being compiled from other sources, was adapted for the use

of Gentiles.<sup>9</sup> The fourth Gospel, however, though it may incidentally have incorporated some new reliable information, is upon the whole the least historical, but it ranges highest in its philosophical conception. It represents the final stage on which Jesus, the Messiah, the son of David, the son of Man, has at last become the Christ, the Logos, the Saviour.

There is a faction of Christianity to-day, as there always has been, who would discard the Christological additions and go back to the historical Jesus, but their procedure seems to me to be based upon an error. Religion can never be founded upon historical facts or single occurrences, nor upon individual characters, but must always rest upon eternal truths. It is not the life of Jesus that will be helpful, but what we make of it; mankind needs a Christ and thus each successive Christian generation has interpreted the story of Jesus in the spirit of its highest conception of Christ.

Scholarly investigations into the Gospel documents to determine the facts of the life of Jesus as to his actuality, his views, his race, his character, etc., may be of archeological interest, or may even possess historical value, but they are absolutely useless for religious purposes. It is quite indifferent whether Jesus was a Jew, or Galilean, whether a Semite or an Aryan, and it is also of very little consequence what view he held. Whether rightly or wrongly, the fact which we have to deal with is this, that to Christians Jesus has become the Christ. The personality of Jesus is a mere thread upon which Christians string the pearls of their religious interpretations of ideals of manhood, of the God-man, of the deity that has become flesh.

Historical investigations of the story of Jesus are apt to disclose conditions which would not please us, for it seems that what to a modern man is most repugnant, his claims of being able to drive out devils, is historically the most assured fact of his life. But what of it? Religion lets the dead past bury its dead. Jesus is gone, but Christ remains, and the living presence counts. The religion of the Christians has for good reasons been called, not Jesuism after the name of Jesus, but Christianity after Christ, the ideal of humanity, which is not an individual being but a superpersonal presence, not a man who lived and died at a certain time, but like the Platonic ideas, an eternal type, the prototype of the highest ideal of manhood. And the Christian doctrine of the preexistence of Christ conveys a great truth, for this prototype is eternal with God; it is the Logos uncreate

<sup>9</sup> That Luke quotes Buddhist texts as "Scriptures" has been proved by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds in his *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*.

and without end; it is, to use the mystic and profound symbolism of dogmatic Christianity, God the Son begotten in all eternity by God the Father.

#### CONCLUSION.

Christianity may be compared to a composite portrait as made by Galton who photographed a number of faces belonging to a certain class in such a way as to bring out their general type, taking only short exposures of every individual. They must be so posed that the noses and the eyes coincide upon the sensitive plate. In the composite picture which results therefrom the individual differences disappear while the common features come out strongly and produce a new portrait which is the ideal type of all its component factors.

The relation of Christianity to the ancient pagan religions is quite similar to that which obtains between the composite photograph and the several exposures which produce it. Every faith of antique paganism left an impression more or less dim and every one was repudiated with its individual traits. Nevertheless the underlying principles of all the several religions which were mostly the same, remained in the minds of the people, and they produced a new type which was impressed upon the dualistic world-conception then prevalent. This picture, a composite of all the previous religions, looked quite unlike each single one of the originals that had contributed its share to the formation of the whole, and yet it was the sum total of their fusion.

The alliance between Christianity and Judaism was as close as childhood by adoption can be. Christianity entered upon the inheritance and claimed the history and traditions of Israel as its own, but for all that its inmost constitution remained different from Judaism. The nature of an adopted child will not be that of its foster father but will keep true to the blood of its own parents. The spirit of Christianity was Gentile from the start and has remained so in spite of the great influence of the Old Testament Scriptures upon its further development.

It is difficult to appreciate how closely the fate of rivals is always interlinked. Judaism gave to Christianity its finishing touches and Christianity incorporated into itself much of Judaism, yet the two have most fanatically anathematized each other in the past. In one sense Christianity supersedes the ancient paganism and in another sense the ancient paganism reappears in a new form in Christian doctrines. Yet the Church Fathers can not speak of the pagans

without maligning them bitterly and unjustly. It may be literally true that the bitterer the hostility between two rivals, the more similar are they in spirit; the more marked the contrast is, the greater must be their kinship. This statement almost appears like a corroboration of the pantheistic idea of the identity of Brahma in all things, which makes the red slayer the same as his victim, the one he slays.

When we speak of the pagan character of Christianity, we mean neither to disparage Christianity nor to deny the fact that its appearance represents a new era in the history of the world. We use the term only to bring out forcibly the truth that (in spite of the important part played by Judaism) Christianity is in all its essential doctrines the legitimate result of the religious development of mankind,—not of Judaism, but of the whole world, Jews and Gentiles, but mainly of the Gentiles, i. e., the nations. Instead of belittling Christianity, we must raise our estimate of and our respect for paganism, which was neither so thoughtlessly idolatrous, nor so immoral as it has been commonly represented.

The Jewish contribution to the development of religion is more negative than positive, it is like the salt that gives the flavor, but the meat was furnished by the Gentiles.

Christianity is like a big river which drains an enormous territory. It has not one source but innumerable sources, and the character of its waters together with its course depends upon the geography of the whole country, not upon what is commonly called its source. Yet people will insist on calling one spring of the whole system the source of the river as if that alone had caused its existence and none of the others need be taken into consideration.

Sometimes it happens (as for instance in the Mississippi-Missouri system) that the largest stream which supplies most of the water and has the longest course does not bear the name of the main river, and the same is true in the history of Christianity. The largest supply of its substance and also the most essential ingredients so far as quality is concerned, viz., that portion which determines the nature of its doctrines, is not furnished by Judaism to which its origin is commonly traced, but by paganism; and when we pass in review the teachings of Jesus himself, as recorded in the synoptic gospels, we can discover nothing that is typically Christian.

There is a joke told by Austrians on a Magyar who is said to have traveled to the source of the Danube where he stopped the water so that for a little while it would not flow, and with a mischievous twinkle in his eye he exclaimed: "What a surprise it will



be to the people in Vienna when the Danube suddenly runs dry!" This view of the origin of rivers is not unlike the current interpretation of the history of Christianity which is supposed to have received all its momentum either from the Sermon on the Mount, or the death of Jesus on the cross.

The spread of the Gospel of Jesus which we trace in its continuity in ecclesiastic history, is to be complemented by a consideration of innumerable other lines of thought which like tributaries of a stream have become merged into the Christian doctrines and have considerably modified them.

We shall never be able to understand the nature of the records of the life of Jesus that have come down to us, unless we bear in mind how they were altered and interpreted from the standpoint of these later additions, how they were redacted to remove what had become obsolete, and generally how they were again and again adapted to the new requirements.

Christianity is not the work of one man, but the product of ages. When the inhabitants of the countries that surround the Mediterranean Sea were for the first time in history united into one great empire, they became conscious of the solidarity of the human race and felt the need of a universal religion. In response to that need answers were given by thinkers, moral teachers, and religious leaders, whose doctrines were more or less echoed in the sentiment of the large masses. These large masses were after all the ultimate court of appeal which would render a final decision.

Several religions originated but Christianity alone survived, because it contained in a definite form what vaguely and indefinitely was slumbering in the subconscious sentiment of public opinion. Christianity had gathered up in itself the quintessence of the past, and presented solutions to the problems of religion which were most compatible with the new conditions. The generations of the first three centuries molded and remolded the Christian documents until they acquired a shape that would be in accord with the prevalent view of the times.

The subconscious ideal which in dim outlines animated multitudes, consisted of the traditional religious views inherited from the hoary past. It was fashioned by the old religions and contained the ideas of a saviour, of the God-man, and of his martyr death, of his victory over all ill and of his return to life, of forgiveness of sins, of the restitution of the world, of a golden age, a millennium and the foundation of a kingdom of God on earth. Such was the

demand of the age, and Virgil's fourth eclogue is one instance only in which this sentiment finds a poetical expression.

At the same time all the fables of mythology were discredited. The tales of Heracles, and of Adonis, of Æsculapius, and of Osiris, of all the several ancient saviours, were no longer believed; they appeared now fantastical and had become untrue and unsatisfactory. A real saviour of historical actuality was demanded. It is natural that some people expected him to appear on the throne as the restorer of peace and many greeted Augustus as a divine incarnation, the representative of God on earth. But his successors did not come up to the expectations of the people and Nero's example alone was sufficient to overthrow the belief in the divinity of the Emperor. The saviour could not be of this world, he had to be a man, and yet a God, not of secular power, but king of a spiritual empire, a king of truth, and so the personality of Jesus became more and more acceptable as the true saviour.

The ideal which constituted the demand was of Gentile manufacture, and Christianity, its fulfilment, is in this respect Gentile too, it was un-Jewish, or pagan. But being such, pagan means human: it denotes what is typical of mankind. The pagan world offered some positive solutions of the old world-problem and Judaism criticised them. Judaism represents the spirit of negation—albeit a much needed and wholesome negation.

We grant that paganism contains many objectionable features and so the Jewish attitude of negation is justified. Paganism was weighed and found wanting. Christianity then renewed the old issues but made them pass through the furnace of the Jewish condemnation of pagan mythology. The result was that the same old beliefs were so thoroughly transfigured as to render them something quite new.

Christianity accepts the old pagan world-conception and yet it is not a mere repetition of the old paganism. If we call it "paganism *redivivus*" we do not mean to say that it remains on the same level of primitive superstitions. It is the old paganism, broadened into universalism and purified by a severe monotheism. The old religion was thereby liberated of its most obvious faults, of narrowness, of crude literalism, of naive naturalism, and other childish notions.

The God of evolution works by laws and the marvels of his dispensation can be traced in the natural development of affairs. Just as the snowflake exhibits a design of unfailling regularity and great beauty, so the *denouement* of historical events takes place according to an intrinsic necessity which gives it a definite direc-

tion, and when at the seasonable time definite aims are attained—aims which have been prepared by preceding events—the result appears like the work of a predetermined purpose. It is an immanent teleology which dominates the world. The old legends naturally appear like prophecies which in Jesus Christ have found their fulfilment, and so we can truly speak of Christianity as the pleroma.

## HAZING AND FAGGING.

BY THE EDITOR.

OUR university authorities sometimes have trouble to suppress, or at least to confine within reasonable limits, the customs of hazing and fagging. Even where these abuses are most rigorously punished they turn up again, and like weeds prove almost ineradicable. The truth is that even in their worst excrescences they are less virulent forms of old customs which centuries ago were observed with an almost religious punctiliousness that would have been worthy of a better purpose.

We know too little of the schools of classical antiquity and of Babylon and Egypt to say whether these venerable nuisances existed there also. The first knowledge of them dates back to the end of the Middle Ages, to the very time when universities became famous and well established organizations. Hazing in those days was called "deposition," and fagging, "pennalism." It is strange, however, that both customs were not a mere outburst of youthful impertinence but regular institutions recognized by the authorities of the university. The underlying idea in both was that the new comer to the university was an untutored, uncivilized man, who had first to be polished before he could become a regular member of the university; moreover before he would taste the sweets of a student's life he should suffer hardships. This principle is expressed in the following Latin lines:

"Hisce modis variis tentatur cruda juvenus;  
In studiosorum si petat esse choro;  
Ut discat rapidos animi compellere motus;  
Et simul ante sciat dulcia dura pati."

[Through these several methods our untried youth must be tested,  
If of the students the ranks they would desire to join.  
Readily thus they acquire command of the spirit's quick motions,  
And ere they taste what is sweet, learn to endure what is hard.]

A German verse expresses a similar sentiment thus:

“Sihe wie man Studenten macht  
Aus grobe Hölzlein ungeschlagt.”

[See how the students by hard knocks  
Are made from crude and uncouth blocks.]

Hazing is an old French word derived from *haser*, which means “to annoy, to vex, to irritate.” A freshman was called in old French *Bec jaune*, i. e., “yellow beak” which in modern English one might call “a greenhorn,” and the French phrase was contracted into the



*Hic modo vixis tentatur cruda iuventutis:  
In studiosorum, si petunt esse choro:  
Ut dicat rapidos animi compestere motus:  
Et simul ante faciat dulcia dura pati.* *Swin. lat.*

Sihe wie man Studenten macht  
aus grobe hölzlein ungeschlagt

COPPER ENGRAVING OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

Preserved in the Germanischen Museum at Nuremberg.<sup>1</sup>

late Latin form *beanus* or *beanus*, the definition of which is given thus: “*Beanus est animal nesciens vitam studiosorum*,” that is to say, “a beanus is an animal unfamiliar with the life of students.”

How old the custom is to vex the *bec jaunes* appears from a decree of the *confratria Sancti Sebastiani* at Avignon in 1441 which forbids some improper practices of the deposition.

In the time of the Reformation the deposition assumed a defi-

<sup>1</sup> A similar drawing is reproduced by W. Fabricius in *Die deutschen Corps*, p. 23.

nite form in Protestant universities, and Luther himself deemed it necessary to express his views on the subject with characteristic vigor. In the year 1578 Johannes Dinckel wrote a pamphlet "on the origin, instances, type and ceremonies of that rite which in the schools is commonly called Deposition." He incorporated Luther's verdict together with the illustrated poem (*carmen heroicum*) of this custom by Frederick Widebrand, from which several woodcuts are here reproduced.

Students who had been absolved from their beanism were called *absoluti*, or the absolved ones.



WOODCUT FROM WIDEBRAND'S CARMEN HEROICUM.

Published at Erfurt and Wittenberg, 1578. The inscription reads, with the usual abbreviation: "O beane beanorum."

In the deposition ceremony, the beanus was dressed in a ridiculous fashion, his skin was blackened, horns and long ears were attached to his head, and big tusks were put into his mouth. Woe to the freshman who would resent these coarse jokes, for he would at once be forced into submission by blows.

The tusks necessarily prevented the beanus from answering in plain words, the questions propounded to him, but that was taken as a sign that he grunted like a pig and was incapable of articulate speech. Thereupon the teeth were pulled out and the horns were

taken off, and both operations were performed in a manner that would be annoying and painful. As a rule they had to run against the door until the horns broke to pieces, a reminiscence of which custom is still preserved in the modern German saying *sich die Hörner ablaufen*, i. e., "to run off one's horns," which means about the same as "to sow wild oats."

In addition the freshmen were deposited on a bench or on the floor (whence the name *depositio* originated) and subjected to all kinds of maltreatments. They were anointed with ill-smelling ointments and had to drink unpleasant or even disgusting concoctions.



THE PROCESSION OF THE BEC JAUNES.

From Widebrand's *Carmen Heroicum*.

They were then polished by rude rubbings, their ears were cleaned with big spoons, their nails were cut, their heads were shaved, and big beards were painted on their faces so as to make these boys look like men.

While undergoing this treatment the freshmen had to listen to a long litany, repeat a confession of their sins after the fashion of the Church ritual, and finally they were drenched with dirty water, roughly dried and declared free of their beanism.

When these tortures were finished, they had to go to the Dean of the philosophical faculty and receive on their knees the salt of

wisdom in imitation of the Christian sacrament, while wine was poured over their heads. The ceremony was concluded with a dinner at the cost of the "deposited" freshmen.

It is interesting to observe that for a long time this deposition was considered as an official act in some universities, for in several university statutes the rule existed that no one could be matriculated or receive the Bachelor's degree unless he could produce his diploma of deposition.

The proverb says that one may become accustomed to anything as eels become accustomed to skinning, and so there were people in the good old times who did not take the ceremony of deposition



ON THE GRINDSTONE.

From Widebrand's *Carmen Heroicum*.

amiss but deemed it an inevitable destiny to which one should submit with grace. Wilhelm Fabricius<sup>2</sup> quotes a letter of a certain Schupps who wrote to his son as follows: "Thou mayest think that in universities wisdom is eaten with spoons and no foolishness can be found in any corner. But when thou arrivest, thou must become in thy first year a fool. . . . *Est quaedam sapientiae pars, cum saeculo suo insanire et saeculi moribus, quantum illibata conscientia fieri potest, morem gerere.* Allow thyself this year to be trilled and vexed in good German and in Red-Welsh. . . . *perfer et obdura. Olim meminisse juvabit.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Die deutschen Corps*, p. 35-36.



The Latin quotations read in an English translation thus: "There is a certain wisdom to be foolish with one's time, and with the customs of the time, so far as it can be done with good conscience to follow the custom. . . . bear it and endure. The time will come when remembrance will be pleasant."<sup>3</sup>

When we consider that the practice of deposition was by no means harmless and that students sometimes received lifelong injuries, we will understand that parents were much afraid of this barbarous custom, and since many evils could be averted by money, fathers had their children pass through the ceremony before they went to the university, in which case they had to apply to some well-known depositor who in consideration of the parent's generosity would let a boy undergo his trials in an easy fashion.

The rule which made deposition obligatory was revoked only in the beginning of the 18th century, and yet even when officially abolished it continued in force. There was only this difference that it became less virulent, and finally the freshmen were let off easily by paying a fine or by a verbal recapitulation of the ancient methods of deposition, which was made impressive by an inspection of the old instruments of torture used on this occasion in former times. Later on even the deposition fee was abolished, and then when freshmen were persecuted, it was done in secrecy.

Another custom which belongs to this class of barbaric traditions is fagging, which was based on the same idea that a new comer is unworthy of equal rights with other academic citizens and that he has to pass through a period of trial. During this time he has to serve his seniors, give up to them his own possessions, money or food which he might receive from home, and sometimes even his clothes.

A freshman in the old German universities was called *pennalis*, viz., a man who comes fresh from the *penna* and still belongs there. *Penna* literally means "pen," but was a general name for any preparatory school. The *pennalis* was called a fool, a feix or fex, which latter word was changed to *Fuchs* or fox. Having passed through two semesters trial they were then admitted as full-fledged members to the community of students called *bursa*, so called with this Latin form, originally meaning purse, because certain expenses were defrayed from a common fund. The term *bursa* was also applied to the house in which a number of students lived, and finally changed

\*The last two quotations have come down to us indirectly from Homer's *Odyssey*, the former (*Od.* XX, 18) as quoted by Ovid (*Ars Am.* II, 178 and *Tristia* V, 11, 7), the latter (*Od.* XII, 212) as quoted by Virgil (*Æn.* I, 203).

into the word *Bursch*, meaning a young man who is a member of a *bursa*.

The freshman or *Fuchs* at the German university when joining a fraternity of any kind is still subjected to a number of vexations but they are harmless jokes in comparison to the barbarities of past ages.

Hazing and fagging are customs that are not infrequently observed in American universities, but they may be of a spontaneous growth. We neither affirm nor deny an historical connection. It would be difficult to come to a definite conclusion, for one thing is sure that such customs and abuses originate naturally and sometimes independently in different parts of the globe.

We know that the fraternities and religious institutions even among the savages have their periods of trial, and novices are always subjected to different tests of their fitness to become fully privileged members of the society to whom they apply for admittance. The Indian secret societies are in many respects not much different from the Mediæval students' societies, only the methods are different according to the state of the different degrees of culture. Among the Pythagoreans they were more dignified than among the American Indians, and the Mediæval university institutions are decidedly nearer the savage state than to the schools of ancient Greece.

Similar trials had to be undergone by the neophytes of the Greek mysteries at Eleusis as well as in other places.

It is natural that the older members of a community are not inclined to admit the younger ones at once to all the privileges of their own state, and so we find also in the Roman Empire a discrimination made between the *Majores* of the schools of rhetoricians and the younger ones who were called the *Eversores*.<sup>4</sup> Similar arrangements are also found in the juridical schools of Emperor Justinianus, and the beginning of the Mediæval university life the nucleus of which appeared to have been the juridical schools of Bologna in Italy may have followed in this special practice the ancient Roman tradition.

It is a matter of common observance that the new comer wherever he may appear has first to pass through a critical period in which he will be exposed to all kinds of provocations, slander and maltreatments, until he becomes acclimatized and is looked upon as

<sup>4</sup>The word *evertor* (from *evertere*) means "one who overthrows, a destroyer"; in late Latin "a good-for-nothing"; and finally in university slang, the name of contempt for a freshman. The existence of the term does not prove, but after all suggests the prevalence of fagging.

a member of the society which he has joined. Such a condition is so natural that even the dogs of Constantinople adhere to it.

It is well known that the dogs of the capital of the Turkish Empire live in communities of about 15 or 20 in number, and every such coterie of dogs consider themselves masters of a certain territory. A new comer who tries to partake of the benefits of their domain, of the shelter and food which may be found there, is first attacked most savagely, and it is not uncommon that a dog dies of his wounds, but if he survives and recovers from this ordeal of hazing, he is recognized by the others as a member of their group and is henceforth allowed to share in all the privileges of the canine community which he has joined.

## SOME EPIGRAMS OF GOETHE.

TRANSLATED BY THE EDITOR.

A hundred years thou mayest worship fire,—  
Fall in but once, thou art consumed entire.

Anbete du das Feuer hundert Jahr,  
Dann fall' hinein! Dich frisst's mit Haut und Haar.

\* \* \*

Who on God is grounded            Wer auf Gott vertraut,  
Hath his house well founded.    Ist schon auferbaut.

\* \* \*

Were to the sun not kin our eyne,  
They ne'er could see the sun's fair beam,  
Lay not in us a power divine,  
Of the divine how could we dream?

Wär' nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,  
Die Sonne könnt' es nie erblicken;  
Läg' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft,  
Wie könnt' uns Göttliches entzücken!

\* \* \*

God owns all the Orient  
God owns all the Occident,  
Both of North and South the lands  
Peaceful rest in God's good hands.

Gottes ist der Orient,  
Gottes ist der Occident,  
Nord- und südliches Gelände  
Ruht im Frieden seiner Hände.

As any one is  
 So is his God,  
 And thus is God  
 Oft strangely odd.

Wie Einer ist,  
 So ist sein Gott;  
 Darum ward Gott  
 So oft zu Spott.

\* \* \*

“Cognize thyself.” But how does such self-knowledge pay?  
 When I cognize myself, I must at once away.

Erkenne dich! Was hab' ich da für Lohn?  
 Erkenn' ich mich, so muss ich gleich davon.

\* \* \*



When in the infinite appeareth  
 The same eternal repetition,  
 When in harmonious coalition  
 A mighty dome its structure reareth;  
 A rapture thrills through all existence  
 All stars, or great or small are blessed,  
 Yet are all strife and all resistance  
 In God, the Lord, eternal rest.

A quiet scholar a party attended  
 And home in silence his steps he wended.  
 When asked how he was pleased, he said,  
 "Were people books, those stayed unread."

Aus einer grossen Gesellschaft heraus  
 Ging einst ein stiller Gelehrter zu Haus.  
 Man fragte: "Wie seid ihr zufrieden gewesen?"  
 "Wären's Bücher," sagt' er, "ich würd' sie nicht lesen."

\* \* \*

"The devil take the human race,  
 They drive me mad for anger!"  
 So I decided seriously  
 Will meet none any more!  
 Will leave those folks all to themselves,  
 To God and to —the devil.  
 Yet scarce I see a human face  
 But I fall in love with it.\*

Der Teufel hol' das Menschengeschlecht!  
 Man möchte rasend werden.  
 Da nehm' ich mir so eifrig vor:  
 Will Niemand weiter sehen,  
 Will all das Volk Gott und sich selbst  
 Und dem Teufel überlassen!  
 Und kaum seh' ich ein Menschengesicht,  
 So hab' ich's wieder lieb.

\* \* \*

I know that naught belongs to me  
 Except the thought that light and free  
 Out of my soul is flowing;  
 Also of joy each moment rare  
 Which my good fortune kind and fair  
 Upon me is bestowing!

Ich weiss, dass mir nichts angehört  
 Als der Gedanke der ungestört  
 Aus meiner Seele will fließen,  
 Und jeder günstige Augenblick,  
 Den mich ein liebendes Geschick  
 Von Grund aus lässt geniessen.

\* Goethe purposely leaves this unrhymed.

Thy worth, wouldst have it recognized?  
Give to the world a worth that's prized!

Willst du dich deines Werthes freuen,  
So musst der Welt du Werth verleihen.

\* \* \*



Time mows roses and thorns amain;  
She sows them and mows them again and again.

If not of this rule possessed  
Of dying and becoming,  
Thou art but a sorry guest  
In a glad world roaming.

Und so lang du das nicht hast,  
Dieses Stirb und Werde,  
Bist du nur ein trüber Gast  
Auf der schönen Erde.

\* \* \*

“Hast immortality in mind  
Wilt thou the reason give?”  
“The most important reason is,  
We can't without it live.”

“Du hast Unsterblichkeit im Sinn;  
Kannst du-uns deine Gründe nennen?”  
“Gar wohl! Der Hauptgrund liegt darin,  
Dass wir sie nicht entbehren können.”

\* \* \*

Why do you scoff and scout  
About the All and One  
The professor's a person no doubt,  
God is none.

Was soll mir euer Hohn  
Ueber das All und Eine?  
Der Professor ist eine Person  
Gott ist keine.

\* \* \*

“Why keepest thou aloof? Why lonely  
Art from our views thou turning?”  
I do not write to please you only,  
You must be learning!

“Warum willst du dich von uns allen  
Und unserer Meinung entfernen?”  
Ich schreibe nicht euch zu gefallen;  
Ihr sollt was lernen.



A fellow says: "I own no school nor college;  
 No master lives whom I acknowledge;  
 And pray don't entertain the thought  
 That from the dead I e'er learned aught."  
 This if I rightly understand  
 Means, "I'm a fool by my own hand."

Ein Quidam sagt: "Ich bin von keiner Schule;  
 Kein Meister lebt, mit dem ich buhle;  
 Auch bin ich weit davon entfernt,  
 Dass ich von Todten was gelernt."  
 Das heisst, wenn ich ihn recht verstand:  
 "Ich bin ein Narr auf eigne Hand."

\* \* \*



Many cooks will spoil the broth,  
 Beware of servants' impositions;  
 We are already, by my troth,  
 A hospital of sick physicians.

\* \* \*

A lie when spoken, when written too,  
 Will poison to others prove and to you.

Habt ihr gelogen in Wort und Schrift,  
 Andern ist es und euch ein Gift.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### MARS DUX AND MAR(U)DUK.

BY C. A. BROWNE.

"I cannot help laughing if I am to suppose that this was the way in which the name was really used."

Socrates in the "Cratylus."

"Marduk, warrior and leader of the Babylonian gods, is the same as *Mars dux* of the Romans."

C. A. Browne, *Open Court*, Nov. 1908.

"I am unable to agree with Mr. Browne that Marduk is the name Mars of the Romans and yet Mars as Grad-ivus is possibly Marduk as the Kurad or 'warrior' in Chaldaic epic."

The Hon. Willis Brewer, *Open Court*, Feb., 1909.

"I do not agree with either Mr. Browne or the Hon. Mr. Brewer with regard to Mars. Mars and Mar(u)duk are as much related to each other in name as an apple to a pineapple. It seems to me that Mars is an evolution of Mavors, 'war, deeds of arms.'"

Rabbi Sigmund Frey, *Open Court*, May, 1909.

I have been greatly interested by the efforts of the Hon. Willis Brewer and Dr. Sigmund Frey, in the February and May numbers of *The Open Court*, to dispose of my serio-comic ventures in the realms of Babylonian mythology published in *The Open Court* for last November. I agree most fully with what both gentlemen have said regarding my derivations and am ready to accept either one or both of their explanations as a substitute for my own.

But my two disputants appear to have done me a great wrong in taking my prefatory remarks to the selections from the *Cratylus* seriously. The five examples of chance resemblances between the names and attributes of Greek, Roman, and Babylonian gods were the effort of as many minutes random searching. My desire was simply to transfer the application of the Hon. Mr. Brewer's method of philological research from Egyptian to Chaldean mythology and to illustrate the ease with which etymological discoveries of this kind can be made.

That I was putting up a "straw argument" was sufficiently indicated in the two sentences preceding my references to the various gods and goddesses. "Similar resemblances can be traced between the names of the Greek gods, and those of the Hindus, or the Persians, or the Chaldeans. Allow me to mention a few discoveries of my own in Babylonian mythology."

Following this I cited examples of certain resemblances between the Chaldean names, Gunammide, Tiamat, Marduk, Eabani, and Aruru and the names of various Greek and Roman gods, without the slightest suspicion that this drawing of resemblances would be taken seriously. Yet in order to dispel any such illusion I immediately went on to say "Similarities in names and attributes as the above, however striking, are *not* sufficient by themselves to establish derivations."

I regret that, carried away perhaps by the subtleties of the Socratic humor which prevades the "Cratylus," I did not make my meaning sufficiently clear.

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#### PEACEMAKERS IN TROUBLE.

These men of peace are unfortunate in easily stirring up strife. President David Starr Jordan, at the Commencement address at Bryn Mawr, repeated his argument of the nefarious influence of war upon a nation by declaring that France is now in a state of decadence because she had again and again lost her best men in battle, when suddenly M. Lucien Foulet, who holds the chair of French literature at Bryn Mawr, rose from his seat on the platform and with patriotic indignation addressed the speaker saying, "That is not so, monsieur, France is not decadent!" and in protest against the insult to his country, the irate Frenchman proudly left the hall.

In comment on the idea so prevalent in America concerning the decadent state of France, we will say that what foreigners see in the city of Paris is generally transferred upon the whole of France. The truth is that the French provinces show symptoms of decay neither more nor less than any other country of the world. What we consider as Frenchy (by which we generally mean frivolity) is to be met with in any other capital of Europe, with perhaps this sole difference that in Paris more than in any other place it is allowed to come to the surface. As to the French being smaller in stature than the men of purely Teutonic races, we must remember that this is not due to the extermination of the best men in the country, for the Gauls as well as the Italians were smaller than the Teutons from the beginning of history, and Cæsar attributes the huge bodies of the Germans exactly to the opposite cause than President Jordan. He says that warfare did not deteriorate the race of the Swabians, but had invigorated it to an extraordinary degree. We might incidentally mention that another cause of the fine Teutonic physique, mentioned by Cæsar, is the absolute prohibition of all liquors which, the Swabians said, tended to effeminate mankind. (Cæsar, *De Bello Gall.* IV, 1-2.)

We have received some letters from friends of peace in criticism of our position. One of them claims that navies are supererogatory, they are only apt to stir up trouble and since there are no pirates on the seas there is no earthly use for men of war. But if navies no longer existed pirates would spring up like mushrooms in all parts of the world and our merchantmen would soon have to go armed again as in olden times.

We have also been told that the police is no longer needed for keeping order in our cities. A few years ago when the street car strike paralyzed St. Louis, where women were roughly torn off from street cars, non-union motor men knocked down at their posts and law seemed abolished, we may remember how the present Secretary of Commerce and Labor organized a protective company of private citizens armed with guns loaded with buckshot, whereat

the rioters who had not been amenable to any persuasion or consideration of law and order, submitted pretty rapidly. There was no need of shooting or killing any disturber of the peace, because the determined effort to keep peace at any price—even at the cost of a fight for order, the indispensable condition of peace—was sufficient to overawe the unruly elements.

If Secretary Nagel had believed in the principles of the peacemakers at any price except the price of fighting for peace, he would not have succeeded in reestablishing order.

P. C.

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#### PROFESSOR MILLS AND THE PARSİ COMMUNITY.

*The London Indian Chronicle* speaks as follows in its issue of March, 1909, with regard to our esteemed contributor, Professor Mills:

"In the celebration of the Parsi Jamshedi Naoroz festival in London in past years, honor has been done to guests who have served the community as administrators and politicians. Lord Reay, Lord Amptill, and Mr. Harold Cox have been fitly honored for such services; but it was no less fitting that in this year's celebration the scholar, the interpreter of Zoroastrian sacred writings, should be entertained in the person of Dr. L. H. Mills. After all, we do not live by bread alone, by the political action of ourselves or the State. The world is governed by ideas, by moral ideas; and the Parsis cannot rightly play their part in the world of to-day as a community unless they know the spirit and purport of their ancient writings. In consequence of the compulsion they were under when they found asylum in India to adopt as their own the language of the people, these writings were in large measure sealed to the Parsis until the task of translation and interpretation was taken in hand by great Orientalists. Conspicuous among the workers in this field, perhaps the most enthusiastic of them all, has been Professor Mills, whose contributions to our knowledge of the Avesta have been of the most striking value and importance. Though well stricken in years and a sufferer from ill-health, Dr. Mills works on with undiminished zeal and acceptability, his love of the work seeming if anything to strengthen with age. The Parsis of London were proud to do him honor on the 21st instant, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and they pray that his life may be spared to complete the great fabric of his Zoroastrian researches, accomplished and designed.

\* \* \*

"Sunday, the 21st instant, the day of the Vernal Equinox, might well be regarded as a notable day in the history of the Parsis at present resident in England. As usual, the Parsi Association of Europe arranged to celebrate the great Persian festival in a befitting manner, and sixty-seven covers were laid in one of the most commodious rooms of the Westminster Palace Hotel for the entertainment of all assembled that evening. The decorations of the table and variety and quality of the banquet were in the best style of the celebrated hotel. That, however, which lent special significance to the event was the presence of Professor Lawrence Mills of Oxford, as the honored guest of the community....

"[Among the toasts of the evening] the Chairman proposed the health of Professor Mills in very laudatory terms, and assured the distinguished guest in what esteem and regard the Parsis throughout the world held him for his eminent researches in the field of Zend and Pahlavi literature.

"Professor Mills, who received a hearty ovation when he rose to respond, said he valued most highly the compliment they had paid him in asking him to be present at their domestic festival. He was particularly thankful for the kind allusions made about him by his friend Sir Mancherji, [the chairman of the evening].

"Professor Lawrence Mills, who was again very heartily received, in proposing the toast of the 'Parsi Community,' referred with sincere feelings to the love he bore to the Parsis and everything connected with them. He said that in proportion to their numbers the Parsis had produced more eminent men than any other community or race in the world. The Gathas contained the essence of Universal Religion in the purest form. Professor Mills then dwelt on their religious basis, and advised the members of the race to hold fast to the tenets of the Gathic religion. He expressed great pleasure in being asked to be the guest of the Parsis in England, and concluded by proposing the toast of the Parsi Community in all parts of the world."

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#### THE PHILOSOPHER ADRIFT.

Lao-tze, the Grand Old Man of China, is most generally represented seated on an ox and accompanied by a small attendant as in our frontispiece. This tradition is based on the report of Sze-Ma-Ch'ien that at an advanced age Lao-tze left his native state Cho and departed from his home so that he might not be compelled to see the ruin of his country. No one knows where he died. It is a melancholy thought that the greatest sage of a country should feel obliged to seek a new abiding place after he has reached his eighties, and we can not help feeling sympathy with the suffering caused through the rottenness of political and social conditions which forced Lao-tze to seek his grave in strange lands among foreign barbarians.

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#### NOTES.

Joseph Koehler, one of the leading authorities of the juridical faculty at the University of Vienna, who a few years ago received an honorary degree at the University of Chicago, has published a versified version of Lao-Tze's Tao Teh King. It is well known to those who know Professor Koehler that his interest is by no means limited to his specialty but that he studies with preference not only Oriental and Hebrew law, but also Indian and Chinese philosophy. Though the original is mostly written in prose and quotes verses only incidentally, Koehler's versified version is upon the whole very readable and reproduces very well the spirit of the original.

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The University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn., the main center of Episcopalian scholarship in this country, has opened its buildings for a summer university extension session under the directorship of the Rev. William Norman Guthrie, and we will mention that the Editor of *The Open Court* gave a course of lectures there last year on comparative religion and has accepted another invitation to lecture on the religion of the German classical authors this summer, from July 19 to 23.

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Perhaps the most effective means of reducing the frequency of war is brought about by the perfection of arms and the invention of more and more

formidable explosives. Even the most enthusiastic lovers of peace-at-any-price will find it hard to deny that Dr. Alfred Nobel accomplished more for the cause



DR. ALFRED BERNHARD NOBEL.

of peace by his invention of dynamite than he has done by distributing peace prizes.





LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF THE KREMLIN.

By I. A. Djenyeffe

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*



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## THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

A DEDUCTIVE STUDY OF SEMITIC CULTURE.

BY PHILLIPS ENDECOTT OSGOOD.

THE Temple of Solomon stands nearer the Red Sea than it does to Babylon. Its position is significant. For a few brief moments between the lessening chaos of the nation's genesis and the increasing chaos of the dissolution, the Temple is the permanent, fixed background of the drama of Jewish life; just as the never-failing temple façade of Mycenae provided the permanent scenery of the Greek theater, in whose fore-courts transpired all the action of tragedy and comedy.

A moment ago the Judges ruled, whose irregular succession runs back into the legendary morning-mist of Egypt and the Exodus:— a few moments yet to come and the "waters of Babylon" sweep in, and with their tide carry away all but the dream-shadow of the glory of the race. Solomon may have no place in the history of Jewish theology, but his reign marks a decisive instant in the history of Jewish religion, for he gave this house to Yahveh. Henceforth the Ark of the Lord abides no more beneath transient curtains, but has a central, permanent abiding-place in the midst of an Israel which is no longer a group of scattered hill tribes, living the patriarchal, unfederated life of the past, but a compact kingdom. Peace had come for the moment. The worldly life of the Hebrew nation was just beginning. The religion of Yahveh was coming into its own. The Temple becomes the precipitant and center of cohesion in the life of the Hebrews.

### I.

It is a trite, safe statement to make that the religion of the Jewish people contained the possibility of truth and further revelation be-

cause it carefully and painstakingly abstained from any bias toward anthropomorphic limitation. The limiting of artistic life involved in the rigorous command that there should be no "graven images" in "the likeness of anything in the heaven above, the earth beneath or the waters under the earth" carried other limitations as well. Architecture, simple decorative design, esthetic perception of any kind was thereby stultified. By the fetters thus imposed on them the hands of the artist were paralyzed into the hands of the artisan, whose work henceforth inevitably must be totally devoid of anything but the faintest trace of grace or distinction. There are few more absolutely crude and hideous human creations than the clumsily daubed pottery of Judea, the almost sole relics of its artistic(?) endeavors. "Jewish art" is as nearly a contradiction of terms as can be found. The artistic horizon of the ancient Hebrew was made up of conventional flowers, mythic beasts (whose habitat, being pure fancy, *could* not be kept organic by sobering contact with reality) and the baldest of architectural lines.

Of course, it is a comfort to know that the ideal of Jehovah, thus not tied down to the level of anthropomorphic representation, was thereby delivered and made ideally free. Perhaps in the first place the fiat of prohibition issued psychologically from a subsense that the Hebrew blood *could* not produce anything ideal enough to be admired or creative of respect and adoration, however infinite the permission and opportunity. Its birthright-genius was aniconic; a capability for passionate devotion to an abstract ideal.

## II.

Be all this as it may, however, human nature seems to have asserted itself, and attempted self-expression in concrete, if imperfect form was the ever-recurring heresy. It was the thing religion had most to fight.

Modern Bible study does not let us believe that the Yahveh-ideal was created full grown and perfect, and revealed to Abraham in his covenant or to Moses at the burning bush; to be no more improved upon forever and a day. Monotheism grew out of henotheism, henotheism out of polytheism. Yahveh was at first far from the all-powerful Lord of the whole world. He may soon have surpassed them, but he was blood-cousin to Chemosh and Baal. He belonged to the same polytheistic-henotheistic family. Abraham and his immediate descendants seem, even in the later, worked-over accounts, to have employed the same religious symbols and forms of worship as did the people of Canaan and Phœnicia, and the era

of the Judges is the logical sequel to this time. Egypt, although it rebaptized the God of Israel, was not a sundering force in the form of his worship. As Abraham stories depict his erection of an altar wherever he made a residence, his "planting a grove" or pillar in Beersheba as a religious emblem; as Jacob's legend shows him twice setting up a great stone;<sup>1</sup> so, subtracting the point of view of later, more Puritan writers, the pet heresy of Israel in all the following years of the Judges and both united and divided kingdoms appears to be simple *reversion to type*. The gods of Syria, of Canaan and of Phœnicia were the obvious refuge for the child race of the Hebrews when Yahveh-worship transcended their capabilities, because there seems not to have been any *great* difference of quality in the worship of Baal and Yahveh until the spiritualization of the Deuteronomic code began to show.

In primitive races anthropomorphism is a forgivable demand. Even to-day our most compelling conceptions of God, say what we may, must be in humanly finite terminology. The crime of worshipping other gods appears to have lain essentially in the treacherous desertion of that God who had made Israel his chosen people out of all the nations of the world; in the breaking of a covenanted troth with the supra-natural benefactor; in the not living up to the human side of the bargain; rather than in the about-face turn to the worship of a principle recognized as inherently evil. Even the later prophets and redactors, in their imaging the relation of the nation to Yahveh as a marriage relation, seem rather to lay stress in their frank metaphors on the desertion-element than upon the essential sinfulness of the new relation. It is the sin of breaking faith, rather than any sin of moral degeneration that is condemned.

The *elements* of the other worships abound in the worship of Yahveh himself. Ashera, pillars and other rude symbolisms permeate the earlier Hebrew faith. Yahveh has his seat in a burning bush, combining both sun and tree worship elements; the sacred bull appears in all sorts of new forms,—as cherub, even as the symbol of Yahveh himself; the serpent symbol trails deviously from the Garden of Eden through the wilderness into seraphic form and the Holy of Holies in the Temple, there to await Hezekiah's iconoclasm. In so far as Yahvism lifts itself above the spatial limitation of the symbol, that symbol is spiritualized and transcended. All the Semitic nations had passed from mere idolatry; Yahvism simply was the least limited by concrete symbolism to tangible finiteness. The gods of other peoples were hospitable and accepted newcomers to

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xxxv and xxxviii.

their pantheon, but Israel's Yahveh did not. Such new additions and infusions as did come in must do so as his attributes, not as separate entities. Breaking faith with Yahveh, as Yahvism grew spiritualized, meant, therefore, as I have said, a reversion to type. The sin of Solomon in worshiping at the "great stone" or high place of Gibeon,<sup>2</sup> in his building mounds ("high places") for Chemosh, the god of generation, and for Hercules-Moloch, the god of fire; in his second-childhood worship of Venus Astarte<sup>3</sup> is greater than the sin of those who in the lapses of the earlier Judges' period turned to Baalim and Ashtaroth<sup>4</sup> simply because it implies a greater reversion. The ideal has grown a bit farther away from Chemosh, Moloch and Baal, in that the conception of the covenant is a little more drastic; but the breaking troth with him who "abideth faithful" is still the sin. It remains for prophetism to make the covenant a pure and spiritual concept; to free it from the taint and tinge of commercialism and bargaining; to make the worship of the nation realize the moral content of its heritage.

The Temple building, then, was nearer the Red Sea than to Babylon. At the time of Solomon the elements of all-Semitic religion shaped its essence more than did any exclusive tendency toward the later, true religion. Messias-faith was from the very nature of the case an anachronism and impossible. The Temple of Solomon very apparently embodies the common elements of the entire Semitic pantheon. Even its aniconic nature is not absolute, nor is it unique. The Ark of the Lord, the brazen pillars, the cherubim, sacred palm-trees and the like, all show traces of their symbolic origin. In Egypt, in Phoenicia, in Assyria, the first germs of henotheism were quickening, bringing into first being the extension of the previous idea that the symbols merely incarnate the super-symbolic deity into the idea that the various deities in their turn are but the various manifestations of one who comprehends them all. That Moses, in the desert solitude of Midian arrived somehow at henotheism in simple covenant terms seems indubitable, however much we doubt the objective reality of the burning bush theophany. Such speculation can well have originated under the influence of Egypt, where this trend of thought already had most impetus. Here the confederacy of local cults, while proclaiming a certain modicum of jealous and even hostile independence one from another, was gradually, under the fire of political centralization and philosophy, unifying and fusing. This

<sup>1</sup> I Kings iii. 4;

<sup>2</sup> I Kings xv. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Judges, ii. 10-19; iii. 6-7; v. 8; vi. 10, 25, 30; viii. 33; x. 6.

was done most of all by the discovery of points of similarity between the local godlets, who were thereupon pronounced to be merely different manifestations of the same deity. The time of David and Solomon represents very little advance over the earlier stage, so far as religion is concerned. The advance in secular importance was great, but the time was not yet again ripe for reflection, when only theology can grow.

This may seem far afield from the Temple of Solomon, but it seems imperative at the outset, since the data is so almost completely inferential, to mark out the underlying temperament and ideas which were its ultimate foundation. It is hard not to believe that in the Temple we find the symbols of the *earlier* stages of Yahveh-worship, kindred to the *contemporary* worship of neighboring gods, who have not developed so far as has the outstripping Yahvism towards that henotheism, which in its turn, as reflection comes to those whose deeper insight made them truly prophets of the truth, grows into pure monotheism. It was a selective, natural process by which the Jews developed the religion which was forerunner of the highest; not an inhuman, because solely transcendent, revelation of a faith complete.

But in it we still find the marks of earlier stages. Whether or no the symbolism of the elements of worship germane to all the Southeast Mediterranean world was conscious is doubtful. Nevertheless it seems sure that apostacy from Yahveh and the worship of a cousin god is little more than the singling out of one of the family characteristics, filling again with meaning a symbol which has its more meaningless place in the orthodox temple, the reversion to the separate deification of an attribute, now merely one out of several modes of manifestation of that God who has more nearly reached monotheistic, assimilating supremacy. The Temple comes at a transitional stage, where the past and the future still are linked in visible symbols of present use. Henotheism is emerging from mere monolatry into monotheism:—the belief in one God is beginning hazily to contain a moral element. The ideal of a just God has its birth.

Thus the significance of the Temple is not to be found in a rigid difference in quality from the religion of other Semitic nationalities, but rather in the degree to which the worship of the polytheistic deities elsewhere has here fused into the worship of a single, inclusive being, whose existence denied that of otherwise and otherwise concerned powers not at all.

## III.

Little more can the Temple's significance be found in a cause particularly national.

There does not appear to have been any concerted, national demand for a central shrine, no matter how glorious. The first centralization of the worship at Jerusalem was the cause, not the effect, of a powerful priesthood. It became a vantage point for further stringency and organization, but was not created by priestly ascendancy. The national predestination to a religious rôle in history is not yet a compelling force.

The establishment of the Ark at Zion had given royalty a tinge of divine right. The king was Yahveh's lieutenant, the establisher and protector of Yahveh's abode. The disorganization of David's old age, when rebellious family quarrels strained the unity of the nation, succeeded by the growing alienation of the north;—all this furthermore precluded concerted action by the people in such a demand. Moreover, if the people were not enough united to think of centralizing their worship, neither were they discontented enough with their local "high places" to dream of abandoning them. This free worship in the open air was orthodox and precious to the pastoral commonalty, in heart half-nomad still. The essence of Yahvism seemed to be the *non*-localization of its worship. The local pastorate of the priests of the shrines, not a hierarchy at Jerusalem, was the desired thing. There was no innate necessity for a central shrine. Local "high places" were more compatible with the open country life, as well as with the growing disorganization of the nation.

Renan<sup>8</sup> claims that the Temple was nothing but the plaything of a vainglorious monarch, whose one idea in building it was the political aggrandizement of his dynasty, by making Yahvism thus theatrically appear dependant on the court. With his statement that it was not a national institution we may agree, but the imputation of mere vainglory may be needless. Solomon, however rapacious, capricious and tyrannical he may seem in the obviously unfriendly Bible accounts, need not have had at heart a selfish motive only. To label his motive "political" is not to brand it with the mark of Cain. It may have been the natural thing that his scheme of general and fitting stability and dignity for his government should include, as a matter of course, the building of an adequate house for the Ark. It need not have presupposed the negation of the validity of other

<sup>8</sup> *History of Israel*, Vol. II, *ad. loc.*

shrines. The fact that it originates as a personal plan rather than as a national one does not prove it a selfish design. To make the conception of a fitting house within the confines of the capital for the symbol of Yahveh into a flaunting blazonry of regal mummery is unnecessary. The Temple may have been (as I think it was) a private court chapel in idea, and as such the most dignified seat of Yahveh's glory; but there are two possible interpretations of the fact. All that is required here, however, is to demonstrate the fact, *that the Temple was not created by a concerted national demand.*

This private court character of the Temple is little evidenced in the Biblical accounts.<sup>6</sup> But 1 Kings cannot completely have been compiled until about four hundred years after the death of Solomon, and Chronicles is at least three centuries later yet. By that time the Temple had the flavor of unrememberable generations of placid acceptance. As years went by, and the weakness of the court, combined with the strength of the priests and prophets, made the Temple the central, unique stronghold of true orthodoxy, the Jews forgot the primitive conditions; and, accepting the innovation, as its innovative character was swallowed up by the growth of custom, began to champion the Temple as the credential of their faith. The erstwhile protested shrine, by the very evolution of compulsory centralization, became the only valid House of Yahveh. The "high places" and all their open-air worship were looked back upon by later times with shrinking abhorrence, so that we naturally find the accounts of those more primitive times obviously colored by inability to enter into their mental equation. We read, therefore, that Solomon loved the Lord, "*only* he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places." His subjects, too, might have been quite impeccable and orthodox ancestors if "*only*" they had not worshiped thus. The historian nevertheless finds enough charity to assign as the reason for this slipshod heresy the undeniable fact that "there was no house yet built unto the name of the Lord."<sup>8</sup>

If we can rid ourselves of the idea that the Temple was not yet nationally necessary we may appreciate the determined opposition of the simple fieldsmen, especially in the more nature-blessed and distant North with Ahijah the seer as their spokesman. Indeed, for the moment it must have looked like a retrograde step to house

<sup>6</sup> Yet no surprise is expressed when Absalom makes a vow to the Yahveh of Hebron; and Solomon's own regard for Gibeon, whatever palliation and excuse the author may assign in the lack of the Temple, is nevertheless despite the *Ark* in Jerusalem.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Kings, iii. 3.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Kings iii. 2.

Yahveh within walls,<sup>9</sup> even though those walls were in the capital city and glorious with golden imagery. It was almost the same reversion to the limitations of type which in individuals constituted the outward garb of heresy. The essence of Yahvism demanded aniconic, natural worship. The remonstrance of those to whom court life meant little more than further arbitrary taxes, foresaw the future abolishment of even religious freedom in the present germ of the Temple, within whose courts orthodoxy most particularly would soon dwell.

## IV.

Modern Bible consciousness is prone to place the level of this era's civilization much too high. The Temple, as must be iterated and reiterated, was nearer the Red Sea than to Babylon. It represents a relatively primitive period. Worldly profane importance was in its brief zenith, but the true rôle of Judaism was just beginning its growth into strength and individuality. Spiritualization lay ahead, gained by storm and stress, by disappointment of the secular aim, by prophetic work to do.

It is not in any way a belittling of Judaism's truth to find in what period of that truth's evolution we for the moment are, and perhaps to recognize that it was not yet quite so perfect as at first we thought.

This distinctly comparative stage gives two preliminary pre-suppositions as basis of more technical data. They are these, as above suggested:

1. *Judaism embodies a religious genius as yet not unique.* In spite of the superiority over neighboring faiths which comes to the worship of Yahveh from its dawning henotheistic monotheism, there are common elements still retained throughout, proclaiming blood-relationship with the rest of the Semitic world, however polytheistic it may be.

2. *The Temple is not created by an essentially national demand, to whose unique genius it must rigorously conform.* Solomon himself (or David) is the one by whose initiative the Temple was built. Although in later years it came to be the accepted central shrine of the people; at the time of its construction it was a court shrine, built to house the Ark.

The first premise permits analogy and inference to be drawn from those elements in other Semitic religions whose relics are ar-

<sup>9</sup>The shrine at Shiloh had doors, and Micah had a house for his image, but this seems not to have separated them from the class of sacred hill-tops, etc.



cheologically sure, wherever in the Temple or in Judaism there are data with which organically to connect them; since Yahveh worship gives ground for such community of ideals and elementary symbolism. The second in its turn still further widens the field on which to draw, since Solomon's own desires were the impelling force, not national prejudice. It allows us to look for plans and architectural skill outside of Judaism, which could itself so ill supply them. By this is not meant that the Temple becomes non-Jewish, but that there is not as yet exclusiveness in its source.

While these two principles have been called presuppositions, nevertheless the argument to come must largely depend for its strength upon their reenforcement, as hypotheses capable of cumulative verification. The reasoning, I frankly admit, is more or less circular, but must necessarily so be.

#### PHOENICIA.

##### v.

There are two centers of civilization in the Mediterranean world in the earliest reaches of history,—Egypt and Assyria. Greece was not yet established as the third and apex angle of the old world culture-triangle. Egypt and Assyria (which includes in its generic type Chaldea and Syria) developed, as the outcome of their national individualities, distinctly national arts. They were the motive powers of the inner life-currents of all the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean. Not only the products of art as art, but her products as evidential manifestations of religion traveled backward and forward. But neither Egyptians, Chaldeans nor Assyrians had need or desire to hawk their own goods. Yet their products have been discovered, as far west as Spain (O. T. "Tarshish"), so middlemen there must have been. Whether it was predilection or the stimulus of geographical location that made the inhabitants of Phœnicia the traders and merchants of the era we cannot tell; yet either actually or through their colonists they had an almost complete monopoly of the carrying trade of Asia and Africa. Driven by events which we know only in their effects, as early as the twentieth century B. C. this people had established itself on the narrow strip of coast at the foot of the Lebanon range. They were thus half way between the Nile and the Euphrates, and within easy reach of both. By the time of David and Solomon they were an established state of many centuries standing. From Tyre and Sidon especially, but also from Jaffa, Acre, Gebal and Hanath, auxiliary cities of this one hundred

and twenty miles of narrow coast, fleets of vessels sailed continually over all the basin of the Mediterranean. Cyprus was Phœnicia's colony; so probably was Crete.<sup>10</sup> Even as far west as Carthage in North Africa and Tarshish in Spain the intrepid traders established "coaling stations" for further sailing. Forms and motives invented in Egypt and Mesopotamia were carried to foreign and then barbaric races, who in turn adopted them as bases for their own genetic culture. The shrewd merchants soon grew rich as heart's desire. Factories employing hundreds of artisans turned out figurines, pottery, metal paterae, dyed fabrics (especially of Tyrian purple) and jewelry by wholesale tonnage; all on Egyptian or Assyrian models. The native countries could or would not supply them conveniently, cheaply or fast enough for exportation and dissemination.

Judging, however, from Phœnician monuments and relics as known to us to-day, it seems that these trader-manufacturers were sterile in art of their own. They lacked creative genius; were powerless to make new art. Their skill lay in the manual dexterity with which variously borrowed types and derived ideals were mingled. The mixture was Phœnician, but the elements were Assyrian and Egyptian. In historic comment or in extant relics their *skill* is everywhere evident, *but their genius was obviously mechanical, adaptive and distributive; not national or creative.*<sup>11</sup>

## VI.

That Solomon continued a friendship and alliance which his father had established, we are assured by the Bible accounts and reassured by historic probability. Tyre was next-door neighbor to Jerusalem; Solomon was a man of peace; Phœnicia was a friend to every one (with an eye wide open for business as the by-product of her friendship). Judah, too, was now a well-organized kingdom, small according to modern standards, but then reckoned moderately large. The Egyptian alliance had enough strengthened Israel's prestige to make it worthy of Hiram's deep respect.

Furthermore the similarity of the Phœnician language to the Hebrew shows in its almost merely dialectical variations a common bond, apparently of origin and blood.

But in the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament it is not difficult to see that the Phœnicians exercised more influence

<sup>10</sup> This is, of course, after the power of the Minoan kingdom had been annihilated.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia and Cyprus* for examples.

upon the Hebrews than the Hebrews did upon the Phœnicians. It is the Jews, not the Tyrians and Sidonians, who, for instance, borrow names, rites and images from the other, despite the vehement expostulation of the prophets. It is Tyre, not Jerusalem, that is represented as offensively potent. The current of influence flows into Judea out of Phœnicia, not the other way.

Tyre, recently separated from Sidon, was in the full zenith of her power in the time of Solomon. Egyptian domination was a thing of the past;—Assyrian still of the future.<sup>12</sup> Since 1100 B. C. Tyre had led the way among Semitic countries in temple-building, basing its architecture mostly on that of its recent overlord; for Phœnicia's style was forever chameleon, changing to Egyptian, Assyrian or Greek coloring as its master changed. By now its Beth-elim<sup>13</sup> overlaid the little island of Tyre, the great central shrine of Melkarth predominant among them. Within eye-shot of the shore on a clear day, Cyprus likewise shone with buildings sacred to Phœnician gods.

Fusing historic probability with the Bible hint of aid in Solomon's construction, and also with the admitted inability of Jewish art to produce a temple so distinguished as probably this was, the conclusion seems to a high degree inevitable that its architectural form as well as artisan, skilled construction was supplied by Phœnician guidance and direction. I heartily believe that Hiram, king of Tyre, supplied the plans and specifications for the Temple at Jerusalem, as well as the wood and labor; as he, not Solomon, was competent to do. If they met with Jewish court approval as sufficiently dignified and magnificent, there could be meagre objection from a source which could not supply plans one-half as good.

This conclusion is further certified by the apparent resemblance of the type of architecture Phœnicia produced to the general impression we get from reading the accounts of the Temple at Jerusalem in the Old Testament itself.

## VII.

Modern archeological discovery in Phœnicia, Cyprus and Crete is almost entirely confined to grave relics. These small paterae, vases, pieces of jewelry etc., are naturally the means of very little

<sup>12</sup> The Assyrian power began to reassert itself in the 9th century B. C. It was under Ashurnasirpal that the Euphrates was crossed and all northern Syria came under Assyrian domination (876 B. C.). Cf. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, E. Schrader, 1, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>13</sup> כְּרֵתִים = temples. Cf. Phœnician inscription of the Piræus; *Revue Archæol.*, Jan. 1888, pp. 5-7.

information about architectural matters. They provide an ever-growing fund of material for the study of the religion and culture of the periods they embody, but the background setting of the life they indicate is still murky and obscure. The study of Phœnician architecture is predominantly analogy and inference; none the less legitimate perhaps, but nevertheless incapable of the tangible verification actual monuments elsewhere supply. "The very ruins have perished." The few buried fragments that have come to light date from a much later period, when Greek influence had begun to mould the supple skill of Phœnicia to its liking.<sup>14</sup>

The coast of Tyre and Sidon is the only field of pure Phœnician relics; and there the dearth is most nearly absolute. In Cyprus the additional element of Hellenism is apparent, but it is an unfused, separable quantum in the finished whole, just as Egyptian and Assyrian motives remain distinct, though side by side, in earlier mainland finds. In Crete the relics of Cnossos and its period are pre-Phœnician and of a different genius. In Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean relics the early Greek genius is paramount, yet there are those elements in its art which are inexplicable from within it unless we remember that Crete was once a Phœnician colony; perhaps without much patriotic feeling for its overlord, but submissive to its commercial, manufacturing dictates. Cretan discoveries go back to so early a date that common bonds with Asia and Egypt through Phœnician and pre-Phœnician intermediacy are the necessary hypotheses. This is particularly true in the relics of its most primitive religious form, of its *betylae* (sacred pillar-stones), its tree-worship etc., which are found in every country reached by the influence of this trader-nation. Of these symbols, this imagery of sacred stones, of mythic and sacred animals, of sacred trees, there is much to be said in connection with early Hebrew ideals, but to its later, proper place such study of these communistic elements must be deferred.

On a number of coins of the Roman provinces of Cyprus, Pergamum and Sardes, on a certain number of gems, rings etc., there are representations of a definite temple-type, whose specific embodiment as given is the Paphos temple of Astarte-Aphrodite. These coins are late (all A. D.) and unless the type they represent can be connected with much earlier examples they go for little. Also the laxity with which architectural types are treated on coins, combined with the limitations imposed by the meagre space at the engraver's disposal, gives wide room for diversity of interpretation. Clearly,

<sup>14</sup> Except in Crete, where relics and ruins are largely earlier than Phœnician influence—as, e. g., in the Cnossos ruins.

however, we need not assume that the later, more elaborate types are evidence of more complicated buildings, but rather is the obvious explanation increase of skill.

The Temple of Astarte (Venus-Urania, Mylitta or Isis) at Paphos was the oldest and most honored holy place of ancient times. As the nature-goddess, the embodiment of the secondary principle in generation, the all-mother, her worshipers, though acknowledging her under diverse names, traveled from far and near to reach this her most famous shrine. Its origin is lost in fable-times. By the day of Homer and Homeric songs its supremacy is famous.<sup>15</sup> According to Pausanius its prototype was in Assyria, i. e., in Babylon; Herodotus<sup>16</sup> tells of a second possibility in Ascalon, which latter seems more probable, since Assyrian influence on Phœnicia was much nearer Pausanius's day than to that of the Paphian temple's construction. Its date is likewise misty and based on legend. Eusebius in his *Chronikon* sets it contemporary with Pandion I, king of Athens, who was at least as early as 1900 B. C. All that can be ventured with any show of probability is that the earliest Phœnician colonists in Cyprus were the founders, in a time when racial lines were not yet beyond fluidity.

The site of old Paphos is at Kouklea, about ten miles from New Paphos. The oldest name for this is Golgi,<sup>17</sup> apparently a Phœnician word akin to the Hebrew Gilgal.<sup>18</sup> In the Ptolemaic period old Paphos was the site of the temple. Excavations in its neighborhood have brought to light antiquities of all periods from late Mycenaean to Roman, but the age of the Temple must go back still further. In the Roman period New Paphos became the capital and the coins were issued thence; but it is the temple of *old* Paphos which is represented on them. The flavor of its great antiquity was the best advertisement New Paphos could put forth.

It is a reasonable presumption that when in 15 B. C. the earthquake destroyed their city<sup>19</sup> and Augustus came to the aid of the Paphians, that some restoration was effected at the temple, and that the shrine on his coins is the restored building. But it is at the

<sup>15</sup> *Odyssey*, Bk. θ (VIII), l. 362, and Hymn in Venerem, l. 58.

<sup>16</sup> Herodotus, Bk. I, Ch. 105: "I have inquired and find the Temple at Ascalon is the most ancient of all the temples of this goddess, for the one in Cyprus (Paphos) as the Cyprians themselves admit, was built in imitation of it." (Ascalon = 40 miles from Jerusalem. Cf. Judges, i. 18; xiv. 10; also cuneiform inscriptions of Sennacherib, 3d year.)

<sup>17</sup> Pausanius, VIII, 5.

<sup>18</sup> גִּלְגָּל

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Dion Cassius, Bk. 23 and Obermüller, *Die Insel Cypern*, p. 150.

same time doubtful whether he would have made the restorations in any but the pattern of the temple as it had stood so many years before the mishap. Obviously too, if he had ventured to remodel the temple in any but the ancient type, whose ancientness was its chief recommendation to authenticity, he would have used the style of architecture practised by Rome itself, not the (to him) foreign



Fig. I. GOLD BAS-RELIEF FROM MYCENAE.

Schliemann's *Mycenae*, fig. 423.

native type of some other land. As we see it on his coins the temple is certainly neither Greek nor Roman but of a genius all its (Phœnician) own.

This type of temple is further authenticated as ancient by the golden models of a shrine found in the royal graves of Mycenae

(Fig. 1). They are apparently very early, at least as early as the twelfth century B. C. and approximate the Paphos representations so closely that it seems legitimate to conjecture that the Paphos shrine is their original, existing practically unchanged until the time of Augustus's renovation.

Therefore, whether the Roman coins we have represent the old or the new temple it makes little difference, since we are justified by its type in tracing back to Phoenicia as its original source.

These coins are no two alike, but the variations are not fundamental and are easily explicable as due to variations of skill, or different schemes of diagrammatic depiction of the same type. The simplest, commonest form, perhaps, is that given below (Fig. 2). Here we merely have two pillars bound together by cross-pieces, a semicircular forecourt, through the simple porch the cone of the goddess surmounted by her sacred dove, and on either side of the uprights conic symbols akin to that within. Between this and later



Fig. 2. COIN OF PAPHOS.

Gerhard, pl. XLIII, 17. Perrot and Chipiez III, p. 270, fig. 262.

coins the degree of complexity varies much, but these here-given elements persist.

The highest uprights seem to be modified Egyptian pylons. Across the top is often draped what seems to be a garland of flowers, though it is barely conceivable that it is an awning. The flanking cones are omnipresent, being the advertisement of the femininity of the deity within. Later they are also often represented as candlesticks, with flames at the top; which may perfectly well have been their utilitarian adaptation in later times. Their significance as analogous to *Jakin* and *Boaz* I discuss later. There seems to be an open court beyond the porch, in whose midst stands the sacred image, symbol of the goddess. Tacitus remarks that this image was never wet by rain, although in the open air.

In an engraved mirror from Cyprus (Fig. 3) this structure is repeated. But here the flanking cones apparently are brought within the

court; their places outside being occupied by circular-topped uprights, which, nevertheless, are of the same feminine symbolism, being either the *omphaloi* of the goddess Astarte or the moon-disk of the Egyptianized Isis-Aphrodite. Later days may easily have transposed the flanking cones nearer the central object, leaving more definitely collateral emblems outside the fane.

In accordance with the usage of die-engravers of imperial times, the type is probably a combination of façade and section. Its architectural treatment suggests that its upper parts, at least, were made of wood, which may explain the difficulty of establishing any rela-

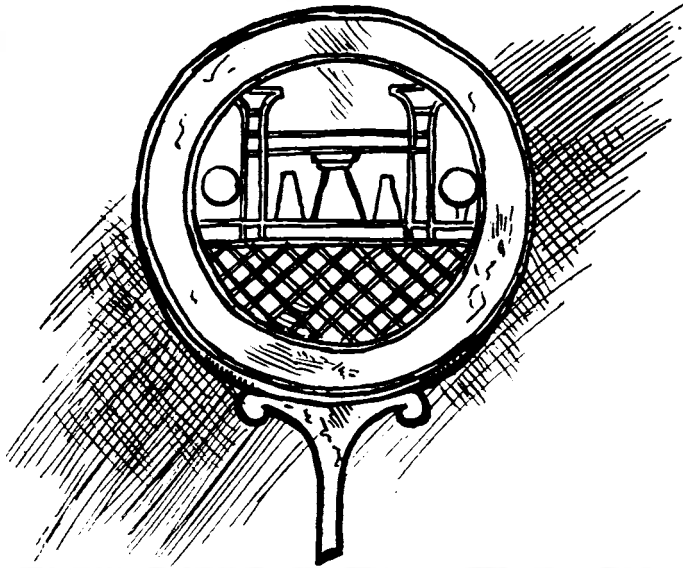


Fig. 3. ENGRAVED MIRROR FROM SALAMIS. THE TEMPLE OF PAPHOS.  
A. P. di Cesnola. *Salamina*, p. 59, fig. 56.

tion between the representations we have and actual remains. The still further articulation of this same thing is shown on the reverse of a silver coin of Vespasian (69-76 A. D.) (Fig. 4) whose later date and larger size allow greater accuracy of constructive drawing. The combination of façade and section is more clearly apparent; it suggests that the sacred cone stood in a rectangular court, whose pylon faces us, its Egyptian resemblance being clear. Here we have side wings shown, at the expense of the usual obelisks. The sectional character is best shown in these side wings. They suggest a colonnade of slender pillars of which we see two, surrounding the



courtyard; the windows at the extreme sides may possibly indicate circumferential rooms. Above the cone it would appear that an awning (running from front to back) or arrangement of garlands was hung. But the generality of representation at hand puts garlands across the tops of the pylon-uprights (cf. Fig. 2); if these are garlands they are most peculiarly and inefficiently placed, while



Fig. 4. SILVER COIN OF VESPASIAN (reverse). THE TEMPLE OF PAPHOS.

*British Museum Cat.*, pl. XV.

an awning is most naturally to be expected for shade, if not for protection from the rain; especially since we know both Egypt and Assyria used awnings much, and Phœnicia's fabric-manufacture and dyeing was rich and skilful enough to be worthy such a place for its product.

In spite of the cross-beams, which are easily interpreted as



Fig. 5. THE BRITISH MUSEUM GEM.

*British Museum Cat.*, Greek Coins of Cyprus, pl. XXV. Fürtwangler, *Ant. Gemm.*, pl. 64.

porch-lintel only, the construction behind must have been hypaethral (open to the sky). Even in the elaborate representation of the very latest coins and gems, when there is a metope-like construction shown above the cone, there is no sign at all of a roof above the central portion. The wings give the whole structure a superficial

resemblance to the primitive (and therefore Phœnician-influencing?) Cnossian fresco at Mycenæ, which was also constructed mainly of wood.

In the British Museum Gem (Fig. 5) where an extra storey is added, the side wings have a further growth. The date may be later, but at least the gem shows that the three-storied chambers of Solomon's Temple can be combined with an open-court shrine. This open court is clearly indicated here by the awning above the cone.<sup>20</sup>

But most clearly of all, a coin of Byblos (Fig. 6) showing the temple there, shows the open court arrangement. The porch-like building on the left can readily be subtracted as the accretion of a later age; but the portion on the right has no resemblance at all to architecture other than Phœnician. The cone is not the sort of



Fig. 6. COIN OF BIBLOS. EMPEROR MACRINUS, 217-218 A. D.

From Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*; also Perrot and Chipiez *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia*, Vol. I, fig. 19.

steeply the imperfect perspective ability of the die-cutter makes it look at first sight, but is in the center of the open space, around which a very obvious, though inelegant, peristyle is shown. The addition of rooms outside the peristylar court would be in perfect keeping with the possibilities of the type, although this shrine need not have had them.

The pseudo-Lucian,<sup>21</sup> whose credulous account of the Syrian goddess contains a description of this temple or one in its close vicinity, mentions many details not given on the coin, but supplies us with nothing more believable than the story of the two pillars (Priapi) "standing in the porch"—believable, that is, if we take of

<sup>20</sup> This does not seem to be the moon-crescent of the goddess, for its ends are attached to the pylon-uprights at the sides. The sitting doves are symbols enough to show whose is the represented shrine.

<sup>21</sup> *De Dea Syria*, (pseudo) Lucian.

the height he assigns a tithé at most. Probability reassures us of their presence. But when he labels the form of the temple he describes "as those of Ionia," that same probability laughs at his pedantic erudition; for the only Ionic forms that penetrated Phœnicia were *details*, which late accretions (such as Ionizing capitals and metope-façades) affected the generic nature of the architecture not at all. Its genius remained unchanged throughout all its history, yet that type itself was by its very nature in essence nothing but composite. In the formula by which the heterogeneous mixture was made homogeneous lay Phœnicia's knack.

## VIII.

So much for the general outlines provided by such pictured relics as can be connected with our argument. Now for the meagre deductions to be gained from the few actual ruin-fragments.

Most noticeable of all characteristics to-day is the colossal size of the stones used in the walls. This may be seen in the excavations of the foundation plateau of the Jerusalem Temple, as well as on the sites of Paphos and other Cyprian temples. But this argues nothing of the construction of the actual shrines within the walls, whose detailed ornamentation and manipulation would demand finer stone construction. We have also seen above that the coins suggest a light structure, possibly of wood in parts.

The calcereous tufa of the Phœnician territories is not susceptible of delicate ornamentation; so other material had to be used to supplement the lack. Casings of wood or of metal are the obvious inference, though almost all signs of such have disappeared. In the curved volutes and leafy decorations of (later) Cypriote capitals we seem to recognize motives suggested to the ornamentalist by the malleable elasticity of bronze. Added to this indirect evidence, one or two small sections of bronze sheathing have been found,<sup>22</sup> though again dating from a later period. From the Biblical accounts we also hear more infallibly of sheathing, where the overlaying metal and wood covered all the interior so that not a bit of stone-masonry was visible. So far as we can tell Phœnicia's architecture was based on Egyptian models. Certainly the "Tower of Babel" style of the Assyrian temples exerted no plastic force over Tyre and Sidon shrines. Egyptian forms, simplified for reasons of economy and ability, were decorated with largely Assyrian motifs; this was the method of hybridization. The result was severe in its ensemble.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia*.

elegant in its detail. "Smooth walls very carefully built, friezes of carved and gilded wood, chargings of bronze, pictured symbolic animals and trees in vigorous polychromy and rich hangings fused in a unique and picturesque result."<sup>23</sup>

So far as minute decorative details go, I shall leave them as data for the minutiae of the temple of Jerusalem itself.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Renan, *History of Israel*, ad loc.

## EPILOGUE TO "CHRISTIANITY AS THE PLE- ROMA."

IN ANSWER TO LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

NOW the question arises, "What will become of Christianity?"  
▲ If the historical events of the past are to be taken as precedents, religions come and pass away according to definite conditions. They will have their beginning and their end, and Christianity may disappear just as the religions of antiquity died out. Christianity had its origin. It reached the heights of its dogmatic unfoldment, it passed through several phases, and at present the current views of its most essential doctrines are fast changing. We have lost the naïveté of our forefathers. Some dogmas have been considerably modified, others have been silently dropped and not a few have become purely symbolical. Upon the whole we may say that we no longer believe in the letter of the credo.

Are these facts to be considered as symptoms of decay which indicate the end of Christianity? We do not think so; all depends upon Christianity and its representatives. If Christianity possesses sufficient innate strength to assimilate the new truths of science, it will survive and emerge from the present crisis stronger than before; but if it rejects the new revelation it is doomed.

It has been customary to characterize scientific truth as secular and purely human, and contrast it with theological truth as divine, but this conception is based upon an error. The truth of science, if it is but genuine truth, is not made by man, it is superhuman. Scientific truths are not fashioned by scientists, they are discovered, and being the eternalities of existence, they represent the divine thoughts that sway the world. Science is a genuine revelation, and we may lock upon it, to use theological language, as the revelation of the Holy Spirit. There is a great truth in the saying that all

sins may be forgiven, but not the sin against the Holy Spirit. If a portion of mankind—a church or a sect, or individuals—harden themselves against the light of science, if they shut out progress, if they deny truth, they will necessarily stunt their individual and moral growth. Thereby their souls will be crippled, they will cut themselves off from the tree of life, and refuse guidance by God's truth. But the question before us is whether it is an essential feature of Christianity to shut out the light of science, to repudiate progress, and refuse to learn from the living revelation of God's eternal truths.

Christianity has adapted itself to new conditions again and again; it has grown thereby and gradually developed into the religion that it is to-day, and there is no reason to doubt that it will do so again. The Christianity of the future will be broader, deeper, and more in accord with scientific truth.

It is true enough that the confessions of faith made in former centuries are antiquated, or better, they must be regarded as historical documents; they were good for their time, but must make way for a more scientific comprehension. We grant the claim of those who cling to the old manner of thinking, that a scientific comprehension is no longer Christianity as it was originally understood, that it is something entirely new which in many respects destroys the childlike spirit of a literal belief; but did not the God of Christianity himself proclaim: "Lo, I make all things new"?

We who have passed from the old to the new sometimes become homesick for the old comfortable belief when man was so easily satisfied with the symbol, with the parable, with a poetical figure and pious sentiment. Even the remembrance of these days has remained dear to us. Goethe who had experienced this change of mind himself has repeatedly described this attitude in glowing terms. Faust, on hearing the Easter bells proclaiming the resurrection of Christ, thinks of the faith of his childhood, and he regrets that the message has no longer a meaning for him since his belief is gone. Yet the vision of the faith of his earlier days haunts him. He thinks of his unbounded trust in God's eternal love, of seeking communion with Him in solitude and of the unspeakable rapture of fervid prayer:

"Und ein Gebet war brünstiger Genuss."

If the belief in the dogma is gone, shall we at the same time discard that religious sentiment which has been so important a guide to mankind in former centuries? Is that rapturous devotion which thrills the individual and adjusts his relation to the cosmos really

a fantastic illusion, of which in the future we must rid ourselves? Christianity has been the sacred vessel in which the noble sentiments of religion have been treasured; and will not the contents be spilled if the cup is broken? Thus it seems unavoidable that the breakdown of dogmatism really forebodes the end of religion.

A prominent French scholar, Yves Guyot, has written a book which created a sensation, and its tenets have been adopted by innumerable freethinkers the world over. It is entitled "The Irreligion of the Future" and Guyot claims in it that in ages to come mankind will be without any religion, for science will destroy the strongholds of the old faith one after another until nothing is left and the formulae of natural law will rule supreme. His views seem quite plausible to those who have grown up in a country where people have only the choice between the irreconcilable contrast of ultramontaniam on the one hand and the *libres penseurs* on the other. In France people who hold a middle ground are so rare that during the last half century they have played no prominent part in public life. In Protestant countries conditions are different. The large majorities do not favor either extreme but are in a state of transition, which will result in a new and higher conception. Protestantism has its weak points but it has guided mankind on the right path and prepares a faith which will no longer stand in contradiction to science.

Protestantism is not the end or final state of religion. It is a movement which from the start was not conscious of its final aims. While its leaders tried only to bring about a reform, they actually introduced a new principle and led religion into a new phase of its development. It was originally a mere negation of some features in the administration of the Roman Catholic Church, the very name indicates that it started as a protest to the old; but it is bound to take the consequences of the first step which is the recognition of scientific truth, of the liberty of conscience, of the duty of inquiry. This will lead to a new assertion, and its position will be upon a firmer and more enduring foundation.

Unless the very nature of mankind changes, the future of history will not be irreligious. On the contrary it will be more truly religious than ever. It will discard those superstitious elements which are so often regarded as the essential features of religion, but it will with greater emphasis insist on its essential truths. We are bound to reach the bottom rock where religion will have nothing to fear from the critique of science.

We venture to say that the new movement will spring from the

very orthodox ranks, which by and by will unhesitatingly recognize all the truth of science and reinterpret the old in the spirit of the new. They will retain all the good of their traditions without making the slightest concession to either hypocrisy or equivocation, and without sacrificing the uplift of genuine devotion. In a word the future of religion will be a reinterpretation of the old, and it is natural that all religions will convergingly tend toward the same goal.

\* \* \*

The religion of the future will have to satisfy the essential needs of the human heart. We drift tempest-tossed on the ocean of life, and we need guidance and comfort and encouragement. In the face of the unrest which surrounds us, we want to have the assurance of a firm ground where our anchor can catch. We want to know our goal and the direction in which we have to steer. All this must be supplied by religion, and where our knowledge is insufficient, faith steps in.

Religion is inborn in every soul in the same way as gravity is an inalienable part of all matter. Every particle that exists is interlinked with the whole of the cosmos. It is swayed by it, it is attached to it, its momentum is determined by it in the exact proportion of its weight, of its position, and generally of its relation to the All.

The innate energy of every particle, every molecule, every atom, presses forth in one direction or another beyond its own limits as if it were yearning beyond itself. No piece of matter is an existence in itself, its nature and its movements are conditioned by the rest of the universe and it can find the fulfilment of its longing only outside its own being. In the same way every sentient soul yearns beyond itself and becomes easily conscious of the fact that it is only a part of an immeasurably great whole, of the All that stretches forth into unknown infinitudes, and that the significance of its life lies outside the sphere of its ego. This All-feeling of the individual, this panpathy is religion, and religion is a natural presence in every human breast.

Religion grows up in unconscious spontaneity and it asserts itself first in sentiment. It is so strong that it may be counted as the deepest passion of which man is capable. It is possessed of a motive power which excels all other passions, even love not excepted, and can, if misdirected, lead to deeds which otherwise would be impossible, such as sacrifice of what is dearest to the heart, even the bodily sacrifice of oneself or of one's own children on the altar of a deity who is believed to demand such offerings.



But religion is not merely feeling. Religion enters into every fibre of man's spiritual existence, and throughout the development of human actions it remains the factor which adjusts the relation of the individual to the All. It grows and matures with the growth and maturity of man. It weaves out of his experiences a world-conception in which it appoints him to his place, assigns his duties and furnishes direction for his conduct.

Religion teaches us that we are parts only of a great whole. We are not alone in the world. Not only is our bodily existence at every moment determined by its surroundings, but our souls also are interlinked with the fate of others, of creatures more or less like us, sentient beings who have developed by our side as formations parallel to us, in whose company we have become such as we are. Our own destiny extends to them, and makes them parts of this, our extended self. Neither are we the beginning nor the end of life. We come into being and disappear, while the whole, from which we have emerged, remains. From this state of things we learn to treat our fellows with consideration, yea, with respect, to look upon the past with reverence and upon the future with solicitude.

Our neighbor is our alter-ego. No one is a stranger to us; all are our brothers and we cannot maltreat them without hurting ourselves. The same truth which holds good for space, is applicable to time. We are a mere phase in the life of the whole. We have grown from the past and we owe to it our entire existence. In fact we are the past as it continues in the present. The past has furnished even the potentialities from which we develop our noblest aspirations, our very selves which are the additions made by us in building up the future, and in the future we continue. The future is the harvest which we expect. It is our own existence as we mold it, and all the duties we have in life are for the future. In the future lie the mansions which our souls build up to live therein when our bodies have fallen to dust.

The function of religion, however, goes deeper still. This entire world is the actualization of eternal types. It develops according to law and brings into existence those possibilities which in philosophy are called Platonic Ideas. Accordingly man is not a mere congeries of atoms, he is more than a corporeal conglomeration of matter, he is the actualization of the type of his personality; his essential and characteristic being consists in the ideas he thinks, in the aims he pursues, and in the significance which he possesses for the great movement of human life.

In every one of us there is something eternal that has made its

appearance in corporeal and visible shape, and no thinking man will identify himself with the dust of his body, but he will seek his real being in the significance of his spiritual nature.

Religion reminds us of the eternal background against which the fleeting phenomena of the material world take shape. This eternal is the essential part of life that transfigures the transient in which it is actualized.

Man is not born a philosopher, but he grows up from primitive conditions and is compelled to act and adjust his conduct even before he knows the world or himself, and so religion, which as we have seen animates his entire being and unconsciously dominates all his sentiments from the very bottom of his heart, comes to him in the shape of allegories and symbols. He first feels religion before he formulates it in doctrines, and the first doctrines are naturally mere formulations of the symbols wherein truth first dawns on him. But the higher man rises, the better he understands how to distinguish between symbol and truth, between letter and spirit, between the parable and its meaning. In the dogmatic state we were like children, being nursed with fairy tales and parables; but in the state of manhood we shall see face to face and shall have a clear and unequivocal comprehension of the truth.

That state of the future which we know must come, will certainly not be less religious than its former phases. It will be simply the fulfilment of the former which we then shall regard as mere preparations for it, as mere stations on the road to the goal—the new pleroma, the pleroma expected to-day.

\* \* \*

We are aware that Christianity is not the only religion in the world, and its rivals from their standpoint have made honest endeavors to reach the truth in their own ways. In every part of the world man has used the light at his disposal. In consideration of this fact we can no longer look upon one religion as possessing the absolute truth, and upon all others as inventions of Satan. We know that all of them possess more or less of the truth and not one of them is perfect.

There is a stage in which we shall lose the desire to glorify our own religion at the expense of others, and we look upon the anxiety of the sectarian who magnifies the merit of his own sect and delights in defaming others, with a smile although he does it *in maiorem Dei gloriam* in the hope of thus pleasing the deity whom he serves. But there is a higher ideal than our own church affilia-

tion. It is the truth, and the God of truth is higher than our God, higher than our limited conception of the deity.

We learn more and more to give honor to the truth wherever it may be found, and under the influence of this sentiment a brotherly feeling has originated which gave birth to the Religious Parliament in 1893, in which even the most orthodox churches took part. It is an actual instance in which representatives of all the great faiths of the world came together in tolerance and kindness. Every one came to explain his own faith, not to disparage those of others; nor was there any intention to break down or to replace the old traditions by a new religion.

The new when it comes will have to develop from the old, and it will practically have to be the old in a new interpretation. We must build the future from the past, and we have to utilize the materials which we have on hand.

We deem it possible that several religions may continue side by side to the end of the world, and there would be no harm in a disparity in name, institutions and organization. These things are not the essential parts of religion. Perhaps it might be good for the world, if a rivalry would remain between different churches, different races, different nations. There can be no objection to a divergence of types; but after all whatever may be the names of these religions and denominations, their essential doctrines, the meaning of their ceremonies and above all their moral ideals will have to become the same throughout the world, for they represent the essentials of religion, and must accord with the eternal truths of cosmic existence.

The Church eternal of the future need not be one large centralized body, it need not be one power consolidated into one organization, it need not be governed from one central point, but it must be one in spirit, it must be one in love of truth, one in brotherhood, and one in the earnestness of moral endeavor.

I conclude these remarks on the nature of the religion of the future with the words which as secretary of the Religious Parliament Extension I pronounced at the decennial celebration of the World's Religious Parliament in 1903:

"Let us all join in the work of extending true religion. Let us greet not our brethren only, but those who in sincerity disagree with us, and let us thus prepare a home in our hearts for truth, love and charity, so that the kingdom of heaven, which is as near at hand as it was nineteen hundred years ago, may reside within us, and become more and more the reformatory power of our public and private life."

## THE BIBLE IN THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL.

BY JOSEPH S. KORNFELD.

PROFESSOR Moulton says: "The Bible is the worst-printed book in the world." With equal, if not greater, justification can it be said that the Bible is the worst-taught book in the world. This is especially true of the Bible as taught in our Sunday-schools. Over the entrance of our Sunday-school might well be placed the words that adorned the façade of a certain carpenter-shop: All sorts of twisting and turning done in this place.

This criticism, of course, does not affect those whose first article of faith is *Credo quia absurdum est*. He who can believe anything because it is absurd will find nothing in the Bible that might not be taught just as it is. And though we may pity him for his blindness to the truth, we cannot charge him with deliberate distortion thereof. It is doubtful, however, whether in our age many would care to avail themselves of this exemption. The vast majority of thinking men and women would indignantly refuse to teach their children things they regarded absurd, even though contained in the Bible. That with our changed attitude toward the Bible we should expect a corresponding change in our system of Bible teaching, goes without saying. Yet such is hardly the case.

The method of tropical exegesis, though generally discredited, has not yet been displaced in our Bible-schools. Speaking of this method, Robertson Smith says: "The ancient fathers laid down the principle that everything in Scripture which, taken in its natural sense, appears unedifying, must be made edifying by some method of typical or figurative application." Substituting the word "unreasonable" for "unedifying," this statement will hold good of the modern teacher as well.

Our Bible teachers seem to fear lest by deviating from the course followed in the age of faith they grieve the holy spirit—and as a result they make the Bible tell tales which would harrow up the

souls of a more sensitive generation. But we have already passed the stage of being shocked. We are simply amused. Take, for instance, the story of the Tower of Babel. There was a time when no one doubted that what is recorded in Gen. xi. 1-9 actually took place. Then there was sufficient reason for teaching this story without any alteration. But since science has entirely discredited this account, the only justification for teaching it must lie in its ethical or religious value. Unfortunately, however, the writer of this story was not a prophet, and therefore did not foresee the time when his scientific discovery would not be fit for anything better than a Sunday-school lesson, and consequently he failed to put a moral into it. Thus it devolves upon the devout teacher to invent one. How dismally he failed is shown in the manuals of Scripture history used in our Sunday-school. Nor are we surprised at this failure.

The story of the Tower of Babel is a myth of the Promethean type. That the child should sympathize with the human victims of the tyrannical Deity is both natural and moral, though hardly religious. But in his desire to vindicate the ways of God to man, the teacher becomes a false plasterer and an ignorant physician, determined to "doctor up" this story *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. And all this because it is a part of the Bible! Now one may ask, what is its object in the Bible? Surely not to teach irreverence. Most positively not. Philosophy has been defined as mythology grown old and wise. Then conversely, mythology is philosophy not yet grown old and wise. The myth of the Tower of Babel was used as a philosophical explanation of the diversity of language and race, which must have presented a difficulty to one who had been taught to believe that mankind sprang from one common parent. That the Bible writer should have availed himself of this account of the division of the human race before he entered upon the history of one particular people may not say much for him as a philosopher, but it does show that he knew how to write history. Thus, the story of the Tower of Babel is far from being out of place in the Bible. But in the religious school, where the moral and religious upbuilding of the child is aimed at, its presence is hardly justifiable. Nor is this story unique. It is rather one of many, whose *raison d'être* in our text-books is difficult to discover.

The principal objection, however, is not so much to the matter taught as to the manner in which it is taught. We teach our children in our religious schools in a manner which would hardly be tolerated in our secular schools. What would we think of a teacher of mathematics who would teach his pupils fractions before they

had mastered the elementary principles of arithmetic? Should we not have at least equal regard for the child's mental capacity in the instruction of things valuable in proportion not as they are remembered, but assimilated? Yet without a doubt the radical defect in our Bible teaching lies in our total indifference to the power of the child's apperception. Thus, at the time when the sensuous feelings are predominant in the child and therefore especially in need of being directed—which might be successfully done by means of appropriate Bible lessons—he is taught things that concern the esthetic, intellectual, prudential or religious feelings. We thereby not merely burden the mind with things it cannot comprehend—a great mistake, indeed!—but we miss an opportunity to curb a desire which may render all subsequent teaching ineffective.

Stanley G. Hall says, "The Bible is man's great text-book in psychology." Whether that is true or not, is beside our present purpose. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that, if the Bible is to be a great text-book, it must be taught psychologically. Unless we coordinate the Biblical lessons with the mental perception of the child, they can be of little or no value in the development of the child's moral and spiritual nature. That in spite of centuries of experience in Bible teaching we have just barely begun to realize this fact is due, in a measure, to our hitherto inadequate conception of what the Bible is—but chiefly, to our utter neglect of the child.

The Bible in the Sunday-school has a distinctive function to perform, and that is, to supply information, not as an end, but for the inspiration it will give. It is to serve as a guide for moral conduct. As such, the Bible must be regarded as the story of the ascent of man. It is the record of Israel's education—the best ever vouchsafed to man—an education under divine direction. It is in very sooth a book of Revelation, revealing as it does the spiritual growth of a people in whom the ideas of conduct and the regulation of conduct attained their highest expression. That the Bible thus conceived should and would make a splendid guide for the child, if, as is claimed by the Recapitulation theory, the child lived over again the stages in the evolution of the species to which he belongs, is perfectly evident. If the child of to-day were but a miniature edition of the race, each paragraph and chapter of the latter having its counterpart in the life story of the former, then the Bible, being the autobiography of a people taught of God, could be most profitably imparted to the child, without any change or omission whatsoever. But just as physically the individual does not, consciously at least, pass through all the stages in the evolution

of the species to which he belongs, even so does he not recapitulate all the stages in the psychical development of the people whose history is to be his "training book" in morals and religion.

The child of to-day does not culturally begin where the people of Israel began; nor do all the experiences in his life coincide with those of a people who lived in an entirely different age and environment. For that reason much that the Bible contains, presupposing a mental status primitive even when compared to that of the untutored child of to-day, will be of no ethical value to the child whatsoever, while a great deal that might find sympathetic response will have to be rearranged to accord with his natural development. Unless, therefore, we first study the child in the successive stage of his development and then adapt our Bible teaching to his progressive needs, our method of instruction is not natural, even though we do eliminate from our teaching whatever is supernatural. Just as in art the "perfect fit" marks the highest achievement, even so in Bible teaching everything must be subordinated to the one consideration—Does the lesson fit into the life of the child? To quote Robertson Smith: "God never spoke a word to any soul that was not exactly fitted to the occasion and the man." And all great teachers have followed the example set for them in this respect by the Divine Educator. It was undoubtedly the one Jesus followed. It is very unlikely that his telling parables were spoken without any relation to some actual need. The parable of Dives and Lazarus was no doubt called forth by the arrogance of some rich men whom Jesus knew personally, and whose pride he wished to humble. Similarly the parable of the Talents was in all probability evoked by the sight of the army of idlers and loungers in the City of Jerusalem, whom he would stimulate to a more useful and serviceable life. Nor will any one imagine that the Proverbs were originally spoken in the order, or rather disorder, in which they are found in the Bible. It was ever out of the fullness of the heart that the mouth spoke. The vitality of the word depends on its being spoken at the psychological moment. Let our teachers first learn the psychological moment in the life of the child, and then speak the Word.

It might perhaps be well to illustrate, by means of examples, the simplicity and effectiveness of this method in our Bible-teaching. Take, for instance, the feeling of appetite. Even the physically normal child will often show an excessive craving for certain articles of food, notably sweets. That an undue indulgence in this respect may prove injurious to the child's physical well-being, is beyond question. Nor, if allowed to run riot, is it less certain to become

harmful to the child's morals. Hence, its restriction is imperative. What Bible verse will be more in season at this time than Prov. xxv. 27—so much like mother's own admonition—"It is not good to eat much honey." But the teacher need not stop at this point. He can enlarge upon the danger of gluttony in general, and caution the child in the words of Prov. xxiii. 20,

"Be not among wine-bibbers,  
Among gluttonous eaters of flesh."

To impress the child with the grave danger that lurks in this apparently innocent desire, he can point to the two sons of Eli, whose lack of self-restraint disqualified them for the high office of leadership, *vide* 1 Samuel ii. 12-18. But it was Samuel, a man of the very opposite type—one who could say "No" to himself—who was to fill that high place and to stamp his personality upon Israel's history.

Now what have you accomplished? In a ten-minute talk you have taught the child two Bible verses, acquainted it with an important event in Israel's history and enshrined a true hero in his heart—one who, by virtue of his dedicated life is eminently fitted to be the child's first hero. But, above all, you have supplied him with a strong moral restraint upon his animal desires. And all this, because you have allowed the little child to lead you.

As another example of the practical applicability of the psychological method of Bible-teaching, let us consider one of the intellectual feelings in their primary range, *viz.*, desire for wealth. There is a very short interval between the child's strong desire for "good things to eat" and his desire for "nice things to wear." The child realizes very soon the advantage of wealth, and betrays a longing for it which, if permitted to go unrestrained, may in after years cause him much pain and lead even to crime. This, then, is the psychological moment when "Thou shalt not covet" will perform its soul-saving function. This verse may be supplemented with Luke xii. 15, "Take heed and keep yourselves from all covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in abundance of the things which he possesseth."

Now is the time when, the child being plastic and impressionable, his desire for material wealth can be transformed into a desire for spiritual wealth. To compass this end, the teacher should hold up for the child's contemplation some of the noblest, though materially the poorest, figures in the Bible, such as Moses preferring to share the lot of fugitive slaves to the gorgeous splendor of the Egyptian court; Jesus, so poor that he had no place where to lay his head; Amos,



merely an acorn-gatherer; and the rest of the world's poor, whose names are nevertheless inscribed in golden letters on the scroll of immortality. You have now fired the imagination of the child. He has begun to dream of some day having his name linked with the world's good and great. He casts no more longing glances at the beautiful clothes of his wealthy class-mate, for he now feels a strong desire for things more precious than silver and rather to be sought than gold—greatness and goodness. Nor does the lesson end at this point. Covetousness being the cause of theft and frequently murder, this is the time when two other Biblical imperatives, "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not kill," can be most profitably brought home to the child. What the disastrous consequences of covetousness may be can be shown by picturing the downfall of Achan, who coveted and secretly kept a portion of the spoils of Jericho; and the doom of King Ahab, who coveted and by foul means secured the vineyard of Naboth.

Here again we have a number of Bible verses and an array of historical facts which the child will learn with ease and always remember, because there is an association between the things to be remembered and some particular sensation or some idea in the child. And as for their beneficent influence upon the future conduct of the child, who can overestimate their value? Who can doubt that, at the critical moment in the life of the coming man, when he will stand face to face with some great temptation, he will hear the solemn warning, "Thou shalt not covet," "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not kill," and recall the fate of Achan, Ahab and all those who did not keep themselves from covetousness, and then manfully resist? Similarly, there is no impulse in the child that cannot be directed, no desire that cannot be chastened, no emotion that cannot be purified, by means of some Biblical verse or story, provided they be psychologically related.

It is unquestionable that if the Bible lessons were so arranged as to accord with the progressive unfolding of the physical, intellectual and religious feelings of the child, they would be indelibly engraved upon his mind and heart. Nor is there any doubt as to the attitude of advanced thinkers toward this method of Bible teaching. The Religious Education Association, comprising the leading educators and Bible teachers in the country, makes it one of its tasks to bring about in the Sunday-school an "adaptation of the material and method of instruction to the several stages of the mental, moral and spiritual growth of the individual." But how far even the most ardent advocates of this method are from consistently applying it,

is shown by the following statement of Prof. Stanley G. Hall. He says, "For young children the main stress should be laid on the Old Testament, and the most vigorous teaching of the New should be during the teens." And while it is true that in the very next sentence he cautions the teacher against a too rigid insistence on this order of instruction, his declaration in favor of teaching the Old Testament at one age and the New at another must be a source of regret to those who have regarded his views as of the highest authority. There are things in the Old Testament that completely transcend the understanding of the young child, while the New Testament abounds in lessons that will strongly appeal to the child in its more tender age. There is no reason why we should allow years to intervene between the teaching of the Old and the New, when each contains lessons that imply the same age and need. One fails to understand why Psalm xxiii (the Shepherd Psalm) should be taught the *young* child, while the Parable of the Sheepfold, John x. 1 ff., be reserved for the *teens*, in spite of its containing all the characteristics of a good story for children under ten years of age. Equally difficult is it to discover the reasonableness of teaching a young child the story of the faithless wife in Hosea, and keeping the story of the Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 11 ff.) for a more advanced age. Nor will a young child understand the command "Thou shalt not commit adultery" in Exodus any better than the same command in Matthew, simply because the former is from the Old Testament, while the latter is found in the New. The New Testament being essentially a Midrash, a homily on the Old, such a separation as is advocated by Professor Hall is psychologically inadmissible. There is only one order in which the Bible should be taught in the Sunday-school, be the teaching limited to the Old Testament or extended to the New, and that is the order of the child's physical, mental and moral development.

The strongest opposition to this method will naturally come from Bible students. They will urge that, while the child thus taught may learn many Biblical lessons, it will never know the Bible as a whole. And it must be admitted that if a systematic and scholarly knowledge of the Bible were the object of Bible teaching in the Sunday school, then this criticism were unanswerable. But since primarily the aim of the Sunday-school is to build up character by means of the Bible, it is sufficient if the instruction be not fragmentary from the standpoint of its constructive value. Regret though we may to take these gems of truth out of their original setting, we are more than compensated by the thought of having found for them

an appropriate setting in the life of the child, and thereby given them a truly organic unity.

Whatever else, therefore, may be desired in the Bible-teaching in our Sunday-school, the one thing of supreme importance is that it be done psychologically with reference to the child. Then only will the Bible's true ethical worth be realized, and we shall feel assured, concerning the child, that "The Lord will give you bread (bread of life) in adversity, and water (water of salvation) in affliction, and thy teacher (the Word) shall not be hidden any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teacher, and thine ears hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way; walk ye in it." (Is. xxx. 20-21.)

## HOW TO TEACH THE BIBLE IN SCHOOLS.

BY THE EDITOR.

**R**ABBI Joseph Kornfeld, an orthodox representative of the Mosaic faith, offers his suggestions in the current number, and he demands that the Bible, in order to be made of ethical value to children, should be taught psychologically. This is true enough, and we recommend his article for a careful perusal to the religious educators of all denominations, but we wish to add a few comments of our own, partly for the benefit of those who have broken away from religious association entirely and deem it best to cut out religion from their educational system and with it the Bible.

We do not countenance the demand that the Bible should be dispensed with in education. We believe that the teaching of the Bible is one of the most urgent needs not only in the Church but also in our schools. A knowledge of the Bible is necessary for religious instruction; and I say purposely for instruction, not for edification alone, for a knowledge of the Bible is absolutely indispensable for general culture, for a knowledge of history, anthropology, the development of human thought, and so in general for philosophy and finally also for art.

Art, it is true, does not belong exactly to the daily bread of our intellectual needs, but it is after all an indication of general culture, and a man ignorant of the Bible can no more judge correctly of general history, even profane history, than he can walk through any of the famous art galleries and understandingly view the many pictures there exhibited.

The fact we have to insist on is this, that the Bible is a record of one of the most important factors of the history of mankind and a knowledge of it is indispensable for any educated man, for any one who wishes to have a fair insight into the nature and character of the development of the race, of its thoughts and its aspirations.

I speak here for the general public, not for Christians or Jews

alone. Even to the profane historian a fair knowledge of the Bible is absolutely indispensable. The Bible has entered into the spirit of all our literatures, German, French, English, Russian, Italian, Spanish, etc., and the leading thoughts of the Bible have been factors in the history of all European nations. I claim most positively that no one can form an accurate opinion of European culture without having studied the Bible as a whole, and in most of its details. To exclude the Bible from our schools is a serious mistake which is excusable only through the sectarian attitude of our churches, and the opposition to teaching the Bible in schools should disappear with the disappearance of the sectarian spirit, which happily is clearly in evidence. I hope to see the day when the Bible will be taught in schools, not from any sectarian standpoint but scientifically.

The objection may be made that it is impossible to cut out sectarianism from Bible instruction, but I venture to disagree. Science in its very nature is unsectarian. Science teaches the truth, and the only difficulty would be to make the statements of facts with discretion so as not to offend sectarianism. The difficulty is obviously of a negative kind, not positive. Results of scientific inquiry should be stated in an inoffensive way, not in a tone of provocation, or in contrast to old-fashioned, antiquated, sectarian views, and this can be done. How much the sectarian spirit is dying out can be seen from the article of Rabbi Kornfeld who, though a leader in an orthodox religious congregation, insists on a scientific treatment of the Bible, and would do away with all the antiquated, sentimental and pious methods which, with the best intention of increasing the glory of God, distort both the text and the sense of Biblical stories. At the same time it is remarkable how impartially and how appreciatively Rabbi Kornfeld speaks of the New Testament and the teachings of Jesus.

But how should the Bible be taught scientifically?

First of all the Bible should be treated as a record and not as absolute truth. It is here indifferent whether we speak of it as a record of God's revelation or whether for unbelievers we call it a record of the religious development of the human race. When we apply the scientific interpretation of religion, such terms as revelation, inspiration, etc., become questions of mere definition. We may look upon all truth as revealed, in which sense we admit the term from the standpoint of the most radical thinker, that the Bible is the record of the history of religious revelation, which practically means the same as the development of religious thought and of religious truth.

Though the Bible is merely a fragment of the religious development of mankind, we must grant that it is that fragment which leads up to the laying of the foundation of our present civilization. Whether or not we believe in Christianity we must understand how it developed and through what stage it passed before it became what it was in the beginning of the Christian era, and the documents of this history are laid down in the Old and New Testaments.

When we understand what the Bible is (i. e., a collection of records or of historical documents) we shall treat it in the right way. The time is coming when the general results of text-critical and historical research will be accepted by Biblical scholars of all denominations and we shall be able to state with objective impartiality, at least in broad outlines, how, when, and why, the several books of the Old and the New Testament were written.

When we trace the successive advances made by the people of Israel we shall understand that the God-conception of the Semitic bondsmen in Egypt was comparatively low. Yahveh who ordered the children of Israel to take away with them the gold and silver vessels of the Egyptians was a tribal deity who wanted to enrich his people at the cost of others. Further the God of Jephthah, who sacrificed his daughter, was still a God of savages. The God of Samson who came over him like a magic spell belongs to mythological deities. None of these views can be regarded as the God of matured Christianity, or, let us add also, of present-day Judaism. We ought to know, however, that from such crude notions has sprung the noblest and most philosophical God-conception of to-day, and we can trace the historical connection. We know that the comprehension of children is not the comprehension of man, and so we must learn that older beliefs of mankind exhibit a lower conception of the deity than in more advanced times, and there is no harm in telling the truth, or setting forth the facts in Sunday schools. To conceal the truth through interpretations of the Bible which are scientifically untenable is a grievous mistake, and we are glad that Rabbi Kornfeld points it out.

Some time ago a very serious Christian clergyman of orthodox faith wrote a pamphlet in which he demanded an expurgated Bible. He pointed out the many improprieties and indecencies which are contained in the Bible, and no one can deny that in this he is right. Nevertheless his appeal was ignored. He was like a voice crying in the wilderness and for good reasons. The subject was very unwelcome to religious teachers because they know how to avoid the difficulties rising from this source by passing over those passages

which are symptoms of an antiquated morality. From the scientific standpoint we can understand that in olden times the sense for decency was different than it is at present, and accordingly, without being untrue to facts, we can dispose of passages of an equivocal nature by simply branding them as exhibiting a lower view of propriety. No harm is done by telling the truth, but if Bible readers afterwards discover these passages by themselves, they will naturally turn away from the Bible and condemn the use of it altogether.

For a long time in the development of religion the Bible was used as a text-book for edification. We ought to bear in mind that it was not originally written for that purpose. Not until the time when the canon received its final shape, did its redactors begin to introduce this factor which is much in evidence in their additions and comments. Afterwards it became and still continues to be the sole purpose for which the Bible was taught. I do not deny that innumerable passages in the Bible can fittingly serve this purpose. There are the Psalms and Proverbs of the Old Testament and many parables, and a great many passages in the Epistles which are very useful for purposes of edification. But upon the whole the Bible is, we must repeat, a record of religious documents. It is historical, and we must never leave its historical significance out of sight. We must understand the Bible, and all edificational lessons which can be drawn from it are and ought to be secondary. At any rate it is not advisable to distort the text or the stories or the meaning of any Biblical quotations for the purpose of edification.

We will add one further comment on the supernatural in the Bible. The religious books of all nations contain miracle stories; and this does not prove that miracles are true, but that at a certain stage of development the belief in miracles is common. The miraculous and mystical features of religious books are indications of the religious awe of the generation in which they were written. They belong to the atmosphere of that age and add a peculiar charm to its setting. There is no need of being offended at them. To omit the miracle or to eliminate the supernatural from the text of the Bible in teaching its contents would be as false as to rationalize fairytales. This method (the method of the rationalist) has been repeatedly applied, but it distorts the Bible just as much, if not more, than the method of adapting it to the ends of a pious edification.

Think of it, what would become of Greek myth if we would treat it in the same way? Should we let the labors of Heracles come within the range of plausibility and explain his deeds in a similar

way as rationalists do when cutting out the supernatural element from the Bible?

When we relate miracles such as described in either the Old or New Testament we need as little request a child to believe them in all their details, as we expect him to believe that the fight of Zeus with the Titans actually took place or that Achilles was really the son of Thetis, the goddess of the sea. We simply tell the stories as they are recorded so that the scholar may know that this was the view of the people so many thousand years ago. The stories, even the miracle stories and fairy tales, retain their moral, artistic and otherwise educational value in the one way as much as in the other, and if they are deprived of the supernatural element, they become trite and prosaic.

How far we ought to explain the origin and the significance of the belief in the supernatural depends entirely on the age and maturity of the pupil whom the teacher addresses. At any rate I would not join that large portion of reformers who would cut out the Bible entirely from our education, for I do insist most vigorously on the necessity of teaching it.

I do not deem the Bible indispensable for the purpose of edification or for the development of religious feelings, but I believe that a knowledge of it is absolutely needed for our general culture, and for this purpose it is as indispensable as the knowledge of the outlines of the world's history, for the Bible contains the key to a comprehension of the development of the European races.



## JUDAS THE "HIRED."

BY HON. WILLIS BREWER.

THE interesting article of Mr. Dudley Wright in the May number of *The Open Court* omits some views of Judas Iskariot which have suggested themselves to me, and I have not seen them advanced.

Paul is one of the first Christian writers in point of time, and the two epistles to the Corinthians are among his undisputed writings, and perhaps were written as early as A. D. 55. The author of Acts makes him a witness of the death of Stephen, and more than once has him tell of a curious vision when on his way to Damascus, which Paul was perhaps too modest to relate in his own writings (comp. Gal. i. 13-17; 1 Cor. xv. 8-9). He is also made to say that he was educated at Jerusalem. Now he alludes to "scriptures" several times, but all such allusions are to the Old Testament; hence Paul appears the oldest of the New Testament writers, and evidently nearer the contemporary of Jesus than any of the unknown authors of the Gospels.

Yet Paul has not heard of Judas. He asserts that Jesus appeared "to the twelve" (1 Cor. xv. 5) after his death. If it be replied that neither does Paul allude to the manger at Beth-Lechem or to the revivication of Lazarus or to the prodigies at the resurrection, etc., etc., I answer that this is further evidence that there were no Gospels of that tenor in his time, or that he was more ignorant than others, for he never mentions any of the miracles and prodigies of which the Gospels tell us, as indeed his own marvelous exploit of raising of the dead (Acts xx. 9) he likewise leaves to be told by another.

Revelations (xxi. 14) also mentions the twelve Apostles of the Lamb, and Judas still appears to be one of the twelve foundations of the heavenly fortress.

The other epistles of the New Testament are equally silent as to the treachery of Judas.

If it were not for the positive authority of all the Gospels that Judas was one of the twelve it would be possible to hold him as a figurative personage of the Judean people, for it is these whom Stephen declares (Acts vii. 52) were "betrayers and murderers" of the Righteous One. Peter, for instance (Acts i. 16-20), is made to speak of Judas and his conduct as the fulfilment of a prophetic utterance of one of the Psalms. Again, A-Kel Dama seems the Kol Dama or "voice of blood" that cried against Kain (Gen. iv. 10), and the words suggest that the Judeans owed their dispersion and the curse of their country to their treatment of Jesus. Judas is of course the Greek form of the name Jehudah.

And the "fulfilment" theory of the treason is mentioned in all the Gospels, as we must expect. Matthew (xxvii. 9-10) refers the matter to the remark in Zechariah (xi. 12-13), not as put, Jeremiah, "And I said to them, if good in thy eyes, give me my Sechar," etc., and they gave him thirty pieces of silver; but Jehoah told him to cast the money to the Jozer in the house of Jehoah, which was done, and Jozer is rendered "potter." From the word Sechar we have the Greek form I-Skar-iot, and the Hebrew word means "hire" or "wages"; and the suggestion that it is the name of a town is of no value. This text is really the key to the story of poor Iskariot, or at least to that part of his name and to the financial part of his conduct. That he hanged himself, as Matthew says, seems suggested by the fate of Achi-Tophel the counsellor of David (2 Sam. xvii. 23), called the Giloni or "revealer," whose advice caused Abeshalom to pollute the harem of David; and it is possible that, while Tophel means "suppliant," "folly," the consonance of the word with Aophel or "inflate," "tumor," and with Nephel "to fall," gave rise to Peter's version of the fate of Judas. As none of the other Gospels speak of the fate of Judas it might be urged that Matthew and Acts enlarged the account of this from Mark (xiv. 21), where Jesus alludes to fulfilment, and which account is also expanded in Matthew (xxvi. 24-25) and altered in Luke (xxii. 22-23), which I take to be later writings.

In the Gospel of John (xiii. 18-19) "fulfilment" is referred to Psalms xli. 9. This is a reference appropriate to the sop, perhaps suggesting it, and this Gospel enlarges upon that incident (xiii. 21-30). Jesus points out Judas by handing him the sop, "and after the sop then entered Satan into him," as if he was appointed by Jesus to perform the act of fulfilment; and, though verse 2 is

athwart this, the spiritual character given Jesus in this Gospel, and his developing divinity a generation later than the synoptics, enables us to understand the difference of his authoritative conduct in the principal text, for "the Father had given all things into his hands," says John (xiii. 3), and Judas as Satan was only serving one whose hour had come (verse 1), and who came forth from God and was going to God (verse 3). It was this increasing estimate of Jesus that, "knowing all the things that were coming upon him," causes his mere presence, at his arrest and recognition as told in this Gospel, to make Judas and the constabulary move backward and fall to the ground (John xviii. 4, 6), as against the simple "Rabbi" and kiss of Mark (xiv. 45), the "Hail Rabbi," kiss, and reply of Jesus in the later Matthew (xxvi. 49-50), and the still later approach to kiss and question of Jesus to Judas in Luke (xxii. 47-48); so that the dramatic scene progresses till Jesus becomes too lofty and Judas becomes too base for any familiarity or even recognition in John; for such is the course of a popular legend. So, too, the bargain of Judas to deliver Jesus to the authorities, set forth in the synoptics, is ignored in John, which treats Judas as fore-ordained to take part in the divine dramaturgy; a passive agent, chosen because he was a *dæmon* (John vi. 70), whereas the synoptics in their list of the twelve speak of his treachery as if this was a development, a fall from a higher state.

So, to sum up, we come from the express words of Paul, in the same generation of Jesus, that after his death he appeared to the twelve, to the end of the century when the Greek Gospel of John was written, and find that the doctrine of fulfilment has placed a *dæmon* at the side of Jesus, his "familiar man" (Aish Shelom, Ps. xli. 9), whom "he knew from the beginning would betray him" (John vi. 64), and whom he chose therefore to serve as his guide or usher to the Shades; ordered to "do what you do quickly (xiii. 27). This leaves a very wide margin between the assertion of the contemporary Paul and the transition along fulfilment lines to Hellenic and Egyptian mystics. Accounts so opposite cannot be reconciled.

It is well to understand, however, that no Judean is reported to have followed Jesus; all his little following, which was so small that they could gather in one room (Acts i. 13-15), were Galileans (ii. 7). Those who read Josephus are familiar with the fact that Galilee was in the time of Jesus the turbulent district, and no doubt they gave many riotous demonstrations when they came to the feasts at Jerusalem, for even their chief men were "unlearned and ignorant" (Acts iv. 13), hence the more opinionated and restless. Even

Jesus is averred to have scourged people in the temple itself; a fact which no doubt contributed largely to his execution. At his execution no one came to his help, or even spoke in his behalf, save Pilate the governor and his wife. Even his chosen Apostles, who had seen his prodigies and miracles, "all forsook him, and fled"—the saddest or the most significant words in all Christ-lore. The Galileans resented his death, and began at once to regard him as a martyr; hence Christianity was born, not in a manger, but in a sepulchre.

Now it is possible that Judas was a Judean; or that from his name of Judas or Judea-s, coupled with that of I-Sechar, or the "hired,"\* the Gospel writers, thirty or forty years after the Crucifixion, suspected Judas of "hiring" himself to the Judeans to guide them to the hiding-place of Jesus; and this inference was confirmed by certain texts of Zechariah (xi. 12-13) where Sechar and thirty of silver are spoken of, and by the eater friend of the Psalm (xli. 9), which were used as the bases of the details as to him. It might be, also, that, after the death of Jesus, seeing his failure and discounting then his pretensions, as well as resenting the turbulence of the Galileans, Judas abandoned the new sect, thus incurring odium; for "many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him" (John vi. 66), is a sentence with allusions to betrayal and dæmon immediately before and after (verses 64, 70); and, though this was during the life of Jesus, we must remember that the Gospel of John was written long after. Yet it must be admitted that his apostasy and bad name had not been "received" (1 Cor. xv. 3), that is, heard of, by Paul, as I also admit that all of Paul's resurrection faith must have been "hear-say" or he would not have persecuted the Church (verse 9).

Certainly the disciples, who forsook their Master in his hour of peril and fled, whose chief talker thrice denied him, were a sufficiently sorry lot to have produced a traitor; at least before they received the Holy Inflatum; but there seems to have been no need for a traitor. As Jesus "sat daily in the temple teaching" (Matt. xxvi. 55), there could have been no need for one to be hired to recognize him by a kiss or otherwise. Neither could the fear of the multitude have obliged the authorities to catch him at night by using a traitor, for he was executed in day-time with the boisterous and unanimous approbation of "all the people" (Matt. xxvii. 25), who knew Jesus well enough to prefer his death to that of the murderer and robber Bar-Abbas.

\* Already an evil name (Gen. xlix. 14-15; also xxx. 14-18).

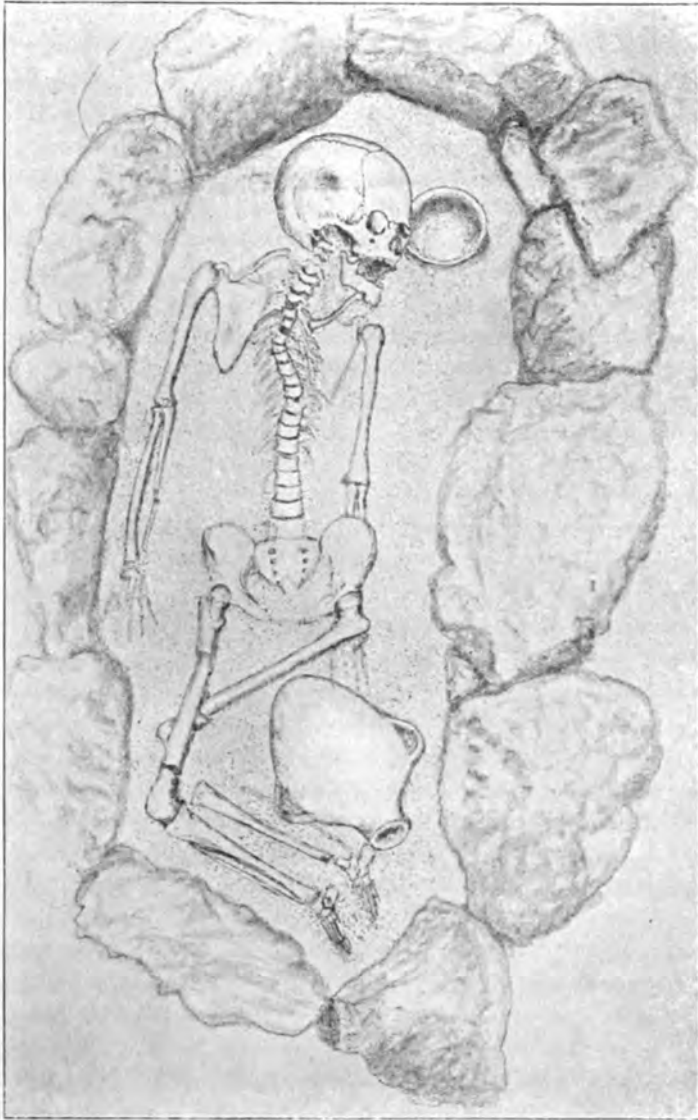
Wherefore, desiring to prove to the Jews that Jesus was their expected Me-Shiach, the "fulfilment" of the texts of their sacred books are carried into most of the incidents of the career of Jesus, and the miracles and prodigies of Elijah and Elisha are well-nigh those repeated by Jesus, while the trials of Jeremiah resemble those of Jesus. So, Judas the "hired" or I-Sechar, having an unfortunate name, is condemned by writers a generation later to "fulfil" the texts of Zechariah (xi. 12-15) and of the Psalm (xli. 9).

## FOUNDATIONS LAID IN HUMAN SACRIFICE.

BY THE EDITOR.

PERHAPS the most persistent among religious superstitions from the beginning of mankind down into so-called civilized ages, has been the custom of offering human sacrifices and burying them in the foundation stones of important buildings, especially in the fortifications of cities. It is difficult to explain the underlying idea with certainty since in all cases of superstitious practices which date back to a remote antiquity we have no historical information as to the original theory of the custom. We only know that it continued and that in later days different ideas prevailed. It is probable that the victim was a sacrifice offered to the deity, but we have also reason to assume that it was intended to serve as a guardian spirit who would protect the city from all harm.

In all these barbarous customs we must consider that the idea of killing a man, an infant, a woman, was not so terrible to the savage, for to him man's soul is immortal. He had not the slightest doubt that every being that died or was slain survived, and could at will put on another transfigured body, closely resembling his own. We might call it the dream-body, which was the figure in which he appeared to the survivors in dreams. This was supposed to move about as freely as we ourselves, and visit places at the most remote distances with unheard-of swiftness, and was not bound by the usual laws of gravity, or the rules of time and space. A person, whether infant or adult, that was sacrificed for some religious purpose was not supposed to be slain. He continued to live, and lived a kind of superior life, the life of a demi-god. He was transfigured into a spiritual presence that received divine honors, and so his condition was really envied. We may as well assume that originally the honor of being sacrificed was courted by many people, and the ghastly idea of the honor of such a death was absolutely present. But with the change of man's religious notions the prac-



HUMAN SACRIFICES UNDER THE FOUNDATION STONES OF GEZER.  
(Reproduced from the quarterly statements of the Palestine Exploration  
Fund, 1904, page 17.)

tice became more and more horrible and outrageous. People continued it because they considered it necessary. Their ancestors had done it to give stability to a building, and so the ceremony had to be done whatever might be the cost, and the further man grew away from his primitive barbarous ideas the more the victim shrank from it until finally he was forced to this unnatural death against his will.

Traces of burial alive have been found among all the nations of the earth without any exception, which indicates that the custom is as old as the art of architecture, and so under the most ancient buildings which date back to pre-Christian ages, we find some human skeleton embedded under the foundation stones. It seems that in the progress of civilization these horrible sacrifices were more and more discouraged because people may have felt instinctively that the custom was not right, and so the sacrifices which had been performed in ancient times were deemed to be sufficient even when fortifications were to be rebuilt. An exception was made, however, in case the city had been cursed in the name of the national deity. It was regarded as blasphemy to live in such a cursed city, for the man who dared to stay there disregarded the curse of his God. For instance, one of Job's friends, Eliphaz (Job xv. 28), counts it as one indication of a very reprobate man that he would live in such desolate cities. The curse pronounced on a conquered town which should remain destroyed forever, is recorded in Deut. xiii. 16, where we read: "It shall be an heap forever; it shall not be built again."

When Jericho was destroyed at the special command of God, all its inhabitants were slain, "both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep and ass," with the sole exception of Rahab, who had betrayed the city into the hands of the enemies of her countrymen. And Joshua adjured the people, saying:

"Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it."

Jericho, however, was sure to be rebuilt sooner or later, for, being the key to Palestine, and commanding the entrance into the country from the desert routes, it was too important both for commercial and strategic purposes to be left in ruins; and the man who undertook the work was still superstitious and savage enough to heed Joshua's curse. We read in the first Book of Kings, with reference to the reign of Ahab (Chap. xvi. 34):

"In his days, Hiel the Bethelite built Jericho; he laid the foundation stones thereof in Abiram, his firstborn, and set up the gates



thereof in his youngest son, Segub, according to the word of the Lord which he spake by Joshua, the son of Nun."

It appears that the curse of Joshua on the city of Jericho had reference only to the fortifications of Jericho and not to the town itself, which is an oasis and an important station for caravans. (2 Sam. x. 5). The rebuilding of the city took place under Ahab, who governed from 876 to 853 B. C.

Some archeologists believe that the idea of burying alive is due to the notion that the forces of nature, be they gods, demons, or giants, and later in their stead, the Devil, were supposed to possess the privilege of collecting rent from mankind. The spirit of the soil was supposed to be the landlord, to whom payment was to be made by an offering of human life. Grimm says (*Mythology*, p. 109):

"Frequently it was regarded as necessary to entomb within the foundation of a building living creatures and even men, an act which was regarded as a sacrifice to the soil which had to endure the weight of the structure. By this cruel custom people hoped to attain permanence and stability for great buildings."

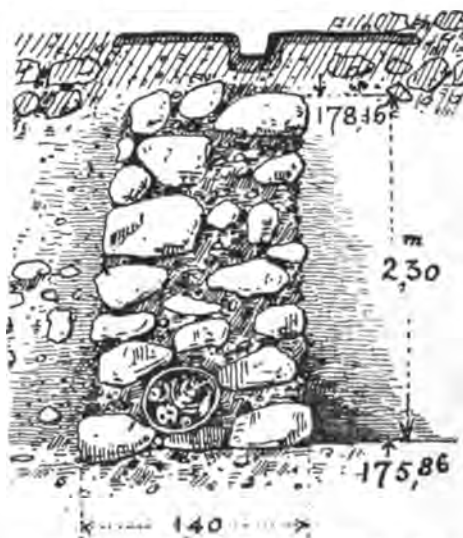
There are innumerable stories which preserve records of this barbaric custom, and there can be no doubt that many of them are historical and that the practice continued until comparatively recent time. We read in Thiele (*Dänische Volkssagen*, I, 3) that the walls of Copenhagen always sank down again and again, although they were constantly rebuilt, until the people took an innocent little girl, placed her on a chair before a table, gave her toys and sweets, and while she merrily played, twelve masons covered the vault and finished the wall, which since that time remained stable.

Scutari is said to have been built in a similar way. A ghost appeared while the fortress was in the process of building, and demanded that the wife of one of the three kings who should bring the food to the masons on the next day should be entombed in the foundation. Being a young mother, she was permitted to nurse her baby, and a hole was left for that purpose which was closed as soon as the child was weaned.

We read in F. Nork's *Sitten und Gebräuche* (*Das Kloster*, Vol. XII) that when in 1813 the ice broke the dam of the river Elbe and the engineers had great trouble in repairing it, an old man addressed the dike-inspector, saying: "You will never repair the dike unless you bury in it an innocent little child," and Grimm adduced even a more modern instance (*Sagen*, p. 1095) which dates from the year 1843. "When the new bridge in Halle was built," Grimm

tells us, "the people talked of a child which should be buried in its foundations."

So long did these superstitions continue after the cruel rite had been abandoned; and they were held, not only in spite of the higher morality which Christianity taught, but even in the name of Christianity. In Tommaseo's *Canti Popolari* an instance is quoted of the voice of an archangel from heaven bidding the builders of a wall entomb the wife of the architect in its foundation. The practice is here regarded as Christian and it is apparent that there are instances in which Christian authorities were sufficiently ignorant to sanction it, for even the erection of churches was supposed to re-

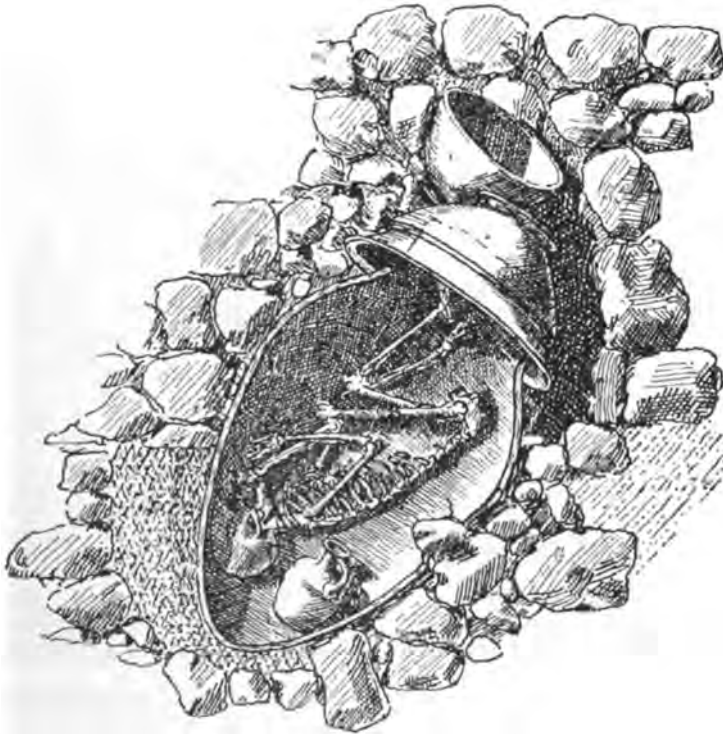


A TYPICAL TOMB IN THE INFANT CEMETERY OF MEGIDDO, PRESUMABLY AN OFFERING OF A FIRSTBORN.

quire the same cruel sacrifice; and there were cases in which, according to the special sanctity of the place, it was deemed necessary to bury a priest, because children and women were not regarded as sufficient. In Günther's *Sagenbuch des deutschen Volkes* (Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.) we read that the Strassburg cathedral required the sacrifice of two human lives, and that two brothers lie buried in its foundations.

The excavations in Palestine have brought to light such sacrifices in the foundation stones of ancient walls, and we here reproduce a drawing after Schumaker in his description of Tell el-Mutesellim. It is the site of the Biblical Megiddo where the fatal battle

with King Nechoh was fought in 609 B. C. in which King Josiah fell. In the foundations of a wall lying 2.30 meters under ground was found above the lowest layer of stones a jar 1.90 meters long and .40 in diameter, which was partly crushed by the second layer of stones. It contains the skeleton of a child and three clay vessels, presumably offerings made to the spirit of the victim, as it was customary even in the Middle Ages whenever persons were buried



HUMAN SACRIFICES BURIED IN THE FOUNDATION STONES OF A WALL OF THE ANCIENT MEGIDDO IN PALESTINE.

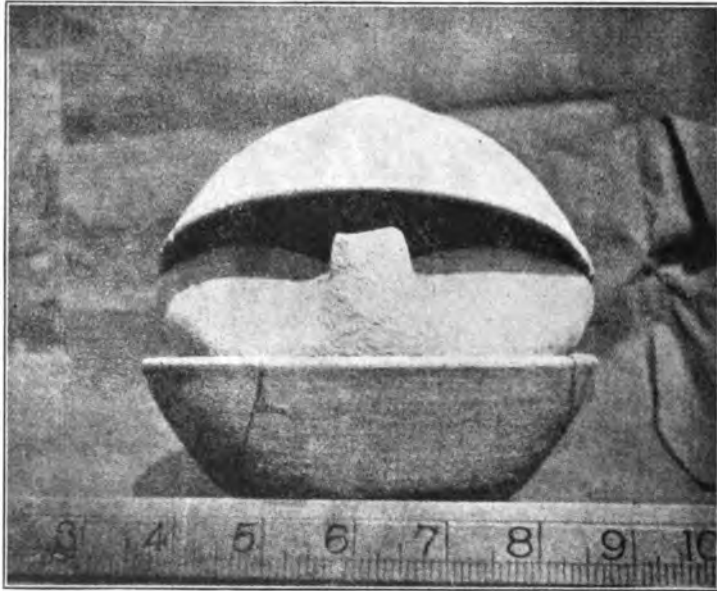
(After Schumaker's *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Vol. I, p. 25.)

alive, to give them rations of water and bread which were placed in their tomb. The top of the wall was covered by a carefully made layer containing a canal to draw off the water lest the foundation stones be washed away. In the same place at Megiddo a whole cemetery of infants has been discovered, and it is not impossible that we have here the horrible instance of the offering of the first-born, which is alluded to in Exod. xxii. 29: "Thou shalt not delay

to offer the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors: the firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give me."

The request of the firstborn as belonging to God is presupposed in Ex. xi. 4 ff., where Yahveh takes the firstborn of the Egyptians, and also in the story of Abraham's sacrifice, where the offering of Isaac, his firstborn, is not completed, but a ram is substituted (Gen. xxii).

In the progress of civilization, the horrible practice of human sacrifices was more and more abandoned, and substitutes were made.



DISH AND LAMP COVERED BY A LID FOUND IN GEZER UNDER THE FOUNDATION STONE OF A HOUSE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR HUMAN SACRIFICES.

(Reproduced from the quarterly statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1903, page 205.)

first with animals and later with symbols. The excavators of the city of Gezer in Palestine have found human figures made of silver which are obviously a substitute for real human beings. They were embedded in the foundation stones in the same place where in more ancient times human skeletons were buried under the walls, in corner stones and under the gates. Not infrequently we find dishes and lamps which are placed in a curious way inside one another,

or side by side. We reproduce here one of these lamps encased in a dish.

Mr. Charles Hallock in his interesting book *Peerless Alaska*, speaks of the sacrifices which have been made even in our days among the Indians in these, our northern possessions. He says:

"Slaves are often killed at 'house-warmings,' one being placed under each of the corner uprights when the frame was raised, the ceremony being sometimes attended with the greatest cruelty. With a house of irregular foundation lines the sacrifice of life was great."

Even in Europe the custom of burying victims in the foundations of important buildings continued long after Christianity had been introduced. Not a few of the most important buildings, especially castles and fortifications, frequently prove to have remnants of unhappy victims under their corner stones. For instance the tradition is pretty well established that the foundations of the Kremlin, the imperial dwelling at Moscow, were laid in human sacrifices. Our frontispiece represents the barbarous act of starting the building of this great castle, and we see how the laborers have taken hold of a beautiful woman who is dragged to her tomb against her will. In the background stands the priest who is to bless the victim and to give her the comfort of the sacraments.

Gustave Freytag in his novel *The Lost Manuscript* mentions the old custom of burying offerings in the foundation stones of new structures (page 162). The hero of the novel, Professor Werner, searches for a lost copy of Tacitus and hopes to find it in the foundation walls, where they were marked by a slab of peculiar form and color. On the removal of this slab he discovers the bones of a dog, which goes far to prove that the building was very old, for it was an evidence that the man who built it still deemed it necessary to have a living being entombed there as a substitute for the ancient human sacrifice of primitive times.

## GOETHE ON AMERICA.

BY THE EDITOR.

GOETHE'S references to America are very few, and among his poems there is only one which indicates that he ever took an interest in the destiny of the new world. The immediate occasion of these lines was a journey of Karl Bernhard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, the second son of the poet's patron and friend, the reigning grand-duke Karl August. This prince, born May 30, 1792, had been dreaming of a visit to the new world since his early boyhood, and at last in his thirty-second year his father gave him permission to cross the Atlantic. In April, 1825, Karl Bernhard left Ghent for the United States, and after a year's stay came back in June 1826. The diaries of the prince's travels were submitted to Goethe who commented on them favorably, and they appeared in print in 1828.\*

The impressions which the prince had received in the new world justified all his most optimistic expectations. The active life, the spirit of enterprise, the boldness in building, the rapid increase of trade and commerce, the regulation of rivers, the expanse of the country with its untold opportunities, and above all the free and manly ways which the inhabitants exhibited in their daily life. Every honest worker felt himself the equal of every one else, and was treated as such; it was a country of universal brotherhood without class distinction. The prince was well received in society and also in military circles, and being a soldier who had fought in several battles (Jena and Wagram, etc.) he was honored with the boom of cannon. So enthusiastic was the prince over his experiences in the new world that he seriously considered the plan of settling there and making it his permanent home, but the old world had after all too great attractions for him, and having returned he took up his abode again in the chateau of his ancestors in Weimar.

Like Goethe the prince was a member of the Masonic lodge

\* Compare on the subject the correspondence of the Grand Duke Karl August with Goethe, Vol. II, page 284; and also Goethe's Correspondence with Zelter, Vol. IV, page 228.

Amalia of Weimar, and on his return the brethren greeted him at a lodge meeting with the recitation of a poem, specially made for the occasion by Goethe and afterwards printed in 1833 in Goethe's Posthumous Works.

Goethe's poem on America was made at the same time and under the influence which the perusal of the Prince's diary made on him. The ideas there expressed are also found in a poem of de Laprade, entitled *Les Démollisseurs*, in which America is characterized as a country unhampered by the past. De Laprade says: "There the people do not drag about the inconvenient burden of superannuated regrets." He speaks of their paths as free from prejudice and declares that "never a tomb, nor an old wall has to be torn down." Goethe further met with the statement that geologists had not discovered basalt rocks in the mountains of the new continent, and this strange error was interwoven into his notion of the nature of the people. Basalt being a rock of volcanic eruption he thought that the element of social upheavals, of the club law, and their historical resemblance was absent. At any rate he deemed the lack of mediæval traditions, the lingering remembrance of the age of robbers, of knights, and haunted castles as especially fortunate, and under these impressions he wrote his poem which we translate as follows:

"America, a better fate  
 Of thee than of Europe's expected.  
 No ruined castles of ancient date  
 Nor basalts in thee are detected.  
 The past won't harass thee; there rages  
 In this, thy busy active life  
 Remembrance not of bygone ages,  
 Nor futile antiquated strife.  
 The present utilize with care,  
 And if thy children write poetry books,  
 May, by good fortune, they beware  
 Of tales of robbers, knights and spooks.

(Translation by P. C.)

This poem appears in Goethe's handwriting as the enclosure of a letter of June 21, 1827, addressed to his musical friend, the composer Zelter, to whom the poet intended to forward it in order to have it set to music. It was first printed in the *Musen-Almanach*, 1831, page 42; and also in Goethe's Correspondence with Zelter, IV, 341.

In Goethe's Collected Works it appears in XXII, entitled "Xenions and Kindred Poems" and bears the title of "The United States."

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### WAS JESUS AN ARYAN?

Prof. Paul Haupt informs us that in the *Neue Revue* for October, 1908, an article appeared by A. Wirth, entitled "War Christus ein Arier?"—the same subject as the article of Professor Haupt in the April *Open Court*. Professor Harnack comments on it in a subsequent number of the same periodical saying, "Had Jesus not been a Jew, his Jewish antagonists would certainly not have ignored the fact. Whether, however, he was an Aryan in the sense that Treitschke, Rietschl, Leibniz, etc., are 'Slavs,' that is, whether there were several drops of Aryan blood in him, is no longer to be determined and in my opinion without interest."

It is a strange coincidence that this same topic has been broached almost simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic. Though Professor Wirth's article appeared before Professor Haupt's, we may state that Professor Haupt has utilized his article several times as a lecture, first in August 1908, and it had been announced for the American Oriental Society, which convened in April 1908.

In our opinion, there can be no question but Jesus was a Galilean by birth. The story of his birth in Bethlehem is conceded by higher critics to be a later invention. The Galileans were fanatical Jews according to their religion, but they were a mixed race, and we will grant to Professor Haupt that Galilee has been peopled by immigrants of Aryan descent. Granting the argument we are, however, not prepared to say that Jesus was an Aryan. First we know that the Aryan immigrants were not pure Aryan but, like the Persians and even more than they, were considerably mixed with Semitic blood, for their ancestors had been living among Semites for centuries; and in addition we know that many Syrian and Phœnicians, and remnants of the aboriginal population were living in Galilee. All we can say is that Jesus was a Galilean, and the Galileans were a people of mixed blood.

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### A SONG OF ACADEMIC LIBERTY.

BY IDA AHLBORN WEEKS.

Arise, who bend o'er song and story,  
Who search for truth in her retreat;  
What profits all your learned glory  
If freedom suffer a defeat?



Arise and listen! Down the ages  
 The shackles on the thinker ring;  
 And what ye read on placid pages  
 Was once condemned by priest and king.

O ye who guard the sacred portals  
 With vigilance of heart and brain,  
 Through which the troop of the immortals  
 Comes ever with their glistering train—  
 O thinker, teacher, seer, bestowing  
 Such guardian service, shall ye be  
 The slaves of tyrants, all unknowing  
 The highest gifts are from the free?

Shall ye not see a Hamlet's passion  
 Portrayed upon the tragic stage?  
 Must truth be right to you in fashion  
 When it is duly stamped with age?  
 Shall ye not dare condemn the writer  
 Who writes from vanity and greed?  
 And dare to be the public smiter  
 Of men who mount by evil deed?

Of old did Galileo mutter  
 As he recanted, "Yet it moves"?—  
 Ye, too, below your breath must utter  
 What blinded custom disapproves.  
 O ye, for truth who groan in travail,  
 Shall ye be driven to obey  
 The barren slaves who basely cavil  
 At life and life's imperious way?

For you no sword that cleaves asunder,  
 And not for you the piercing ball;  
 But Eloquence has still her thunder,—  
 The people are the open hall.  
 The law that underlies our nation  
 Is still to tyranny a foe;  
 And to your help comes all creation  
 When once ye are in freedom's throe.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

SPINOZA'S SHORT TREATISE ON GOD, MAN AND HUMAN WELFARE. Translated from the Dutch by *Lydia Gillingham Robinson*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1909. Pp. 178. Price, Cloth \$1.25 net.

The "*Short Treatise*" as it is commonly called, is the key to Spinoza's masterpiece, *The Ethics*, and provides an admirable introduction to the study of his philosophy. Like all sketches, it gives the point of view from which the greater work developed and prepares in a simple and informal manner

for an understanding of the method and terms employed in the more important themes, worked out by Spinoza in a somewhat ponderous mathematical style in his greatest work, *The Ethics*, published after his early death, as a legacy to the world.

The *Short Treatise* bears much the same relation to *The Ethics*, that Kant's *Prolegomena* does to his *Critique of Pure Reason*, and in like manner its importance has long been overlooked. The present translation is the first English version of the *Short Treatise*, although one French and two German translations have been made from the published Dutch version. The Latin original has entirely disappeared from view, but authentic Dutch manuscripts were discovered in the latter half of the 19th century and published. It is from the Van Vloten and Land edition of the Dutch manuscripts that the present translation has been made, with frequent reference to the German of Professor C. Schaarschmidt.

The translator says in her preface to the work, that no attempt has been made to produce a clearer or more readable English by any improvement in the loose and often indefinite style of the original, it being preferred to let Spinoza's words speak for themselves. This allows the reader to make his own interpretation, which is always a satisfaction, even though it may not always be "an adequate idea."

It is almost three hundred years since Spinoza was driven from the Synagogue with a frightful curse, because his commanding intellect compelled him to renounce a creed which had become impossible to him. His imperious desire was for a religion free from dogmatism and superstition yet satisfying the heart with an ever-present God.

Disowned by his family, repudiated by Jews and Christians alike, "the heretic Jew of the Hague" lived a solitary life, described by his first biographer, as a lonely figure absorbed in scientific pursuits, yet not indisposed to kindly talk with his humbler neighbors. He had among his correspondents, some of the greatest scholars of his day, who admired and even revered him, and as stated in the preface to the Dutch manuscripts, it was for these friends that *The Short Treatise* was originally written, "for the benefit of those of his disciples who wished to apply themselves to the practice of ethics and true philosophy."

Apart from his importance as a philosopher, Spinoza holds a distinctly human interest for the general reader who always demands a satisfying answer to the practical question, "What did Spinoza's philosophy do for himself?" "Did it help him to live, to be happy, to be useful?" then, "What has it done for the world?" and finally, "What will it do for me?" It is in the answers to these questions that any philosophy, religion or ethics must stand or fall.

As has been justly said by one of our greatest living philosophers, "true philosophy is not for the learned exclusively; philosophy is for the people and from the people." Spinoza's philosophy was no barren system, no wordy architecture beginning with nothing and ending nowhere. His own heroic life attested to the value of his religion. He taught his students to take the universe as it was and not to spend mental energy in prying into supposed secrets of origin. He rejected the theory that there was a creator apart from creation. There was no creation out of nothing nor any omen of decay in the eternal order. It was his infinite longing to see all men blessed with the in-

ward peace which comes with understanding the simplicity of our relation to God.

Already there are signs that the world is coming into an adequate understanding of his luminous idea of God as the All-Being. In fact, monism is the logical outcome of his theory and it holds the field to-day. Though the evolution of human understanding is slow, it appears safe to predict the triumph of that world-theory.—C. E. C.

STUDIES IN MYSTICAL RELIGION. By *Rufus M. Jones*. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. xxxviii, 518. Price, \$3.50 net.

It is quite fitting that we should look for a history of mysticism from one of the educational centers of that group of people who are to-day its legitimate heirs by lineal descent and kinship of thought. The author of this book is a member of the faculty of Haverford College, an institution founded and still operating under the direction of the Society of Friends, better known to the world at large as Quakers.

This sect even when ridiculed for its adherence to unpopular customs, has always held the respect of the community at large because of the high standard of ethics inculcated by its teachings and exemplified in the lives of its members. Its educational institutions have kept abreast of the times and depart from the customs of conventional schools of similar scope only in those particulars which are thought to be a menace to the upbuilding of character. It is probably true that as a sect the Quakers are dying out, but in this instance, extinction of their individuality as a sect will by no means indicate that their influence has not been vastly felt. On the contrary, it is because the most important of the ideals, social, ethical and religious, for which Quakerism stood unflinchingly when the world scoffed, are now realized and one by one have come to be adopted by society as a whole, that it may consider that it has practically served its mission to the world. Almost the only dividing line that remains is that of temperament, and this will probably cease to be sufficient cause for a dividing line in the not distant future through the natural course of evolution. It is now possible for the membership of the Friends to endeavor to live by the "Light within," and act according to the dictates of the "Spirit" in affiliation with other religious bodies; this fact makes it no longer necessary to establish any considerable propaganda since their aspirations do not, as formerly, differ from those common to many fellowships.

While maintaining a rigid attitude on matters of principle the customs which set them conspicuously apart from their fellows are disappearing. Even the older generation cling to the distinctive garb only as a traditional matter of habit and preference and the younger ones have long since ceased to be bound by it, having come to realize (slowly it is true) that the world's march of progress has made it unnecessary to proclaim disapproval of foolishly extravagant dress by such methods. That there is still a younger generation is due rather to an affection for the traditions of their sect than any feeling of criticism of or aloofness from the opinions and customs of other people.

It is most natural that students among the Friends should be vitally interested in the course of the history of mystical thought as no one should

be better fitted to give such an account appreciatively. Professor Jones considers this only an introductory work of a series and promises to treat in future volumes the later development of mysticism, also reserving Jacob Boehme for a special volume. We hope opportunity will also be found for inserting Angelus Silesius who is by no means the least interesting of the German mystics. The author defines mysticism as "the type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God, on direct and intimate consciousness of the Divine Presence. It is religion in its most acute, intense, and living stage."

Though recognizing that religion of this mystical type is not confined to Christianity, he does not discuss it in any other manifestation except so far as its roots lie in classical literature. He treats of the mystical element in primitive Christianity and the Church Fathers and gives a special chapter each, among others, to Dionysius the Areopagite, Duns Scotus, the Waldenses, St. Francis, Eckhart, the Friends of God, the Family of Love, the Seekers and the Ranters.

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THE COMMON-SENSE BIBLE TEACHER. A Medium for Conducting a Bible Class on Evolutionary Principles. St. Paul: C. L. Abbott. \$2.50 per year. Single copy, 25 cents.

This periodical follows a very laudable purpose, and in its first issues bids fair to perform a valuable service in the line of reforming the methods of Bible study. Each number presents a book of the New Testament translated colloquially in total disregard of the traditional renderings and formal phrases, as any other book of informal narrative might be translated, bringing out the wit and humor of the original as never before attempted. The aim of the translation is to make the same impression on the reader of to-day as was made by the original on its first readers. While bearing out these characteristics it endeavors to incorporate many of the points which higher criticism has elucidated and begins by arranging the books in their chronological order, starting with Galatians. In his effort to make the natural and informal impression on modern readers which he feels the original made when first written, the translator has recourse to colloquialisms and even slang to a perhaps questionable degree. If the work were intended to have a lasting educational effect and not an ephemeral one, it might have been advisable to have retained a more classical English in places. It would also seem as if nothing were gained by such radical changes as to give Jesus the name Joshua because the Aramaic term is identical with the name of Moses's successor. Still this is consistent with the translator's policy throughout which is not only to hesitate to vary from the familiar expressions where occasion requires, but even to give the unusual effect wherever possible in preference. Each book in the new rendering is preceded by historical notes showing its proper relation to other books and to events. These notes are carefully gleaned from the most reliable of critical sources. In the lesson about the epistles to the Thessalonians which forms the second number of the periodical, an incident of Acts is thus related in the evolutionary version:

"As we were going to the praying place there chanced to meet us a slave girl who made much money for her owners by telling fortunes, for she had a Pythian spirit within her. She kept following behind Paul and the rest of

us and yelling: 'These men are slaves of the Supreme God and are telling you how to be saved.' She continued to do this for a number of days until Paul, becoming tired of it, turned around and said to the spirit: 'I command you in the name of Joshua the Anointed One to come out of her!' And it came out immediately."

Then follows the rationalistic explanation of this familiar miracle:

"The explanation of the miracle is simple. The girl was a ventriloquist. She had learned what Paul claimed to be, 'a servant of the Supreme God, telling men how to be saved,' and she accordingly follows him, repeating these words in her ventriloquist tones, supposed to be the voice of a spirit, expecting by this apparently supernatural indorsement of his mission to obtain money for her masters. Rebuked, she subsided, and all but the girl herself supposed that the spirit had left her. She may have resumed the practice of her art after the departure of the missionaries; but if not, it was because she chose not to do so."

We cannot but regret the sensational manner in which this valuable undertaking is put before the public, notably in its advertisements on the inside front cover. It is in spite of this feature and not because of it that it appeals to thoughtful readers.

THE GOSPEL IN THE GOSPELS. By *William Porcher Du Bose*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908. Pp. 289. Price, \$1.50 net.

The title of the present volume, as declared in the preface, is intended to indicate that, while it aims to be an exposition of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ, it does not purpose to be a whole or final exposition of that Gospel. It looks forward definitely to a further and fuller expression of it. We have here to do with the Gospel, not in its developed utterance as that of the New Testament or of the Church, but only so far as it is contained in our canonical Gospels or can by ourselves be deduced from them. The author's own position is that, while the Gospel as an act or fact is complete in Jesus Christ Himself, the rationale of its operation in human salvation is best interpreted and stated by St. Paul. His true objective point has therefore been the completer construction of the Gospel according to St. Paul, to be treated in a volume to follow the present one. The Gospel of the Earthly Life or The Common Humanity; the Gospel of the Work or The Resurrection, and The Gospel of the Person or the Incarnation, are each treated in turn.

BUSHIDO THE SOUL OF JAPAN. By *Inazo Nitobé*. Tokyo: Teibi Publishing Company, 1908. Pp. 177.

This is the fifteenth edition of *Bushido*. The term *bushido* consists of three words which literally translated are as follows: *bu* = military, *shi* = knight, and *do* (corresponding to the Chinese *tao*) = way. The best translation, accordingly, would be "chivalry." It is the term of the code of honor of feudal Japan, and denotes the moral ideals of the Japanese warrior and gentleman. It is the spirit that animated the Japanese army and contributed so much to Japanese victories. The author, Dr. Nitobé, has written the book to explain this kind of religion, its foundations as well as its tenets, to those foreigners who are not familiar with Japanese traditions. The book has been

a great success, and it stands to reason that even the fifteenth edition which we have now before us, will not be the last one.

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REFLETS D'HISTOIRE. Par *Paul Gaultier*. Paris: Hachette, 1909. 16 plates. Pp. 283. Price, 3 fr. 50.

In his preface M. Gaultier maintains that aside from the pleasure it affords us, art is an enchanted mirror which throws back like so many reflections the various aspects of departed ages, preserving not only the image but also some part of that which was their life. Thus the object of the book is to study in many phases the relations between art and history. After an introductory chapter on "Art and History," he proceeds to follow the development and changes in the Louvre and palace of Versailles, illustrating from historical sources the different stages they have passed through; and then he treats particularly of the nature-feeling in the fine arts, the art of stage scenery, and the goldsmith's art in its relation to wealth.

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BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN GOSPELS. Now First Compared from the Originals. By *Albert J. Edmunds, M. A.* Edited by *Prof. M. Anesaki, Ph. D.* 4th Edition. Volume I. Philadelphia: Innes & Sons, 1908. Pp. 323. Complete in two volumes. Price, \$4.00 net.

Albert J. Edmunds is a scholar of very retired habits. He is little known among Orientalists because in his sequestered home he may be said to lead a hermit's life. By birth an Englishman, and in his religious affiliations a Friend, he came to the United States in his youth and devoted almost all his energies to the study of religion. He had been a Pali scholar in Europe and a disciple of James Rendel Harris, one of the greatest scholars who has come from the same denomination. Mr. Edmunds, however, is not only a thorough Pali scholar. He is also well versed in the Greek New Testament. He is one of the few men who know all the important passages of the sacred texts of both Buddhists and Christians by heart in the original, and so it is natural that he has devoted much thought to their similarities. A slight tendency to mysticism brings him in touch with the notions of the Psychical Research Society, and this disposition of his mind has been strengthened by supernatural experiences of his own. All in all he is not a man of the common type but original in every respect, and original certainly not in a bad sense. His learnedness is extraordinary, and though his book has been severely criticized for being too prone to find far-fetched similarities, we see in the present volume a work of unusual merit. He is predestined for this work by his traditions and the peculiar cast of his mind, and if it may be granted that former critics of his work are to some extent justified, we can not help thinking that they have frequently misunderstood his meaning, and have only become acquainted with what appears on the surface. Mr. Edmunds has done his work not only with his intellect but also with his heart and this gives him a deep insight into the connections and parallels of the two religions, the results of his labors being justified by a knowledge of the root from which both Christianity and Buddhism have sprung. At any rate, we do not hesitate to say that the book is indispensable for any one who makes a study of comparative religion. It lies before us in its fourth edition, but the fourth edition is practically a new work. This present edition, as well as the third, has been

edited by Masaharu Anesaki, a Japanese scholar, who is professor of the science of religion at the Imperial University of Tokyo. The third edition contains the Chinese Text of the parallels referred to by Mr. Edmunds, which was supplied by Mr. Anesaki, but since the English text was also set and printed in Japan, it was so full of misprints that a new edition had become necessary for Western readers, and the first volume of this is the book now before us. The third edition has by no means become redundant for any one who wants to be in possession of the complete material. The price of this parchment bound edition is \$1.50, which makes it easily accessible; and it will be found desirable for students to keep it side by side with the new and enlarged fourth edition, which, though sufficient for popular reading, does not contain the notes on Chinese texts for which the third edition is particularly valuable. There are several interesting new points to which Mr. Edmunds calls attention, but it would lead us too far to enumerate them all. We wish only to call attention to one highly interesting fact, which is that Mr. Edmunds proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that Buddhist scriptures have been referred to in the New Testament, simply under the name of "scripture." John vii, 38 and xii. 34 quote some passages as scriptures neither of which are found in the Old Testament, while Buddhist scriptures contain literally the same sentences. Mr. Edmunds does not claim that they were quoted direct from Buddhist literature. They may have found their way into the New Testament indirectly by having been incorporated into some apocryphal writings, but it is very unlikely that they did not ultimately come from India.

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The Board of Public Education of Philadelphia is most fortunate in possessing a valuable pedagogical library. It was founded in 1883 when it seemed expedient that the board should possess and maintain a collection of books representative of the standard literature in pedagogy and closely allied subjects as well as the newest and best editions of the more important reference books. This library was to be for the use of the members of the Board of Public Education and the teachers of the high and elementary public schools of the city. Although limited in size, the library soon became known as a model pedagogical library, and its literature has been selected with the greatest care from the beginning. The dominant idea in its growth has been the value of the book to the educator and not the increase in the size of the library. In every city school system it is of the utmost importance that the public school teachers should have free access to a pedagogical library. They should understand that good teaching is conditioned by the professional spirit of the teacher and that this professional spirit is stimulated by the establishment and maintenance of a working library of professional literature, in which the progressive teacher should find the best literature upon current educational topics. The Philadelphia Board of Public Education is to be congratulated on the high grade of public spirit it has shown in the maintenance of such a library. Its attitude is well summed up by Mr. Brumbaugh, the superintendent of public schools, when he says, "An agency which tends to improve and aid the teacher body of the city as does the Pedagogical Library is worthy of the continued sympathy and financial support of the Board of Public Education." This remark is the conclusion of Mr. Brumbaugh's preface to a printed catalogue of the Pedagogical Library, which has just been compiled

by its librarian in order to increase the efficiency of the library. Every care has been taken to have the catalogue as helpful as possible, and it includes analytical entries for the more important collections. The size of this carefully selected model library may be imperfectly judged by the fact that the catalogue consists of 525 double-columned octavo pages.

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A new Buddhist periodical appears under the name *The Buddhist Review*, and the copy before us is No. 3 of the first volume. It is very interesting and will be appreciated even outside of circles especially interested in Buddhism. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids opens the book with an article on "Psalms of the First Buddhists," the first instalment of which is "Psalms of the Sisters," quoting largely from translations of ancient Buddhist hymns. Mr. D. C. Parker calls attention to the Buddhist tendency in Wagner. Mr. Albert J. Edmunds replies to critics of his book *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*; Prof. Rhys Davids makes a pithy statement concerning the Buddhist Nirvana conception as not being annihilation. There are several other interesting articles of which we will only mention the editor's strictures on the *Children's Encyclopedia*, a British publication, which in speaking of Buddhism, contains a mere caricature of it, against which he deems it necessary to protest.

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Prof. Charles R. Lanman has published in the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Volume XLIV, No. 24, June 1909, an article on the "Pali Book Titles and Their Brief Designations," which comprises not only those Pali books which have been published, but also all the manuscripts so far as they are known. It is a useful compendium for Pali scholars, and all those who make a special study of Buddhism.

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A. Christina Albers has published a small collection of some of her poems in a simple and attractive form, under the title "Stray Thoughts in Rhyme." These verses betray the mystical tendencies of the writer and her attachment to and affection for India and its people. Some of the titles are Life, Impermanency, Reincarnation, The Daughter of India, India's Children, A Hindu Home, Siddartha's Farewell, Sacrifice.

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The translation of Goethe's poem "Effects at a Distance" which appeared in the March number of *The Open Court*, page 175, was made by, and should have been credited to, Commander U. S. N. William Gibson. With some editorial changes it has been republished from his *Poems of Goethe*, published by Henry Holt & Company, 1886.







THE INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF OMAR, THE TRADITIONAL SITE OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.  
*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## THE COMMUNION CEREMONY.

BY JAMES B. SMILEY.

PRIMITIVE man had many misconceptions. He did not distinguish between the attributes of an object and the object itself, and he entertained the idea that by obtaining and eating an object the powers and attributes which it possessed could be acquired. Thus we are told that the New Zealander "swallows his dead enemies' eyes that he may see the further,"<sup>1</sup> and that the Bulloms, of Africa, "hold that by possessing part of a successful person's body, gives them a portion of his good fortune."<sup>2</sup> So, also, "the Namaquas [of Africa] abstain from eating the flesh of hares because they think it would make them as faint-hearted as a hare. But they eat the flesh of the lion, or drink the blood of the leopard to get the courage and strength of these animals."<sup>3</sup>

This belief has been a clearly marked feature of much of the cannibalism of the world. Thus it is said that "among the Kimbunda of Western Africa, when a new king succeeds to the throne, a brave prisoner of war is killed in order that the king and nobles may eat his flesh, and so acquire his strength and courage."<sup>4</sup> Of the North American Indians Parkman in his history of the *Jesuits in Canada* says of men they killed: "If the victim had shown courage, the heart was first roasted, cut into small pieces, and given to the young men and boys, who devoured it to increase their courage. The body was then divided, thrown into kettles, and eaten by the assembly, the head being the portion of the chief."<sup>5</sup> When the heroic

<sup>1</sup> Spencer, *Sociology*, vol. i, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii, 354.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 360.—For a large number of similar cases see *Golden Bough*, ii, 353-361. It is needless to give more here.

<sup>5</sup> Parkman, *Jesuits in Canada*, xxxix.

Jesuit, Brébeuf, was tortured by the Iroquois Indians, Parkman says that they "laid open his breast and came in a crowd to drink the blood of so valiant an enemy, thinking to imbibe with it some portion of his courage. A chief then tore out his heart and devoured it."<sup>6</sup> Here the savages eat the flesh and drink the blood of a victim in order to acquire his powers.

To further illustrate this point, and show how widespread this belief has been in the world, the following additional examples are given. "During the Taiping Chinese war an English merchant at Shanghai met his servant bringing home the liver of one of the rebels to eat it. . . .to give himself courage."<sup>7</sup>

The belief behind Australian eating of dead relatives is to save their strength, acquire their wisdom, etc. Small quantities of an enemy are eaten before burial because "they think it will impart strength to them."<sup>8</sup> When a condemned man is killed the blood is washed from the weapon used, and it is believed to give those who drink it "double strength, courage and great nerve for any future occasion."<sup>9</sup> Fat and soft parts are eaten because "they are believed to be the residence of the soul."<sup>10</sup> Amongst the Luritcha tribe, in Australia, young children are killed and fed to an older but weakly child, "who is supposed thereby to gain the strength of the killed one."<sup>11</sup> Among some groups of the Arunta after a youth is circumcised the foreskin is eaten by a younger brother, "the idea at the present day being that it will strengthen him to grow tall and strong."<sup>12</sup> The Jumanas, of South America, believe that the soul resides in the bones. These they burn, grind to powder, mix with an intoxicating liquor, and drink, "that the dead may live again in them."<sup>13</sup> The Chavantes, on the Uruguay, eat their dead children to get back their *souls*.<sup>14</sup> By drinking of the powder made of the residuum of the stewed remains of the dead the Tarianas and Tucanos believe the virtues of the deceased are transmitted to them.<sup>15</sup>

Among the Dieyerie females eat of their relatives "for by so doing they are supposed to have a presence of their departed in

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

<sup>7</sup> Letourneau, *Sociology*, 215.

<sup>8</sup> S. Gason in *Journ. Anthro. Instit. of Great Brit.* xxiv, pp. 172, 173.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Smyth, *Victoria*, I, 245.

<sup>11</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Cent. Australia*, 52, 475.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>13</sup> Martins, *Ethnographie Brasiensiens*, 485.

<sup>14</sup> Andrée, *Anthropophagie*, 50.

<sup>15</sup> A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, 346.

their liver."<sup>16</sup> Some Tatars, when the father is dead "burn the body and collect the ashes, which they keep as something precious. And every day when they eat they sprinkle their food with this powder." In ancient times the Tibetans ate their parents out of piety, "in order to give them no other sepulchre than their own bodies," but the custom ceased before 1250 A. D.<sup>17</sup> In Russia the belief that by eating parts of a body virtue could be acquired, seems to have prevailed in early times. It was an ancient belief in Europe, which has survived to modern times, that the one who eats the heart of an unborn babe of the male sex can become imbued with his valor.<sup>18</sup>

Like many other customs found among savages in recent times, eating the dead to acquire their powers is a very ancient observance. In the pyramid of King Unas, who lived in Egypt about B. C. 3300, "funeral chapters are inscribed on the walls of the chambers and passages" which represent him as rising "as a soul in the form of the god who liveth upon his fathers and maketh food of his mothers." The soul of the dead king is represented as hunting "the gods in their meadows," and when caught he kills, cooks and eats them. Having devoured them it is said that "his strength is greater than that of any spiritual body (*sāhu*) in the horizon," and it adds that "he hath eaten the wisdom of every god, and . . . the souls and the spirits of the gods are in him." Although this inscription was written on the walls of the pyramid B. C. 3300 it referred to a custom which was then very ancient, as it belonged to "the pre-historic Egyptian, in his savage or semi-savage state."<sup>19</sup> Here King Unas is represented as continuing in the spirit world a custom prevalent on earth, and killing and eating the gods to acquire their wisdom.

After the discovery of America by Columbus a ceremony was found among the Mexicans which probably grew out of the widespread belief above outlined, which we have seen existed in the world for thousands of years. It was thus described by Acosta, a Spanish author who visited America 1571 to 1586: "They took a captive, such as they thought good, and afore they sacrificed him unto their idol they gave him the name of the idol to whom he should be sacrificed, and appareled him with the same ornaments like their idol, saying that he did represent the same idol. And during the time that this representation lasted, which was for a

<sup>16</sup> *Journ. of the Anthr. Inst. of Great Brit.*, XVII, 186.

<sup>17</sup> Rubruck, *Journ. to the Eastern Parts*, 81, 151. Pub. of Hakluyt Society.

<sup>18</sup> *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, vol. 54, pp. 216, 218, 219. See also the article by Prof. W. M. F. Petric, "Eaten With Honor," in *Contemp. Review*, for June, 1897.

<sup>19</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, 171, 172.

year in some fetes, in others six months, and in others less, they revered and worshiped him in the same manner as the proper idol, and in the meantime he did eat, drink and was merry. When he went through the streets the people came forth to worship him, and every one brought him alms, with children and sick people that he might cure them, and bless them, suffering him to do all things at his pleasure, only he was accompanied by ten or twelve men lest he should flee. And he (to the end that he might be revered as he passed) sometimes sounded upon a small flute that the people might prepare to worship him." At the proper time he was sacrificed upon an altar, being stabbed by "the sovereigne priest," who used "a great knife" made of a "large and sharp flint." His heart was cut out and first offered to the sun and then presented to the idol, and his body was eaten by the people who thus made "a solemn sacrifice of him."<sup>20</sup>

Acosta also says that "the neighboring nations did the like, imitating the Mexicans in the customs and ceremonies of the services of their gods."<sup>21</sup>

As is well known, in early times spirits (gods) were believed to enter men so that they became god-possessed. In the Mexican ceremony a spirit was doubtless believed to enter the man selected for sacrifice and he became a god-man, and the people worshiped him and besought him to bless and cure their friends and children. Then he was killed and eaten, and so the people ate the god-man to acquire his powers. Many examples might be given.

"In the Pelew Islands it is thought that every god can take possession of a man and speak through him."<sup>22</sup> "Of the South Sea Islands in general we are told that each island had a man who represented or personified the deity. Such men were called *gods*, and their substance *was confounded with that of the deity*."<sup>23</sup>

A process of substitution has been common by which animals and images were substituted for human victims in religious ceremonies. Hence we find that other festivals were observed in Mexico in which an image took the place of the human victim. Such a ceremony took place during the winter solstice (December). The priests prepared a human image made of "various seeds kneaded with the blood of sacrificed children. Numerous religious purifyings and penances, washing with water, blood lettings, fasts, pro-

<sup>20</sup> Acosta, *Hak. Soc. Edi.*, 323, 348 to 351. The spelling is here modernized

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 349.

<sup>22</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 141.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

cessions, burnings of incense, sacrifices of quails and human beings, inaugurated the festival. One of Quetzalcoatl's priests then shot an arrow at this image of Huitzilpochtli, which penetrated the god (image) who was now considered as dead. His heart was cut out, as with human victims, and eaten by the king, the representative of God on earth. The body, however, was divided among the various quarters of the city, so that every man secured a piece. This was called *teoqualo*, 'the god who is eaten.'<sup>24</sup>

It was the general belief in primitive times that a spirit, or god, took up his residence in an image or idol, and it was this indwelling spirit, *not* the image of wood or other substance, that the people worshiped. In the above case the people clearly believed that their god (a spirit) entered the image, and it was this spirit which they ate, for they said they *ate the god*.

Acosta describes another ceremony which took place in the month of May. A paste was made out of "the seede of beetes with rosted mays" and honey, and of this paste an idol was made "in the bignesse like to that of wood." This idol was carried to the temple and after certain ceremonies virgins came out of their convent and had pieces of the same paste made into "the fashion of great bones. . . . They called these morcells of paste the flesh and bones of Vitziliputzli." After the ceremonies were over the priests broke the idol of paste into pieces and "gave them to the people in manner of the communion, beginning with the greater and continuing unto the least, both men, women and little children, who received it with such tears, fears and reverence as it was an admirable thing, saying they did eat the *flesh and bones of God*, wherewith they were greved. Such as had any sick folkes demanded therof for them, and carried it with great reverence and veneration."<sup>25</sup>

A somewhat similar ceremony was found in China. An image of straw was made, which the people said was an image of Confucius. Over this wine was poured (the substitute for blood) and then "all present drink of it and taste the sacrificial victim in order to participate in the grace of Confucius."<sup>26</sup>

The following are a few other instances of this process of substitution, which has been world-wide. Sahagon, a Spanish Franciscan who went to Mexico in 1529 and lived there sixty years (1529-1590) and who completed his history about 1569, says that

<sup>24</sup> Bancroft, *Native Races*, iii, 315, and 323. Also, *Monarchia Indiana*, vol. 2, lib. 6, cap. 30, p. 71; *Diego Duran*, iii, 107. *Annual Rep. Bur. Eth.* Wash., vol. 9, p. 524.

<sup>25</sup> Acosta, *Hak. Soc. Edí.*, 356-361.

<sup>26</sup> Jevons, *Intro. to the Hist. of Relig.*, 148. Bastian, *Der Mensch*, iii, 154.

images of dough in human form were made of the Tlalocs, or mountain gods, and of Omacatl, the god of banquets, and consumed sacramentally.<sup>27</sup> Ibn Kataiba states that the Banu Hanifa (of India) made an image of their god out of a paste of dates, butter, milk and meal, and ate it sacramentally.<sup>28</sup>

In ancient Egypt, at the City of the Sun, three men were sacrificed on the altar every day, but by order of King Amasis waxen images were substituted for the human victims.<sup>29</sup> "The favorite victims (for sacrifice) of the Saracens were young and beautiful captives, but if these were not to be had they contented themselves with a white and faultless camel."<sup>30</sup> Herodotus says that the Egyptians sacrificed pigs to the moon, and "the poor among them, through want of means, form pigs of dough, and, having baked them, offer them in sacrifice."<sup>31</sup> When Mithridates besieged Cyzicus, and the people could not get a black cow to sacrifice to Persephone, they made a dough cow and placed it at the altar. At the Athenian festival of the Diasia, cakes shaped like animals were similarly sacrificed.<sup>32</sup> In Rome at the feast of Compitalia, woolen images dedicated to the Latin Cybele were hung out, and were said to be substitutes for human victims.

In Wermland, in Sweden, a ceremony was found in which the farmer's wife used the last grain of the sheaf to bake a loaf in the shape of a little girl. This was divided among the household and eaten by them.<sup>33</sup> At La Palisse, in France, an image of a man, made of dough, was hung on a fir tree which was carried to the granary on the last harvest wagon. It was then taken to the mayor's house until the vintage was over, when the dough-man was broken in pieces and given to the people to eat.<sup>34</sup> (Evidently in an earlier ceremony a human victim was sacrificed, and here it is modified to a dough image.)

"In the Balkan Peninsula an edible image of the dead was carried in the funeral procession. When the body was buried the mourners ate this image above the grave, saying 'God rest him.'" "In Upper Bavaria when a man died and had been laid out, a cake

<sup>27</sup> Sahagon, i, 15, 21 and ii, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Bastian, *Der Mensch*, iii, 157. Jevons, *Intro. Hist. of Relig.*, 216.

<sup>29</sup> Porphyry, *De abstinence*, ii, 55.

<sup>30</sup> W. R. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, 343.

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus, ii, 47.

<sup>32</sup> Thuc. i, 126. See also Hermann, *Alterthümer*, ii, 159-161 for other examples.

<sup>33</sup> Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, 179.

<sup>34</sup> Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 205. Jevons, *Intro. Hist. of Relig.*, 215.



was made of ordinary flour. The corpse was placed before the fire, and this cake, called the corpse cake, was placed upon the breast to rise. The dough, in rising, was believed to absorb all the virtues of the deceased, and the cake was afterwards eaten by his nearest relatives."<sup>35</sup> Here, in place of eating the relative, which we have seen was an early custom, dough is substituted—an evident modification of an earlier rite. The Peruvians made corn cakes, mixed with the blood of victims, which were distributed to be eaten as a mark of alliance with the Inca.<sup>36</sup>

About 700 A. D. John of Osun, Patriarch of Armenia, wrote against the sect of the Paulicians, claiming that "they mix wheaten flour with the blood of infants and therewith celebrate their communion."<sup>37</sup> And it is said that certain African tribes believe that "on eating and drinking consecrated food they eat and drink the god himself."<sup>38</sup> Cicero said, "When we call corn Ceres and wine Bacchus we use a common figure of speech; but do you imagine that anybody is so insane as to believe that the thing he feeds on is a god?" Here Cicero expresses a rationalistic spirit, and rejects an early belief, current among the people.

Among the Tibetans a ceremony was found which was performed during the last three days of the year, and which they called "the ceremony of the sacrificial body of the dead year." It is evidently a survival of a prehistoric ceremony in which a human being was eaten. "The effigy of a man made out of dough, as lifelike as possible, and having inside a distinct heart and all the entrails filled with a red fluid" (representing blood) is prepared and placed in the center of the yard. Skeleton ghosts appear and seek to attack the effigy, but they are driven away by magic incantations etc. The second day a strange figure appears dressed up to represent "the main deity of the ancient Tibetans." To him the dough image is surrendered. "He dances round the figure of the man (made of dough) on the ground, stabs him, binds his feet in a snare, and at last cuts off his limbs, slits open his breast, takes out his bleeding heart, lungs and other intestines. At this moment a horde of monsters falls upon the remnants of the dismembered dough-man, and scatters them in all directions. The pieces are collected again in a silver basin and the Holy King of Religion, eating a morsel, throws

<sup>35</sup> *Pop. Sci. Monthly*, vol. 48, p. 411.

<sup>36</sup> *Ann. Rep. Bur. of Eth., Wash.*, vol. 9, p. 527. Herrera, dec. 5, lib. 4, cap. 5, p. 92.

<sup>37</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, i, 77.

<sup>38</sup> Spencer, *Sociology*, i, 275.

them up in the air. This is the signal for the *finale*: the pieces are caught and fought for by the demons, and at last the crowd of spectators joins the general scramble for pieces of dough, representing human flesh, which they either eat or treasure up as talismans."<sup>39</sup>

In ancient times the belief was common that trees and plants, as well as men and animals, were inhabited by spirits. Thus they were animate and sensitive. It is said that "old peasants in some parts of Austria still believe that forest trees are animate and will not allow an incision to be made in the bark without cause; they have heard from their fathers that the tree feels the cut not less than a wounded man when he is hurt. In felling a tree they beg its pardon." Similarly some savages beg the pardon of an animal when they kill it, in order to appease its offended spirit.<sup>40</sup> The Ojebways very seldom cut down green or living trees, "from the idea that it puts them in pain, and some of their medicine men profess to have heard the wailing of the trees under the axe." Believing in this way regarding the life of trees and plants, savages have thought the red juice which flowed from some plants when cut was their blood. Thus we are told that "some Indians dare not cut a certain plant, because there comes out a red juice which they take for the blood of the plant. In Samoa there was a grove of trees which no one dared hew down. Once some strangers tried to do so, but blood (red juice) flowed from the tree, and the sacrilegious stranger fell ill and died."<sup>41</sup> Thus in sacrificial ceremonies the red juice of the grape, "the blood of the vine," would be used as well as the blood of animals and men. As animal and human sacrifice declined, the red juice of the grape (blood of the vine) would be commonly used as a substitute for the blood of the latter.

By a still further modification of this sacrificial ceremony the large human image of dough or meal would decline to a small cake or wafer. As the fetich worshiper believed that any spirit could reside in any object, "however small or insignificant," and relic worship was based on the belief that the spirit of a man would be present in even small "preserved parts of his body,"<sup>42</sup> so a small cake or wafer might possess all the attributes of the large image. And in all these ceremonies each person ate only small fragments of the sacrificed man or dough idol. A ceremony

<sup>39</sup> *The Open Court*, vol. XI, pp. 496-498.

<sup>40</sup> Tyler, *Prim. Culture*, i, 467, 468; ii, 231, 235.

<sup>41</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i, 172, 173. Other examples are also given there, which see.

<sup>42</sup> Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 62, 75; Spencer, *Sociology*, i, 301.

was found in Mexico which is thus described by Bancroft, who quotes from the *Vatican Codex*.

"The Mexicans celebrated in this month (December) the festival of their first captain Vichilopuchitl. They celebrated at this time the festival of the wafer or cake. They made a cake of the meal of bledos, which they called tzolli, and having made it they spoke over it in their manner and broke it in pieces. These the high priest put into certain very clean vessels, and with a thorn of maguey, which resembles a thick needle, he took up with the utmost reverence single morsels, and put them into the mouth of each individual, in the manner of the communion—and I am willing to believe that these poor people have had the knowledge of our mode of communion or of the preaching of the Gospel; or perhaps the devil, most envious of the honor of God, may have led them into this superstition in order that by this ceremony he might be adored and served as Christ our Lord."<sup>43</sup>

The striking similarity between these American ceremonies and the eucharistic service would naturally impress observers, and Acosta refers to it several times. Thus in one place he says: "That which is most admirable in the hatred and presumption of Satan is that he hath not only counterfeited in idolatry and sacrifice but also in ceremonies our sacraments, which Jesus Christ our Lord hath instituted and the Holy Church doth use, having especially pretended to imitate in some sort the sacrament of the Communion which is the most high and divine of all others, for the great error of infidels."<sup>44</sup>

Similarly a Roman Catholic missionary among the Swahili, in Africa, saw a ceremony in which a human victim was slain and the flesh eaten sacramentally by the priests and others, and he was shocked and said that to him it appeared "a satanic imitation of the Communion."<sup>45</sup>

The worship of Mithras antedated Christianity by several centuries, as it was well established in Persia at the time of Alexander the Great. On Mithraistic medals a sacred cup and wafers are

<sup>43</sup> Bancroft, *Native Races*, iii, 323.

<sup>44</sup> Acosta, *Hak. Soc. Edi.*, 354.

<sup>45</sup> Jevons, *Intro. to Hist. of Relig.*, 289.

The wafer, which is now eaten in the Communion, is called the "host"—from the Latin *hostia*, meaning victim or sacrifice.

In the study of geology it is found that certain strata crop out in some places so that there they can be more clearly seen and more easily studied than in others. So, also, in this ceremony, while various stages of its development are found in many different parts of the world, in Mexico various stages were found existing side by side showing its development more clearly than in any other place yet found.

shown, and some ceremony similar to the Christian eucharist was observed in their rites. The Church Fathers said it was the invention of devils. Thus Justin Martyr (about 150 A. D.), after referring to the ceremony in which Jesus is represented as saying of the bread "this is my body," and of the wine "this is my blood," continues:

"Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding *the same thing to be done*. For, that bread and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you either know or can learn."<sup>46</sup>

Tertullian (who wrote about 190 to 210 A. D.) also says in his Prescription against Heretics, chap. XL:

"The question will arise, By whom is to be interpreted the sense of the passages which make for heresies? By the devil, of course, to whom pertain those wiles which pervert the truth, and who, by the mystic rites of his idols, vies even with *the essential portions of the sacraments of God*.... He, too, baptises some—that is his own believers and faithful followers; he promises the putting away of sins by a laver [of his own]: and if my memory still serves me, Mithra there [in the kingdom of Satan] set his marks on the foreheads of his soldiers; celebrates also the oblation of bread, and introduces an image of a resurrection.... Is it not clear to us that the devil imitated the well-known moroseness of the Jewish law? Since, therefore, he has shown such emulation in his great aim of expressing, in the concerns of his idolatry, those *very things of which consists the administration of Christ's sacraments*, it follows, of course, that the same being, possessing still the same genius, both set his heart upon, and succeeded in adapting to his profane and rival creed the very documents of divine things and of the Christian saints."

The Catholic missionary Huc, who visited Tibet about 1845, found there a ceremony which he called "the Buddhist Eucharist." The ceremony is described at length by Mr. I. A. Waddell, but his account is too long to quote in full here. He says: "This sacrament is celebrated with much pomp at stated periods, on a lucky day, about once a week in the larger temples, and attracts numerous votaries. Crowds throng to the temple to receive the coveted blessing."

The officiating priest, or Lama, prepares himself for the ceremony by fasting, bathing and prayer, etc. Among the accessories for the ceremony are, "wine of life, consisting of beer in a skull-

<sup>46</sup> Justin Martyr, in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. ii, p. 65.

bowl"; "pills of life, made of flour, sugar and butter," wafers, made of "flour, butter and rice," a "divining dagger, with silk tassels," and a "divining bolt" and a "thunderbolt scepter" with a string attached.

To prepare himself for the ceremony the Lama applies "to his own bosom, over his heart" one end of a string, the other end of which runs to the thunderbolt scepter, resting in the lap of the "great image of Buddha Amitayas." And the account says: "Thus, through the string, as by a telegraph wire, passes the divine spirit, and the Lama must mentally conceive that his heart is in actual union with that of the god Amitayas, and that, for the time being, *he is himself that god.*"

Having thus become possessed by the spirit of the god Amityas, so that he is "himself that god," he conducts the ceremonies. He makes an offering to the evil spirits to drive them away, offers prayers, etc. At the conclusion of the service the Lama "bestows his blessings, as the incarnate Amityas as well as the other gods of longevity, by laying on of hands, and he distributes the consecrated water and food to the assembled multitude. . . . Each worshiper now receives from the skull-bowl a drop of the sacred wine which he piously swallows; and each also receives three of the holy pills (made of flour, sugar and butter) the plateful of which had been consecrated by the touch of the Lama. These pills must be swallowed on the spot."<sup>47</sup>

Since the time of the Reformation the tendency of the Protestants has been to reject the doctrine of the "Real Presence" or "Transubstantiation," but among leading reformers like Zwingli, Luther and Calvin, there was considerable difference of opinion on this subject. Zwingli, from the first, was inclined to make the Communion merely a commemoration service, while Luther clung more to the Catholic view. These differences have been reflected more or less among different branches of the Protestants to the present day. The confessions of faith which were adopted were largely attempts to compromise different views, but on the whole the tendency of the Protestant churches has been to make the Communion largely commemorative. The Westminster Confession thus defined the question: "That doctrine which maintains a change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood (commonly called Transubstantiation) by consecration of a priest, or by any other way, is repugnant, not to scripture alone, but even to common sense and reason." The thirty-nine articles

<sup>47</sup> Waddell's *Lamaism*, pp. 444-448.

of the English Church say that "to such as with faith receive the same it is a partaking of the body of Christ," but they add: "The body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner."<sup>48</sup>

*Summary.*—The evidence, a part of which we have tried to give above, appears to indicate that in the original form of this ceremony a man was believed to be possessed by a spirit (god) so that he became a man-god, and was worshiped. He was then killed, and eaten by the people, who sought in this way to acquire his powers.

Then the ceremony was modified, and an image of a man was made of dough, or some similar substance. Into this image a spirit (god) was believed to enter, and it was then "sacrificed," broken into pieces, and eaten by the people, imitating the method of eating the human victim. In Mexico this was called killing and eating the god.

By a further modification the dough image would decline to the small cake or wafer. But this wafer was believed to possess all the attributes of the sacrificed man or image. Also wine took the place of blood. In Christian countries this modified ceremony took the form of the Eucharist, and the earlier form disappeared. But the memory of its original form was still kept up by insisting that by some exercise of divine power the wafer was changed to real flesh, and the wine to real blood, so that in the modified, as well as in the original form, those partaking might eat the flesh and drink the blood of the sacrificed man-god. This appears to be the origin and real meaning of the doctrine of Transubstantiation<sup>49</sup> the history of which dates back to the age of primitive man. The doctrine is venerable when we consider its hoary antiquity, and we may

<sup>48</sup> That by the early Christian Church this ceremony was regarded as something *more* than a mere commemorative service seems clear, for Justin Martyr (who lived about 100 to 160 A. D.) says in his first apology, speaking of the bread and wine: "This food we call the Eucharist, of which none are allowed to be partakers but such only as are true believers, and have been baptized in the laver of regeneration for remission of sins, and live according to Christ's precepts; for we do not take this as common bread and common wine; but as Jesus Christ our Saviour was made flesh by the Logos of God, and had real flesh and blood for our salvation, so are we taught that this food, which the very same Logos blessed by prayer and thanksgiving, is turned into the nourishment and substance of our flesh and blood, and is in some sense *the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus.*"

<sup>49</sup> At the Council of Trent (1545-1563 A. D.) the Roman Catholic Church thus defined transubstantiation: "If any one shall say that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there remains the substance of bread and wine together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood, the species of bread and wine alone remaining—which conversion the Catholic Church most fittingly calls Transubstantiation—let him be anathema."

say that in the conception of faithful worshipers the present form has lost its original meaning. It has become a ceremony sanctioned by tradition and possessed of the mystery of religious awe. It should be said, however, that according to the logic of early ages the transformation of bread and wine to real flesh and blood was not considered miraculous and would not have seemed improbable. This is shown, for example, in the Mexican ceremony described above, in which pieces of paste shaped by the virgins were called "the flesh and bones of Vitziliputzli," and the people saw nothing improbable in the assertion, although it would be doubted in this age.

At the time of the Reformation the Protestant reformers rejected the doctrine of the "real presence" or "transubstantiation," and the ceremony was still further modified, so that it became the Protestant Communion Service. Instead of trying, like the Catholics, to eat the real flesh and drink the real blood of the sacrificed man-god, it then tended to become a commemorative observance.

# THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

## A DEDUCTIVE STUDY OF SEMITIC CULTURE.

BY PHILLIPS ENDECOTT OSGOOD.

[CONTINUED.]

EGYPT.

IX.

If the main lines of Phœnician temples are Egyptian, there may be some data in that same source tending toward the clarification of Solomon's Temple.

The ancient empire of the ten Memphite dynasties left no temples of type analogous to that in hand, their very great antiquity being naturally concomitant with more primitive formlessness. The middle empire, with the capital at Thebes, leaves hardly a trace of its architecture as relic of the great and strenuous history of that evolution which culminated in the Hyksos Kings' supremacy. It is the Sait empire (21st to 30th dynasties) that has left us most of what survives to-day, although the later Theban dynasties (Rameses II was of the 18th) seem to have worked toward the Sait style. Since it is not until Sheshonk I<sup>24</sup> that we get contemporary with Solomon's day, it is permissible to use the temple of the new empire alone as the prototype of Phœnicia's adaptations.

The temple of the new empire seems to be marked by nothing so much as by complexity. A simple example is hard to find. When a temple was complete in all its parts, any monarch who wished his name to be perpetuated there, simply added a new building to it, which addition could only be a replica of some part already standing. Indefinite accretions give us the apparent complexity of Karnak.

But a simple example is most surely found in the temple of Khons<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 7) whose simplicity seems to have been left un-

<sup>24</sup> His accession was 980 B. C.

<sup>25</sup> So used by Perrot & Chipiez (*Egyptian Art*, vol. I) and Lenormant (*Temple de Jerusalem*) c. g., pl. 19. (a cross section).



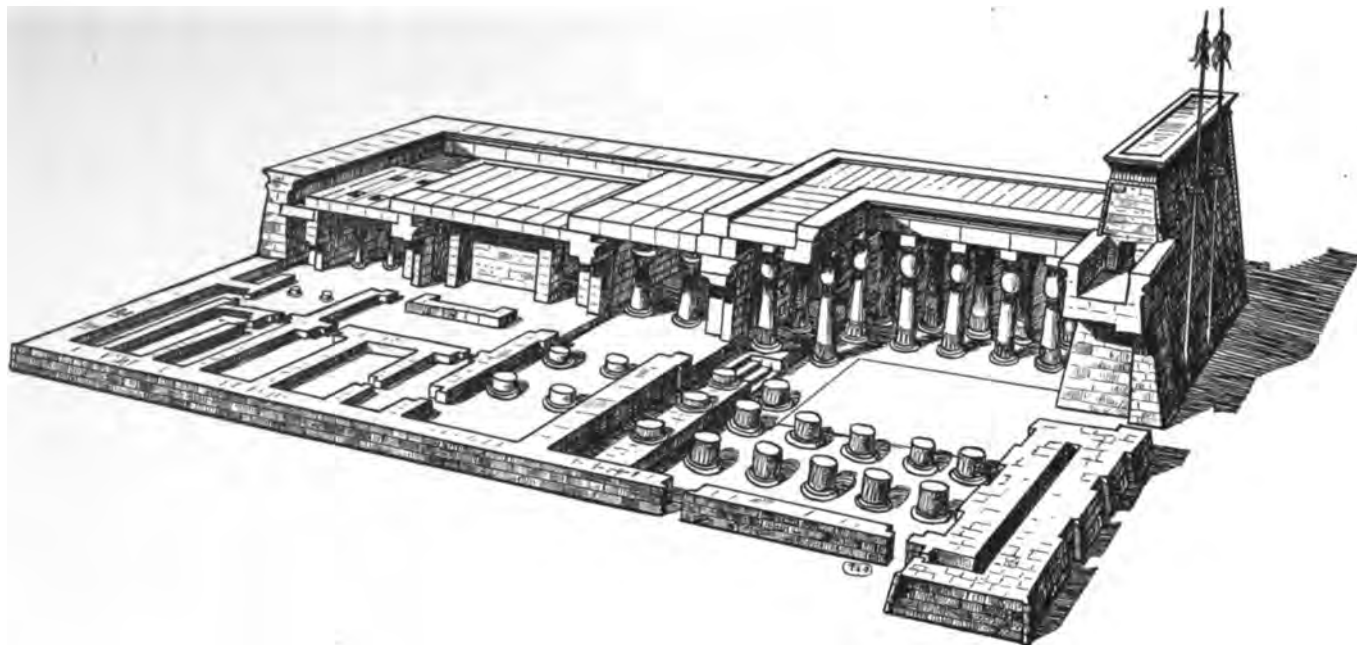


Fig. 7. THE TEMPLE OF KHONS: HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL SECTION.  
From Perrot & Chipiez, *Hist. of Ancient Egyptian Art*. Vol. I, fig. 208.

touched from a very early date (Rameses III?), though in the near neighborhood of the great temple of Karnak itself.

First of all, the temple proper of Egypt is enclosed by a high wall which serves (1) to mark the external limits of the temple, (2) to protect the sacred place from injury and (3) to act as a curtain between the curiosity of the profane crowd and the holy mysteries within. Avenues of Sphinxes lead up to the gateways from far away. Within the gates begins the sacred enclosure,<sup>26</sup> within which all religious ceremonies are performed. The temple proper may or may not have such honorable and majestic forecourts. Khons has no outer wall at all; Karnak has four successive courtyards to be crossed before the shrine is reached.

The universal form of gateway is the *pylon*, whether it be in the walls (pro-pylon) or in the temple building. A pylon is of three parts. (A) a tall, rectangular doorway flanked (B and C) by a truncated, pyramidal mass on either side, rising high above its lintel. The object is purely ornamental, the outer and inner faces being profusely carved in low relief with scenes representing the monarch as the friend of the temple-god. Inside, the pylons are partly hollow; access to the small chambers is by means of ladders (in the earliest examples) or by winding stairs about a central, square newel (in the later).

In front of the pylon generally stand two obelisks, a few feet away from the base of the pyramid-masses; and, in really complete temples, just behind the obelisks and in contact with the pylons sit colossal statues of the king. To two obelisks there may be four or six statues. The obelisks extant vary from sixty to a hundred feet in height and the statues from twenty to forty-five. The pylon and its decorations thus compose the entire façade of the temple.<sup>27</sup>

Behind the *portico* comes a rectangular *Pristylar court*. The colonnade is of a double row of columns in front of a solid (sloping) wall. From this court a doorway leads into a hall of little depth, but of a width equal to the whole temple, whose roof is supported by close-set columns. This *Hypostyle hall* corresponds to the *Pro-naos* of Greek temples. It is the "Hall of Appearance," into which only kings and priests are allowed to penetrate. The outer "Hall of Assembly" must suffice all others. The hypostyle hall is so thickly set with pillars in some of the larger temples that little, if any,

<sup>26</sup> Called the *réuevos* in Greek temples.

<sup>27</sup> In the temple of Khons there are neither obelisks nor statues, but whether this is due to the minor importance of the temple, or to the removability of such small-sized relics as would be here proportional, it is not possible to tell.

vista is possible. This comes from the limitations imposed by stone slabs as roofing material.

Behind the hypostyle hall, there is a rectangular chamber, separated on all its four sides by a wide corridor from small chambers which fill in the space left vacant. This chamber we easily recognize as the "*Holy of Holies*," the "*Cella*" of the shrine.<sup>28</sup> Fragments

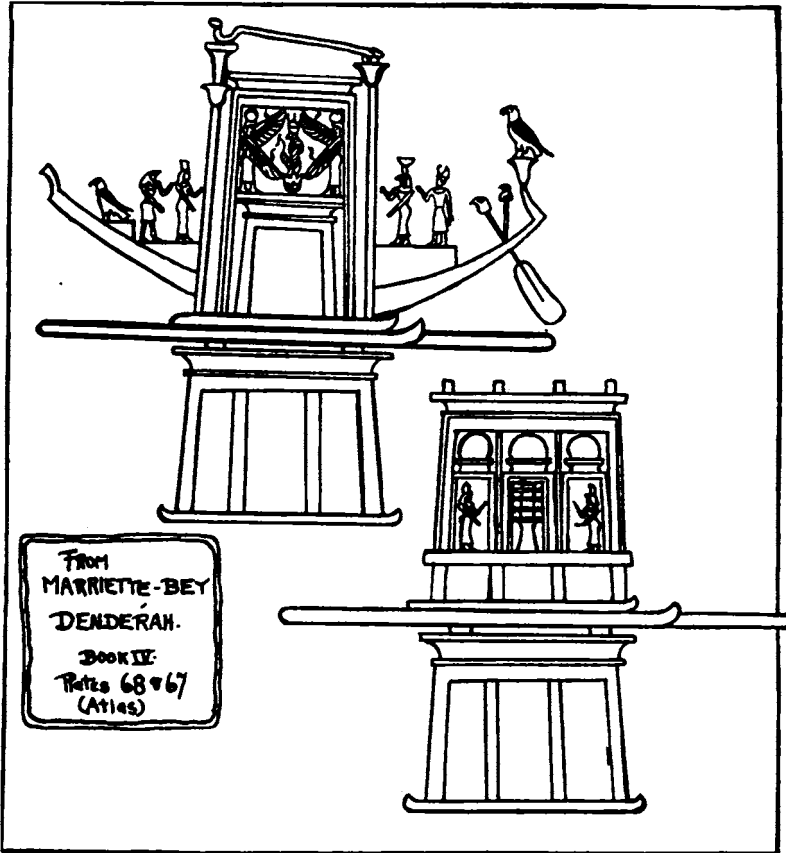


Fig. 8. THE SACRED BOAT (BARI) OR ARK OF EGYPTIAN GODS.  
From Mariette-Bey, *Dendérah*, Book IV, pl. 67 and 68.

of a granite pedestal have been found here, upon which must have been placed either the "bari" or sacred boat, as often figured in bas-reliefs (see Fig. 8) or some other receptacle of the emblem of the local divinity. Strabo tells us with surprise<sup>29</sup> that there was no

<sup>28</sup> Strabo names it the *σηκός*.

<sup>29</sup> Strabo Bk. XVII, I.

statue of the divinity here; but there must have been something to distinguish it from the less sacred parts of the building, and the identification of this something with a little shrine is patent. It is therefore far from guesswork to find in Egypt the prototype of at least the Ark for which Solomon built the Temple, and the thought of a Holiest Place therein where the sacred chest should rest.

The smaller rooms round about must have been used as subsidiary chapels for consort and subsidiary gods, and for store-room and treasury purposes as well. They are indefinitely multiplied in larger temples.

Such was the basic idea of the Egyptian temple. Its details I postpone until I come to the Temple at Jerusalem, where some of them are of possible use.

## X.

## THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.—GENERAL ENVIRONMENT.

The actual reconstruction of the Temple at Jerusalem is incomplete without some slight idea of its setting. In the adornments of his capital, Solomon included the Temple within the citadel, his castle. The group of structures thus included comprised not only the king's residence, the palace for his chief wife, the daughter of Pharaoh (built in Egyptian style that she might feel at home?), the apartments of his other wives, but also a magnificent hall of audience for state occasions,<sup>30</sup> a smaller hall of judgment and the Temple (cf. Fig. 9). There seems to be no doubt left as to the site.<sup>31</sup> It is known in the Old Testament both as Zion and Moriah; in modern times as the Haram esh Sherif. In all probability it had been David's citadel, now enlarged to take in more of the hill for the accomodation of Solomon's more comprehensive and impressive massing of buildings. The natural unevenness of the ground was largely overcome by filling in the lower places, with retaining walls such as Herod later built. The enormous number of laborers required to "build the Temple" expended most of the seven years ascribed, not on the comparatively small building itself, but on the wonderful masonry substructure necessitated to raise the plateau to the level of the Temple court. Probably as much as one-third of the hill had to be built. The artificial plateau must have numbered at least fifteen acres. To-day it rises eighty feet above the

<sup>30</sup> The House of the Forest of Lebanon.

<sup>31</sup> There has been much controversy between the advocates of the western and the eastern hills, but it seems to be settled in favor of the western one by excavations (Wilson and Warren) which show the substructure intact.

debris,—debris so great that the bed of the Kidron has been moved laterally eighty feet and raised forty. Excavations have shown it to reach to the depth of twenty-five meters. The foundation stones thus exposed are well finished, showing they were originally in

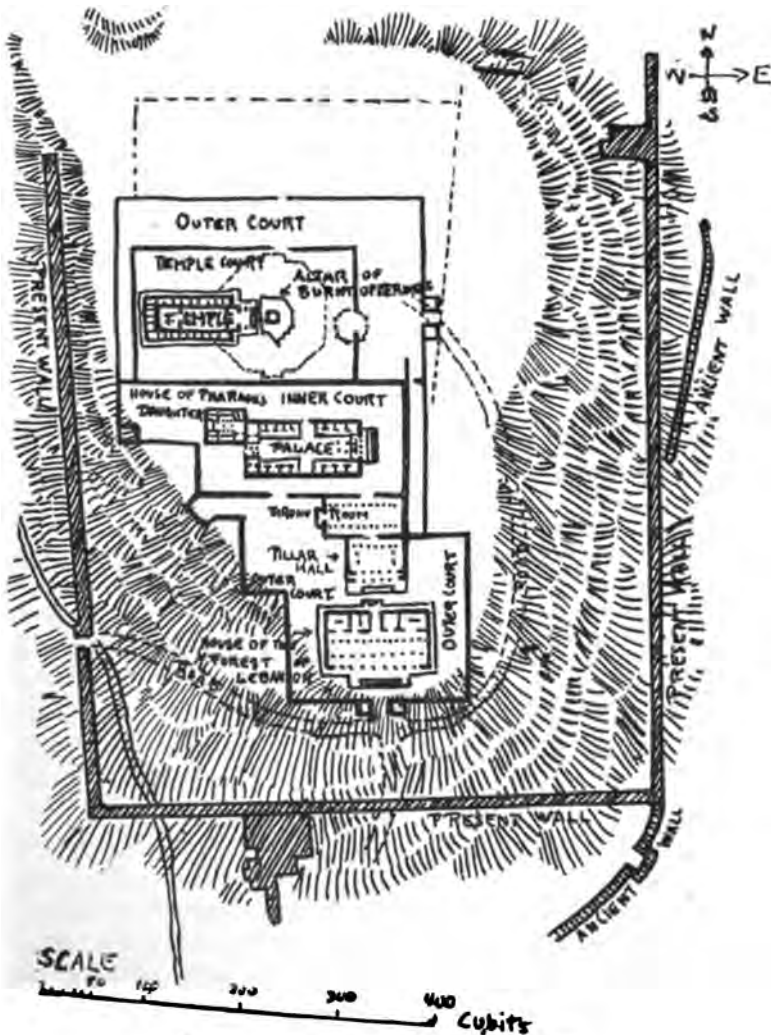


Fig. 9. MAP OF SOLOMON'S CITADEL.

view. The method of their finishing is that called "rusticating," i. e., the main surface of the stones is left rough, but the edges are sunken and smoothed, so that when the blocks are *in situ* the joined

edges form shallow, sunken channels. But this is a method of stone-dressing it is hard to carry further back than the time of Herod.<sup>32</sup> The enormous size of the blocks,<sup>33</sup> reminding one of those in the wall of Baalbek, is remarked upon by Josephus of Herod's temple. Solomon's substructure, if anything, goes yet deeper.

The natural unevenness of the hill cannot, however, have been entirely overcome, for constant usage speaks of "going up" from the palace to the Temple. The Temple must have stood at the highest point, with the palace lower down to the south, and still lower the houses of the town. The sacredness of hill-tops is common to all Semitic religions. So we are justified in assigning this native summit as the original reason of its consecration. Probably we may go further and say it was already consecrated to the *genius loci* before David captured the city, in which case Yahveh simply adopted the locality; as at Gibeon, a Canaanitish town, he had displaced the local Baal, or become merged in him. This was no unusual process.

That the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite had been within so short a step of David's palace is hard to believe, especially since the palace must have been the highest fortified point in Jerusalem. The site of Solomon's Temple could not have been determined by this. It is natural to suppose that the Temple gradually attached to itself legends originally concerned with other sanctuaries and that this is one such. Solomon built his court chapel in the citadel near his palace. As a hill-top it may have been sacred, but mere convenience of location, as better lending itself to the scheme of the whole, must have been the determinant motive of its situation.

## XI.

### SOURCES (DOCUMENTARY).

The scantiness of information concerning Solomon's other buildings seems to be for the sake of giving space to the description of the Temple. Some may claim that the description of the palace etc. represents about the true quantum of the knowledge the writers really had and that whatever accuracy and description of glories goes beyond that quantum in the Temple-depiction is invention, pure and simple. But difference of estimate would be enough to

<sup>32</sup> The red vermilion marks on the bottom stones cannot be defined as a dated Semitic alphabet, but are probably mason's marks.

<sup>33</sup> Some of them weigh at least 100 tons.

make the Temple bulk larger in their eyes than any palace buildings, since they wrote from a pietistic standpoint. The Temple, even while it remained an innovation, was of cardinal interest.

In the Old Testament there are three accounts of the Temple:

(1) 1 Kings v-viii. This leaves out much that is absolutely essential to a clear understanding of the structure, using technical terms whose meaning seems to have disappeared as completely as has the Temple itself. Attempts to reconstruct their contents must always be attended by a high degree of uncertainty.

The last important event known to the author is in the latter part of the exile, making it therefore entirely possible to doubt whether the writer had any first-hand knowledge of what he is describing here. Yet the ground work of Kings seems to have been a more or less contemporary compilation from the archives, later worked over into our present form. At any rate the text is very corrupt as we have it, and needs careful emendation. There is, probably, a residuum of first-hand knowledge as the kernel of the account, but it is so overgrown with traditions as to the cost of the materials, the number of laborers, gold plating, etc. that little reliance can be put on anything not elsewhere duplicated.

(2) 2 Chronicles ii-vi. This is the latest of the three versions of the Temple description. Chronicles, however sincere may have been the spirit of the compiler, was written from the point of view of a Jerusalem priest sometime after the return, whose one idea was to glorify the past and make the true Israel seem as orthodox three hundred years earlier as in the priest-ruled, restored nation. David is therefore represented as having received the plan of the Temple from Yahveh himself; and the long description of the Temple is filled with little but the enumeration of the costly gold and brass, and the skill which decorated it. With no first-hand knowledge, the Chronicler doubles or quadruples measurements, exactly as his priestly, orthodox, and esthetic eye would like to have seen the original Temple.

(3) Ezekiel xl-xlii. In this alone do we get apparently first-hand knowledge. Ezekiel had been a priest in the Temple before the Exile. Probably it had changed little from Solomon's day, however much its ritual and significance to the nation had altered. The vision of the Temple which the prophet saw on the banks of the river Chebar must have been based more or less upon the actual, though now destroyed, Temple in Jerusalem. His visions are full and exact, and enable us to fill in many gaps in the other accounts; but at the same time we must remember that this passage describes

an imaginative temple and is not hampered by facts if Ezekiel's ideal is otherwise. Besides, how much of the dimensions of his church can even the most long-settled minister remember, once away from it for years? Ezekiel may be our best authority for the reconstruction of Solomon's Temple, but even he is pitifully inadequate.

Secondary references may be found in Josephus and the Rabbinical *Tract Middoth*, but these are both so based on Herod's Temple as to be worthless, unless in some few points where we need them not at all.

Our information is small, both documentary and monumental. "Historic probability" is the best guide. And this can be so variously twisted that it is small wonder an amateur museum might be stocked with the diverse ideals and reconstructions it is used to justify. I do not claim to have found the solution which will set the discussion of Solomon's Temple at rest; my claim is to add to the collection a reconstruction I have not been able to find, but which seems just as probable as any. Certainty is happily beyond the reach of any man.

## XII.

### WAS THERE A ROOF ON THE TEMPLE?

I take my major problem first. So far as I know, the existence of a roof on the Temple has not been doubted. The Old Testament accounts have seemed to take it for granted. Modern consciousness seems to think one necessary to every building, ancient or modern. Yet, despite all this, I have ventured to doubt the existence of the roof in this present case.

(1) *Historic Probability.* The section on Phœnician temples had an ulterior motive; i. e., to show that Phœnician architecture did not contemplate a roof when concerned with temple-building. But the conclusion grew by simple study of the data, not from pre-conceived intent to be original. The endeavor to prove that the type of architecture depicted on Paphos coins (Figs. 1-5) was identical with that which was contemporary with Hiram of Tyre, so noted as a temple-builder, gave the basis for the claim that both were hypæthral.

Phœnicians did not build hypostyle courts like those of Egypt, for they were unable to afford such luxuries. The Phœnician genius was adaptation, and adaptation always omits that structural portion which is not essential to the *idea*, especially if at the same



time that portion happens to be the most difficult one to reproduce. In Phœnicia there was no proper stone out of which the necessary roofing material could well be made. To be sure, on the Egyptian temple there was a covered court, but this was the very portion that was least essential to its idea. The hypostyle hall was so thickly set with pillars (because of the shortness of the roofing slabs) that the congregating of any number of people was out of the question; ritual itself was banished to the outer, peristyle court. The hypostyle hall served its purpose well. It was put there to act as a screen, pure and simple; to keep the gaze of the vulgar and curious from the sacred oracle of the god. The hypostyle court was the implement by which the taboo-separation was enforced. Phœnicians had two alternatives in their adaptation if they did not care to copy slavishly and lose that precious modicum of originality upon which they seem always to have insisted (perhaps unconsciously), so that Phœnician gods were trade-marked as such, though their motives, likely enough, were frankly borrowed. The first alternative was to cover in the whole court, i. e., to enlarge the "cella" until its mystery should compass the whole shrine and leave the openness of the outer court enough for all the popular worship. The other was to keep the shrine small, perhaps to reduce it to the god's symbol only, (though small chapel-like shrines of tiny size have been authenticated as the center of the open-courted temple) and to increase the open space by making one more courtyard intervene before the shrine,—that is, the central object (in whatever form) being the "Holiest Place," whether the next outer concentric circle of impression should be a mere enlargement from within of the same quality of building, sacred and mysterious, or whether it should be something more definitely marked from the point of view of the incoming worshiper as an approach *to* that sacred presence. It is natural that the question should be decided in favor of the simpler open court, doubly so when the deities of the nation were so simply embodied in rocks, trees, and posts, and the "Holy Place" of the god or goddess was reduced at its very core to a simple cone, uncovered by vestige of mystery. If precedent probability does not require a roof, neither does the evidence of subsequent architecture. For we are certain that, if Solomon's Temple had a roof, it was an engineering feat of such great originality, and an innovation in architecture so complete, that the effects must have survived somewhere in the following years. But such we cannot find. Roofed buildings of so great an expanse do not come for centuries.

(2) *Practical Possibility.* If we are historically justified in daring to doubt the roofed character of Solomon's Temple, we are likewise justified in acknowledging the practical difficulty of roofing such a space.

Solomon's Temple was twenty cubits broad and sixty-odd long, inside measure (i. e., not counting the surrounding stories of chambers). A cubit seems to have corresponded to an Egyptian ell, which was about  $20\frac{2}{3}$  inches. The building cubit apparently was a handbreadth longer than the cubit in ordinary use.<sup>34</sup> This necessitates a roof that shall clear a little over thirty-four feet, the shortest way for the timbers. Could cedar beams support a roof of planks and stamped earth of such dimensions, when the longitudinal sagging would still more increase the weight? On the face of it, it is absurd.<sup>35</sup> Some other shift must be devised to meet the demand. Stade<sup>36</sup> suggests some kind of trusses springing from the upper walls on both sides, but this is both ungraceful and unsupported by historic precedent or Biblical data (though the latter lack is not overmuch to be considered). Even so the weight would be most uncomfortably great, and no competent means of fastening such braces to the wall is thinkable for the period considered. It has been suggested that the ceiling beams may have been warped before they were put in place, to counteract by the upthrust of their artificial curve the downthrust of the roof. Disregarding the historical possibility of such knowledge, there are still two other facts that make such a thing doubtful: (a) a warped beam under pressure will not stay warped forever, especially if moisture can get at it (as moisture eventually could through stamped earth), and (b) there would be a lateral thrust exerted upon the walls which would be considerable from such weight, if the warping carried the center of the beam anything above the level of insertion. These walls were thick, but were put together without cohesive cement of any kind.

A still further possibility is that of Schmidt<sup>37</sup> who suggests columns five cubits from each side wall to form a support for the rest of the wall (making a clerestory), basing his suggestion on 1 Kings x. 12. Aside from the unreliability of the verse, such a

<sup>34</sup> Deuteronomy iii, (קִמְצָה אֵיט) as compared with Ezekiel xl. 5 and xliii. 13, and 2 Chron. iii. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Strabo (Bk. XIV, C I, Casabeb 634) says: "The Milesians built a temple which exceeded in size all others, but it remained without a roof on account of its size." This is much later. If we only knew the dimensions!

<sup>36</sup> Siegfried Stade, ZATW, iii, *ad. loc.*

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Commentary on Kings *ad. loc.*

possibility is unthinkable. Clerestories were first heard of in Romanesque and Gothic architecture. Also think of the weight the "almug tree" supports would have to carry; the roof weight (though narrowed, still appreciable) and all but ten cubits of the side walls, i. e., twenty vertical cubits of stone! To say nothing of the difficulties this would get us into with the peripheral chambers!

Fergusson<sup>38</sup> argues for eight pillars in the Holy Place, supporting the roof nearer its center. This is most reasonable of all. But the difficulty of forty-five or fifty-foot pillars made of wood is obvious, as is also the necessity of some lateral tie, part of the distance up. 1 Kings x. 12 and 1 Kings xviii. 6 are cited as his justification, and also the existence of the ten lamps etc. as arguing ten spaces to be filled.<sup>39</sup>

But all these difficulties are overcome in the idea of a court, open to the sky, with a peristyle surrounding it; which takes in all the pillars necessary, which can very easily contain all the cedar beams and planks mentioned in the "cielings"<sup>40</sup> and which, besides, has the merit of historic lineage.

Such a reconstruction, however, is open to two substantial objections, which must be faced. In the first place we are expressly told in all the accounts that the temple was sheathed within with cedar so that not a stone was to be seen. It would be difficult to keep sheathing in good repair above the line of the peristyle, and it would look queer to see wood on the inside and stone on the outside. I have only two possible suggestions to make. (a) May not "within" mean within the peristyle, i. e., under its cover, where also only the floor would be laid, and no stone seen? (b) May not the "within and without"<sup>41</sup> ascribed to the gold floor covering be analogy enough to prove a like obvious tampering with the text allotting to the carving of the cherubim, palm trees, etc. a similar position?<sup>42</sup>

The second difficulty is the crucial one. Cyprus has no rainy season of any considerable violence or duration. Neither has Egypt. In Palestine, however, more rain falls in three months than the average rainfall of the whole year round in England. An open-court temple would be a dismal and sloppy place during the rainy

<sup>38</sup> Fergusson. *The Temples of the Jews*, p. 28 f.

<sup>39</sup> I do not consider as worth consideration any such anachronous conjectures as a gable-roof implies. Such a roof cannot have appeared before the time of Herod, at least, i. e., until Greek influence gave the example. Semitic roofs are flat.

<sup>40</sup> 1 Kings vi. 15-18, etc.

<sup>41</sup> 1 Kings vi. 30.

<sup>42</sup> 1 Kings vi. 29.

season. The table of the shewbread etc. could be moved back under the cover of the peristyle, but further protection is necessary. This protection awnings would provide, awnings either of skins or of Tyrian stuff, which was often so thick as surely to be water-proof. Figures 4 and 5 above may evidence the validity of a conjecture also suggested by the common use of awnings in Egypt and Assyria.

So far as the rainy season goes, Phœnicia proper, too, gets its share of rainfall; and the Phœnician style of architecture starts, not in Cyprus, but at home. If Phœnicia itself had possessed any rain-proof structure, we probably should have found some evidence of it in her colonies. She would not have been able to keep one style for "home consumption" and another for her "colonial export trade." If the Temple at Jerusalem is faced by the problem of the rainy season, so are the neighboring ones in Tyre and Sidon, whose open courts seem well authenticated.<sup>43</sup>

(3) *Biblical Possibility.* There is evidence of pillars of some kind within the house, as they are repeatedly mentioned. There seem to have been four in the Holy of Holies, but they are not the only ones in the "House" by any means.

As to the ceiling, the Hebrew text need give no data for more than that of a peristyle if there is no preconceived notion to be gotten out of the text. 1 Kings vi. 9 ("he covered the house with beams and boards of cedar") is taken by the Septuagint and a small modern minority to mean the covering of the walls, and 1 Kings vii. 7 certainly shows the same verb can be so used for wainscoting. 1 Kings vi. 15 has the word ceiling in it <sup>44</sup>, but it can apply equally well to the ceiling of the peristyle. The beams must have been covered above with limestone as protection from the weather, wherever placed.

I find no decisive reason for abandoning the conclusion to which the architectural pedigree of Solomon's Temple brought me, that it had an open peristylar court. Heredity seems to hold true.

### XIII.

#### THE TEMPLE BUILDING.

(1) *General Dimensions.* There are curiously few variations in the ground-plan of the Temple (Fig. 10), since all the data are so comparatively devoted to length and breadth, and not to elevation.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Biblos, Fig. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Instead of "walls" we must read "beams"—making it "From the floor of the house unto the beams of the ceiling"—which helps the contention above that the sheathing extended only "within" the colonnade.

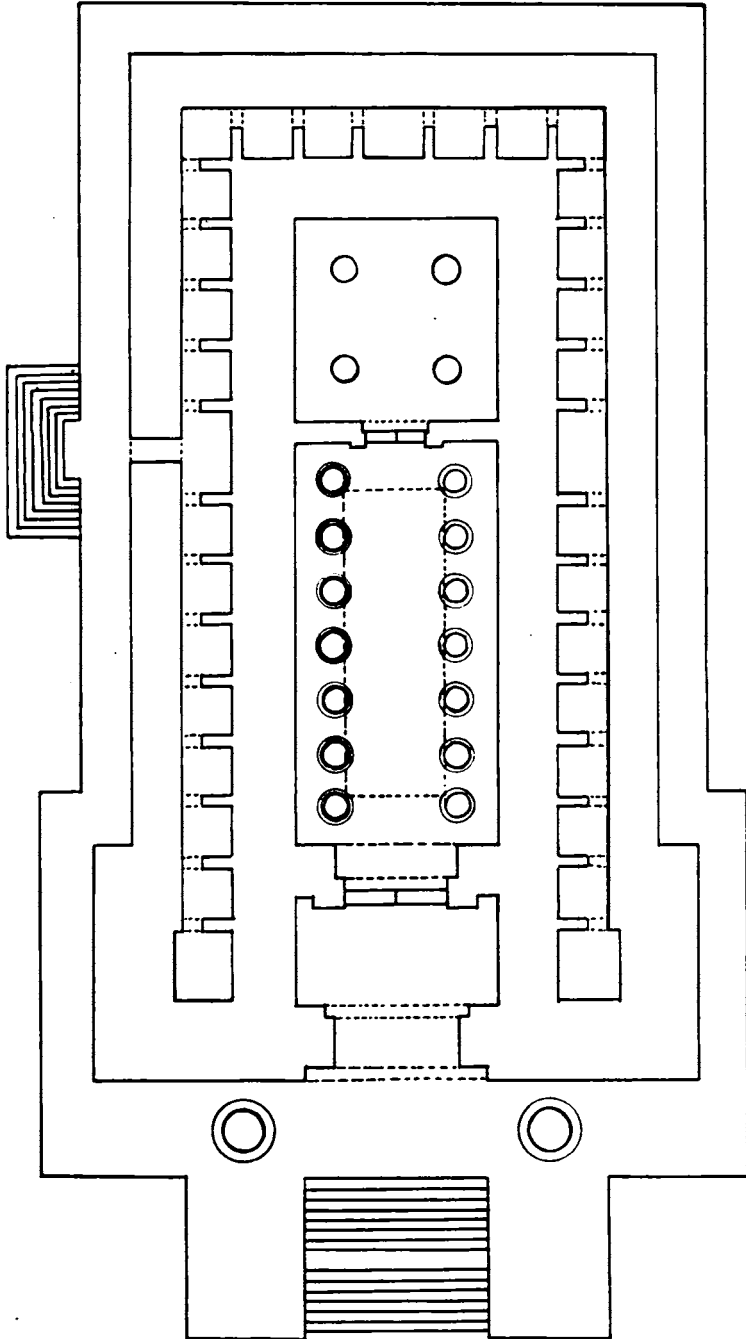


Fig. 10. GROUND PLAN OF TEMPLE.

The Kings and Chronicles accounts give us the length of the "House" (i. e., of the Temple proper, exclusive of the porch and the surrounding tiers of rooms, which are spoken of continually in a very *removed* way) as sixty cubits in all;<sup>45</sup> forty in the Holy Place (the *Hekal*) and twenty in the Holy of Holies (the *Debir*).<sup>46</sup> These are apparently inside measurements, with no allowance made for the thickness of the dividing partition. Twenty cubits is given as the breadth of both Hekal and Debir.<sup>47</sup> Ezekiel gives the length of the Temple, on the other hand, as one hundred cubits<sup>48</sup> (east to west) and from his account we get our data to fill in the *plan*. The Holy of Holies is twenty cubits, the court is forty, and the porch ten.<sup>49</sup> The rooms back of the Debir are five cubits wide.<sup>50</sup> This gives for room space seventy-five cubits. The chamber-wall at the back is given as five cubits,<sup>51</sup> the "wall of the House" is six cubits,<sup>52</sup> which is both back and front of the "House," the porch door jamb is six cubits likewise,<sup>53</sup> and the dividing wall between the Debir and Hekal fills in the remaining two. This foots up the necessary hundred. The same elements give us the width of the building as fifty-two cubits. The height throughout is given as thirty cubits.<sup>54</sup> On the old and accepted idea of a roofed building, discussion centered much, therefore, on the question whether there was a room over the Holy of Holies, whose cubical form<sup>55</sup> would leave ten cubits' space below the roof, or whether the Debir was externally lower than the roof of the house, or even whether there might not be an upper room over *all* the house.<sup>56</sup> This problem disappears with the open-court idea, leaving the Debir as the only roofed room set in the end of a rectangular space, enclosed by a thirty-cubit wall.

For these and the following details cf. the plan (Fig. 10) and the longitudinal, vertical section (Fig. 11) which better visualize them.

<sup>45</sup> 1 Kings vi. 2b.

<sup>46</sup> 2 Chron. iii. 8.

<sup>47</sup> 1 Kings vi. 2b.

<sup>48</sup> Ezek. xli. 15.

<sup>49</sup> 1 Kings vi. 3; 2 Chron. iii. 4.

<sup>50</sup> 1 Kings vi. 6. Ezek. xli seems to be wrong (four cubits).

<sup>51</sup> Ezek. xli. 9.

<sup>52</sup> Ezek. xli. 5.

<sup>53</sup> Ezek. xl. 48 plus the extra cubit of the breadth of the porch he gives.

<sup>54</sup> 1 Kings vi. 2.

<sup>55</sup> 1 Kings vi. 20.

<sup>56</sup> Basing the question on the meaning of חַמְצָתָיִם (Septuagint *τὸ ὑπερφῶν*) in 2 Chronicles iii. 9, which more obviously means the upper surrounding chambers.

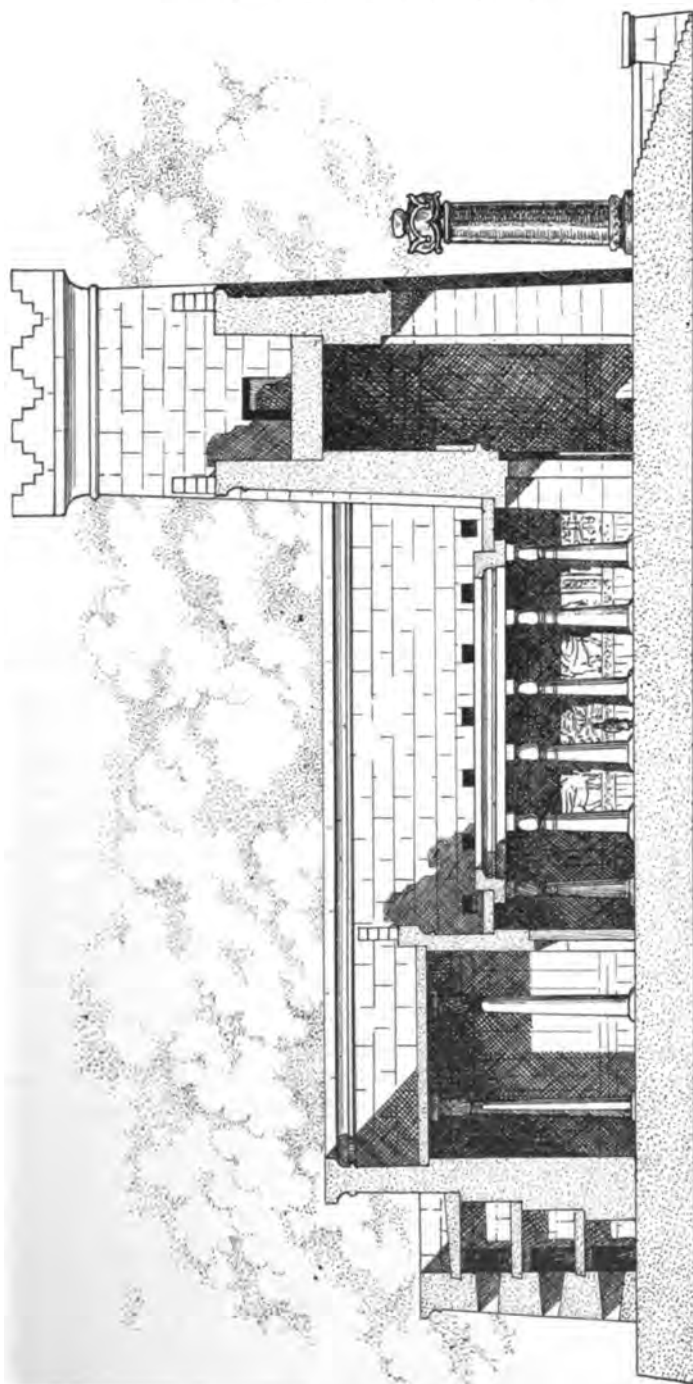


Fig. II. SOLOMON'S TEMPLE. LONGITUDINAL SECTION.

(2) *The Porch.* Upon the front of the building rose the porch, though it is always spoken of almost as though it were not joined to the House. Its dimensions are variously given. Twenty cubits seems to have been the width<sup>57</sup> corresponding to the breadth of the House. This, of course is interior measure. The depth (again interior) is given in Kings as ten cubits,<sup>58</sup> but by Ezekiel as eleven.<sup>59</sup> Ten is, of course, the correct number, since Semitic love of proportion would make the porch half the Debir's length, which in its turn was half that of the Hekal. Ezekiel's accuracy, however, I do not doubt; but suggest the usual Egyptian section of the door-jamb which gives the actual door-post a buttress of a few inches; in this case probably a round cubit. This gives the door-jamb a thickness of five cubits, but the wall one of six (cf. plan, Fig. 11).

The height of the porch is not told us except in Chronicles.<sup>60</sup> where it is put at 120 cubits! This is not believable, (though Perrot & Chipiez, recognizing Ezekiel's temple as ideal, give this height as a good climax to the successive gateways.)<sup>61</sup> This of course would be external measure. We have noticed the Chronicler's propensity to exaggeration, which generally takes the form of doubling and quadrupling. Here one-half the given height would be most fitting, giving 60 cubits, which is approximately the length of the house. This is meagre data but there is possible reinforcement to be found in two other places. Ezra<sup>62</sup> and Esdras<sup>63</sup> inferentially state the propylon to have been 60×60 cubits. These dimensions were in the rescript of Cyrus, which the Jews seem to have brought with them on their return from exile. It is most improbable, when permission to rebuild was given and measurements were specified, that these dimensions should not correspond to the old Temple. When Jerusalem was captured, the Assyrians quite probably noted the details of the Temple as being the most sacred possession of the Jews, and so these records were put in the record-chamber at Babylon or Ecbatana, where Cyrus unearthed them.

But, even accepting these dimensions, the form of the porch is still vague and indeterminate. Conjecture is legitimate. Some

<sup>57</sup> 1 Kings vi. 3. 2 Chron. iii. 4.

<sup>58</sup> 1 Kings vi. 3.

<sup>59</sup> Ezek. xl. 49.

<sup>60</sup> 2 Chron. iii. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Perrot & Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judea, Syria and Asia Minor*, Chap. IV, pp. 201 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Ezra vi. 1 ff.

<sup>63</sup> 1 Esdras vi. 22 ff.



modification of the Egyptian pylon<sup>64</sup> is most naturally to be supplied. As we look at the Paphos coins we see a rudimentary pylon facing us. The flanking masses, as compared with the Egyptian originals, are shrunken in width almost to the appearance of pillars. The doorway, in proportion, has enlarged. How shall we interpret these "pictures"? In the first place, the narrowing of the pylons may be arbitrary, to show the side wings, which in reality are behind them, just as the "ashera pillars" are in reality in front of them. The raising of the doorway may be for the sake of giving the representation of the sacred cone more room. The coins give us an abstraction of an architectural form which in itself was likewise an abstraction of Egyptian forms. The gateway, it is clear, was to the Phœnician the most impressive adjunct of the temple; and the mention of the porch in all three Biblical accounts with such emphasis gives a slight degree of probability to the same deduction in Jerusalem, which is further increased by reassertion of Phœnician authorship. If this is true, Egypt need not supply all the material for reconstruction. Assyria may largely be drawn upon for ornamentation and subsidiary forms.

I do not believe the gateway of the Temple to have been a single (sloping-sided) plinth, as some reconstructions have suggested. The three parts to a gateway of any importance are to be found both in Egypt, Phœnicia and Assyria, (though in the last the sloping walls are absent). A doorway, flanked by buttress-masses rising above its crown on either side, seems obvious. Whether the doorway was recessed or salient between them is debatable, but I have chosen the recessed doorway (as against Egyptian precedent) because the Paphos coins seem slightly to favor such a decision, and because in Ezekiel's measurements of the porch we are told that the breadth of the door(gate) was "three cubits on this side and three cubits on that"<sup>65</sup> which I take to mean the breadth of the doorposts on their outside face, showing some kind of demarcation from the surface beyond. This is well within the realm of probability, especially since it follows the Assyrian type of gateway (Fig. 12) to some degree, and we know the Phœnicians used the Assyrian stepped ornament wherever they found a possible chance.

The predominant effect, however, must have been more Egyptian than Assyrian, since the sloping lines of the buttresses are the dominant features. I have crowned the buttresses and the doorway

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Fig. 6, p. 626.

<sup>65</sup> Ezekiel xl. 45.

with the Egyptian gorge (Fig. 13), in turn surmounted by the Assyrian stepped ornament, a favorite Phœnician trick.

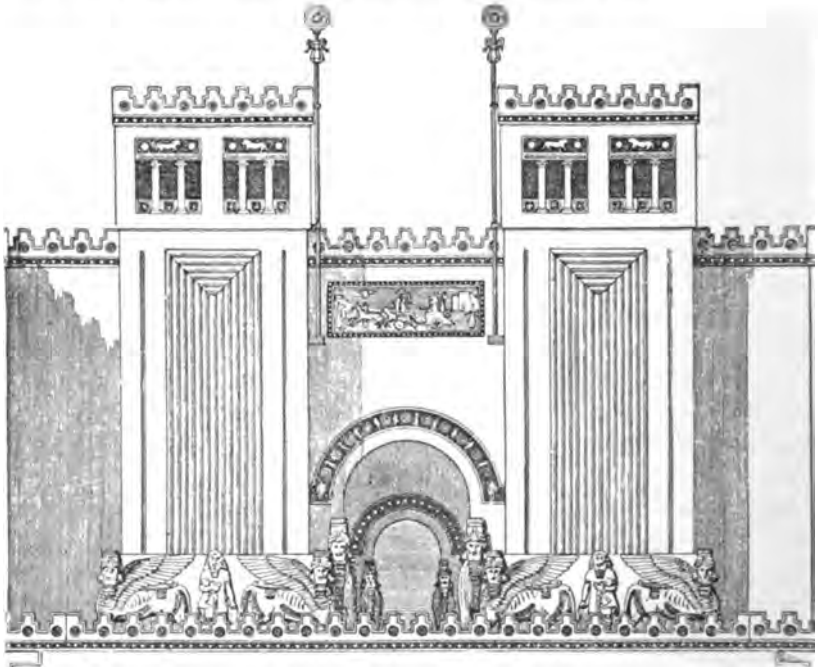


Fig. 12. ASSYRIAN GATEWAY.

Southeastern gateway of Sargon's Palace at Khorsabad. (Compiled from Thomas by Perrot & Chipiez, *Chaldea and Assyria*, Vol. II, p. 17, pl. 5.)

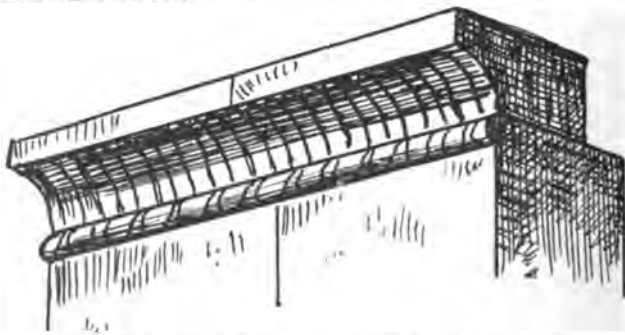


Fig. 13. THE EGYPTIAN GORGE OR CORNICE.

Perrot & Chipiez, *Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 102, fig. 67.

The doorway may have been almost any height. Many have put Jachin and Boaz under its architrave as supporting pillars, making

its height equal to their twenty-three cubits. But in my idea of the Temple, Jachin and Boaz are most assuredly the porch (cf. § XIV below). The portal must be impressive, but its inner wall cannot go above the insert of the roof of the peristyle within, if that is to surround the Hekal on all four sides. I have therefore made the outer opening twenty-three cubits high, and the inner one, in which were placed the great doors of olive wood, comes down to twelve.

The porch as viewed from the front (east) is shown in the elevation given in Fig. 14.

(3) *The Hekal.* There is little to be said about this when it is once decided what its fate shall be. The only questions to be

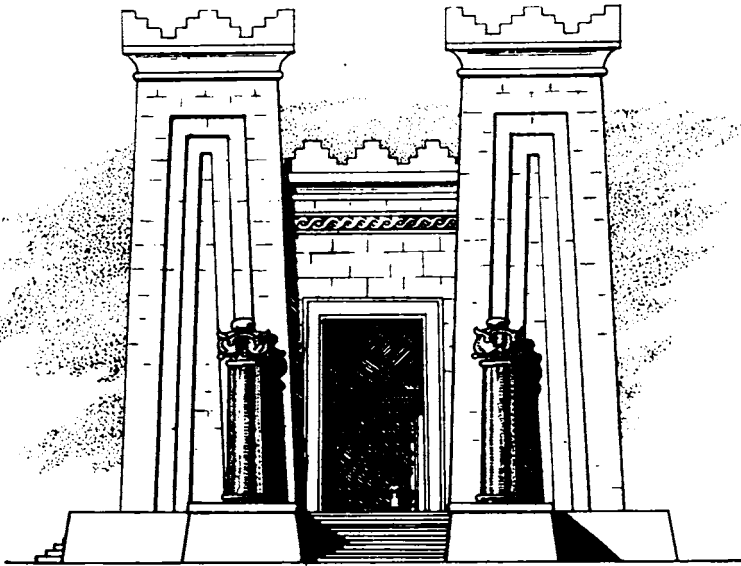


Fig. 14. SOLOMON'S TEMPLE. FRONT ELEVATION.

settled are the height of the peristyle and the crowning wall, if any, above the Debir. I have set the height of the peristyle at twelve cubits, above which the facing carries the apparent height another three. I have made the colonnade of a single row of pillars which carry the architrave five cubits out from the wall (i. e., counting from the base. The slant of the walls would add about half a cubit at the indicated height).<sup>66</sup> Since the pillars were of wood I have used the simplest form of wooden pillar Egypt knew, as more easily sheathed in case such sheathing should be necessary to sup-

<sup>66</sup> Does not this slant of the walls explain that phrase of Ezekiel's which has given such trouble: "The breadth of the house was still upward"? Ezekiel xli. 7b.

pose. The windows which are several times mentioned in the description of the "House" I take to be those of the peripheral rooms and merely for the sake of ventilation; and these would probably pierce the wall of the house only at a place where they would not be visible from the floor; i. e., only those of the top tier of rooms can have been let into the Hekal, which would come so low down above the peristyle roof and behind its facing that they would be totally hidden from below. These were probably latticed and smaller at the outside than within the rooms. The *Debir*, being ten cubits below the cornice of the House-wall, would look queer unless its front edge were marked somehow. This is easily done by a rather tall cornice, surmounted by the useful and ubiquitous stepped ornament, whose top level easily would reach the base of the House-wall's gorge.

(4) *The Debir*. As has been said, this was a cube of twenty cubits inside measurement. It was absolutely dark, there being no windows opening into it. "Yahveh loveth darkness" seems to have been a common conception of the time.<sup>67</sup> There is some doubt, nevertheless, of the doors being kept closed. The staves of the Ark seem to have been visible from the outer Hekal.<sup>68</sup> These doors folded vertically.<sup>69</sup> The doorway appears to have been pentagonal,<sup>70</sup> an additional distinction, marking the dignity of the entrance. It was six cubits broad.<sup>71</sup> The height is not given; probably it would come to about ten cubits. The four necessary posts of the sanctuary would be about five cubits from the walls, in order to have the central space clear for the Ark and its guarding cherubim.

(5) *The Chambers*. These are a fairly unique phenomenon; yet they cannot be doubted, because of the unusual and accurate agreement of the accounts. Also such chambers have been discovered at Birs Nimrud (Egypt),<sup>72</sup> and the British Museum Gem (Fig. 5), though later, shows that the Phœnicians knew how to combine such a feature with their temple-type.

The chambers were in three stories, extending on all sides of the "House" except the east, where the porch took up all the space.

<sup>67</sup> 1 Kings viii. 12; 2 Chron. vi. 1.

<sup>68</sup> 1 Kings viii. 8. The verse is not altogether clear but seems to warrant this much.

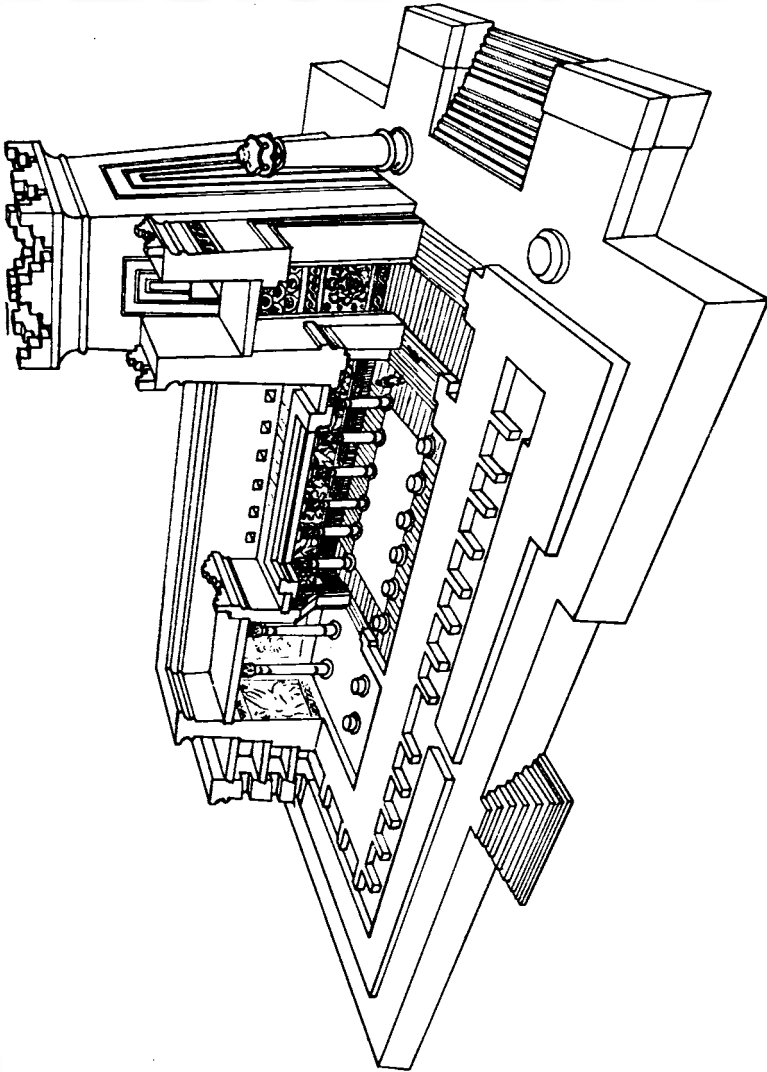
<sup>69</sup> The veil which Chronicles describes is later. Neither Ezekiel nor Kings mention it.

<sup>70</sup> 1 Kings vi. 31b = "five-square."

<sup>71</sup> Ezekiel xli. 3.

<sup>72</sup> cf. Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, ad loc.

The method of their superposition is most ingenious, yet simple. Owing to the veneration for the "House" it was deemed sacrilegious to insert timbers in its walls. So rebatements of one cubit per story gave resting-ledges for the cedar(?) timbers upon which the floors



A PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE TEMPLE.

were laid. This of course necessitated an enlarging of the rooms; so that, the rooms on the first story being five cubits wide, the second story rooms were six and the top one seven. The height of all seems

to have been the same, i. e., five cubits.<sup>73</sup> Their outer wall, according to Ezekiel was five cubits thick. Whether the rebatement was shared by both House and chamber wall is uncertain, but from the repeated statement of the narrowed rests in the "wall of the House" and the lack of a single word about a like lessening in the chamber-wall, it seems likeliest that the whole rebatement of one cubit a story took place in the "House" wall. The exterior slant of the wall of the chambers keeps parallel to the successive lessening of the main wall, which continued to slant inward above the top chamber.

Connection was made from one room to another without the mediacy of a corridor. I have placed the doors next the outer wall, as being simpler to construct and as providing more storage space in the rooms. There was a door-way in the bottom tier of rooms on the south side of the building. Ezekiel's addition of one on the north seems to be a gratuitous personal gift to the ideal he had. Although there were winding stairways in Egyptian pylons, it is doubtful if such skill was yet attained elsewhere. Ladders are a more imaginable means of ascent, though stairs may have been built in by the time of the exile. To put these ladders only on the south side at the doorway room is to leave communication highly difficult. Therefore, as is the natural historical impulse, I have run the rooms well into the buttress-masses of the pylon (which *must* have been built partially hollow) and provided a doorway opening out across the porch's roof. Probably ladders were also to be found in these pylon rooms, which may possibly have been larger by a little than the others.

The number of these rooms is doubtful. Ezekiel is the only one who mentions their number, and he does it in such a way as to defy the best Chinese puzzle-solver. Whether there were thirty in all, thirty-three in all, thirty in each story or thirty-three in each story is an apparently insoluble question. I have chosen thirty-three to a story as working out the best in my plan, but there is no guide to such a choice except convenience.<sup>74</sup>

The windows of these rooms were also latticed, to keep out birds, rain, etc. There must have been a slight slant to the roof of the top story and a perforation through the outer wall to let rain run off. Probably the roof of the Debir drained backward likewise onto the chamber-roof, through small spouts in the "House"-wall.

<sup>73</sup> I Kings vi. 10.

<sup>74</sup> To be sure, this makes pretty small rooms, but they were for storage-closets etc., not for living-rooms. Storage-closets need not have been large, since all the priestly paraphernalia and treasures seem to have been portably small.

(6) *Material.* Jerusalem and its vicinity provides excellent building stone, the *maleki*, a hard style of chalk or white, hard limestone, still appreciated at the present day. It can be polished like marble. It was cut in the quarry to the desired shape and size and brought to its place in the temple, so that no sound of iron was heard in the whole process of building.<sup>75</sup> Doubtless this was in deference to a popular superstition which forbade the use of iron on any sacred house, as shown in the oldest legislation of the Hebrews by the prohibition of altars of *heron* stone, because the lifting of a tool upon it would defile it.<sup>76</sup>

Timber was and is of inferior quality and meagre quantity. Hence a treaty with Hiram was necessary to obtain sufficient cedar and cypress for the prodigal sheathing and colonnades (in the courtyards and Solomon's palaces especially) the plans called for. The forests of Lebanon and of Cyprus are evidenced even now. Hiram had his timber next door.

The gold seems to have been later imagination. But gilding and charging with bronze (brass) is a characteristic Phœnician trick and we need not leave this out of the ornamental possibilities of the Temple.

This finishes the bare reconstruction of the building Solomon dedicated to Yahveh as the permanent abiding-place of His Ark. Yet the ornamentation and symbolic or semi-symbolic details contain so much more of the live interest of the times that, at the great risk of tediousness, I must say a few words on three of the more noticeable birth-marks of the Temple: (1) Jachin and Boaz, (2) the sacred trees, and (3) the Cherubim.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

<sup>75</sup> Although the authenticity of the verse (1 Kings vi. 7) has been doubted owing to its queer position, historic likelihood renews the idea.

<sup>76</sup> Ex. xx. 25:

## GOETHE AND RELIGION.

BY THE EDITOR.

GOETHE'S faith in God received a severe shock while he was a small child by the news of the earthquake at Lisbon. From his religious instruction the boy had learned to look upon God as all-good, all-wise and all-powerful, and such a dreadful accident seemed to be incompatible with this conception of deity. In his autobiography the poet describes his own state of mind as follows:\*

"An extraordinary event deeply disturbed the boy's peace of mind for the first time. On the 1st of November, 1755, the earthquake at Lisbon took place, and spread a prodigious alarm over the world, long accustomed to peace and quiet. A great and magnificent capital which was at the same time a trading and mercantile city, was smitten without warning by a terrible calamity. The earth trembled and tottered; the sea foamed; ships dashed against one another; houses fell down, and churches and towers on top of them; the royal palace was partly swallowed by the waters; the bursting land seemed to vomit flames; everywhere among the ruins were seen smoke and fire. Sixty thousand persons a moment before in ease and comfort, perished together; and he was most fortunate who was no longer capable of a thought or feeling about the disaster. The flames raged on; and with them raged a troop of desperadoes, before concealed, or set at large by the event. The wretched survivors were exposed to pillage, massacre and every outrage; and thus on all sides Nature asserted her boundless caprice.

"Intimations of this event had spread over wide regions more quickly than the authentic reports: slight shocks had been felt in many places; in many springs, particularly those of a mineral nature, an unusual receding of the waters had been remarked; and such phenomena added to the effect of the accounts themselves, which were

\*The quotations from Goethe's *Autobiography* in this article follow mainly the translations of Oxenford.



rapidly circulated, at first in general terms, but finally with dreadful definiteness. Hereupon the religiously inclined were not wanting in reflections, neither were the philosophical in grounds for consolation, nor the clergy in warnings. So complicated an event arrested the attention of the world for a long time; and, as additional and more detailed accounts of the extensive effects of this explosion came from every quarter, those who had already been aroused by the misfortunes of strangers now began to be more and more anxious for themselves and their friends. Perhaps the demon of terror had never so speedily and powerfully diffused his terrors over the earth.

"The boy, who was compelled to endure frequent repetitions of the whole story, was not a little staggered. God, the Creator and Preserver of heaven and earth, whom the explanation of the first article of the creed declared so wise and benignant, having abandoned both the just and the unjust to the same destruction, had not manifested himself by any means in a fatherly character. In vain the young mind strove to resist these impressions. This was the more impossible since the wise and scripture-learned could not themselves agree as to the light in which such a phenomenon should be regarded.

"The next summer gave a closer opportunity of knowing directly that angry God, of whom the Old Testament records so much. A sudden hail-storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, violently broke the new panes at the back of our house, which looked towards the west, damaged the new furniture, destroyed some treasured books and other valuable things, and was the more terrible to the children, as the whole household, quite beside themselves, dragged us little folks with them into a dark passage, where, on their knees, with frightful groans and cries, they thought to conciliate the wrathful Deity. Meanwhile, my father, who was the only one self-possessed, forced open and unhinged the window-frames, by which we saved much glass, but made a broader inlet for the rain which followed the hail; so that, after we were finally quieted, we found ourselves completely surrounded by floods and streams of water, in the halls and on the stairs."

The poetic inclination of Goethe appeared also in his religious yearnings, and it is interesting to see how even as a boy he presents an exact parallel to the religion of ancient Persia whose God was worshiped under the symbol of light, and where the sun was greeted as His visible representative in the world. We let Goethe show the condition of his mind in his own words:

"It may be taken for granted, that among our other lessons, we children had a continued and progressive instruction in religion. But the ecclesiastical Protestantism imparted to us was, properly speaking, nothing but a kind of dry morality. Ingenious exposition was not thought of, and the doctrine appealed neither to the understanding nor to the heart. For that reason, there were various secessions from the Established Church. Separatists, Pietist, Moravians (*Herrnhuter*), the Quiet-in-the-Land, and others differently named and characterized, sprang up, all of whom were animated by the same purpose of approaching the Deity, especially through Christ, more closely than seemed to them possible under the forms of the established religion. .

"The boy heard these opinions and sentiments constantly spoken of, for the clergy as well as the laity divided themselves into *pro* and *con*. Those who dissented more or less widely formed the minority; but their modes of thinking proved enticing on account of their originality, heartiness, perseverance, and independence. All sorts of stories were told of their virtues, and of the way in which these were manifested. The reply of a pious tinker was once circulated, who when one of his craft attempted to shame him by asking, 'Who then is your confessor?' answered with great cheerfulness and confidence in the goodness of his cause, 'I have a very famous one,—no less than the confessor of King David.'

"Things of this sort naturally made an impression on the boy, and led him into similar states of mind. In fact, he came to the conclusion that he might approach directly the great God of nature, the Creator and Preserver of heaven and earth, whose earlier manifestations of wrath had been long forgotten in the beauty of the world, and the manifold blessings in which we participate, while upon it. The way he took to accomplish this was very curious.

"The boy had chiefly kept to the first article of belief. The God who stands in immediate connection with nature, and owns and loves it as his work, seemed to him the proper God, who might be brought into closer relationship with man, as with everything else, and who would take care of him, as of the motion of the stars, the days and the seasons, and animals and plants. There were texts of the Gospels which explicitly stated this. The boy would ascribe no form to this Being: he therefore sought him in his works, and would fain build him an altar in the good Old-Testament fashion. Natural productions were set out to represent the world, and over these a flame was to burn, signifying the aspirations of man's heart towards his Maker. He brought the best ores and other specimens

out of his natural history collection which had been increased as chance directed. But the next difficulty was how to arrange and build them up. His father possessed a beautiful red-lacquered music-stand, ornamented with gilt flowers, in the form of a four-sided pyramid, with different elevations, which had been found convenient for quartets, but lately was not much in use. The boy took possession of this, and set up his natural specimens one above the other in steps; so that it all looked quite pretty and at the same time sufficiently significant.

"On an early sunrise his first worship of God was to be celebrated, but the young priest had not yet settled on how to produce a flame which should at the same time emit an agreeable odor. At last it occurred to him to combine the two, as he possessed a few fumigating pastils, which diffused a pleasant fragrance with a glimmer, if not with a flame. Nay, this soft burning and exhalation seemed a better representation of what passes in the heart, than an open flame. The sun had risen long before, but the neighboring houses concealed the east. At last it appeared above the roofs. The boy at once took up a burning-glass and applied it to the pastils, which stood on the summit in a fine porcelain saucer. Everything succeeded as desired, and the service of devotion was complete. The altar remained as a peculiar ornament of the room which had been assigned him in the new house. Every one regarded it only as a well-arranged collection of natural curiosities. The boy knew better but concealed his knowledge. He longed for a repetition of the solemnity. But unfortunately, just when the most opportune sun arose, the porcelain cup was not at hand: he placed the pastils on the upper surface of the stand with no protection; they were kindled; and so great was the devotion of the priest, that he did not observe, until it was too late, the mischief his sacrifice was doing. The pastils had burned mercilessly into the red lacquer and beautiful gold flowers, and had vanished just as if some evil spirits had left their black, ineffaceable footprints. This threw the young priest into the most extreme perplexity. The mischief could be covered up to be sure with the largest of his specimens; but the spirit for new offerings was gone, and the accident might almost be considered a hint and warning of the danger there always is in wishing to approach the Deity in such a way."

Goethe's polytheistic tendencies\* reappear in an elaboration of the Christian doctrines into a religious system which was similar

\* Cf. the author's article on "Goethe's Polytheism," *Open Court*, July, 1907.

to the old gnosticism with the details of which, however, Goethe was probably unfamiliar. His elaboration will therefore remain a curious parallel in the eyes of any one who compares the laws of mental evolution both in the individual and in the history of mankind. We ought to remember though that the following statement must not be taken too seriously. We must bear in mind that here it is Goethe the poet who speaks, and he recapitulates merely a phase of his development, not the final result of his views. He says:

"I diligently studied the different opinions; and as I had often enough heard it said that ultimately every man has his own religion, so nothing seemed more natural to me than that I should form mine too; and this I did with much satisfaction. Neo-Platonism lay at the foundation; the hermetical, the mystical, the cabalistic, also contributed their share; and thus I built for myself a world that looked strange enough.

"I could easily represent to myself a Godhead which has gone on producing itself from all eternity; but, as production can not be conceived without multiplicity, so of necessity it must have immediately appeared to itself as a Second, which we recognize under the name of Son; now, these two must continue producing, and again manifested themselves in a Third, who was just as substantial, living, and eternal as the Whole. With these three, however, the circle of the Godhead was complete; and it would not have been possible for them to produce another perfectly equal to them.

"But, since the creative impulse always proceeded, they created a fourth, which from the beginning was self-contradictory, inasmuch as it was, like them, unlimited, and yet at the same time was to be contained in them and bounded by them. Now, this was Lucifer, to whom the whole power of creation was committed from this time forth, and from whom all other beings were to proceed. He immediately displayed his infinite activity by creating the whole course of angels,—all, again, after his own likeness, unlimited, but contained in him and bounded by him. Surrounded by such a glory, he forgot his higher origin, and believed that he could find it within himself; and from this first ingratitude sprang all that does not seem to us in accordance with the will and purposes of the Godhead.

"Now, the more Lucifer concentrated himself within himself, the more painful must his condition have become to him, as well as to all the spirits whose sweet uprising to their origin he had prevented. And so there took place what is known to us as the Fall of the Angels. One part of them joined Lucifer, the others turned to their origin.

“From this concentration of the whole creation—for it had proceeded out of Lucifer, and was bound to follow him—sprang all that we perceive under the form of matter, which we figure to ourselves as heavy, solid, and dark, but which, since it is descended, if even not immediately, yet by filiation, from the Divine Being, is just as unlimited, powerful, and eternal as its sire and grandsire.

“Now since the whole mischief, if we may call it so, arose merely through the one-sided direction of Lucifer, the better part was indeed wanting to this creation; for it possessed all that is gained by concentration, while it lacked all that can be effected by expansion alone: and so the entire creation might have been destroyed by everlasting concentration, have become annihilated with its father Lucifer, and have lost all its claims to an equal eternity with the Godhead. This condition the Elohim contemplated for a time: and they had their choice, either to wait for those eons in which the field would again have become clear, and space would be left them for a new creation: or, if they would, to seize upon that which already existed, and supply the want according to their own eternity. Now they chose the latter, and merely by their will supplied in an instant the whole want which the consequence of Lucifer’s undertaking involved. They gave to the Eternal Being the faculty of expansion, of moving towards them: the peculiar pulse of life was again restored, and Lucifer himself could not avoid its effects. This is the epoch when that appeared which we know as light, and when that began which we are accustomed to designate by the word creation.

“However much this multiplied itself by progressive degrees, through the continually working vital power of the Elohim, still a being was wanting who might be able to restore the original connection with the Godhead: and so man was created, who in all things was to be similar, yea, equal to the Godhead, but thereby, in effect, found himself once more in the situation of Lucifer, that of being at once unlimited and limited. And since this contradiction was to manifest itself in him through all the categories of existence, and a perfect consciousness, as well as a decided will, was to accompany his various conditions, it was to be foreseen that he must be at the same time the most perfect and the most imperfect, the most happy and the most unhappy, creature. It was not long before he, too, completely acted the part of Lucifer. True ingratitude is the separation from the benefactor; and thus that fall was manifest for the second time, although the whole creation is not-

ing and was nothing but a falling from and returning to the original.

“One easily sees how the Redemption has here not only been decreed from eternity, but is considered as eternally necessary,—nay, that it must ever renew itself through the whole time of becoming and being (*Werden und Wesen*). In this view of the subject, nothing is more natural than for Divinity itself to take on the form of man, which had already prepared itself as a veil, and to share his fate for a short time, in order, by this assimilation, to enhance his joys and alleviate his sorrows. The history of all religions and philosophies teaches us, that this great truth, indispensable to man, has been handed down by different nations, in different times, in various ways, and even in strange fables and images, in accordance with their limited knowledge. Enough, if it only be acknowledged that we find ourselves in a condition, which, even if it seems to drag us down and oppress us, yet gives us opportunity, nay, even makes it our duty, to uplift ourselves, and thereby to fulfil the purposes of the Godhead, so that, while we are compelled on the one hand to actualize our own selves (*uns zu verselbsten*), we, on the other hand, do not fail to unself ourselves (*uns zu entselbstigen*) in regular pulsation.”

Goethe can scarcely be called a believer in Christian dogmas, but he always took a deep and sympathetic interest in genuinely pious people. His friendship for Fräulein von Klettenberg, as well as his intimacy with Jung Stilling are well known. He went so far as to help the latter in the publication of his books which appeared under the titles *Heinrich Stillings Jugend* and *Stillings Jünglingsjahre*. At first sight Goethe might be thought to hold at the same time views that seem irreconcilable, and yet there need be no inconsistency in his several utterances. We will here enumerate some of these apparent contradictions.

Goethe's poetic nature made him appreciate Roman Catholic ceremonies and rituals. Protestantism was too prosaic and did not appeal to his emotional nature. His views are worth considering. He writes:

“The Protestant service has too little fulness and consistency to be able to hold the congregation together; hence it easily happens that members secede from it, and either form little congregations of their own, or, without ecclesiastical connection, quietly carry on their civic existence side by side. Thus for a considerable time complaints were made that church-going diminished from year to year, and also attendance at the Lord's Supper. With respect to

both, but especially the latter, the cause lies close at hand ; but who dares to speak it out? We will make the attempt.

“In moral and religious, as well as in physical and civic, matters, man does not like to do anything on the spur of the moment ; he needs a sequence from which habit results. What he is to love and to perform, he cannot represent to himself as single or isolated ; and, if he is to repeat anything willingly, it must not have become strange to him. If the Protestant worship lacks fulness in general, so let it be investigated in detail, and it will be found that the Protestant has too few sacraments,—nay, indeed, he has only one in which he is himself an actor,—the Lord’s Supper ; for baptism he sees only when it is performed on others, and is not greatly edified by it. The sacraments are the highest part of religion, the symbols to our senses of an extraordinary divine favor and grace. In the Lord’s Supper earthly lips are to receive a divine Being embodied, and partake of a heavenly nourishment under the form of an earthly one. This import is the same in all kinds of Christian churches. Whether the sacrament is taken with more or less submission to the mystery, with more or less accommodation as to that which is intelligible, it always remains a great, holy thing, which in reality takes the place of the possible or the impossible, the place of that which man can neither attain nor do without. But such a sacrament should not stand alone. No Christian can partake of it with the true joy for which it is given, if the symbolical or sacramental sense is not fostered within him. He must be accustomed to regard the inner religion of the heart and that of the external Church as perfectly one, as the great universal sacrament, which again divides itself into so many others, and communicates to these parts its holiness, and eternity.

“Here a youthful pair join hands, not for a passing salutation or for a dance ; the priest pronounces his blessing upon them, and the bond is indissoluble. It is not long before this wedded pair bring their own likeness to the threshold of the altar. The infant is purified with holy water, and so incorporated into the Church that it cannot forfeit this benefit but through the most monstrous apostasy. In the course of life the child goes on growing in worldly things of his own accord, but in heavenly things he must be instructed. If on examination it proves that this has been fully done, he is received into the bosom of the Church as an actual citizen, as a true and voluntary professed Christian, not without outward tokens of the significance of this act. Now, only, is he truly a Christian ; now for the first time does he know his privileges and also his

duties. But, in the meantime, a great deal that is strange has happened to him as a man. Through instruction and affliction he has come to know how critical appears the state of his inner self, and there questions of doctrines and of transgressions will constantly occur; but punishment shall no longer take place. For here, in the infinite confusion in which he must entangle himself, amid the conflict of natural and religious claims, an admirable expedient is given him, in confiding his deeds and misdeeds, his infirmities and doubts, to a worthy man, appointed expressly for that purpose, who knows how to calm, to warn, to strengthen him, to chasten him likewise by symbolical punishments, and at last, by complete washing away of his guilt, to render him happy, and to give him back, pure and cleansed, the tablet of his manhood. Thus prepared, and set entirely at rest by several sacramental acts, which on closer examination branch out again into minuter sacramental features, he kneels down to receive the Host; and, that the mystery of this high act may be still enhanced, he sees the chalice only in the distance. It is no common eating and drinking that satisfies,—it is a heavenly feast, which makes him thirst after heavenly drink.

“Yet let not the youth believe that is all he has to do: let not even the man believe it. In earthly relations we finally become accustomed to depend on ourselves; and, even there, knowledge, understanding, and character will not always suffice; while on the other hand in heavenly things we never finish learning. The higher feeling within us, which often finds itself not quite at home, is, besides, oppressed by so much from without, that our own power hardly administers all that is necessary for counsel, consolation, and help. But, to this end, that remedy is instituted for our whole life, and an intelligent, pious man is continually waiting to show the right way to the wanderers, and to relieve the distressed.

“And what has been so well tried through the entire life, is now to show forth all its healing power with tenfold strength at the gate of Death. According to a familiar custom, inculcated from youth upwards, the dying man receives with fervor those symbolical, significant assurances, and where every earthly warranty fails, he is assured, by a heavenly one, of a blessed existence for all eternity. He feels perfectly convinced that neither a hostile element nor a malignant spirit can hinder him from clothing himself with a transfigured body, so that, in direct relation with the Godhead, he may partake of the boundless bliss which flows forth from God.

“Then, in conclusion, that the whole man may be made holy,



the feet are anointed and blessed. They are to feel, even in the event of possible recovery, a repugnance to touching this earthly, hard, impenetrable soil. A wonderful elasticity is to be imparted to them, by which they spurn from under them the clod of earth which hitherto attracted them. And so, through a brilliant cycle of equally holy acts, the beauty of which we have only briefly hinted at, the cradle and the grave, however far asunder they may chance to be, are joined in one continuous circle.

"But all these spiritual wonders spring not, like other fruits, from the natural soil, where they can neither be sown nor planted nor cherished. We must supplicate for them another region,—a thing which cannot be done by all persons nor at all times. Here we meet the highest of these symbols, derived from pious tradition. We are told that one man may be more favored, blessed, and sanctified from above than another. But, that this may not appear as a natural gift, this great boon, bound up with a heavy duty, must be communicated to others by one authorized person to another; and the greatest good that a man can gain, without having to acquire it by his own wrestling or grasping, must be preserved and perpetuated on earth by spiritual inheritance. In the very ordination of the priest is comprehended all that is necessary for the effectual solemnizing of those holy acts by which the multitude receive grace, without any other activity being needful on their part than that of faith and implicit confidence. And thus the priest joins the line of his predecessors and successors, in the circle of those anointed with him, representing the highest source of blessings, so much the more gloriously as it is not he, the priest, whom we reverence, but his office; it is not his nod to which we bow the knee, but the blessing which he imparts, and which seems the more holy, and to come the more immediately from heaven, because the earthly instrument cannot at all weaken or invalidate it by its own sinful, nay, wicked, nature.

"How shattered to pieces is this truly spiritual connection in Protestantism, which declares part of the above-mentioned symbols apocryphal, and only a few canonical!—and how, by their indifference to some of these, will they prepare us for the high dignity of the others?

"In my time I had been confided to the religious instruction of a good old infirm clergyman, who had been confessor of the family for many years. The "Catechism," a "Paraphrase" of it, and the "Scheme of Salvation," I had at my fingers' ends: I lacked not one of the strong and convincing Biblical texts, but from all this

I reaped no fruit; for, as they assured me that the honest old man arranged his chief examination according to an ancient set formula, I lost all pleasure and inclination for the affair, spent the last week in all sorts of diversions, laid in my hat the loose leaves borrowed from an older friend who had gotten them from the clergyman, and unfeelingly and without understanding read aloud all that I might have uttered with feeling and conviction.

“My good intention and my aspirations in this important matter were still more paralyzed by a dry, spiritless routine, when I was about to approach the confessional. I was indeed conscious of having many failings but no great faults; and that very consciousness diminished them, since it directed me to the moral strength which lay within me, and which, with resolution and perseverance, was at last to become master over the old Adam. We were taught that we were much better than the Catholics for the very reason that we were not obliged to confess anything in particular in the confessional,—nay, that this would not be at all proper, even if we wished to do it. I did not like this at all; for I had the strangest religious doubts, which I would gladly have had cleared up on such an occasion. Now, as this was not to be done, I composed a confession for myself, which, while it well expressed my state of mind, was to confess to an intelligent man, in general terms, that which I was forbidden to tell him in detail. But when I entered the old choir of the ancient church of the Barefoot Friars [the church used by the Protestants of Frankfort], when I approached the strange latticed closets in which the reverend gentlemen used to be found for that purpose, when the sexton opened the door for me, when I now saw myself shut up in the narrow place face to face with my spiritual grandsire and he bade me welcome with his weak, nasal voice, all the light of my mind and heart was extinguished at once, the well-conned confession-speech would not cross my lips. In my embarrassment I opened the book I had in my hand, and read from it the first short form I saw, which was so general, that anybody might have spoken it with quite a safe conscience. I received absolution, withdrew neither warm nor cold, went the next day with my parents to the Table of the Lord, and, for a few days, behaved myself as was becoming after so holy an act.”

While Goethe praises the beauty of the Roman Catholic ceremonies and blames Protestants for the prosaic tenor of their religion, he recognizes the significance of the Reformation and offers thanks to Luther. In the very last year of his life in his talks with Eckermann he said:

"We are not at all aware of all for which we have to thank Luther and the Reformation in general. We have been made free from the fetters of spiritual narrowness; as a result of our advancing culture we have become able to go back to the source and grasp Christianity in its purity. We have once more the courage to stand on God's earth with firm feet and to recognize ourselves in our God-given human nature. May the spiritual culture continue to advance, may the natural sciences grow in ever broader expansion and greater depth, and may the human soul extend, as it will, over the sublimity and moral culture of Christendom as it gleams and shines in the Gospels."

Goethe was broader than either Roman Catholics or Protestants, and in the face of an attempt made by Countess Bernstein to convert him, he maintained his position in these words (October, 1809): "I have tried my life long to be candid with myself and with others, and in all earthly affairs have always looked at the highest things; you and yours have done the same. Let us therefore continue so as long as it is day for us; a sun will shine for others also. They will make their way to it and incidentally illumine us with a brighter light. May all be again united in the arms of the all-loving Father!"

Goethe was a good observer and he noticed that pious Christians in spite of their agreement in belief held very different religious tenets. The words in which they expressed themselves were to some extent the same, but the sentiments, attitudes and conceptions of each varied according to their needs. So, for instance, he noted when Lavater met Fräulein von Klettenberg in Frankfort, that, although they were apparently and in all externalities one in their religious faith, yet they conceived of their Saviour, in a very different manner. Goethe says in his *Autobiography*, Book XIV: "It has been repeatedly claimed in times of toleration that every man has his own religion, his own way of serving God. Although I did not maintain this directly I could notice in the present case that men and women stand in need of a different Saviour. Fräulein von Klettenberg's attitude to Him was a woman's attitude toward a lover to whom she surrenders unconditionally. All joy and all hope is placed in his person and she entrusts to him, and without doubt or hesitancy, the fate of her life. Lavater, however, regarded his Saviour as a friend whom a man would jealously strive to imitate without envy and lovingly, whose merit he recognizes, praises and for that reason endeavors to become like Him."

Goethe was not an anti-Christian but an anti-dogmatist. He

disliked the literal belief in dogma and the narrow interpretation of the sacraments. He refused to attend the baptism of Schiller's second son because the ceremony would jar on him, but he was not opposed to Christianity. Accordingly he had his own son instructed in the Christian doctrine by his friend Herder who at that time was superintendent-general of the Weimar State Church. Herder consented to undertake this task in a liberal spirit and Goethe thanked him in these words: "You will have the kindness, my old and honored friend, to introduce my son to the Christian fellowship in a more liberal manner than custom prescribes. For this I thank you most heartily."

Goethe loved and cherished the Bible; he says: "As for myself, I loved and valued it; for almost to it alone did I owe my moral culture. The events, the doctrines, the symbols, the similes, had all impressed themselves deeply upon me and had influenced me in one way or another. These unjust, scoffing, and perverted attacks, therefore, disgusted me; but people had already gone so far as very willingly to admit, partly for the sake of defending many passages, that God had accommodated himself to the modes of thought and power of comprehension in men; that even those moved by the spirit had not on that account been able to renounce their character, their individuality, and that Amos, a cow-herd, did not use the language of Isaiah, who is said to have been a prince."

An incident recorded by Falk under the date of November 10, 1810, seems to stand in flat contradiction to Goethe's praise of the Bible. In a conversation which he carried on with a bigoted Roman Catholic doctor in 1810 in the presence of the high-minded and pious Louis Bonaparte, ex-king of Holland, he branded the Bible as a dangerous book. We let Goethe tell this incident in his own words as related by Falk:

"But once when he [this bigoted man] started again an almost Capuchinian tirade on the dangerousness of books and the book-trade I could not help answering him with the opinion that the most dangerous of all books, so far as the history of the world is concerned, is indubitably the Bible, because no other book has brought so much good and so much evil to the human race. When I had finished this speech I was somewhat frightened at what I had said, for I thought the powder-mine would now explode into the air in all directions. Fortunately, however, it happened otherwise. To be sure I saw the doctor first grow pale and then red again from terror and wrath at these words, but the king composed himself with his usual gentleness and friendliness and said almost jokingly:

*'Cela prouve quelquefois que Monsieur de Goethe est hérétique';*  
"Sometimes the heretic comes out in Monsieur de Goethe."

In *Wilhelm Meister*, Book VI, we read the following passage, which we can not doubt relates an incident of Goethe's own experience, although it may seem inconsistent with the understanding of his views which we have received from other expressions of his. He says: "Once I prayed out of the depth of my heart 'Now Almighty give me faith.' I was then in the condition in which one must be, but seldom is, when one's prayers are acceptable to God. Who could describe what in those moments I felt? A powerful impulse drew my soul to the cross on which Jesus had perished. My soul was near to Him who had become Man and died on the cross, and then I knew what faith meant. 'This is faith indeed,' I cried, and started up overawed by the idea. For such emotions as these all words fail us."

Goethe was too broad to be either a Christian or an anti-Christian. He was both, and the Christians in his time, too narrow to understand his position, called him a pagan. Goethe was sufficiently clear-sighted to see that they were Christians in name only, and that in spite of his unbelief he himself was a better Christian than they. He said: "Who to-day is such a Christian as Christ would have him? Perhaps I am the only one, although you consider me a heathen."

## SACRAMENTAL CANNIBALISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

**M**R. James B. Smiley's article on "The Communion Ceremony" contains a great number of references to ideas prevalent among savages, which anticipate the underlying principle of sacramental eating and drinking. Cannibalism was originally by no means due to the physical command of hunger or the appetite for human flesh. Instances of that kind are rare exceptions and occur only when a terrible famine has reduced the population of a besieged city or a poverty-stricken district to a state of despair bordering on insanity. But cannibalism from religious motives is a feature quite common among all the tribes of man at a certain stage of civilization including even the ancestors of the European nations. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie touches as follows on the subject when speaking of prehistoric Egypt:

"Prejudice is strange. I suppose the average British house-keeper would rather travel in the same carriage with a gambler, or a rake, than with a cannibal; the former two she might call 'gentlemanly,' but her skirts would be gathered closer around her when she brushed past the latter. It is not by any means only the horror of presupposed murder; but, without that being in question, it is the use of human flesh as food which to modern respectability seems ghastly. There is no code of Mrs. Grundy about it, because it is outside of the very limited experiences of that worthy lady. No, it is sheer mental prejudice against strangeness, which puts even the innocent and affectionate cannibal below the moral offender. Yet a large part of mankind are cannibals, and still more—perhaps all—have been so, including our own forefathers, for Jerome describes the Atticotti, a British tribe, as preferring human flesh to that of cattle.....

"When, a short time ago, it came to light that a civilized people, at about 3000 B. C., who had exquisite handicrafts, whose children played with choicely wrought toys, while their fathers carried on a wide-spread trade in the Mediterranean—when it appeared that these people habitually cut the heads from their dead and ate some portion of the bodies, no one would credit the notion. Every sort of explanation was started; but the facts could not be gainsaid, and the broken marrow-bones and piles of ribs and vertebrae told plainly how the Libyan invaders of Egypt had honored their beloved dead.

"And now this year it is found that one of the grandest and most capable people that ever lived—those who built the splendid masonry of the Pyramids, at once the greatest and most highly finished works of man; who carved some of the most lifelike statues, who organized society and labor on a great scale, who treasured a delicate moral feeling—that many of these people reverently buried the bones of their dead after elaborately removing all the flesh. Why they did so we can hardly doubt when we look at the ways of other races.

"When we classify the motives of cannibalism that are recorded, we find that in more than half the races mental motives prevail, and in rather less than half the physical motives of hunger or pleasure. We may roughly classify the motives thus:

|   | PER CENT. |
|---|-----------|
| Honor, kindness, future good, love .....    | 20        |
| To obtain strength or magic results .....   | 19        |
| As a ceremony, or to acquire position ..... | 10        |
| As a punishment .....                       | 5         |
|   | 54        |
| From hunger or need of food .....           | 18        |
| From preference as food .....               | 28        |
|   | 46        |

The higher motives of honor and kindness prevail mostly in Asia, Australia, and South America, but seem to be unknown in Polynesia, North America, and Africa. The Thibetans considered it a glorious burial for their honored elders to be eaten; some Australians also eat the dead with the greatest and most solemn honor; and the Tupi and Capanahuas in South America did likewise. Besides this, it is often a matter of kindness and love for the dead. The Cucumas of South America said that 'it was better to be inside a friend than to be swallowed up by the cold earth.' And who will say that they are wrong? Such seems to have been the main sentiment in that quarter of the world, as it appears again among the Botocudos, Tapuyas, Mayoruna, Mundrucu, and Guyanis. The idea of protecting the dead from decay and putrefaction, which would befall them in the ground, and giving them a kindly and affectionate disposal among their friends and kin, is as far removed as possible from any brutality and baseness.....

"Other motives, for the benefit of the living, are also usual. The idea that eating of the heart of a lion will make a man brave, or the legs of a deer will make him swift, is a common one in many parts of the world.....

"The great moral objection to cannibalism is, no doubt, that it may lead to murder; and this is the special blot on African cannibalism."

The data of Professor Petrie are based on good anthropological evidence, and Mr. Smiley contributes a number of additional facts which go to prove the universality of cannibalism. We may mention still another motive, which is the idea of incorporating the soul of the deceased, and it is probable that at a certain stage of civilization the heir had to incorporate the soul of the testator by partaking of his body. In this way he was deemed the rightful successor in whom the soul of the departed one had taken abode.

We look with horror upon the superstitions of the savage, but if we were living under the same conditions and held the same opinions as to the nature of the world, and especially of the soul, we would act in the same way. Primitive man is not so stupid as he appears to us. He has a logic of his own which he follows with rigorous persistency. The witch trials and heresy persecutions of the Middle Ages belong to the same category and call for the same explanation. The inquisitors and judges of witches were neither malevolent nor criminal. They simply drew conclusions according to the arguments at their disposal, and when we know all we shall have to understand the situation and judge the superstitions of our ancestors not only with leniency but with condonement.

Why then has cannibalism become so offensive to modern mankind? Professor Petrie ridicules the sentiment, and yet who of us does not find the idea shocking and ghastly?

In order to understand the horror that attaches to the very idea of eating human flesh, we must bear in mind, that man shrinks from eating certain animals, and these animals are always those which have been sacred to some god or other and were first partaken of sacramentally at the feast of the deity. Semitic archeologists have discovered that the boar was originally the animal sacred to the sun-god and was venerated in Syria as the symbol of Adonis. This conception was not limited to Semites, for even the ancient Teutons cherished the same idea with regard to *Fro*, the sun-god who was said to ride on a boar with golden bristles. *Fro* means "the lord," as does Adonis, and the word is still retained in the German name for the Procession of the Host, called the "body of the Lord," or in German *Fronleichnam*. The feminine of *Fro* is *Frau* which applies in the same sense to the Virgin Mary as the queen of heaven, just as its older form Frigga or Freya applied to the mother goddess and queen of heaven of the Teutons.

The German heroes in Walhalla were believed to feast sacramentally on a boar whose flesh never gave out, and we cannot doubt that in Syria the pig was a sacred animal solemnly partaken of by the worshipers on the festive day of Adonis. When in a later stage of civilization the ritual of Adonis made way for a higher religion, the sacramental animal became an object of abomination, and thenceforth the boar and all its kin were scorned by the adherents of the new faith.

The same process took place among the Saxons who in their pagan days worshiped Wodan as the god of heaven, to whom the horse was sacred. We know that they celebrated sacramental feasts



at which they partook freely of the flesh of the horse, but when Christianity superseded the worship of Wodan and the other gods of the Saxons, the communion of the pagan ritual was forbidden by severe penalties, and this rule applied even to eating the flesh of the horse, the animal sacred to Wodan. This habit is so deeply ingrained into all Teutonic races that at the present time they instinctively revolt from equine food.

Now we will understand that the reason for abstaining from human flesh is not merely anthropological, it is also religious. There was a time in the development of all races when human sacrifices were deemed indispensable and no race on earth can be considered free from this taint if we may regard it so. We must look upon this fact of history as an indication of man's deeply seated religious notions, and of the fact that he has always been willing to offer to God the best and dearest in his possession. If we consider the natural reversion that sets in when in a higher phase of his development, man shrinks from partaking of the sacramental food of a previous age, we will understand the deep aversion modern man has acquired against cannibalism.

It is one of the great blessings of Christianity that being rooted in the remotest past of mankind it abolished ancient superstitions by fulfilling them. The Christian sacrament\* contains reminiscences of the old cannibalistic custom and yet it has done away with it forever. The Christian worshiper still feels the yearning to partake of the deity and this is realized in a sense-perceptible rite. The old notion looms up in the background, yet it is transfigured by a spiritual meaning.

\* For further information see the author's article, "The Food of Life and the Sacrament," *Monist* X, 247 ff. and 343 ff.

## THE POETRY OF SLEEP.

BY A SKEPTIC.

I DO not believe in telepathy, mind reading or revelation of things unknown, through any of the automatic and occult processes for which so much is claimed and so much accepted in our time. And yet, I have had numerous experiences, waking and sleeping, which seem to indicate the working of sub-conscious faculties and to make it seem probable that many delusions and frauds begin in experiences that are mysterious and wonderful. Omitting the mental and optical surprises which have come in my waking hours and are exceedingly interesting, I would record some of the phenomena of dreams.

All my life I have had wonderful dreams. Events unroll themselves in a continuous procession, or I compose stories of great length and with wonderful skill, as it seems, until I wake and find the fading remnants of the experience, or the narrative, to be absurd and impossible. I have often dreamed of speaking in public and occasionally have flattered myself that I was exceedingly eloquent. But I have never succeeded in carrying through any discourse to a fitting conclusion or in having the exercises carried out according to program. What ought to be a solid platform in a hall may turn out to be a miscellaneous collection of packing cases, and the books from which quotations are to be made always turn out to be something strange and for the purpose useless.

During my waking hours I have no skill as a poet and have not in my life attempted more than half a dozen times to write poetry in any form. But in my sleep I often make the attempt with great satisfaction to myself, which is always followed by disappointment when I find either that I cannot capture the fleeting creations of my fancy or that so far as I can remember they are pretentious nonsense: This habit of dreaming began when I was passing my examinations for entrance at college. The night before my examina-

tion in Latin I wearied myself in my sleep with attempts to write Latin poetry. Not a word remained in the morning to show whether I had succeeded or not, but a framework of Latin forms which I had been trying to fill out with intelligible language did remain to haunt me for days.

The prairie and the desert have always impressed my imagination and excited me more than any other forms of natural scenery. My first view of the prairie came on a journey from Toledo over the Wabash Road to St. Louis. While daylight lasted I was charmed with the changing aspects of the land and especially with the gorgeous cloud scenery accompanying the sunset, which is one of the many compensations which those who live on the plains have for the lack of mountain scenery. In my sleep the visions of the day glided into dreams, and in the night I awoke filled with the idea that I had caught the very spirit of the land and sky and was able to interpret it as no other person had ever done. But I was chagrined to find that my fine imaginations were rapidly failing and that of all the eloquent descriptions I could recall only the words "the long and infinite prairie." Hearing music, when I am awake or in my dreams, I sometimes seem to know things without the aid of my senses. I do not merely hear with my ears and see with my eyes, but I am a part of that which I hear and see. I know it because I am in it and of it, as if I were a disembodied presence without dimensions, conscious of that of which I am a part. To take one example of the effect of music. Once I fell into a reverie while a friend was playing on the piano and as I mused I seemed to become a conscious part of the world. The earth was a living being—an organism, living as we live, and especially I was conscious that it was breathing, the whole earth was breathing, as we breathe, and I was a conscious part of the process. When I started from my reverie, I told the musician what I had been thinking of. He said, "The words which go to the music which I was playing are 'Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord.'"

I once made a partially successful effort to rescue a poem composed in sleep. I fell asleep sitting in a chair with broad arms, on which a pad of paper was lying. In my dream I seemed to be, not floating in the air, but intermingled and interfused with it, and yet preserving my identity. Suddenly all the air about me seemed to be vocal. I did not hear in an ordinary sense any sound and yet all the air seemed to be thrilling with an anthem. I suddenly became conscious that I was hearing the hymn of humanity, the whole history of its struggles; and the meaning of all its joy and sorrow and

triumph and pain were disclosed in this wonderful symphony. While the song was in full flow I suddenly awoke, having at first the feeling that I was in full possession of that which had been flowing through my being in the form of a magnificent poem. Then with a start I realized that here was a chance such as had so many times escaped me through the failure of any memory. Already the vision began to fade, but I seized a pencil and as fast as I could write, put down the following fragment. I did not stop to supply the missing lines or words because I feared it would all escape. There was much more than I had written, but suddenly with a snap my ordinary consciousness was restored, the dream faded and I was left with this relic which to me means more than it can to anyone else, because although it is mere doggerel it recalls the magnificent reverberation of fancy of which it is a reminiscence.

## A VOICE.

I heard a voice on the empty air  
 It rang out full and free,  
 It spoke of joy and freedom from care  
 Like the waves of a flowing sea.

Again it was low and its strain  
 Was the wail of a heart  
 In travail of sorrow and pain.

.....

Loud and long was its peal  
 Like laughter rolling along,  
 'Twas the song of the glowing ideal  
 The peal of humanity's song.

Low and tender it stole  
 Like a fancy, a mist of desire,  
 Into the fibre and sense of the soul,  
 A warmth of Olympian fire.

Low and soft and sweet  
 A song to remember apart  
 A song of love ..  
 'Twas the song of the human heart.

It rang out again on the air,  
 A burden of woes it conveyed,  
 A burden of grief and despair

.....

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes seems to have had similar experiences, for in his essay on "Mechanism in Thought and Morals,"

he says: "I remember in my youth, reading verses in a dream, written, as I thought, by a rival fledgling of the Muse. They were so far beyond my powers, that I despaired of equalling them; yet I must have made them unconsciously as I read them. Could I only have remembered them waking!"

We hear much about the subconscious mind, and the statement is often made that the very best work of which one is capable may be done while the conscious mind is asleep. Stevenson, Tennyson, and Coleridge are quoted as witnesses to this fact. But my own experience has led me to believe that we are the victims of a subtle deception, often of self-deception in this matter. *Kubla Khan* was a wonderful poem and the contrast between that and the fragment given above may measure the difference between the poetic ability of Coleridge and the present writer. But after all *Kubla Khan* is the one splendid exception in literature and even that we may suspect owes its charm to the skill of the writer, exercised it may be both before and after the dream out of which the poem issued. It is a splendid example, also, perhaps the supreme illustration, of the grandiosity which marks the dream-made poem. Of all this the lesson is that the deliverances of the subconscious mind are vague, incoherent, rhapsodical, useless, for the most part, until they are submitted to the severer process of the conscious intellect.

N. B. When I sent in the above article I had not read the interesting communication by Sanders McIvor entitled "Subconscious Poetry."

## THE MOSQUE OF OMAR.

BY THE EDITOR.

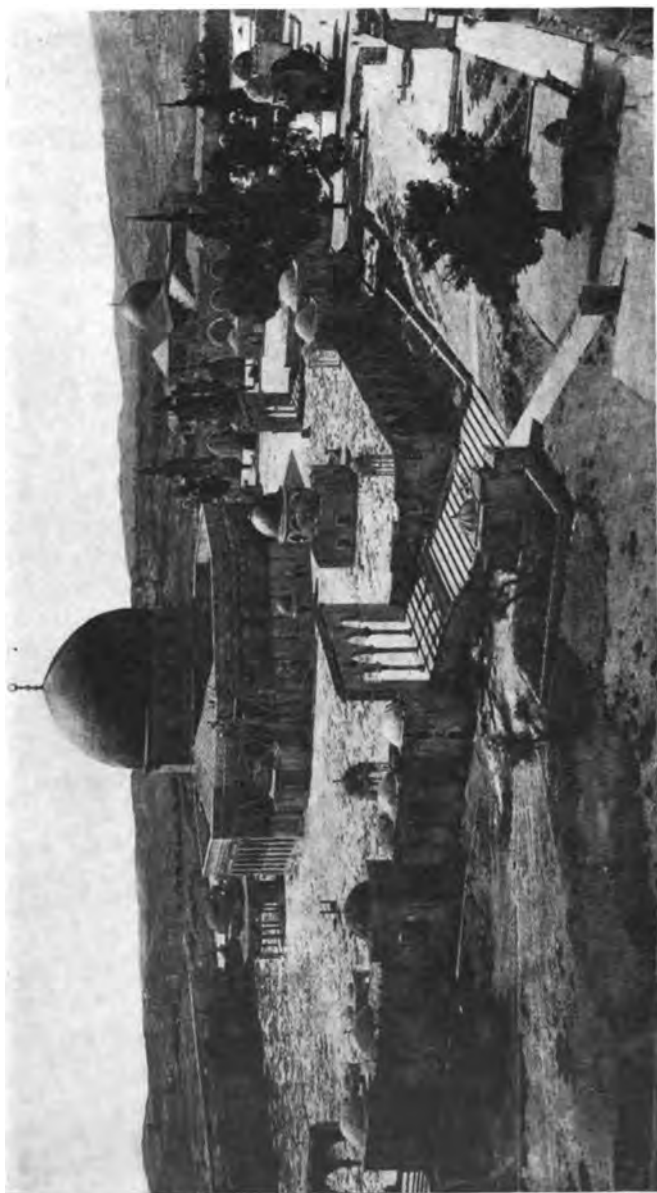
THE place where the Mosque of Omar now stands is commonly considered as the holy place of the temple of Solomon, for mankind is in the habit of preserving local traditions faithfully, and we may feel certain that Omar built his mosque on the site regarded with awe by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The Christians would not build a church on the spot because they believed that the destruction of the temple had taken place according to the decree of divine providence, and it was considered as un-Christian to redeem the ruins from their desolation. Omar's structure, however, is very unlike other Mohammedan mosques. It is not a place of worship where faithful Mussulmans might gather for prayer, but is simply a rotunda covering a rough rock, and it is this rock which is the holy spot of the temple.

Here, we must assume, was the threshing-floor of Araunah,\* the Jebusite, from whom David bought the ground because it had become holy to him on account of the theophany—the divine vision—that had been granted him. We must remember that David had offended Yahveh by numbering the people, and as a punishment Israel was visited by a plague. The story is told in 2 Sam. xxiv. 10-25, and reads as follows:

“And David's heart smote him after that he had numbered the people. And David said unto the Lord, I have sinned greatly in that I have done: and now, I beseech thee, O Lord, take away the iniquity of thy servant; for I have done very foolishly.

“For when David was up in the morning, the word of the Lord came unto the prophet Gad, David's seer, saying, Go and say unto David, Thus saith the Lord, I offer thee three things; choose thee one of them, that I may do it unto thee.

• אַרְבֵּי



THE MOSQUE OF OMAR.

“So Gad came to David, and told him, and said unto him, Shall seven years of famine come unto thee in thy land? or wilt thou flee three months before thine enemies, while they pursue thee? or that there be three days’ pestilence in thy land? now advise, and see what answer I shall return to him that sent me.

“And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the Lord; for his mercies are great: and let me not fall into the hand of man.

“So the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from Dan even to Beersheba seventy thousand men.

“And when the angel stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it, the Lord repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed the people, It is enough: stay now thine hand. And the angel of the Lord was by the threshingplace of Araunah the Jebusite.

“And David spake unto the Lord when he saw the angel that smote the people, and said, Lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly: but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me, and against my father’s house.

“And Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, Go up, rear an altar unto the Lord in the threshingfloor of Araunah the Jebusite.

“And David, according to the saying of Gad, went up as the Lord commanded.

“And Araunah looked, and saw the king and his servants coming on toward him: and Araunah went out, and bowed himself before the king on his face upon the ground.

“And Araunah said, Wherefore is my lord the king come to his servant? And David said, To buy the threshingfloor of thee, to build an altar unto the Lord, that the plague may be stayed from the people.

“And Araunah said unto David, Let my lord the king take and offer up what seemeth good unto him: behold, here be oxen for burnt sacrifice, and threshing instruments and other instruments of the oxen for wood.

“All these things did Araunah, as a king, give unto the king. And Araunah said unto the king, The Lord thy God accept thee.

“And the king said unto Araunah, Nay; but I will surely buy it of thee at a price: neither will I offer burnt offerings unto the Lord my God of that which doth cost me nothing. So David bought the threshingfloor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver.



“And David built there an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the Lord was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.”

The story is told twice in the Bible; the other version is found in 1 Chron. xxi and contains a few later additions and ornaments. The vision especially is described very dramatically in these words:

“And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. Then David and the elders of Israel, who were clothed in sackcloth, fell upon their faces.”

It appears that the threshingfloor or Araunah which had thus become holy to the people has remained untouched by human hands throughout the ages down to the present day. It is most probable that it constituted the Holy of Holies in the Solomonic temple and also in its successor, the temple of Herod. After the destruction of the latter by Titus in 70 A. D. the place was marked by ruins, and the pious Moslem restored its pristine sanctity by erecting there a beautiful mosque built in Byzantine style. We can now understand that this graceful dome is in itself not a temple but simply serves as a covering for the protection of the holy place.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

MODERN THOUGHT AND THE CRISIS IN BELIEF. By *R. M. Wenley*. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 364. Price, \$1.50 net.

This is the 1909 volume of Baldwin Lectures founded and endowed by Bishop Harris to be delivered each year at the University of Michigan by "a learned clergyman or other communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . for the Establishment and Defence of Christian Truth." Professor Wenley, who holds the chair of philosophy there, is well fitted to contribute his share toward carrying out the Bishop's design although he modestly feels the lack of technical theological training. In this volume he endeavors to "indicate some reasons for doubting doubt that remains merely destructive." He knows that the performance of the task he has undertaken is likely to call down "anathemas alike from defenders of 'the faith once delivered to the saints'—for whom religion has achieved finality—and from rationalists who, in their horror of the sympathetic fallacy, cherish the notion that technical research can accomplish a perfect work." He knows it is hopeless to expect to conciliate these two parties or to convince them, but he writes rather for those who believe that the contemporary course of science and scholarship is tending towards the establishment of Christian truth rather than its apologetic defence or contemptuous dismissal.

In the first lecture, "Sheaves on the Threshing-Floor," Professor Wenley has drawn attention to the alterations that overtake reflective constructions of belief. In the next three, "The Waters of Meribah," "Breaches of the House," and "Humiliation in the Midst," he has summarized movements that justify Lord Hugh Cecil's declaration in the House of Commons, that "the doctrines of Christianity have passed into the region of doubt," indicating the present views on physical science and higher criticism from the conclusions of others. The last chapters, entitled "The Adjournment of Well-being," "The Penumbra of Belief," and "The Valley of Blessing," are devoted to an examination into the evidences of Christianity.

The keynote of the work seems to be the primary importance of religion to mankind, which the author would emphasize in the face of higher criticism and the truths it has opened up with the result that in the minds of many, the place of religion in the human life has often been greatly minimized. His final exhortation is: "And, if the mystics be few, the wandbearers many, let us remember constantly that the few must receive from the many that human extract whence they distil their message of new hope, bringing the Christ near, because expressing His secret in contemporary language, moods, and aspirations."





THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF DAVID.

Of this building tradition asserts that it contains the *Coenaculum* or the chamber where Jesus partook of the Last Supper, and that here also took place the pouring out of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and  
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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## DARWIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO EVOLUTION.

BY C. STUART GAGER.

THE announced title of this paper would have sounded strange indeed to the average reader of thirty or forty years ago. Darwin's contribution to evolution! Why, Darwinism is evolution: it is *all* Darwin. Such was the almost universal popular impression.

This confusion of ideas has not entirely passed away to-day, and we are all accustomed to see the words "evolution" and "Darwinism" used interchangeably in newspaper articles and popular magazines.

Not only were these two words used synonymously, but with a special and restricted meaning which did violence to both of them. "Do you believe in evolution?" is the first question put by the layman; and when the man of science answers "yes," he is asked with unfeigned surprise, "Why, do you believe that man came from a monkey?"

I would not presume to instruct this audience as to what evolution is, but a statement of it will be a fitting preliminary to what I have to say, and serve to give a clear definition to the subject.

If we consider that the universe has not always existed as it now is, we may conceive at least two possible theories to explain its present condition: First, it was made as we now find it by an act of creation; second, the present order of things has come to be, by a series of gradual processes operating throughout long periods of time. Huxley avoided rubbing the fur of the theological cat the wrong way by calling the former the Miltonic hypothesis. The latter is the conception of evolution.

According to the Miltonic hypothesis, events are unrelated, ex-

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered before the Scientific Association of the University of Missouri, at the exercises commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Charles Darwin, and the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the *Origin of Species*, February 12, 1909.

cept in point of time. One event may have occurred either before or after any other, or they may all have occurred at the same moment. But they have no logical connection. We may not interpret the present in the light of the past, nor infer the future. Hitherto nature may have followed a certain recognized order, but we are not at all justified in concluding that such will hereafter be the case. Science becomes a mere pastime without any ultimate goal. We may describe the facts and sequences of natural phenomena as one may catalogue the titles and shelf-numbers of books in a library, but with reference to the past or the future, no inference may be drawn from the former any more than from the latter. The librarian may at any moment intervene and capriciously change the entire content and arrangement of the library. God made it: there is nothing to explain.

Evolution, on the other hand, tells us that events have followed in orderly sequence; they bear to each other the relation of cause and effect; the present configuration of the material universe is the logical sequence of the one preceding, and a clear understanding of it would enable us to predict the one to follow. The caprice of a *Deus ex machina* gives way to the uniformity of nature, and science becomes something more than mental gymnastics. Knowledge of the past enables us not only to understand the present, but also to predict the future, and to order our lives accordingly. If God made and now controls the universe, then evolution merely describes His method of work. We know that He does not play tricks with us. He has not made us to mock us. The universe is the revelation of himself, and our intellects were meant for something more than blind belief.

This, in brief, is evolution. Creation is not an act, but a process, and still in progress. Merely for purposes of convenience we may divide this process into two phases, inorganic evolution, and organic.

Now, it is quite superfluous to state here that the conception of inorganic evolution was old before Darwin was young. It began to take form in men's minds when Æolus and Boreas gave way to convection currents and barometric pressure, and when Aurora fled before the reality of axial rotation.

We make only a passing reference to the fact that the idea of evolution obtained among the ancient Greeks and Hindus, and even among the Algonquin Indians of North America, and recognize that its introduction into modern science dates from the proposal of the nebular hypothesis independently by Swedenborg and Kant, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and its further elaboration by Laplace fifty years later.

Thus the universe as a whole was properly launched, but the principle was not extended to the details of geological processes until the preliminary work of Hutton and Playfair and the publication of Lyell's epoch-making *Principles of Geology*, in 1830-33, established the notion of uniformitarianism. We see that the idea of inorganic evolution was thus carefully worked out by the time that Darwin was getting disgusted with the Greek and Latin classics, and also with geology, in Edinburgh University. We must seek for his contribution, then, in the realm of organic evolution. What the contribution was is not as self-evident as one, at first thought, might suppose.

Let us first endeavor clearly to state what is meant by the expression organic evolution.

If all organisms, living and extinct, plant and animal, including man, could be assembled in one place, it would be possible so to group them as to show their relationship to each other. A survey of the individuals thus grouped would disclose the fact of a gradual increase in complexity of organization throughout the ages, culminating in the dominating types of the present. A more careful observation would bring out the fact that no two individuals, however closely related, are exactly alike. In other words, we would recognize descent with modification.

The individuals would naturally fall into groups of successively higher orders. In sequence these would be Kingdom, Division, Class, Order, Family, Genus, Species, Variety. Under Genus would be grouped all those plants which might properly be referred to by the same non-scientific, or "common" name, for example, the oaks. Now, it is a significant fact that all "common" names of plants are *generic* names—rose, apple, primrose, willow, maple, etc., all refer to genera. Hereby hangs a tale.

Previous to the work of the great classifier, Linnæus, it was quite customary to refer to plants by only one scientific name, but the scientist used his Latin jargon and said, *Rosa, Malus, Salix, Acer*, instead of rose, apple, willow, maple. What did the systematist mean by *genus*? Precisely what the word implied, *kind*. For is it not clearly stated that, on the third "day of creation," "God said, let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit *after his kind*," i. e., after his genus ("*juxta genus suum*")? Genera, therefore, were the units of creation, and this was the very general belief of systematists up to the time of Linnæus.

The critical observation of Linnæus, however, soon detected that the genus-group was composed of smaller subdivisions; thus,

for example, there was the Carolina-rose, the long-leaved willow, the sugar-maple, and Linnæus called them *Rosa Carolina*, *Salix longifolia*, *Acer saccharinum*.

It should not be inferred that Linnæus introduced the binomial nomenclature into science. No misconception is more widespread nor more erroneous. Herbals, with binomials employed throughout, were published a century before Linnæus. What Linnæus did was to recognize that the genus-group was far too large to express nature accurately. Genera could not be regarded as the lowest taxonomic units, and so he took the binomial method of naming, gave it precision, systematized it, and used it uniformly in naming plants and animals. The subdivisions of genera are called *species*, meaning *particular kind*. Then the species came to be regarded as God's immediate handiwork. Thus we see, if Darwin had written his *Origin* before Linnæus's time, either it would have been called the "Origin of Genera," or, if its present title had been given, the book would have attracted no more attention than the *Systema Natura* of Linnæus, and would have aroused not a particle of religious furor. What a salutary tonic and corrective it is continually to orient one's ideas and conceptions in the light of historical perspective! If De Vries had preceded Darwin and the theologians remained consistent, we would have had the battle waged over the question as to whether or not the garden-varieties of vegetables originated by a natural method or by special acts of divine interposition.

But, to return to the text, the work of Linnæus ultimately resulted in shifting theological attention from genera and focusing it upon species. The latter were now to be safeguarded from the onslaughts of materialism and infidelity. With genera and varieties we could do as we liked.

Now, so far as the system of the great Swede disclosed, he was entirely innocent of any concept of the kinship among either plants or animals. The basis of his classification was wholly artificial. God made the species. Those nearest alike, structurally, were placed in the same genus, plants having the same number of stamens in the same class, and those having the same number of pistils in the same order; but the idea of a genealogical tree for all living things was yet to be introduced into taxonomy.

The history of the development of this idea of descent is too long and too technical to be attempted here. It may be traced as an undercurrent back some four or five centuries before Christ, to Anaximander, and Empedocles. The latter is called by Osborne "the father of the evolution idea." But, notwithstanding the later



writings of St. Augustine, who definitely rejected the notion of special creation in favor of evolution, the works of Leibnitz and Kant, and the contributions of Erasmus Darwin, of Treviranus, of Lamarck, and of the author of the "Vestiges of the Creation," the great fact of descent remained largely a philosophical speculation. With Spencer, who elaborated the idea in 1852 in his essay on "The Development Hypothesis," it was only a deduction from *First Principles*. The establishment of its validity by direct appeal to the facts may be mentioned as the first and fundamental contribution of Darwin to evolution.

When the *Origin of Species* appeared in 1859 (only an abstract of a larger work, its author said), the scientific world was amazed at the breadth of observation, the wealth of facts, and the masterful way in which they were marshaled for the author's purpose. It was a triumph of inductive logic. In his pocket note-book for 1837, he wrote: "In July opened first note-book on transmutation of species. Had been greatly struck from about the month of previous March on character of South American fossils, and species on Galapagos Archipelago. These facts (especially latter) origin of all my views."

Erasmus Darwin, Goethe, Saint Hilaire, Treviranus, Lamarck, and Chambers, the probable author of the "Vestiges," all *believed* that species were not immutable and the products of special acts of creation, but the question was still debatable. A candid consideration of the evidence compiled by Darwin, however, made it practically impossible for any unprejudiced reader to reject the inference of derivation. The question was no longer debatable. Special creation is indeed thinkable, but there is not the slightest evidence for accepting it. Every living thing, so far as we have any evidence, originates by natural birth. The dicta, *omne vivum ex ovo, omne vivum e vivo* explain not only the origin of living things to-day, but also the derivation of the different kinds of living things. "Consistent uniformitarianism," said Huxley, "postulates evolution as much in the organic as in the inorganic world. The origin of a new species by other than ordinary agencies would be a vastly greater 'catastrophe' than any of those which Lyell successfully eliminated from sober geological speculation." Furthermore, while special creation is perfectly capable of producing the present order, it is not incapable of producing some other order. It cannot be proved to be the *vera causa* of the present order.

This, then, is Darwin's first contribution to organic evolution: he established the validity of the hypothesis of descent, namely, that,

in the words of the *Origin*, "the innumerable species, genera, and families of organic beings with which the world is peopled have all descended, each within its own class or group, from common parents, and have all been modified in the course of descent." (*Origin*, 1st ed., p. 457). This is the fundamental doctrine of the book.

The immediate success of the evolution idea, as set forth in the *Origin*, is often explained by the statement that the scientific world was ready for it. Darwin himself never concurred in this view. "I do not think," he says, "that this is strictly true, for I occasionally sounded not a few naturalists, and never happened to come across a single one who seemed to doubt about the permanence of species. Even Lyell and Hooker, though they would listen with interest to me, never seemed to agree. I tried once or twice to explain to able men what I meant by 'natural selection,' but signally failed. What I believe was strictly true is that innumerable well-observed facts were stored in the minds of naturalists ready to take their proper places as soon as any theory which would receive them was sufficiently explained."

There were exceptions, however, to Darwin's view. The question of origin had been raised by many investigators. Thus Huxley often discussed it with Spencer, and states that the latter failed to convince him, (1) because he offered no evidence in support of his views; (2) because he failed to demonstrate the adequacy of any known cause to produce transmutation. "That which we were looking for, and could not find," said Huxley, "was a hypothesis respecting the origin of known organic forms which assumed the operation of no causes but such as could be proved to be actually at work. We wanted, not to pin our faith to that or any other speculation, but to get hold of clear and definite conceptions which could be brought face to face with facts and have their validity tested. The *Origin* provided us with the working hypothesis we sought. Moreover, it did the immense service of freeing us forever from the dilemma. . . . Refuse to accept the creation hypothesis, and what have you to propose that can be accepted by any cautious reasoner? In 1857 I had no answer ready, and I do not think that any one else had. A year later we reproached ourselves with dullness for being perplexed with such an inquiry. My reflection, when I first made myself master of the central idea of the *Origin* was, 'How extremely stupid not to have thought of that!' I suppose that Columbus's companions said much the same thing when he made the egg stand on end. The facts of variability, of the struggle for existence, of adaptation to conditions, were notorious enough; but

none of us had suspected that the road to the heart of the species problem lay through them, until Darwin and Wallace dispelled the darkness, and the beacon-fire of the *Origin* guided the benighted."

Now, organic evolution has two natural subdivisions: First, the evolution of the individual; second, the evolution of the organic world taken as a whole. It was due to the influence of Harvey, that the conception, held centuries previously by Aristotle, of the formation of the individual by evolution (*Entwicklung*, development), in the modern sense of the term, was firmly established, and the doctrine of preformation permanently supplanted by that of epigenesis. In addition to this, there were the following "well-observed facts stored in the minds of naturalists ready," as Darwin said, "to take their proper places as soon as any theory which would receive them was sufficiently explained": (1) the observation of gradations in structure from simple to complex; (2) observation of the analogy between ontogeny and phylogeny, first clearly recognized by von Baer; (3) the observation of anatomical homologies; (4) the influence of environment; (5) the facts of geographical and geological distribution.

But antedating these, and more fundamental than they, was the elaboration, by Descartes, in 1637, of the idea that the universe, inorganic and organic, is a mechanism, and therefore explainable on the principles of physical science. This was the great intellectual besom that swept away the light-excluding cobwebs of theological speculation. Scientific progress and the confusion of final and efficient causes are mutually exclusive. The science of agriculture, for example, could never have developed so long as Ceres continued to satisfy men's craving for an explanation of the mysteries of crop-production. The great mathematician Leibnitz was unable to accept Newton's theory of gravitation because it appeared to substitute a physical force for the direct action of the Deity.

The elaboration, then, in the *Origin*, of the theory of natural selection as a caudo-mechanical explanation of the method of descent found the scientific public well supplied with a fund of favorable apperceptive ideas. The establishment of this theory is Darwin's second contribution to evolution.

We have seen that Darwin did not discover the fact, so also, we cannot crown him as the discoverer of the method of evolution. Every one now clearly recognizes that there is probably more than one method; there are most certainly several factors in the process. One of these factors is natural selection, and natural selection is Darwinism.

Attention has just been called to the truth that the discovery of the fact of organic evolution was a triumph of inductive logic. "I worked on true Baconian principles," said Darwin in his Autobiography, "and without any theory collected facts on a wholesale scale." Now the discovery of natural selection was reached by an entirely different method. It was a triumph of deductive logic.

"I soon perceived," says Darwin, "that selection was the keystone of man's success in making useful races of animals and plants. But how selection could be applied to organisms living in a state of nature remained for some time a mystery to me.

"In October, 1838, that is, fifteen months after I had begun my systematic inquiry, I happened to read for amusement 'Malthus on Population,' and being well prepared to appreciate the struggle for existence which everywhere goes on from long-continued observation of the habits of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances favorable variations would tend to be preserved, and unfavorable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of new species. Here, then, I had at last got a theory by which to work."

But this idea of natural selection, more or less well defined, occurred to other men before Darwin. It was stated by Wells, in 1813, and still more clearly by Matthew, in 1831, as Darwin himself has pointed out. The writings of these men were not known to Darwin until sometime after the publication of the *Origin*, so that he was truly an independent discoverer of the idea, though not the first to propose it. Why, then, is it universally called Darwinism? For the same reason that mutation is associated by everybody with the name chiefly of Hugo de Vries. Darwinism made clear the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence, but it did not explain the origin of the fittest. Several investigations from time to time suggested saltation, or discontinuous variation. Even Darwin himself considered the idea. But no one conceived the hypothesis so clearly, stated it so definitely, worked it out so carefully, illustrated it so fully, or showed its application so forcibly as did De Vries. So it was with Darwin. His conception of natural selection was clear and definite, his statement of it was positive and full, his demonstration of its adequacy as one factor of evolution compelled assent, his evidence was a wealth of fact that commanded, not only the attention, but the unbounded admiration of the scientific world. It was said of Voltaire, "He expressed everybody's thoughts better than anybody." This is what Darwin did with reference to the entire problem of organic evolution.

The poet Lowell has said :

"Though old the thought, and oft express'd,  
'Tis his at last who says it best."

For this reason we very properly call the theory of natural selection Darwinism. Darwin made it his own by expressing it better than anybody else. Nobody ever seriously proposed calling it Wellsism, Matthewism, Spencerism, nor even Wallaceism.

Thus, while in a very real sense the theory belongs to Darwin, I would not name the formulation of it as his second important contribution to evolution, but rather the fact that he compelled men's attention to the theory. Not only did he, like his predecessors, get the idea; the idea got him, and he forced the scientific world to reckon with his theory. He said, "I had at last got a theory by which *to work*." This was what all investigators recognized,—that they had a *working* hypothesis, the most powerful instrument of scientific research known to man. They could test it, they could interpret with it, they could predict by means of it, they could advance with it by rapid strides. It was one of the "clear and definite conceptions," for which Huxley and others were looking, and which Darwin showed could be "brought face to face with facts," and have its validity tested.

Furthermore, it appealed to scientists because it was the product of investigation. Other men had said, "See how plausible the hypothesis is." Darwin said, See how the hypothesis grows out of the facts, and agrees with the facts, and explains the facts. See also, said Darwin, the possibilities of research which it opens up. In his note-book of 1837 he wrote, "My theory would give zest to recent and fossil comparative anatomy. It would lead to study of instincts, heredity and mind heredity, whole metaphysics, it would lead to closest examination of hybridity and generation, causes of change in order to know what we have come from and to what we tend." And in the Conclusion to the *Origin* he wrote: "Much light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history."

Ay, but there's the rub! This last statement proved to be a bomb in dynamite. The orthodox looked on in the calmest unconcern so long as nothing but suns, and mountains, and fossil fishes, and plants were concerned, but when the baneful hypothesis began to stretch out its tentacles over the lords of creation, then it was high time for the Church militant to buckle on its armor. The declaration of war was made by Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, at the Oxford meeting of the British Association in 1860. The

Bishop spoke "for full half an hour with inimitable spirit, emptiness, and unfairness." "In a light, scoffing tone," says one who was there, "florid and fluent, he assured us there was nothing in the idea of evolution; rock-pigeons were what rock-pigeons had always been. Then turning to his antagonist with a smiling insolence, he begged to know, 'If anyone were to be willing to trace his descent through an ape as his *grandfather*, would he be willing to trace his descent similarly through his *grandmother*?' "

At this ungentlemanly remark Huxley turned to Sir Benjamin Brodie, who sat beside him, and, striking his hand on his knee, exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered him into mine hands." The full import of this remark was not understood by Sir Benjamin until Huxley had finished his now famous rejoinder.

No one has ever agreed as to the exact words of Huxley's reply, but the substance of the last paragraph of it was: "I asserted—and I repeat—that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather. If there were an ancestor whom I should feel ashamed in recalling, it would rather be a man—a man of restless and versatile intellect, who, not content with success in his own sphere of activity, plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by an aimless rhetoric, and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions and skilled appeals to religious prejudice."

The effect is described as tremendous. Ladies fainted and had to be carried out. But this tilt of words marks the beginning of the most thorough intellectual house-cleaning the world has ever known, and I regard the result of it as one of Darwin's greatest contributions, not only to evolution, but to the intellectual advancement of the world. It marked the end of any effective throttling of truth by ecclesiastical authority. Had it not been for this incubus, the idea of evolution might have been received in the 17th century, for Descartes clearly outlined it in 1637. This philosopher, however, was contemporary with Galileo who had just suffered the penalties of the Inquisition, and decided it were better, all things considered, to formally reject the idea, after taking several pages to elaborate it clearly!

The battle is not wholly won as yet, but scientific advancement is not likely to be again seriously handicapped by theological opposition. It is more and more clearly recognized that there cannot be any conflict between two truths.

The philosophical aspect of Darwin's work is apt to obscure

the very feature that won attention and confidence in his ideas; namely, the prodigious body of fact upon which the hypotheses were based. No other author ever approached him in his grasp of biological data.

"...it is the very hardest book to read, to full profit, that I ever tried—it is so cram-full of matter and reasoning," wrote Hooker to Darwin in 1859. Asa Gray wrote him in 1860, "I do not think twenty years too much time to produce such a book in...I am free to say that I never learnt so much from one book as I have from yours."

His grasp of the facts of plant and animal life was encyclopedic, covering taxonomy, morphology, comparative anatomy and physiology, animal psychology, paleontology, anthropology, geology, and regional biology. Moreover, the greater part of this information was first-hand knowledge. Herbert Spencer's grasp of human thought is the admiration of every thinker. The author of the *Origin* wrote of him; "I could bear, and rather enjoy feeling, that he was twice as ingenious and clever as myself, but when I feel that he is about a dozen times my superior...I feel aggrieved"; but he adds, "If he had trained himself to observe more, even if at the expense...of some loss of thinking power, he would have been a wonderful man." Practically all of his knowledge was obtained at second hand. Darwin's facts came direct from nature, "fresh, buoyant, exact." This body of fact I consider not the least of the great philosopher's contributions to evolution.

To summarize: Evolution is indebted to Charles Darwin for demonstrating the fact of descent; for advancing an adequate working hypothesis in such a manner as to command the respect and attention of the scientific world and set them to work with it; for precipitating a decisive battle between dogma and the search for truth; for contributing a body of information unequaled in the whole range of biological science. It cannot be too greatly emphasized that he set men at work as never before, and with a definiteness of purpose hitherto unequaled. He unified knowledge by infusing vitality into a unifying principle, gave direction to the entire reach of human thought, and completely changed the character and content of post-Darwinian science.

What is Darwinism? The theory of natural selection. Yes, but to define it completely would necessitate a catalogue of practically everything that has been published, not only in biology, but in physics, in chemistry, in geology, in astronomy, in psychology, and in social and political science, since 1859.

# THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

## A DEDUCTIVE STUDY OF SEMITIC CULTURE.

BY PHILLIPS ENDECOTT OSGOOD.

[CONCLUSION.]

### DECORATIVE AND SYMBOLIC DETAILS.

XIV.

If it is natural to approach the work of reconstructing the Temple in a tentative spirit, it is many times more natural so to approach the more widely and diversely evidenced and much discussed symbolism of the Temple's details, especially the twin pillars that stood in the porch of the Temple, Jachin and Boaz; for the question of their form is bound up firmly with that of their significance and is largely dependent upon it. The interest of the Temple, too, must be more in such live evidences of ancient thought and culture than in the reshaping of hard stones, whose cold outlines, even when blended into the organic unity of the building, must be more or less the end-in-itself, rather than the interpretive means to an understanding of the humanity which made it. Details are more illuminative than architectural entireties, for the very reason that they best can express concrete thoughts and moods.

1. In the beginning of this thesis I found it convenient to presuppose the necessity of two axioms, claiming them to be constructive data for my argument. The former of them was this, that *Judaism embodies a religious genius as yet not unique*. I must claim its aid once more at the crux of this present puzzle, repeating that "in spite of the superiority over neighboring faiths which comes to the worship of Yahveh from its dawning henotheistic monotheism, *there are common elements still retained, proclaiming blood relationship with the rest of the Semitic world, however polytheistic it may be.*" It is hard not to believe that in the Temple we find the symbols



of the earlier stages of Yahvism, which are also kindred to contemporary worship—symbols of neighboring and kindred nations.

2. Perhaps the commonest element of all old-world religions is the reverence for the pillar. It is surprising to see how few things there are of which Egypt is not the ultimate parent, whether it is motives employed in art, or religious ideas and representations. Of course, Mesopotamian civilization succeeded in stamping as individually its own much that is apparently the outcome of its peculiar culture; but we are now able to see very numerous details and elementary ideals which go back of old Assyrian and old Babylonian into still older Egypt; whose travels to the Tigris and Euphrates, just as also to Asia Minor and the Greek islands and Greece itself are rendered intelligible only by the mediacy of Phœnician ships. This is especially true of tree worship, which is the concomitant of *betylae*, or pillar worship.

When motives of religious art pass from one people to another, the myth sometimes accompanies the type on its migrations, but oftener it lags behind; the religious symbol is first naturalized and its mythological significance follows later. Or perhaps the symbol alone is adopted; the meaning it held in its native climate being far different from the meaning it is christened with, if new meaning there is at all, in its adoptive home. We cannot deduce from the contemporary appearance of a symbol in diverse nations that it necessarily means the same in each. Unless evidences of similar myths and ideals are to be found, the symbol's presence stands for little. But in the earlier days of Yahveh-worship these similar modes of worshiping similar symbols are obviously present, so that Phœnician religion may be fairly used as the data for the possible ground-work of Hebrew faith, however higher than the foundation its later evolution may build.

Throughout the earlier Old Testament we continually run across the worship of Ashera. The circumstances, however, connote no very clear identification with anything we know. Is Ashera a deity, sometimes given "human" form? Is Ashera an embodiment of Astarte-Ashtoreth? Or is Ashera the symbolization of the nature-mother in tree-form? As a symbol, attribute or utensil of worship the Ashera seems to meet us only in the cultus of feminine deities. In its most original form, as archeology has mapped its stages out,<sup>77</sup> we have a single object, the emblem of this feminine deity, soon appearing in the company of her male correlative. These two

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*. Text; from which I have most of my data on this subject.

symbols may be two similar or dissimilar trees, posts, pillars or cones. At any rate the agalmata are so far aniconic. These two symbols either manifest the presence and joint rule of a godling and little goddess in a holy place, or they show that a single deity is thought of as a double nature (i. e., androgynous, both male and female at once).

To these rude symbols soon are added heads, extremities and other anthropomorphic details, until at last they become true images.<sup>78</sup> Interruptions and reversions halt and hinder the process thus slightly sketched, but the evolutionary trend is clear.

When this final stage is reached that god who attained anthropomorphic form is regarded as dwelling in the more primitive types, in the tree, in the cone, or the post, and may be represented under those forms; or the tree, post or cone becomes the main idol of the non-idol-confined god, the convenient object of offerings and sacrifices.<sup>79</sup>

The constant descriptions of the Asherim in the Bible, especially when they occur in conjunction with mention of the altars of Baal and Masseboth<sup>80</sup> leaves little doubt that beside the Baal-pillar, the Masseba or Chamman, we must recognize the presence of the Ashera-tree or wooden Ashera-post<sup>81</sup> (frequently burned as sacrifice), representing the *paredros* any localized god may have, just as he may have a representation of Ashtoreth.<sup>82</sup> Baal is simply the word for "god."—Yahveh is as yet a Baal.<sup>83</sup> The tree-goddess Ashera is only another form of Ashtoreth-Astarte, who herself is often symbolized in tree form. The Ashera is nothing but a local Ashtoreth or Baal-consort, who has preserved in a purer form and for a longer period her primitive and pristine character of a tree or wooden post, "the vegetative ground-work of her nature." The lunar side of Astarte (connected with the solar worship of her mate) is peculiar to the general and ideal goddess, not to her local abodes or Ashera symbols.

Under Phœnician influence all the Canaanitic and Cyprian god-

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Fig. 26 where the sacred tree shows clear signs of embryonic humanity—which anthropomorphism is clarified in the two tracings at the top.

<sup>79</sup> Aerolites never outgrew this heaven-sent character (super-aniconic).

<sup>80</sup> E. g., Exodus xxxiv. 13.

<sup>81</sup> It is interesting to note, that, although as a rule monuments are silent witnesses, with one or two exceptions only, all the pillar-monuments we have from the region of Phœnician influence mention somewhere on them the name "Ashera."

<sup>82</sup> Judges ii. 13; iii. 7; 1 Kings xviii and xix.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. many Pentateuchal names written without distinction with the ending Baal or Bosheth (Yahveh), e. g., Ishbaal = Ishbosheth and Mephibaal = Mephibosheth and also the meaningful name Baaliah (Baal = Jah).

lesses are derived from the single primitive feminine deity found most clearly in primitive Babylonia, from whom anthropomorphic form evolves most variously. Similarly when these same Canaanites and Cyprians reached the stage where they substituted an anthropomorphic *god* for the pillar-representative of the male deity, it was Bel-Baal, husband of Belit-Balat (Mylitta) who was the model. They are the pattern Lord and Lady from which local shrines adapt their patron deities.

3. This is many years before the Temple of Solomon, although even then contemporary development outside of Israel was little above this stage. The simple Baal-Ashera symbols had developed into a particularization of attributes little found in Judea. From this simple scaffold-faith there had elsewhere set in a specialization in three directions.

a. Sex-symbols became no longer subsidiary to mere purposes of identification, but symbols in themselves of great significance.

b. Sacred trees became more and more definite in botanical separation.

c. The sun and moon became identified with the divine duality.

We find the demarcation of these three tendencies already begun in the time of the later Pentateuch. Kings shows evidences of the resultant conditions, if we look between the lines.

a. The Ashera began to be surmounted by sex-signets. As made of wood, the feminine, vegetative, symbol of the post became more the localized incarnation of nature, the vegetative All-mother. The stone pillar of a Baal became the symbol of its transcending god's masculinity. The phallus was first mounted upon it; then the pillar itself assumed the phallic character. The feminine symbol the triangle, at first upon the apex of the Ashera-post, became the cone of the goddess, the outline of which was that same triangle. Thus grew up the phallic specialization and interpretation of the life of the universe which we of to-day find so hard to comprehend sympathetically.

The Semite cast all his gods more or less in one mold; the Greek specialized and articulated his, never allowing them to overlap functions in the divine economy of the universe. All Semitic pantheons are therefore permeated with a solution of phallicism, as well as with the solutions of other tendencies, until they seem all of a piece. We find little differentiation between vegetative and sexual attributes, since vegetative ideas and sexual ideas have affected all the gods so much that they are no longer distinguished

from each other, nor in their individual make-up is the same mapping-out and separation possible. It required a long time for mankind to reach that stage where abstract ideals could be formulated and acted upon. The individual, concrete, kindergarten celebration of some visible, suggestive symbol-ritual was the only means of spiritual approach to disembodied life. But a single act of ritual would be explicable in all sorts of ways, the varying interpretations, vegetative, sexual, etc., blending into homogeneity through the medium of the visible, concrete act, although heterogeneous except for this thought-producing, variously-explicable symbol, their point in common.

If, then, the sexual idea permeated the conception of one god, his *paredros* would straightway catch the same infection. The Baal, conceived as the husband of the land he fertilized,<sup>84</sup> made inevitable by his phallic emphasis a like metamorphosis of his goddess-wife. He did not specialize into an individual with the definite attribute of sexual fertility and let his goddess go her vegetative way, but he gave to her his characteristic flavor and soaked himself in hers, so that they held a community of qualities, rather than becoming private quality-estate owners. The sexual tendency develops not as individualized in any deity, but as a separable, yet never separated, element in the evolution of the whole spiritual compound. It is nevertheless a specialization from the primitive Baal-pillar and its genetic content.

b. The second specialization descends from the Ashera-post side of the family. Although the principle of fertility is one and indivisible, this vegetative tendency is indubitably distinguishable. Tree worship took its suffragette equality in the worship of the fruitful principles of the universe. The all-mother character could be vegetatively explained as validly as in sexual terms. The pomegranate was sacred to the first all-mother; as being with its great productive powers an appropriate signum of her essence. Hence, too, we find the pomegranate sacred everywhere to the goddess who occupies the seat of Ashtoreth in the native pantheon. In Cyprus it was Aphrodite herself who planted it:<sup>85</sup> it was sacred to Adonis (Tammuz) her partner,<sup>86</sup> and was bound up in the theo-

<sup>84</sup> Asshur of the Assyrian Trinity = "the erect one."

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Antiphanes quoted by Athenæus, III, p. 84c.

<sup>86</sup> "In the Temenos of Aphrodite at Dali was found a model of a pomegranate in terra cotta (natural size) and many of the crouching figures of the youthful Adonis (votive) hold in their hands—among other fruits—the pomegranate." Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer (Text)*.

genetic myths of Phrygia.<sup>87</sup> The pomegranate is sacred in Egypt to the "Warmhearted" Isis. It seems to be of Semitic origin; Homer mentions it only once. Even to-day the people of Cyprus use its countless seeds as a symbol of fertility. The Assyrians gave another tree sacred prominence, the palm. Conventional and far removed from life as their sculptured palmettes may seem, only palm withes could be so plaited; and the leaves are unmistakable. The elements of the Mesopotamian sacred tree are to be found in Egypt and all the ports to which Phœnician influence extended.

This worship of sacred trees we find in the Old Testament in the "groves" at which the iconoclastic anger of the reformers so arose, but it was the deeds perpetrated in their shadow that were the downfall of the heretical high places (*bamoth*), not the sacredness of the trees, which were found even in Solomon's own Temple ornamentation. The sacred tree worship was too closely tied to the glorification of the reproductive powers of the universe to escape the stigma of the latter's excesses. But those who find in the representations of the sacred tree merely a frank feminine signum go too far in their preconceived programme of reducing all cultus symbols to sexuality.

These two specializations, sexual and vegetative, exist side by side in the same symbols and rituals. When the king, personating some Baal, married some Ashera image or some Temple-prostitute, personating in her turn the goddess whose priestess she was, it was both a recognition of the sexuality of the workings of the universe and a ritual of "homœopathic magic"<sup>88</sup> whereby the fertility of the land, the revival of the trees and the increase of all nature, was insured. (It is a familiar tenet of all magic that the imitation of a desired result procures it). Thus, for instance, the early Phœnician kings of Paphos or their sons claimed to be not merely the priests of the goddess but her semi-divine lovers, personating Adonis. The original myth of Pygmalion and the image was in all probability some such manifested Astarte-wedding.

c. Sun- and moon-worship is a third interpretation of the life of the divine pair, merging with phallicism and nature-worship. The sun as the productive energy in the world<sup>89</sup> was worshiped in Phœ-

<sup>87</sup> Adonis = Lord. "The name does not signify Tammuz in the Bible unless so specified. But the cult was rampant (cf. Ezekiel). For an innocent usage, cf. also the names Adoni-kam (Ezra ii. 13), Adoni-ram (1 Kings, iv. 6), Adoni-jah (1 Kings i. 15).

<sup>88</sup> Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Frazer, pp. 14 and 30.

<sup>89</sup> אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּמִין = the Impregnator.

nicia in this fashion, not in the later abstract form of Persian Zoroastrianism. Sun and moon are merely another manifestation of the *genos* and *genea* of all life (although the *lunar* aspect is also necessarily more or less identified with a *nature-goddess*).

All these three specializations existed in advanced forms, had their specialized cults and rituals as quasi-sectarian bodies. Yet the primitive pillar-pair still contained the essential germs of all three specializations and had its more comprehensive, if less intensive, meaning and appeal.

Jachin and Boaz stood in the porch of Solomon's temple. Their workmanship was such that they seem to have been the most famous incident of the whole construction. Bronze-casting was very obviously unfamiliar to the Jews. But it is hard to believe that mere artisan perfection gave them all their fame,—there must have been some symbolism implied that redounded to the glory of Yahveh. This significance I find in their being a sign of the androgynous nature of Yahveh. While the more primitive intensity of quality-personification may somewhat have dwindled away, let us remind ourselves that orthodox high places were still in open and general use; that Baalim and Ashera-Teraphim existed without question at high-places of neighboring, kindred gods; that we are halfway between the golden calf in the wilderness and the destruction of calf-worship in the northern kingdom, which had been instituted to counteract the lack of Jerusalemic worship by symbolizing the attributes of Yahveh; that Jachin and Boaz themselves bore facsimiles of pomegranates.

I do not find any definite phallic symbolism in them, nor any specialized tree-signification. They represent to me the continuance of the unspecialized betylae-pair, holding in their solution the male and female elements, nature and phallic-cult basic ideas, patron and patroness protectorate, and the solar and lunar manifestations of their qualities. Precipitation and separation of these half-identical attributes into concrete symbolism has not here taken place, as elsewhere. The Temple remains aniconic, and therefore all-inclusive of possible significance. The devout believer in Yahveh may claim for him any attribute he feels to be inherent in the deity he wants to worship, and point to Jachin and Boaz as the sign-manual of his right to do so. It is perfectly possible that they may signify anything evolved from that type in whose form they anachronously survive and defy the specialization whose seeds have elsewhere flowered and fruited into special ritual, special emblems, special cult-sects. Indeed, it is perfectly possible that the setting-up of a

betylæ-pair before the Temple, from the very fact that it was the primitive seed of the too obviously flowering specializations round about, was the very thing to call the attention of the worshiper back to the really simple and potent essence which was so masked by their vagaries and exaggerations. Jachin and Boaz proclaimed the simple creed of true Yahvism.

4. This intensifying of meaning in the two pillars seems to do away with two forms of reconstruction. Stade makes them stand within the porch, supporting the architrave of its lintel-structure.

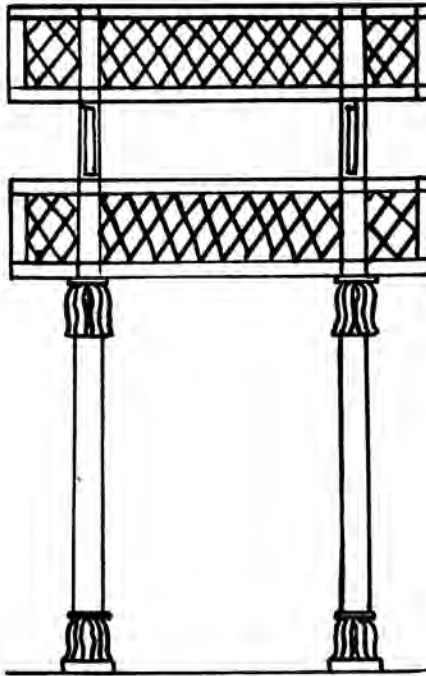


Fig. 15. JACHIN AND BOAZ.

(Fergusson, *The Temples of the Jews*, p. 157, fig. 35.)

Fergusson conjectures that the two pillars upheld a screen, upon which abundant space was provided for all the ornamentation heart could wish. (Fig. 15.)

The change of material does not necessitate a change of function. Many writers contend that, since sacred pillars heretofore had been made of wood or of stone, this change into metal argues a change of significance and of function. I cannot see that this follows. Bronze was the *ne plus ultra* of the up-to-date mode. Furthermore, anything with so much significance and prestige as there

seems to have been here involved would hardly have been put to a comparatively menial, because utilitarian and structural, use. Any amount of skill would hardly single out two door-posts for such fame. They must have been objects in themselves, not in any sense subsidiary to something else. As such they were outstanding obelisks, I feel sure.

Fergusson's<sup>90</sup> suggestion is likewise vetoed by this same intensification of meaning as sufficient explanation of their honor. His objection to simple pillars is that they do not provide space enough for the wealth of ornamentation ascribed to them, "nets of checkerwork, and wreaths of chain work, lily work" and pomegranates by the hundred.<sup>91</sup> This seems true, but is counterbalanced by the very evident desire of the author to make the most of every detail for the glory of Yahveh himself, whose house is thus, even to minutest details, perfect in its execution. Influenced, however,

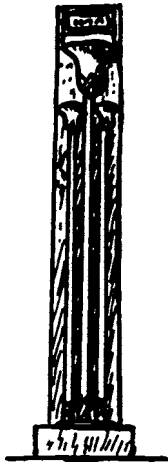


Fig. 16. ORNAMENTED PIER FROM KARNAK.\*

Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Egypt*, II, 94.

by the occurrence of a screen before Herod's Temple, Fergusson goes to India for analogy and prototypes. He finds there in the common topos of Indian temples good opportunity for all the prodigality of ornament to be desired. But he knows more about India than Judea, for to go so far afield brands the search a desperate one, especially since no connecting link is at present to be shown.

5. Why not be content with simple, free-standing pillars, whose great uniqueness lies in their material and unexcelled workmanship, but whose symbolism adds the halo of sanctity to the sheen of their brass? In Egypt, the stone obelisks stand out *free* before the pylons (Fig. 16 and note); in all the representations of the Paphian temple the flanking pillars or cones are obvious; the pseudo-Lucian tells of the two great Priapi of Bacchus at the Byblos-shrine, into the top of which twice a year a man climbed up, as he would a palm tree, and there abode for seven days. In front of the sanctuary-place of Astarte-Mikal at Kition in Cyprus the remains of columns with Ionizing capitals were found as holy

<sup>90</sup> Fergusson, *The Temples of the Jews*. Text on "Solomon's Temple."

<sup>91</sup> 1 Kings vii. 17-20.

\* This is not the ordinary Egyptian obelisk (cf. "Cleopatra's Needle," Central Park, New York, for that) but one of a pair which stand before the pylon of Karnak, whose "saturation" of meaning is greater than any other present



betylæ in the customary place. In a small terra-cotta model of a shrine of Venus Urania (as proven by the dove-cote holes) we find a clearer reproduction of one of the later forms these pillars took. (Fig. 17.) Owing to the necessity of support from the fragility of the material of the model the capitals barely touch the wall behind, but this certainly is not the state of things the model intends to portray, since the columns do not support the tiny pent-house above the kennel-like door.

The law of parsimony must also rule out the use of Jachin and Boaz as candle-sticks, burning the fat of sacrificed animals; though some of the later temple coins of the Roman era indicate this adaptation. Those of Sardis show the flames. This is a later and utili-

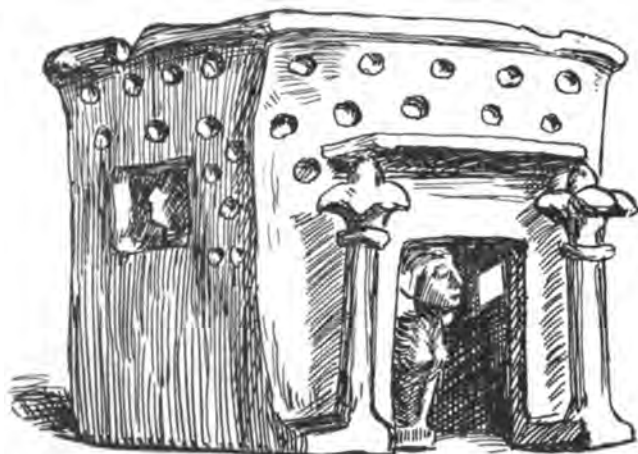


Fig. 17. MODEL OF A SHRINE IN TERRA COTTA.

(Louvre.) Height  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, pl. CXXXIV. Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia*, p. 287, fig. 208.

tarian adaptation of the columns, which would not be thinkable until their emblematic content had been forgotten, which, in the time of Solomon was certainly not the case anywhere in the Mediterranean world.

Simplicity is the key-note of their interpretation (cf. figs. 18 and 19); not specific specialization of attribute, not mere utilitarian blazonry. In the betylæ-character is enough meaning to be worthy of the house of Yahveh. What shall be the definite aspect of the

example there. Originally these were surmounted by some kind of sacred symbol, perhaps bronze hawks. The bronze has stained the pillars. This gives an example of an Egyptian baetylic pillar *closely* analogous to Baal and Ashera masseboth in the stage where specialization is just beginning.

twin columns? I would not dare to say. The reconstruction given by Perrot and Chipiez meets any demand this line of interpretation can put upon them, as simple symbols of the androgynous, all-comprehending nature of Yahveh, god of Israel.<sup>92</sup>

In the Temple of Solomon as in a museum there were ranged throughout tangible relics of all the stages through which the wor-

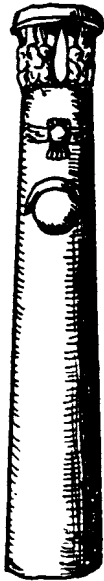


Fig. 18. PHOENICIAN  
MARBLE PILLAR

26 in. high. Louvre. Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia*, Vol. I, p. 131, fig. 72. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, pl. LXXX, fig. 7.

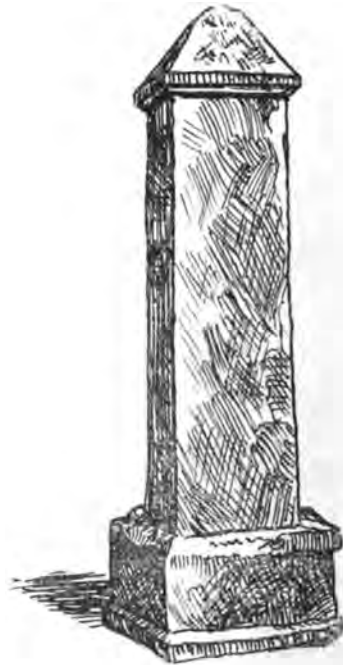


Fig. 19. PHOENICIAN PILLAR.  
(Baal Pillar, Phallic.)

Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, pl. LXXX. fig. 5.

ship of its God had grown, existing side by side. The exhibit of its most primitive stage is in Jachin and Boaz (divested of the latter-day skill with which the betylae-symbol had been clothed), the common element with all pillar-worship of the Semitic world.

<sup>92</sup> "It is by no means impossible that the two words [Jachin and Boaz] were within, like talismanic graffiti by the Phœnician founders upon the columns. Let (God it) keep upright by (his) strength" and that in the course of time the two magic words were taken for the names of the columns by persons not very conversant with Phœnician matters." Renan, *Hist. of Israel*, vol. II.

## III.

## THE SACRED TREE.

The interior of the Temple showed no single stone, so thoroughly was it sheathed within. We read<sup>93</sup> that Solomon "carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubims and palm trees and open flowers, within and without." There is grave and most legitimate doubt about the authenticity of all the passages which ascribe the sheathing of so much of the Temple



Fig. 20. ASSYRIAN "TREE OF LIFE."

From Layard, *Nineveh*. Plates. Also Perrot and Chipiez, *Chaldea and Assyria*. Vol. I, p. 213.

with gold,<sup>94</sup> but this need not rule out the carving of the wooden sheathing, which we would have every historical and archeological reason to expect and suspect if it had not been set forth in our accounts. Egyptian and Assyrian precedent combining in Phœnician usage, witnessed to in Mycenaean and Cyprian ruins (though very meagrely, it is true), seem altogether to give authority to this hypothesis.

<sup>93</sup> 1 Kings vi. 29; also Ezekiel xli. 18.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Stade's and Benzinger's commentaries on passages, Stade, ZATW, iii, 140 ff.

The "palm trees" so repeatedly used must have been some form of the Assyrian "tree of life" (Fig. 20). And the conventional design, as I said before, can be only a palm-tree. Even to-day the peasants of Cyprus plait palm-withes in much the same form.

In Phœnicia the palmette is frequently met; but, true to its character as a borrowed motive, it is even more conventional than in Assyria and much simplified. This trend toward simplification brings out the residue of Egyptian form from the Assyrian hand so remodeled and disguised (cf. Fig. 21). The stem has now become an archi-



Fig. 21. ALABASTER SLAB.

Louvre. Height 20 in. From Arados. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia and Cyprus*, Vol. 1, p. 134, fig. 76.

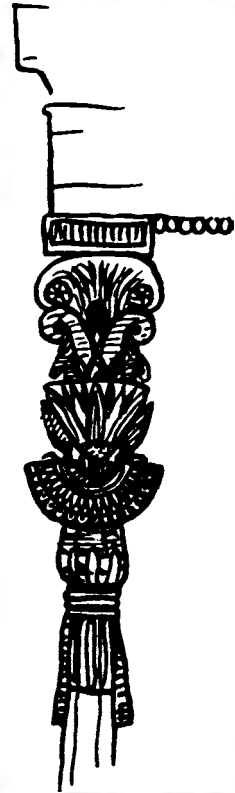


Fig. 22. FLORAL PILLAR.

Perrot and Chipiez, *Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 89, fig. 62.

tectonic column with rudimentary volutes, with four or five rigid leaves far removed indeed from the vegetable world; even more de-naturalized than its Mesopotamian model. Compare with this the elaborate Egyptian floral pillar here given (Fig. 22) as just as possible a prototype and ancestor of the Phœnician palmette as the Assyrian. Figure 21 might just as possibly be a simplification of Figure 22 as of Figure 20, though the Assyrian form is more clearly outlined in it.

I do not find the co-occurrence of palmettes and lotus flowers an anomaly, as some do. The Phœnician used the salient motives of his art-sources. The Egyptian lotus must therefore have been one of his most familiar units of design. The lotus blossoms ("lilies," "knops of flowers") might almost be part of the sacred tree, but the separate mention seems to indicate they were probably in a border above or below.

In the preceding section I pointed out the place in religious development that tree-worship occupied. The specialization of this out of the vaguer and more comprehensive betylae-worship (*bethelae*) marks a division of its scope. The formalization of sacred tree forms into mere mural ornamentation of stereotyped configuration marks a still later stage. In the centuries to which we are carried back by the earliest known Phœnician monuments, it is patent that the Phœnicians were no longer in a stage where their sole deities were rocks, trees, and pillars. These were thought of as images, local incarnations of a transcendent deity. Polytheism by the end of the Sidonian era was growing abstract, further removed from polydemonism; headed vaguely for the misty ideal of unity. Yet Phœnicia's scattered mode of living soon led this as yet tiny momentum toward abstraction to ally itself with the indifference that lack of intensity, concreteness and concentration incurred. The higher faith of her neighbors affected her not at all. So, although tree-worship was even at this time not unimportant in Egypt, and in the historic pedigree of Phœnicia's own Semitic past had played a great, if not a concretely and realistically pictured part, the sacred tree becomes for her workmen a mere ornamental stock-in-trade, most acceptable to tree-venerating customers. Hebrew tree-worship had been that common to all Canaan, bound up in the worship of betylae and ashera and groves. Artistic expression had been denied it, and by the time of the Temple when such artistic opportunity came, the content of the *symbol* had largely faded out of being. The decorative value appealed to the Tyrian architect and artisan, not the live significance; and it is doubtful if in this the Hebrews were much different. It was "groves" of *living* trees that meant something. The carved palm-trees on the walls, however, exhibited, museum-wise, another stage of Israelitish worship, a stage which even now existed in degenerate, specialized and perverted form in the near-by groves of Ashtoreth, those groves to which that heretical reversion to type so often brought unsteadfast Jews. The true faith of Yahveh had grown above it years ago.

## XVI.

## THE CHERUBIM.

The exact meaning of the word is doubtful; but the importance of the sacred beasts is hard to overestimate. The cherub persists throughout Hebrew history as the symbol or guardian of the holiest mysteries. Here in the Temple, we find cherubim on the walls and also (in the round) guarding the Ark of the Covenant in the Debir. As the cherub in the garden of Eden guarded the Tree of Life, so on the walls, carved Cherubim flanked the sacred trees.

The cherub seems to have been some kind of mythic griffin, composed of diverse traits chosen from well-known and respected animals. Lion characteristics, wings, "the face of a man," bull traits and features all seem to have fused in the ideal cherub. Probably, since fancy unchecked cannot keep stable, the cherub varied much from time to time. From a comparison of Isaiah i. 10 with Ezekiel x. 14, the algebraic cancellation of equals leaves the "face of a cherub" as the equivalent of that "of an ox." This I think was the predominant motive in the cherub.

If this be so, we are straightway again brought into that free exchange of ideals common throughout the Mediterranean basin. But first see what historic probability there is in the Hebrew race itself. The golden calf in the wilderness and the molten calves set up by Jeroboam in the Northern Kingdom so few years later (abolished by Josiah at Bethel in 640-609 B. C.) give good ground for believing the same symbol was not unknown between-times;— especially is this true since in both cases the worship seems naively to have been considered legitimate, to have been recognized as worship of Yahveh.

The notion has grown in late years that Yahveh was thought of as a bull-god in the original form of the nation's faith. In this case we have in the golden calf etc. another instance of that same reversion to type and primitive crudeness which the transcendentalists of Hebrew history always most bitterly combatted. It is not so much a mere example of primitive totemism as at first it seems. The bull-form had a spiritual reality at bottom. Israel was cradled, nurtured and educated to its maturity in the midst of bull-worshipping nations. It would be most unusual if this nation only should escape. The bull is the most natural emblem of generative force and sturdy strength to cattle-breeders, and such were all the half-Bedouin races of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The most obvious source of such a concept is Egyptian, the worship of the black Apis-bull of Osiris (Fig. 23), the so-called "bull of the West" who was considered as Osiris incarnate, and the worship of the white bull of Horus. The black Apis-bull was the answer to the demand that Hathor, the cow-goddess of the underworld, should have a masculine correlative to be complete. As a cow-goddess, she was stronger than Isis whose bovine partner was the Horus-bull. It is Hathor, the horned goddess with the sun-disk, who infers the existence of the bull of heaven, the bull-headed god



Fig. 23. BRONZE FIGURE OF APIS.

Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 289.

most easily developed by the Hebrews into Yahveh, whose blood-cousin, though a black sheep of the family, was Moloch, also bull-horned.

In the Promised Land itself the influence of surrounding gods lent itself to the perpetuation of such an ideal. Not only was Moloch a bull-god,<sup>98</sup> but the Hittites also worshiped similar deities. In the remains of the mysterious Hittite palace at Euyuk there is a relief which shows a priest and priestess each with a hand lifted in adora-

<sup>98</sup> Cf. the Rabbis. Jarchi. on Jerem. vii. 31. Diodorus xx. 14.

tion to an image of a bull raised on a high pedestal with an altar before it.<sup>96</sup> Sandan, the Hittite Hercules, seems to have been considered as a bull-god.

Analogies multiply from all directions. Europa and the Zeus-bull, Ariadne and the Minotaur of Crete, Bacchus as a human-faced bull (Fig. 24); these on the Greek side via Crete and Mycenae with



Fig. 24. BACCHUS AS A HUMAN-FACED BULL.

Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, pl. CXCII, fig. 9.

a residuum of unmodified primitive characteristics, unite with the Assyrian winged and human-headed sacred bull on common footing.

Horned gods and horned demons occur in many religions. The horn is the symbol of power, of super-humanity. Kings adopt it for their crowns, professing divine right and descent. "Minos was bull-god as well as king. At certain feasts, and notably at his royal

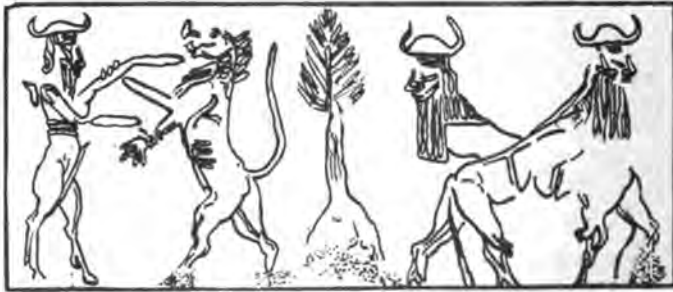


Fig. 25. THE HERO GILGAMESH AND SACRED BULLS.

From the Chalcedony Seal as early as 3d millennium B. C. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*.

marriage, he wore a bull's mask, and his queen perhaps a cow's mask." The ruins of Cnossos are replete with horn-emblems and bull-masks. Legendary heroes and mythical demigods are adorned with horned caps or sprouting horns (cf. fig. 25). The Assyrian pantheon looks ridiculously like the stanchions of a well-stocked cattle-farm.

<sup>96</sup> W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, I, pp. 393-395; Perrot and Chipiez, IV, 623, 656, 666, 672; L. Messerschmidt, *The Hittites*, pp. 42-50.



The bull-characteristics of the Cherub are the manifestation of Yahveh's own past.<sup>97</sup>

To the bull-form of the cherub were added wings. This likewise is a custom of long standing. In the very earliest strata of Cyprus, races which date from about 1000 to the middle of the sixth century B. C. (Græco-Phœnician) the juxtaposition of heraldic birds and holy trees or flowers is very frequent. They even seem some-



Fig. 26. VASE FROM KITION.

Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, pl. LXXIX.

times to be adoring a holy tree; perhaps holy birds were reared and kept in the grove of a divinity who was worshiped under the semblance of a natural or artificial tree. This finding of birds in the function of the later cherubim and guardian bulls of Assyria or in the position of Egyptian sphinxes (whose attitude toward the central pillar is purely decorative, shown by the generality of cases in which

<sup>97</sup> Gen. xlix. 24 seems to call Yahveh the Bull of Jacob.

the animals are back to back) makes the fusion of characteristics easy, once the character of their act is fused. Wings are the relics of such representations.

Figure 26 shows an interesting piece of Cyprian pottery of the earliest date where both beast and bird are adoring the ashera-tree (which also seems to be in a state of evolution into human form).

The taste for figures put face to face is Assyrian rather than Egyptian, and Phœnicia almost never chooses to place its mythic beasts in any but fronting poses. The famous Lion Gate at Mycenæ is duplicated by numberless seals, paterae and glyptics. This is the position which has meaning; the other has none but ornamental intent. The flanking animals give prominence and impressiveness



Fig. 27. A PILLAR WITH GRIFFIN SUPPORTERS.

From Mycenæ. Tsuntas, "Μυκῆναι," pl. V, fig. 6. Tsuntas and Manatt, *Myc. Age*, p. 254, fig. 131. Furtwangler, *Ant. Gemm.*, Vol. III, p. 44, fig. 18. Evans, *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 60, fig. 36.

to the ashera or pillar they support. Most of the detail on the betylæ of Phœnicia is permeated by the inevitable and concomitant satellites, who are their watchdogs. The Egyptian sphinx and the Phœnician griffin (Fig. 27) merge with the Assyrian winged bull into the function of the cherub, and duplicate his known characteristics. The Assyrian bull is certainly the noblest and most dignified forefather the most "blue-stocking" cherub could long for. His calm majesty and massive power make him truly a fit guardian for any sacred Tree of Life. (Fig. 28.)

This brings me to a brief consideration of the symbolism of the cherub.

The undifferentiated pillar grew to be a pair, which each in turn specialized its sexual significance. The Ashera-pillar we found to have become phallic, answering the call of the all-mother, Astarte. The sacred tree on the walls of the temple manifests the development simple beatylic worship (exemplified in Jachin and Boaz) has reached on the feminine side. The masculine momentum towards



Fig. 28. WINGED BULL FROM KHORSABAD.

Perrot and Chipiez, *Babylonia and Assyria*.

phallicism does not in Semitic religion become over-frank or primary ; but it develops with much vigor in secondary or veiled forms. This the bull-worship seems to be. Baal-Peor,<sup>88</sup> the god of the Moabites and Midianites, seems to have enshrined this principle. Some scholars even go so far as to create out of the name Peor-Apis the Greek name Priapus. The Apis-bull soon came to be considered identical

<sup>88</sup> Numbers xxv. 1-2 etc. ; Hosea ix. 16 etc.

with Baal, and Yahveh as a Baal must have held more than a modicum of this idea. In Phœnicia phallicism was attached to the sun-cult of Adonis-Tammuz and Isis-Ashtoreth-Venus. But the ideal of *strength* seems to have been the backbone of the deification. Masculinity does not imply sensuality—but develops the consideration of qualities such as reliability (cf. the covenant where Yahveh “abideth faithful”), war-power and physical strength. As such Yahveh need not be ashamed to own his symbol, the simple metaphor which these child people could easily visualize and understand.

## XVII.

Primitive religion is interesting more than for its own sake. Its intrinsic value must be in the contribution it makes to the philosophy of history. Every day of modern times makes the fact of evolution become more and more the fibre of our thought. But the wonder likewise grows. God even is content to let his children grow to knowledge of him through such imperfect visions of his reality as these we have been studying. The main thing is, they *grow*. And growth must be upward; if upward it is toward the perfection he has set as the ideal of perfect knowledge of him as Love. The ideal of a loving God is undreamed of in these dim ages, in the ideals the Temple embodied; brought from the desert wanderings to be spiritualized through stress and disappointment into Messianic hope, which even so did not hope for the Truth as Christ revealed it in our midst. We may not say, however, that this half-faith was valueless. In the eyes of the Lord, to whom “a thousand years are as a day, and a day as a thousand years,” as being the promise of perfection, it was priceless. Israel was his chosen people. However near the wilderness the Temple may have stood, it faced the East where the dawn was breaking.

“Well, you must know, there lies  
 Something, the Curé says, that points to mysteries  
 Above our grasp: a huge stone pillar, once upright,  
 Now laid at length, half-lost, discreetly shunning sight  
 I’ the brush and brier, because of stories in the air—  
 Hints what it signified, and why was stationed there,  
 Once on a time. In vain the Curé tasked his lungs—  
 Showed, in a preachment, how, at bottom of the rungs  
 O’ the ladder, Jacob saw, where heavenly angels stept  
 Up and down, lay a stone which served him, while he slept,  
 For pillow; when he woke, he set the same upright  
 As pillar, and a-top poured oil: things requisite

To instruct posterity, there mounts from floor to roof  
 A staircase, earth to heaven: *And also put in proof*  
*When we have scaled the sky, we well may let alone*  
*What raised us from the ground, and,—Paying to the stone*  
*Proper respect, of course,—take staff and go our way,*  
*Leaving the pagan night for Christian break of day.*

.....  
 .....*Thus preached the Curé and no jot*  
*The more persuaded people but that, which once a thing*  
*Meant and had right to mean, it still must mean.....*  
 ..... Yon spire, you keep erect  
 Yonder, and pray beneath, is nothing, I suspect,  
 But just the symbol's *self* expressed in slate for rock,  
 Art's smooth for nature's rough, new chip from the old block!"<sup>■</sup>

■ Robert Browning, "Fifine at the Fair," lines 2102-2119, 2125-8, 2152-5.

## THE CITY OF DAVID.

BY THE EDITOR.

JERUSALEM is first mentioned in history in the Tel-el-Amarna letters as the residence of an Egyptian viceroy under the name Uru-Salim, which became changed in the Hebrew to "Jerusalem," or as a well-assured reading runs in the Old Testament and on two coins, "Jerusalajim," but neither the etymology of the original name nor the dual form of *Jerusalajim* has been satisfactorily explained.

The city of Jerusalem is a natural stronghold, and when the Israelites invaded the country, Mt. Zion could not be taken but remained in the hands of the Canaanitic tribe, the Jebusites. It is possible that the pre-Davidian name of the city, at that time, was Jebus, after the supposed ancestor of the Jebusites.

The geological formation of the territory is mainly limestone which is everywhere apt to possess steep declivities and form many caves. On the other hand it is often poor in affording a sufficient amount of drinking water, and these features must have been very evident in ancient Jerusalem. The rocks on which the city is built, and also the several precipices in the neighborhood, are full of grottoes which have been used for various purposes, especially as places of burial, and there is only one good spring which since times immemorial has furnished the water supply of Jerusalem. This is situated on the southeastern slope and is now called the Spring of the Virgin. The Mohammedan population call it the "Spring of Steps" because it is furnished with a stairway. We may fairly well assume that the first settlement of the place was made here; the spring must have belonged to the city of the Jebusites and must somehow have been protected also in the city of David.

In order to make up for the deficient water supply on the rocks, the inhabitants of Jerusalem built many cisterns of which there are not less than thirty-eight under the temple area. One of them is so large that it contains two million gallons of water. These reser-

voirs have been frequently referred to\* and seem to be partly natural and partly artificial.

In the book of Joshua (xv. 63) the Jebusites are reported to have felt so safe on their steep rock that they ridiculed the request for surrender by having the place guarded by the lame and the blind, at which mockery David took offence and became the more eager to take possession of this formidable fortress. Finally he succeeded in capturing the town which for strategic and political reasons was so important to him. David made Jerusalem his capital and with the aid of Tyrian craftsmen fortified the place called Millo, which seems to have been the Jebusite name of the citadel.

The passage in the second book of Samuel is somewhat obscured but the general sense is sufficiently intelligible. It reads thus (2 Sam. v. 6-12):

"And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither.

"Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion: the same is the city of David.

"And David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul, he shall be chief and captain. Wherefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not come into the house.

"So David dwelt in the fort, and called it the city of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward.

"And David went on, and grew great, and the Lord God of hosts was with him.

"And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and cedar trees, and carpenters, and masons: and they built David an house.

"And David perceived that the Lord had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for his people Israel's sake."

The highest portion of Jerusalem is Mount Moriah, the site of the old temple, now called *Haram esh-Sherif*, i. e., the Eminent Sanctuary, because the Mohammedans regard it as equally sacred with the Kaaba at Mecca. There the Mosque of Omar stands on the holy enclosure which is a large platform situated in the south-eastern part of the city.

Modern Jerusalem is divided into four quarters. The Christian district occupies the entire western half which is roughly marked by a line drawn from the Damascus gate in the northern wall down to the Zion gate, also called *Bab en-nabi Daud*, that is, "the gate of the prophet David."

\* *Eccles.* i. 3; *Josephus, Antiq.*, XII, 2. 2; *Tacitus, Hist.*, V, 12; *Ant. Aug., Itin.*, 590 f.

This part of the city is divided by the Street of David, running from the gate of Jaffa in a western direction, into two quarters, that of the Armenians in the south and of the Greek Christians in the north.

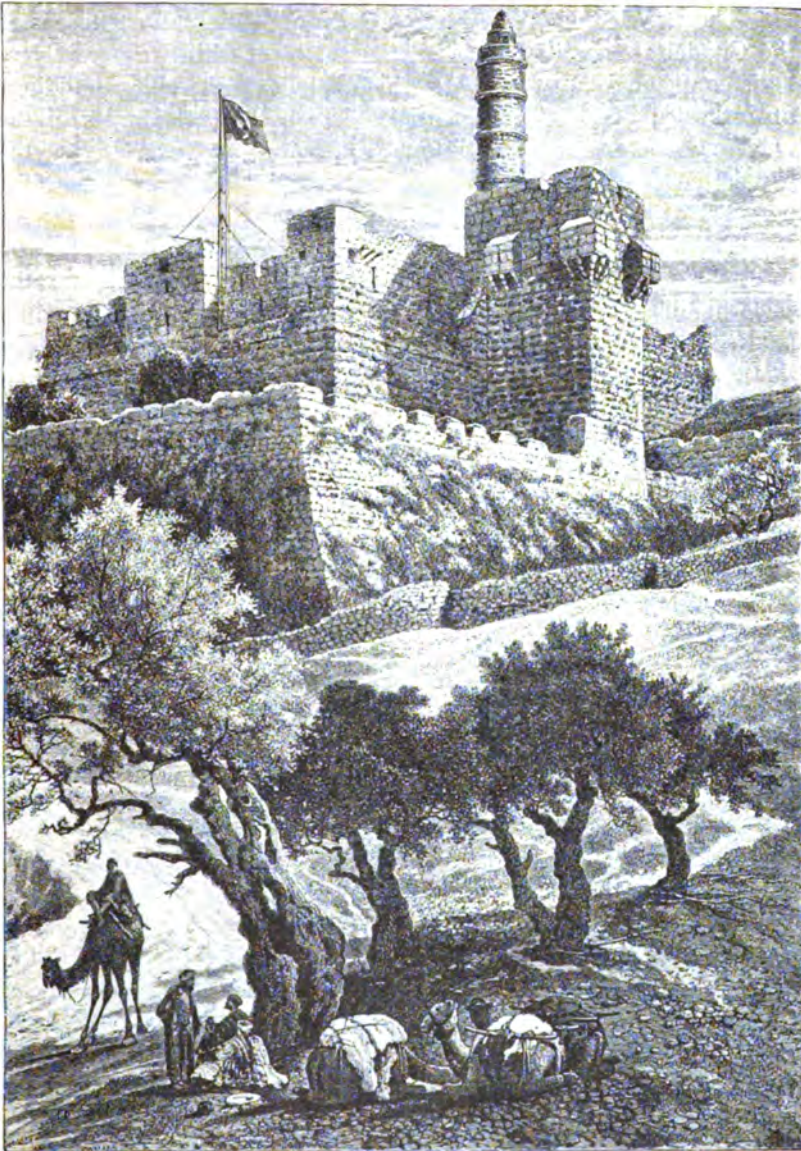
The Mohammedan quarter covers the northwestern part of the city, while the Jews live between the temple district, Haram esh-



THE GATE OF NABI DAUD.  
From Ebers, *Palästina*.

Sherif, and the Armenian quarter. The southern end of the Christian quarter was identified with Mt. Zion in Medieval times, but it is probable that Mt. Zion should be located on the hill Ophel, the knoll south of Moriah, outside of the present city wall. Wherever Mt. Zion may have been, we know from Biblical sources that it was





THE CITADEL.  
From Ebers, *Palästina*.

the most ancient part of the city, for it is the place where the Jebusites lived and where David established his garrison.

The traveler who enters the city through the Jaffa gate passes the Citadel at the right, now garrisoned by Turkish troops. Here he is confronted by two towers which belong to the oldest buildings of Jerusalem, for their foundations date back to the times of the Hasmonæans, and archeologists assume with good reasons that the Citadel formed part of the palace of King Herod the Great, the defences of which were strengthened by Herod Agrippa I.

Down to the days of the Maccabees, or, as they are called by the Jews, the Hasmoneans, Jerusalem remained confined to the eastern hills Ophel and Moriah. But the Hasmoneans built their palace on the place where now the citadel stands and so added this territory to the city of Jerusalem. It contained the royal residence under the Herodians, and it was fortified by Herod the Great with three strong towers called Hippicus, Phasaël and Mariamne.\* The western tower, the present citadel, has been identified with Hippicus, while the other toward the east must have been the tower Phasaël. When the Romans destroyed Jerusalem they left these towers standing because they offered a good protection for their own garrison quartered there to hold the palace.

While the ancient city of David must have been located on Mt. Ophel south of the present district, tradition has always insisted upon identifying the citadel of Jerusalem with the city of David, and so in popular parlance it still bears the name of Mt. Zion. The whole citadel has frequently been regarded as the ancient fortress of David, and for unknown reasons the tower Phasaël has been singled out as a work of David and up to this time bears his name. The native guide even knows the room in it where David used to compose his psalms.

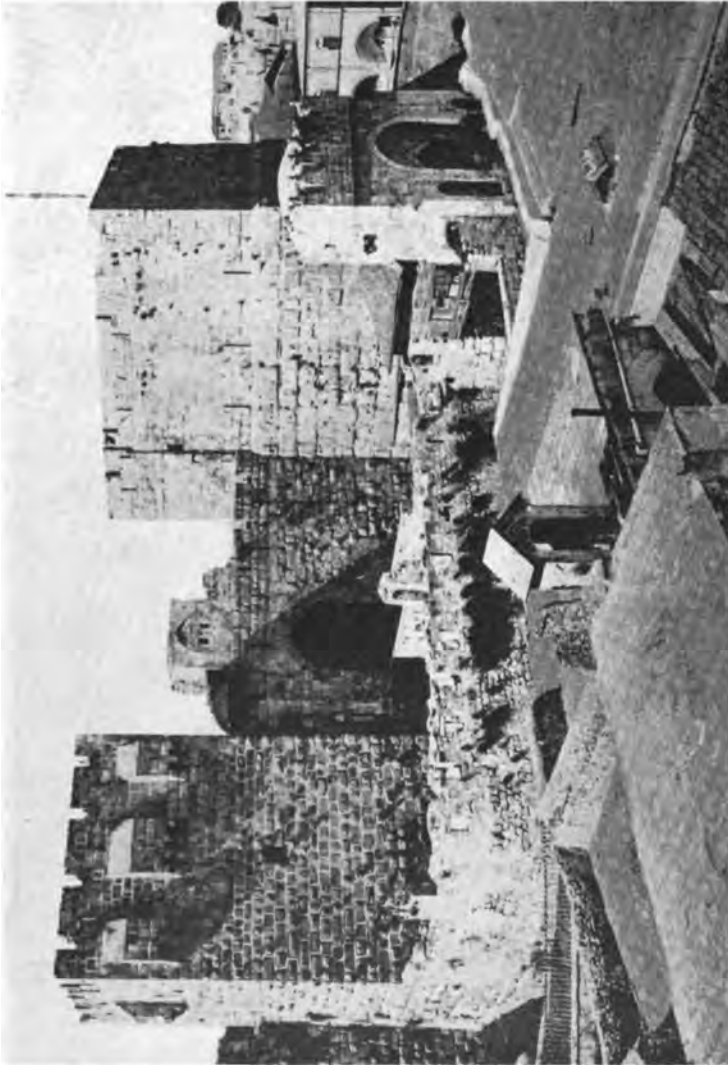
The lower part of the tower of David consists of a foundation rising at an angle of  $45^\circ$  which is so well constructed that it would be impossible to climb it. Upon this solid base stands the square tower of a grim and warlike appearance, surrounded by a walk protected by a parapet. When Titus destroyed Jerusalem he left the four towers built by Agrippa because they were serviceable as a fortress for the Roman garrison.

Another place sacred to the memory of David is now called the Tomb of David although it neither dates back to the time of David nor does it contain his tomb. It is situated directly south of the

\* See Josephus, *Antiq.*, XVI, 5, 2, and *Bel. Jud.*, V, 4, 3.

Armenian quarter outside of the old city wall, a short distance from the Gate of David.

Having left the Gate of David behind, we pass by an ancient



THE TOWERS OF HIPPICUS AND PHASAEL (DAVID'S TOWER).  
Both form part of the Citadel.

house which is said to have been the residence of the High Priest Caiphas. The tomb of David, so called, is a complicated system of buildings surmounted approximately in the center by a turret of the shape of Mohammedan minarets.

In the eastern part of one room of this so-called Tomb of David there is a kind of cenotaph or empty grave, which indicates that it served as the crypt of a Medieval Christian church. But there is no



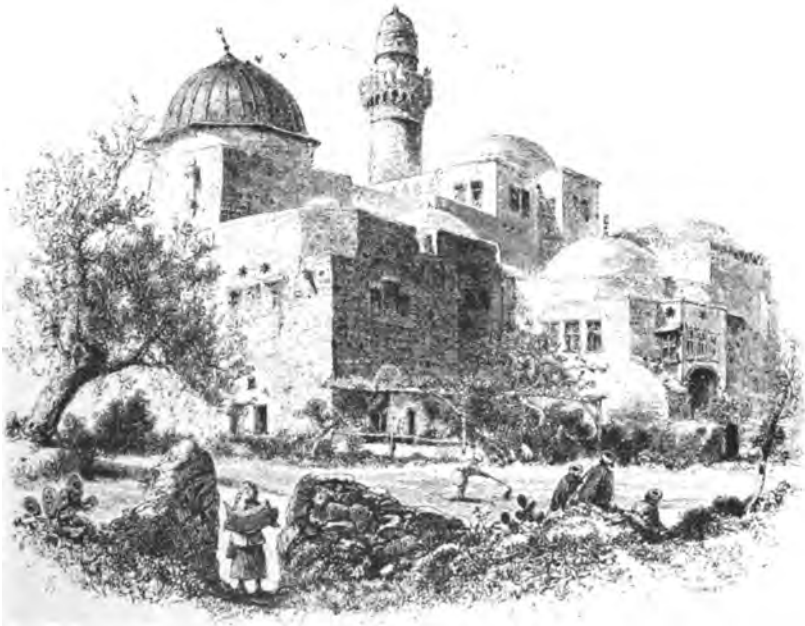
THE TOWER OF DAVID.

From a photograph.

evidence that an ancient Jewish tomb ever stood here. Tradition only knows that David was buried on Mt. Zion, and so it selected this spot on account of its romantic appearance.

The tomb of David existed in Jerusalem during the first century of the Christian era, for it is mentioned in Acts (ii. 29) in the speech of Peter; but the locality is not determined except perhaps that the expression "his sepulchre is with us unto this day," indicates that it must have lain within the city limits.

The same building is also interesting because it plays an important part in the traditional localizations of the life of Jesus. One of its rooms is called the *coenaculum*, and is believed to have been the "upper chamber" where Jesus partook of the Last Supper in the



DAVID'S TOMB.  
From Ebers, *Palästina*.

circle of his disciples. It has further been regarded as the place where the disciples were gathered together on the day of Pentecost and where the remarkable event took place of the pouring out of the Holy Ghost. The main part of the building must be very old, certainly older than the fourth century A. D., for it is mentioned by Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, who played a conspicuous part in the "Invention of the Cross" by Empress Helena. That the building should be much older than perhaps the end of the first century is quite improbable, for Jerusalem has been destroyed most thoroughly

several times, and there is no reason to assume that this conspicuous building should have been left standing.

During the Middle Ages the building belonged to the Franciscan friars, and Arculphus, a traveler who visited and described Jerusalem about 700 A. D., tells us in addition that this was the spot where the Virgin Mary lived and died, and that here St. Stephen suffered martyrdom, which latter is in contradiction to other traditions.

Every place is duly localized, the tomb of David, the rooms of the Virgin Mary, the place where Christ washed the feet of his disciples, etc. The Franciscan friars also kept here a piece of marble that was said to be part of the column of the flagellation of Christ. The building has repeatedly been destroyed and rebuilt in parts. In 1561 the Franciscan monks were expelled through the intrigues of a wealthy Jew whom they forbade to pray at the Tomb of David. He made representations at Constantinople that the tomb of a great prophet of Islam (meaning David) was permitted to remain in the hands of the infidels. But the friars retained the permission to use a room for the ceremony of washing the feet of pilgrims every year on Maundy Thursday.

Our frontispiece, the so-called Tomb of David, is taken from the northwest where it is bounded by the Greek cemetery, while the pen and ink sketch, reproduced from Professor Ebers's *Palästina*, is a closer view from the northeast.

One more place in Jerusalem which is situated on the Haram esh-Sherif, East of the Mosque of Omar, has been consecrated to the memory of David; it is his seat of judgment, a pretty pavilion consisting of six columns surmounted by a dome. The several styles of architecture to which different portions of this building belong, indicate that it can not be older than the Byzantine period, but like the Street of David, the Tower of David, and the Tomb of David, it proves the persistence of tradition which to this day has not forgotten that Jerusalem was once the City of David.

## ISRAEL AND BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION.<sup>1</sup>

BY EDOUARD MONTET, D.D.

**B**EFORE dealing with the grave question suggested by the words Babylon and the Bible, it is necessary to refer to certain facts which have special reference to the discussion. Up to the present time, Biblical science has established that 2000 years before Christ the Israelites came out of Arabia, the land of the origin, the classic soil of the Semitic race. They established themselves in the south of Babylon at Ur-Kasdin. The southern part of the country at that time formed a division of the already flourishing empire called the First Babylonian Empire (about 4300 B. C.). There a civilization had sprung up and developed which without exaggeration may safely be described as marvelous. Its palmiest period dated from the time of Sargon I of Akkad (about 3800 B. C.) and extended through the reigns of his successors. This monarch, renowned in the antique annals of the Orient, had founded a library, that of Uruk "the city of books," a library composed of old and venerable writings engraved in cuneiform characters on slabs and clay cylinders. These works treated of astrology, magic, legislation, the grammar of the two languages (Semitic and non-Semitic) which were spoken in the Empire, and other matters. Thirty centuries later Assurbanipal, the celebrated Assyrian of the 7th century B. C., had copies of these works made, a part of which we now possess.

At the period of the decline of the First Empire, we meet with the *patesi* or priest-kings, the lieutenants of neighboring sovereigns, and contemporaneous (about 3000 B. C.) with the 4th Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> Professor Montet, Vice-Rector of the University of Geneva, Switzerland, and head of the Semitic department of its Faculty of Protestant Theology, was one of the most prominent figures at the International Congress of Liberal Thinkers at Boston last year. He has studied and written much on Oriental subjects and we are glad to present this article to our readers since it sums up in a short essay the commonly accepted results of higher criticism on the debt the Old Testament owes to Babylon. For further data we refer our readers to Delitzsch's *Babel and Bible* (Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co.).

dynasty, during which the pyramids were built. Noticeable amongst these was one Gudéa whose headless statue in the Louvre at Paris holds in its hand a stone slab, on which is engraved the plan of a palace, such as we call to-day a scale-plan.

Babylonian civilization, then, as is evident from these details, was in a very advanced state considering the epoch, and the Israelites, quitting the deserts and oases of Arabia, must have been struck at the sight of so splendid a spectacle with bewilderment and admiration difficult for us to imagine. That this civilization exerted an increasing influence on Israel there can be no manner of doubt.

And indeed when we remember that all the ancient civilizations of the Orient were religious, it is not surprising that the religion of the Babylonians of the First Empire, with its traditions, its literature, and its rites, should have profoundly affected the Israelites and have left indelible traces in their sacred books.

The question, then, raised by the subject under discussion (viz., Israel and Babylonian Civilization) may be stated in these terms:

Is the Old Testament an original work, or is it only an echo, a copy, or an imitation of the religious traditions of the Babylonians? Will the value of the moral and religious truths contained in the Hebrew Scriptures be compromised or diminished by the discovery of the traces of Babylonian influence? Should we, men of the Bible, believers in the Book, be threatened by such a discovery with what has sometimes been called "the loss of our treasure?"

If there ever was an engrossing religious question, surely this is one. Let us examine it with all the impartiality and calmness of judgment of which we are capable.

It is of course impossible in one paper to deal adequately with so complex a question as the influence of Babylon on the Bible and on Israel. I shall therefore content myself with taking a few typical examples, and after having thrown them into full light, draw from them legitimate, well-founded conclusions which may contribute to the solution of the problem stated.

#### ORIGIN OF THE WORLD AND OF MAN.

At the outset, let us consider the traditions concerning the origin of the world and man contained in the first eleven chapters of Genesis.

It is well known that these eleven chapters are essentially composed of two narratives of different ages, one dating from the 8th century B. C. (the Jahvist), the other from the 5th century B. C.



(the Priestly Code). The Assyrian-Babylonian documents which correspond to these accounts come from Assurbanipal's library and consequently date from the 7th century. These cuneiform texts of the time of the great Assyrian Monarch, however, are copies of documents of great antiquity, dating, according to Assyriologists, from more than 2000 before Christ.

*The Creation.*—We have two accounts of the creation in the Bible. In the first (Gen. i-ii, 4a), which is of the 5th century B. C., God is called *Elohim*; the creation takes place in seven days; God creates first, the light; then he separates the waters above (the heavens) from the waters below (the seas) and when the earth appears, the vegetable kingdom, the stars, the animals, fishes, birds, and beasts of the earth (divided into great and small beasts and beasts of the field) are successively created. After this comes the creation of man, male and female, and God having found his work good rests on the seventh day.

In the second account (Gen. ii. 4b-24) which dates from the 8th century B. C., God is called *Yahveh*. He begins by the creation of man, then he places him in the garden of Eden, in which all kinds of vegetation are made to grow and in the midst of which are the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. After this God creates the animals and the birds, and at last woman.

Now leaving aside the essential differences which characterize these two Biblical narratives, let us compare them with the two principal accounts of the cuneiform texts preserved on the Babylonian bricks which date from about 650 B. C. and which are exact copies of documents of such great antiquity as 2000 B. C.

Their close resemblance to the Biblical narratives cannot fail to strike any one who keeps in mind the first chapters of Genesis.

In the first Babylonian account called *Ennuma Elish* (these are the opening words of the Assyrian text) it is stated that at the beginning, when as yet neither the heavens above nor the earth below had been named, there was the aqueous chaos, the Abyss or primitive Ocean, from which all things proceeded. The word employed in the cuneiform text is *Tiâmat*, which is the same as the *Tehôm* of the Bible. The Hebrew word *Tehôm* is the abyss over which darkness hung and on which the spirit of God brooded, "moving on the face of the waters," that is to say on the primitive Ocean. This original state of aqueous chaos is again described by the author of the Babylonian account as "the union or fusion of the waters." The reference, of course, is to the waters above and below referred to in Genesis.

In the Babylonian account the first act of the Creator is the creation of the gods. But after this fragment, there are blanks and obscurity in the text which follows. Further on we read that the god Marduk made "the higher thrones of the great gods," the planets, the stars, and then fixed the year, established the twelve months, etc. Then should follow the account of the creation of the plants and the animals—but here the text is obscure and mutilated. At last the creation of man is described. It is said that Marduk resolved to create man, saying, "I will take blood, and from bones I will make man."

In the second Babylonian account called Eridu, it is stated that at the beginning there was neither temple of God, nor building of any kind, "a reed had not yet sprung up, a tree had not yet been created." The "whole of the lands," to employ the words of the text, consisted only of an aqueous chaos (Tâmtu—the Tiâmat of the first text).

Then Eridu and Esagila were created (the temple of Eridu, at once an earthly and heavenly paradise). Then Marduk made the earth and created man. The goddess Aruru, wife of Bel or Ea united with him in creating the human race, also the beasts of the fields and the animals living in the fields, after which the Tigris and Euphrates, etc., were made.

Now, in spite of the apparent differences between the Biblical and Babylonian accounts, the close resemblance between the traditions that have come down to us is evident, and the priority of the Babylonian traditions appears to be established by the great antiquity of the sources from which they are drawn.

In these traditions, common alike to Israelites and Babylonians, there are two points which must be insisted on, namely the Sabbath and Eden.

The Sabbath, or Day of Rest of the Israelites, was the same and bore the same name amongst the Babylonians. Indeed it is in ancient Babylon that we find the earliest traces of this institution,—at least such is my opinion after careful research as to the origin of the Sabbath.

As to Eden, the cradle of the human race according to the Bible narrative, it must be located in Babylon as Delitzsch was the first to point out and establish. And there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the Hebrews should have imagined that the earthly Paradise was in Babylon, when we remember that on leaving Arabia they had left behind very primitive conditions in which they had lived for long centuries and entered into the midst of a great and

dazzling civilization which must have appeared to them the miracle of miracles.

*The Fall.*—In the Biblical text (Gen. iii. 1-25) which dates from the 8th century B. C., the essential statements are as follows: At the beginning the first human couple were innocent. Seduced, however, by the Serpent, the woman and then the man ate of the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and thus sin entered the world. God, fearing that man should profit by experience and lay hands on the tree of life, and eating thereof should become immortal, banished him and his companion from the garden of Eden.

In the Babylonian documents no such account as this has as yet been discovered. We have, however, precious points of comparison which I will briefly enumerate: In the Biblical narrative two trees are mentioned, the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and the tree of life. But it is possible that in a more ancient gloss of the same text it was a question of only one tree. The forbidden tree, of the fruit of which Adam and Eve ate, is in reality simply called "the tree in the midst of the garden" (Gen. iii. 3), which seems to imply the uniqueness of the forbidden tree; the tree of life is only mentioned at the end of the narrative, in a kind of appendix. On the other hand, in the Jahvist account of the creation, the tree of life is indicated as also being in the midst of the garden (Gen. ii. 9) and reference, immediately following in the same text, to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil seems to confirm the identity of the two trees.

The philosophy of this passage expresses the great truth that there is no real life except where there is a knowledge both of good and evil.

Whatever may be our interpretation of this special point, one thing is certain, namely that the Babylonian and Assyrian documents mention only the tree or plant of life, jealously guarded by winged genii and surmounted in the painted or sculptural representations we possess by a winged symbol of Deity. This plant, an object of worship, is itself the symbol of eternal life.

Another point of comparison is to be found in the well-known Babylonian cylinder in the British Museum, on which two human beings are represented, a man with horns symbolic of strength, and a woman, both reaching out their hands towards a tree which may be a date palm. Behind the woman is a serpent, the tempter referred to in the book of Genesis. I am aware that the interpretation I have here given of these figures is called in question; that it has been

affirmed that they represent gods, and that as we are in possession of no explanatory text, it is simple madness to attempt any interpretation whatever. But this is not my opinion. From the day I first set eyes on the cylinder, the evidence of the representation on the Babylonian clay of the Biblical narrative of the Fall forced itself upon my mind. Indeed there is no reason for surprise at so striking a resemblance. The consciousness of sin which finds so profound an utterance from beginning to end in the Old Testament, is expressed with equal poignancy in the Babylonian documents, and the most remarkable proof is the celebrated psalm of repentance in the cuneiform texts. The following are some passages selected from Sayce's translations.\*

"O my god who art violent [against me], receive [my supplication].  
 O my goddess, thou who art fierce [towards me], accept [my prayer].  
 Accept my prayer, (may thy liver be quieted).  
 O my lord, long-suffering [and] merciful, (may thy heart be appeased).  
 By day, directing unto death that which destroys me, O my god, interpret [the vision].  
 O my goddess, look upon me and accept my prayer.  
 May my sin be forgiven, may my transgression be cleansed.  
 Let the yoke be unbound, the chain be loosed.

.....  
 Let me pass from my evil, and let me be kept with thee,  
 Enlighten me and let me dream a favorable dream."—(Sayce, p. 355.)

[Accept] the prostration of the face of the leaving creature....  
 [I] thy servant ask [thee] for rest.  
 To the heart of him who has sinned thou utterest words of blessing.  
 Thou lookest on the man, and the man lives,  
 O potentate of the world, mistress of mankind!  
 Compassionate one, whose forgiveness is ready, who accepts prayer.  
 (*Priest*). O god and mother goddess that are angry with him, he calls upon thee!  
 Turn [thy face] towards him and take his hand!"

The most striking of these penitential psalms is certainly the following, in which the consciousness of sin is uttered in a manner as religious as it is impressive. One feels the anguish which wrings the moral nature of the man who wrote these words:

"O lord, my sins are many, my transgressions are great.  
 O my god, my sins are many, my transgressions are great.  
 O my goddess, my sins are many, my transgressions are great.  
 O god whom I know and whom I know not, my sins are many, my transgressions are great.

\* *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*. London, 1887.

O goddess whom I know and whom I know not, my sins are many, my transgressions are great.  
 The sin that I sinned I knew not.  
 The transgression I committed I knew not.  
 The cursed thing that I ate I knew not,  
 The cursed thing that I trampled on I knew not.  
 The lord in the wrath of his heart has regarded me;  
 God in the fierceness of his heart has revealed himself to me.  
 The goddess has been violent against me and has put me to grief.  
 The god whom I know and whom I know not has distressed me.  
 The goddess whom I know and whom I know not has inflicted trouble.  
 I sought for help and none took my hand;  
 I wept and none stood at my side; .  
 I cried aloud and there was none that heard me.  
 I am in trouble and hiding; I dare not look up.  
 To my god, the merciful one, I turn myself, I utter my prayer;  
 The feet of my goddess I kiss and water with tears.  
 To the god whom I know and whom I know not I utter my prayer.  
 O lord, look upon [me; receive my prayer!]  
 O goddess look upon [me; accept my prayer!]  
 O god whom I know [and whom I know not, accept my prayer!]  
 O goddess whom I know [and whom I know not, accept my prayer!]  
 How long, O god [shall I suffer?]  
 How long, O goddess, [shall thy face be turned from me?]  
 How long, O god whom I know and whom I know not, shall the fierceness [of thy heart continue?]  
 How long, O goddess whom I know and know not, shall thy heart in its hostility be [not] appeased?  
 O lord, destroy not thy servant!  
 When cast into the water of the ocean take his hand.  
 The sins I have sinned turn to a blessing.  
 The transgressions I have committed may the wind carry away.  
 Strip off my manifold wickedness as a garment.  
 O my god, seven times seven are my transgressions; forgive my sins!  
 O my goddess, seven times seven are my transgressions; forgive my sins!  
 Forgive my sins; may thy ban be removed.  
 May thy heart be appeased as the heart of a mother who has borne children.  
 As a mother who has borne children, as a father who has begotten them. may it be appeased!"—(Sayce, p. 350.)

*The Deluge.*—The Biblical account of the deluge is formed by the combination of two documents, one of the 8th century and the other of the 5th. The principal contents of it are as follows: The human race being corrupt, God decides to destroy it by a deluge. Noah and his family alone escape the divine judgment. In the ark, in which they take refuge, a couple from every kind of animal on the face of the earth is housed.

The rain which is the cause of the deluge falls forty days. When the flood begins to subside the ark is stranded on Mount Ararat. In order to make sure that the waters have subsided and that dry land has appeared, Noah sends out four birds (ravens and doves). When at length Noah and those with him quit the ark, "they offer the Lord a sacrifice of thanksgiving." "Jehovah smells a sweet odor" (Gen. v. 21) and declares that He will never again utterly destroy mankind.

In the account of the deluge in Assurbanipal's library Xisuthros the Babylonian Noah, as Berosus calls him (the transcription of the Christian name from the cuneiform text varies so much, that I prefer to adopt the one employed by the historian Berosus) constructs a ship, in order to escape from the deluge which the gods, especially Bel, have decreed as a punishment for the wicked inhabitants of Shurippak. The family and slaves of Xisuthros are brought on board this vessel, also all his goods, as well as domestic and wild animals, and enormous provisions of food for man and beast. This ship of Xisuthros of which the cuneiform text gives us the exact measure, rivalled in size and proportions the largest modern steamships.

The gods open the flood-gates and let loose the deluge. Everything is destroyed and the water rises to the very skies. In the presence of this catastrophe the gods themselves are seized with fear and take refuge in the upper heaven, the heaven of Anu. "The gods lay motionless, huddled together like dogs," they weep. The storm lasts six days: on the seventh day there is a calm, and when Xisuthros opens the window of the vessel he perceives everywhere dead bodies floating on the surface of the water.

The vessel is stranded on Mount Nizir. In order to discover the condition of the inundated earth Xisuthros sends out first a dove, then a swallow, and at last a raven which does not return. Xisuthros then comes out of his ark, and offers a burnt-offering to the gods. "The gods smelt the sweet fragrance of the sacrifice and gathered like flies above the master of the sacrifice." They promise never again to bring about a deluge, but to content themselves with the employment of natural scourges (lions, for example) for the punishment of mankind. As to Xisuthros, he is carried up into the presence of the gods.

The resemblances between these two accounts—Biblical and Babylonian—are most striking and would appear even more so, when given *in extenso*. As I have already indicated the Babylonian

account is far more ancient than the Bible account which is a summary and monotheistic adaptation of the former.

*The Tower of Babel.*—As to the Biblical narrative of the tower of Babel or Babylon, which dates from the 8th century and which corresponds to the similar account given by Berosus, the Babylonian historian of the 4th century, we have nothing like it in the cuneiform texts. At the same time the Babylonian origin of the Biblical myth seems to be beyond doubt.

The colossal ruins of the "Temple of the Seven Lights of the Earth," the Tower of Borsippa which Nebuchadnezzar had restored in the 6th century (as an inscription of that monarch bears witness), certainly gave rise to the formation of the Biblical legend. While looking upon this crumbled edifice, the débris of which to-day forms a veritable hill of worn brick and dust, the foreigner passing through the valley of the Euphrates cannot fail to ask himself many a question as to the purpose for which so prodigious a monument was erected and the cause of its fall. The Bible legend is undoubtedly intended to serve as the answer to these questions.

And who knows if, some day, an inscription on a brick as yet undiscovered, containing the Babylonian version of the Tower of Babel may not be deciphered, throwing a flood of light upon the Bible text. The valley of the Euphrates has in reserve as many surprises as the extraordinary revelations it has already given us.

#### NAMES OF GOD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Another interesting point of comparison between the Bible and the religious documents of Babylon is that which touches the names of God in the Old Testament.

We are all aware that in the Hebrew Scriptures God is sometimes designated by names which are related to El, Eloah, Elohim (the plural form is found by far the most frequently), and at others by Yahveh, a name also often employed.

*El.*—Now the divine name El, as well as its derivatives, is a term of the religious vocabulary of the Semites. We find the same word with difference of pronunciation or vocalization used by the Aramæans, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Phœnicians, the Arabs, etc., and everywhere it is the generic name for Divinity, bearing in germ the monotheistic idea, being even the very expression of monotheism amongst the Hebrews (El, Elohim) and much later among the Moslem Arabs (Allah).

*Yahveh.*—This name in the Old Testament is the appellation

of the primitive God of Sinai, or the holy mountain, which He inhabited and where He revealed Himself to Moses in the 14th century. Later on, in the time of King Ahab in the 9th century, it was there that the prophet Elijah went in search of God for inspiration.

Yahveh, become the God of Israel, crossed with his people the frontiers of their territory, followed them in their perigrinations and went before them in military expeditions to foreign countries. It is then no matter for surprise that we should find the name of Yahveh on Babylonian bricks. What is remarkable is that it is associated, as in the Old Testament, with the name *El*. On these cylinders which Delitzsch supposes to date from 2000 B. C., we read :

|             |   |                |
|-------------|---|----------------|
| Ia-à-ve-Ilu | } | Yahveh is GOD. |
| Ia-ve-Ilu   |   |                |
| Ia-ü-um-Ilu |   |                |

This is the Yahveh-Elohim of a very great number of passages in the Old Testament.

#### THE CODE OF HAMMURABI.

The latest example of the coincidences between Babylon and the Bible, is the famous code of King Hammurabi, dating from about 2000 B. C., which was discovered in December 1901, and January 1902, by Mr. De Morgan amongst the ruins of Susa and which is now in the Louvre at Paris.

Between this code and the different codes mentioned in the Old Testament, such as the Covenant (9th century), Deuteronomy (7th century) and the priestly Code (5th century), there are, besides noticeable differences, resemblances so striking and characteristic that it must at least be admitted that the legislators of the two countries, Babylon and Israel, were inspired beforehand by the same common law. Here and there, however, the resemblances are so close that it is very difficult to escape from the conclusion that the Hebrew legislator had under his eyes the Code of the King of Babylon. Here are some cases in point :

The Old Testament lays down in principle the law of retaliation, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," etc. The Babylonian Code establishes the same principle (art. 196-200) : "If a man has put out the eye of a freeman, his eye shall be put out ; if he has broken a member, one of his own members shall be broken ; if he has knocked out a tooth, one of his own teeth shall be knocked out."

We all know with what severity the Old Testament punishes



want of respect for parents. Whosoever shall strike father or mother or curse them shall be put to death (Ex. xxi. 15, 17). The Code of Hammurabi, though not so cruel, is none the less severe. If a son says to his father, You are not my father, a mark shall be made on his body, and he shall be sold as a slave. If a son says to his mother, You are not my mother, a mark shall be made on his body, he shall be made to walk round the city, and shall be driven and under pain of death (art. 16).

In both legislations, the theft of man by man is punished with death (Ex. xxi. 16; Ham., art 14). As to slavery, there are analogies, but also essential differences between the two codes.

The Israelite is not obliged to give up to his owner a runaway slave who has taken refuge in his house (Deut. xxiii. 16). According to Hammurabi's Code the restitution in such cases is obligatory even under pain of death (art. 16).

Slavery for debt lasted six years with the Israelites, at the expiration of which time the Hebrew slave who had been sold or bought was free (Ex. xxi. 2-3). According to the Babylonian Code, slavery for the same reason, lasted only three years.

On many other questions, such as theft in general, theft of sacred objects in particular, false witness, corruption of judges, violation of property rights, dangerous animals, sexual crimes, etc., the codes of the Old Testament and of Hammurabi offer numerous resemblances and analogies, as well as divergences with which we need not deal here, but which are of the same character as those I have already indicated.

I should like, however, to call attention to a final analogy, and that of the highest interest between Biblical and Babylonian codes, I mean that which touches their origin.

According to the Biblical tradition, all the laws of Israel have one divine origin. It was on Sinai that Yahveh revealed the Decalogue to Moses, and this contained in germ all the laws of Israel for all ages. On the stele on which the Babylonian Code is engraved one sees the Sun-god giving to Hammurabi the laws which he codifies for his people. In both cases then we have the same conception of the divine origin of the law.

But it is time to draw the conclusions suggested by all these facts and considerations.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

*The Scientific Conclusions.*—I consider that in the present condition of Biblical science and of Assyriology, the Babylonian origin

of the traditions as to the beginning of the world and of humanity contained in the eleven first chapters of Genesis, is an established fact. It is more than probable also that the legislators of the Old Testament were conversant with the Code of Hammurabi. Finally, it would seem that the relations between Babylon and Palestine were close and ancient enough to permit of the possession by the two countries, not only of common religious sentiments, not only of the same religious and juridical vocabulary, but even the same names to designate the Divinity such as Yahveh-Elohim (Iave-Ilu).

*Dogmatic Conclusions.*—The scientific conclusions thus drawn have a dogmatic importance of the greatest value. If it can be established—and I think I have produced evidence enough for this—that certain passages of the Old Testament are the echo of Babylonian writings, then it is evident that the traditional notion of the inspiration of the Bible can no longer hold water. For centuries it has been believed and maintained in the Synagogue and in the Christian Church that the Old Testament was dictated to the sacred writers by God Himself and that they were but passive instruments or agents in the hands of the spirit of the Most High. This conception is now proved to be quite erroneous and with it disappears also the dogma of the infallibility of the Bible. No! the Old Testament is not a supernatural book; it is a human document, full of precious truths, but from which error is not excluded. At the same time it is an admirable book, recording centuries of experience of the most highly religious nation on the earth and constituting, with our Gospels, the most valuable religious treasure in the world.

*Religious Conclusions.*—Have we any cause for sorrow at the conclusions here drawn? Is there any reason for despair because we no longer have in hand a so-called infallible code of religious truth?

Shall we be tempted to imagine on account of these conclusions that the knell of the Bible and the religion founded upon it has been rung? No! a thousand times, No! On the contrary we are full of thankfulness to God that He did not desire to limit His revelation to one people, Israel, but to manifest to different nations and in divers manners the fundamental verities of religion and morality.

So far as I am concerned I feel an infinite joy, a sentiment of thankfulness that knows no bounds, towards God when I discover on the bricks covered with cuneiform characters religious affirmations and expressions of sorrow for sin, as profound as anything contained in the most beautiful pages of the Old Testament.

One often hears of the bankruptcy of science and oftener still of the bankruptcy of faith, but these noisy rumors and declarations are but empty sound to the religious man who studies the facts of science in a spirit of absolute impartiality, searching only for the truth in all realms despite those dogmas, creeds and ecclesiastical traditions which would impose on the mind a fixed conception of truth once for all. God has revealed Himself in all times and in all ages, and He will continue to reveal Himself always and without ceasing to those who seek after Him, whenever and wherever they may call upon His name.

## TRUTH.

BY E. H. RANDLE, A. M., LL. D.

THERE seems to be a great discussion about a very simple matter. "What is truth?" The more this is defined by metaphysicians, the more obscure it becomes. We quote from the reply of Professor James, the pragmatist, to one of his critics, Marcel Hébert, as cited in *The Monist* of January. "The relation to its object that makes an idea true in any given instance, is, we say, embodied in the intermediate details of reality which lead towards the object, which vary in every instance, and which in every instance can be concretely traced." The words here are simple and plain, but the sentence is obscure. I fail to grasp his meaning. He goes on: "The chain of workings which an opinion sets up is the opinion's truth or falsehood, or irrelevancy as the case may be." Here an opinion is represented as possessing truth or falsehood, and that truth is the chain of workings the opinion sets up. I do not think any one can be enlightened by this definition.

Dr. Paul Carus, commenting upon these quotations,<sup>1</sup> gives a much better definition of truth. "A truth is always a formulation of the essential features of a set of facts. Truths are not concrete realities, but ideas that appropriately describe certain characteristics of realities, so as to make our anticipations tally with experience in the past and present and even in the future. While facts are always particular, truths are always general; facts are verified by the senses, truths by the mind; facts change, truths remain true forever."

Facts are always particular but I do not see how a fact can possibly change. "It is a fact that John shot a bird": Can that fact ever be changed? A fact is something done. Neither can I see that truths are always general; but if Dr. Carus means *laws* he is correct. Many truths are laws. "All bodies set free above the ground fall to the earth": this is a truth and a law. I told the truth

<sup>1</sup> See "A Postscript on Pragmatism" in *The Monist*, Jan., 1909, p. 93.

when I said, "John shot a bird." But the shooting of the bird was a fact and not a truth.

In all statements there are two things to be considered; one, the statement itself; the other, the thing spoken of. "The earth revolves around the sun once every year." This statement covers only nine words, while the object spoken of covers an orbit of about 190 million of miles in diameter. Truth is the correctness of statement, and pertains to the statement only; or, more particularly, a truth is a statement made in accordance with certain facts, conditions or laws. The truth is in the *statement*. It may be made in writing, in spoken language, or by signs or gestures or in any way an idea may be conveyed.

We must be careful in definitions, for every prominent word has many secondary meanings. Green, for instance, means one of the prismatic colors and applies in its original sense only to color, yet we say green fruit (not ripe), or a green youth (one not up-to-date). Green paint may refer to the color or it may refer to paint not dry. There may be a dozen different colors in a newly painted house; one will say as you enter, "Be careful, all the paint in the house is green—not dry."

In dealing with truth we must define truth in its original sense, its most important sense and not in any secondary sense. The opposite of a truth is a lie, each one is exactly what the other is not. A lie is a statement intended to deceive, and it is in the statement, not in the facts or conditions referred to. There are two kinds of each. One may purpose to state the truth and state a falsehood. This might be called an honest lie; or he may purpose to state a lie and that for mischief, and tell the truth, this may be called a dishonest truth. Honest and dishonest as here used, however, will hardly bear close criticism, but I have conveyed my meaning. The purpose of a truth is to benefit; the purpose of a lie is to injure. There is every grade of each as to importance.

Truth prefers to fight "naked," that is without armor. It needs no *cuss* words of any kind to strengthen it. A lie is often clothed with such armor. The adjective *true* is used in a wider sense than truth, that is it has more secondary meanings.

The propositions in geometry are both truths and laws, but the word proposition implies that the statement is to be proven. The three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. This statement is true or it tells the truth; it is also a law of mathematics. Laws are universal, truths are particular or universal, in this case the truth is coextensive with the law. In laying off a state into

counties, it may be so small as to cover only one county, it and the county having the same limits may become one. Something like this may represent the difference, or rather oneness of the *truth* and the *law* in the statement. Whenever truth is used in other senses than in the correctness of a statement, it is a secondary sense of truth.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

Mr. E. H. Randle is right when he says that every prominent word has many secondary meanings. This becomes obvious in our use of the term "truth." I do not think that there is any disagreement between his conception of truth and mine, but truth like other words has many secondary meanings, and certain meanings are used with definite phrases and connections. I trust that every thoughtful reader will read the passage quoted and criticized by Mr. Randle in the correct sense. Truths are always mental and general, facts are always concrete and particular. Truths are identical with laws and if true are true forever. Facts are the fleeting phenomena in the flux of events that pass by and change, which means there are always new facts filling the present moment and commanding our attention. I do not think that rightly understood Mr. Randle will find fault with this statement, but I grant that the word "truth" is used also with reference to single statements, and in this connection I will call attention to the fact that if the statement be true that "John shot a bird," we never would call it *a truth*, but we would say of the man who says so that he told *the truth*. To "tell the truth" means that the statement of a special case is true, but to tell, or better to state, *a truth* has a different meaning, which shows that the phrase "to tell the truth" is idiomatic, and we cannot make use of it for the purpose of formulating an exact definition of the term "truth."

Accordingly I object to Mr. Randle's expression when he says, "The three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles; this statement is true and it tells the truth." Instead of saying, "it tells the truth," he ought to say, "it states a truth."

The opposite of "telling the truth" is "telling a lie," always having a moral significance, but the opposite of "truth" in the scientific sense of the word is not "lie" but "error" or "that which is not true."

Mr. Randle unconsciously proves his own contention that "every prominent word has many secondary meanings"; thus if an author now and then uses a word in more than one sense, we must be charitable and understand the use of it according to the context.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE CHRISTIAN CANON.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

In the Epilogue to the series of articles on "Christianity as the Pleroma," published in the August *Open Court*, there is a sentence that should be made the text of a sermon in every pulpit in the land, and it would be interesting to see what the variously-minded preachers make of it.

"If Christianity possesses sufficient innate strength to assimilate the new truths of science, it will survive and emerge from the present crisis stronger than before; but if it rejects the new revelation it is doomed."

What is the sole, great obstacle to Christianity's thus placing itself? Obviously, the Old Testament, which is a collection of religious scriptures written by men who had no conception of modern conditions and no knowledge of science. They belonged to an age of the world that is now past and obsolete, and the dogmatic effort to uphold their statements as ever present truths has for many centuries enormously biased and retarded human progress in science and morals.

The trouble with what is termed Christianity is that it is a hybrid—one-third European and Christian, and two-thirds Asiatic and Jewish. When launched by the apostles it was not a mere reform of the religion of Moses, but essentially a new Gentile creed with inspirations drawn from Jewish and many other sources. The early Christian Church was not long in forming a canon of its sacred literature; and it was after the New Testament canon was fixed that the Old Testament Scriptures were canonized.

Then the Church made the great mistake that has cost the world so dear,—binding the Jewish Scriptures in one volume with the Christian Scriptures, and calling it "The Bible," and asserting for the Old Testament the same infallibility and inerrancy and divine inspiration which it properly claimed for the New Testament.

The reading of the two Scriptures together confuses and muddles the Christian religion and instils in children's minds false views of the world's history. The Yahveh of Moses is an entirely different deity from the Father-god of Jesus Christ. And there are a number of stories and passages in the Old Testament that are unfit reading for the young. We should all know more about Jesus Christ and the Christian religion if it were cut loose from the Jewish Bible altogether, and if Christian ministers would no longer use any Bible but the New Testament, and would cease to read portions of the Old Testament in their services, and make it a point to select texts from the Christian Scriptures only.

There are many religious scriptures besides those of the Jews and Christians. Is there any more reason for Christian Churches using and canonizing Jewish scriptures than the Buddhist scriptures or the Zend Avesta? Mohammed certainly owed as much to the Old Testament as did the Apostles; but we do not find it bound up with the Koran as the bible of Islam. But Bible societies still continue to translate and circulate the Old Testament, despite the fact that the doubled and inconsistent two religions of the "Bible" make the Christian propaganda infinitely harder and less effective.

How illogical and inconsistent and also how disingenuous is the attempt of Christians to belong to two religions at once, and hold to two incompatible creeds! Christianity as it ought to be has been overlaid and obsessed by the Mosaic religion. All the criminal acts that in past times disgraced Christianity—persecutions, religious wars, witch burnings, and massacres are due to the teaching of the Old Testament; and it was its spirit, not that of Christ, that imbued such men as Calvin, Knox, Jonathan Edwards and the Puritans. Men that believed in a cruel and inexorable Lord of hosts, a God who was the model of an Eastern sultan—arbitrary and absolute, were themselves cruel and arbitrary. They taught that he who violated one small point of the law was guilty of the whole code, and that the dictum of the divine Ruler, no matter how unreasonable or immoral, could not be contradicted on pain of mortal sin; and they taught and practised this on the authority of the Old Testament.

Every once in a while we hear such expressions as "go back to Jesus," "return to the simplicity of the Gospel," "substitute the teaching of the Saviour for that of the Church," and "restore pure and primitive Christianity," etc., etc. But the reason why none of these schemes of reformation and betterment can be made effective is because those who suggest them hang on desperately to the Old Testament and persist in having a hybrid religion instead of a pure-breed Christianity.

The Old Testament should be relegated where it belongs, among the sacred books of the East, and churches, Missions and Sunday-schools should use and teach from the Christian Scriptures only.

WM. P. WHERY.

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#### CHINA AND ACCADIAN CIVILIZATION.

In his article on "The Accadian Affinities of Chinese," referred to in the July *Monist* (p. 479), Prof. C. J. Ball proves the existence of a positive historical connection between the Chinese civilization and that of Sumer and Akkad. We see from the Hong Kong "Daily Press" of Saturday, May 29, 1909, that Col. C. R. Conder is of the same opinion. It would be thus interesting to discover that the ancestors of the Chinese are the founders of all the civilization on earth.

The Sumero-Akkadians are a branch of the Turanian race. Col. Conder says.

"Turan was the country beyond Persia—Turkestan—and that was the home from which this great race spread eastward. In China, then, there are now two great branches, the northern branch which is Mongolian Turkish, and the southern which is called Malayan, which perhaps in a softer climate became smaller, with smaller features, and which was more like what we consider typical of the Chinese of the present day. Both stocks have the short



head, lank black hair, a beard that does not grow till late in life, a peculiar double fold of the eye-lid and a slanting eye: those peculiarities are to be found in the physiognomy of the northern and southern branches alike. If you go back to the beginning of civilization in the West, 3000 B. C., there you find the same Turanian type. The Mongolian and the Turks are, however, nearest to the ancient Akkadian and Hittite or non-Semitic population of West Asia. But both the southern and the northern branches of the Turanians are certainly akin to this one original race. You find portraits of the Hittites, and of the Akkadians themselves, with slanting eyes, and pig-tails like those of the Manchus, who forced the pig-tail on China in our seventeenth century."

As to the language Col. Conder says:

"I do not know whether I am heretical in my views, but I have often heard Chinese spoken of as a mono-syllabic language, and I have not the slightest idea what that really means. Mono-syllabic would mean a language of words that are mono-syllables. No doubt the Chinese roots are all mono-syllables; so are the roots of a great many other languages—the roots of our own language originally, and the roots of other European languages and of all Turanian languages, are mono-syllabic. But although Chinese is in a very early stage of grammar, still I read in the dictionaries that they have "clam-shell" words to denote a particular meaning. If you want to say "to observe," you say "to peep-look" and use similar combinations that are not peculiar in principle to China, but belong to many other languages if you trace them back far enough. The Chinese also form words by putting the suffix—*ki* for the adjective or for the agent, and they form verbs by putting *tso*—before the root exactly as you find in Turkish and ancient Akkadian: and this even applies to the sounds themselves. It has also been stated in a very learned paper I once read that there is an evident connection between Chinese and Mongolian. If it is admitted that this is the case, you have a regular chain from the Mongolian which is most intimately connected with the Turkish, while the Turkish is the direct descendant of the ancient Akkadian. If the Mongolian and the Chinese have a connection you thus have necessarily a chain of language connecting you with Babylonia. The Akkadian, however, is much nearer to the Turkish, the pure Turkish of Central Asia, than it is to Chinese. I have had cause to investigate that matter and I have found that nearly half the vocabulary of the Akkadian is the same as modern Turkish, and the grammar is on exactly the same principles in the two languages. Of course, they are more advanced than is the Chinese. The Chinese is a more primitive language; but in many of its weak points such as the want of defining time for the verb, absence of gender, and so on, it has the same weakness that the ancient Akkadian had....

"So much in regard to language and race. In regard to religion there is no doubt that the general principles of native religion in China are exactly the same that you find in ancient Babylonia and Syria amongst the Akkadians and Hittites. For instance, the great sacrifices in China to Heaven and Earth, which were the two principle Akkadian deities. Then there are the middle sacrifices to the Sun and Moon and various other deities; and you find these gods coinciding with what were the old Akkadian secondary; and the inferior sacrifices are to the Clouds and the Rain, and the Wind, and the Thunder, and the Mountains, and the Rivers, and the Seas. Well, we have a treaty of the fourteenth century B. C. made by the Hittites—their great treaty with Rameses the Second—and in this they swore by the Clouds, Wind, Mountains, Rivers and Sea. So

you could not have a closer comparison of two systems of "animism" than that which is found in this ancient inscription and in the account of Chinese sacrifices."

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#### OUR NATION'S PREPARATION FOR EMERGENCIES.

In the July number of the *Journal Military Service Institute* there appeared an article on "Preparations for Defense," written by Lieut. Col. W. A. Glassford, of the Signal Corps at Fort Omaha. It was published also in the July 4th issue of the *Omaha World-Herald* and is one step in the direction of counteracting in the minds of the public that tendency of the peace movement which would discourage further equipment for war. The article was referred to the Washington War Department before publication and so bears the stamp of the highest authority in verification of its statements of fact.

Col. Glassford dwells at some length upon the insufficiency of the force of 100,000 men now available in case of emergencies. He thinks that although originally we had reason to feel secure, because of the time and difficulty required to transport large armies, the same reason for security does not now exist since the facilities have been so wonderfully improved. Although not a pessimist, he calls attention to the fact that whereas former stages in our territorial growth were not of a nature to cause any jealousy among European powers, now "for the first time in the progress of our acquisitions the event connected with the most recent were watched by the governments of Europe with intense interest. . . . Our advent as a colonial power in the East had not yet been fully established when European discontent began to be manifested in an unmistakable manner." Col. Glassford also notes the strategic difficulties of our immense coast line.

Col. Glassford is of the opinion that we need reserves of trained men amounting to several times more than our regular forces, and believes that "much can be accomplished in this direction by a short term of service without re-enlistment and by making the army a school for the training of reserves." Although a soldier's pay sounds small it is no smaller than many civil clerkships if the fact is taken into consideration that all the necessaries of life are also included, food, shelter and clothing. Our author thinks it would be perfectly practicable to offer such inducements in the way of educative facilities, that besides military service the young soldier would also gain rather than lose in preparation for civil life. "In the infantry, for instance, men could be instructed in the common school branches; in the artillery, manual training; in the cavalry, horsemanship, equitation and notions of veterinary art. In the corps of engineers, instruction could be given in engineering; in the ordnance department, skill in mechanics can be imparted; in the signal corps, operators and electricians can be made; in the medical department, pharmacy and medicine taught; while in the quartermaster and subsistence departments, clerks and storekeepers can be trained. After a term thus spent in the military service, a young man would commence his career in civil life with acquisitions ranging, according to his aptitude, from those required of a skilled workman to a start in a liberal profession."

Of course in the emergency of war these trained men could only be procured for the army by volunteer service, but the government could well afford to offer them a special bounty as a recognition of their greater value. Moreover public sentiment would naturally point to them as those most suitable

to lead in offering their services for the country's need, and it is most likely that as their number grew they would form into military organizations among themselves. "The government could as well encourage associations of reserves for wars to come as it has of veterans for wars that have been."

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

MODERN LIGHT ON IMMORTALITY. By *Henry Frank*. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1909. Pp. 467. Price, \$1.85 net.

In this carefully prepared volume Mr. Frank, Speaker for the Metropolitan Independent Church of New York City, presents a thorough study of the immortality problem which he has finally succeeded in solving to his own satisfaction. Led by the insistence of his congregation not to neglect the subject, but to deal with it as he had with other themes from a scientific and rational point of view, Mr. Frank consented to take them with him along the path of inquiry. This book is a still more detailed exposition along the same lines. Beginning almost with the inauguration of human thought at the dawn of civilization he attempts to set forth the actual state of the human mind with reference to its oft illusive dream. After making a careful study of all the historical arguments in favor of the soul's existence and its future life, the author could see nothing of value in fortifying one's affirmative conception. Indeed the old arguments seemed to him weak and ineffective. So at the end of Part I, "The History and the Problem of the Future Life," the conclusions are altogether negative and destructive. The argument that there must be a future life because the conception of immortality has prevailed in the human mind from the beginning of history, did not appeal to him, and he set about studying by the aid of physical sciences the source of this apparent consciousness of survival after death, keeping close to the well-beaten track of experimental science. Mr. Frank confesses his surprise at the result to which his scientific investigation in Part II led him. He feels that his deductions are strictly logical and grounded in accurate and indisputable scientific data although he expresses himself as "only too well aware that what is known as the authoritative scientific world will in all probability reject the 'fine fabric' of logic which with possibly too much conceit" he may have attempted to weave. The positive conclusions which our author has reached at the end of Part II, are succinctly stated as follows:

"It seems to me that one of two logical conclusions follows as the necessary corollary of the theses thus enumerated; or possibly both are legitimate deductions.

"First: That when mankind shall have discovered the secret laws that appertain to the art of living, to Nature's own marvelous principles of life-sustentation, we shall have overcome the mystery of death and shall continue to live and fructify in the no longer mortal bodies we occupy; or

"Second: That there shall be developed in some organisms such a high degree of self-consciousness that the physical seat, in which this spiritual function resides and operates, shall be so controlled and integrated that it will be endowed with sufficient strength to continue its organic activities after this mortal coil shall have been shuffled off."

THE ETHICS OF PROGRESS. By *Charles F. Dole*. New York: Crowell, 1909. Pp. 398. Price, \$1.50.

The main object of this book, as of most popular treatises on ethics, is practical. The author's aim is to help men in the art of the good life. While he denies adherence to the pragmatic principle that the true is the same as the useful, he believes "that the true and the useful are at last one." He has undertaken to treat the great issues of life, such as the significance of conscience, the problem of evil, etc., without any theological or metaphysical prepossessions but simply from the study of the facts of consciousness. His chapters are short and provide attractive and helpful reflections for odd half-hours. They are grouped into seven parts, discussing in turn, Ethics and Evolution, The Doctrine of Good Will, Conscience and the Right, Moral Evil: How to Treat it, The Problems of Human Nature, The Realm of Casuistry, Problems in Practice.

RACE QUESTIONS AND OTHER AMERICAN PROBLEMS. By *Josiah Royce*. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 287. Price, \$1.25 net.

This volume contains five addresses delivered in different places at different times but all bearing upon the application of a certain philosophical doctrine and spirit to some problems of American life. This philosophy Professor Royce has long tried to maintain and to teach in relation to theoretical as well as practical problems. It is an idealistic philosophy, the practical aspect and expression of which is loyalty. The addresses here contained bear the following titles: Race Questions and Prejudices; Provincialism; On Certain Limitations of the Thoughtful Public in America; The Pacific Coast, a Psychological Study of the Relations of Climate and Civilization; Some Relations of Physical Training to the Present Problems of Moral Education in America.

We are in receipt of a number of pamphlets and tracts from the Buddhist Society of Great Britain, established in 1908, with headquarters at 14 Bury Street, London, W. C. We note that the society is publishing from its own press a series of "Buddhist Sermons, which opens with "An Outline of Buddhism," by Ananda Metteyya, and a "Popular Series," the first number of which is "The Message of Buddhism to the West," by John E. Ellam. They have also republished Maung Nee's little *Lotus Blossoms*, which presents the Buddhist propaganda most attractively to Western minds. The society is also made headquarters for the dissemination of many English Buddhist publications which have appeared in the Buddhist centers of India, notably the publications of the Buddhhasana Samagama and other pamphlets from the Hanthawaddy Press of Rangoon.

A new critical monthly review appeared in Paris for the first time in April of this year, under the title *Le Spectateur*. Its appearance is very modest but each number contains between 40 and 50 pages of general philosophical discussion, including a department especially devoted to the critical consideration of work done throughout the world in philosophical and scientific lines. Its interests are catholic and include such widely diverse topics as folklore, logic, judicature, besides more abstract speculations. It announces itself as "devoted to the experimental study, both abstract and applied, of intelligence in daily life, scientific work and social activity."





FELIX MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY AS A YOUNG MAN.

A crayon drawing by Bendemann. Now in the possession of Frau  
Lili Wach, *née* Mendelssohn Bartholdy.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

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the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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## ASTROLOGY AND MAGIC.\*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

WHEN we consider the absolute authority that astrology exercised under the Roman empire, we find it hard to escape a feeling of surprise. It is difficult to think that people could ever consider astrology as the most valuable of all arts and the queen of sciences, and it is not easy for us to imagine the moral conditions that made such a phenomenon possible, because our state of mind to-day is very different. Little by little the conviction has gained ground, that all that can be known about the future, at least the future of man and of human society, is conjecture. The progress of knowledge has taught man to acquiesce in his ignorance.

In former ages it was different: Forebodings and predictions found universal credence. The ancient forms of divination, however, had fallen somewhat into disrepute at the beginning of our era, like the rest of the Greco-Roman religion. It was no longer thought that the eagerness or reluctance with which the sacred hens ate their paste, or the direction of the flight of the birds indicated coming success or disaster. Abandoned, the Hellenic oracles were silent. Then appeared astrology, surrounded with all the prestige of an exact science, and based upon the experience of many centuries. It promised to ascertain the occurrences of any one's life with as much precision as the date of an eclipse. The world was drawn towards it by an irresistible attraction. Astrology did away with, and gradually relegated to oblivion, all the ancient methods that had been devised to solve the enigmas of the future. Haruspicy and the augural art were abandoned, and not even the ancient fame of the oracles could save them from falling into irretrievable desuetude. This great chimera changed religion as well

\* Translated from the French by A. M. Thielen.

as divination; its spirit penetrated everything. And truly, if, as some scholars still hold, the main feature of science is the ability to predict, no branch of learning could compare with this one, nor escape its influence.

The success of astrology was connected with that of the Oriental religions, which lent it their support, as it in turn helped them. We have seen how it forced itself upon Semitic paganism, how it transformed Persian Mazdaism and even subdued the arrogance of the Egyptian sacerdotal caste. Certain mystical treatises ascribed to the old Pharaoh Nechepso and his confidant, the priest Petosiris, nebulous and abstruse works that became, one might say, the Bible of the new belief in the power of the stars, were translated into Greek, undoubtedly at Alexandria, about the year 150 before our era. About the same time the Chaldean genethliology began to spread in Italy, with regard to which Berosus, a priest of the god Baal, who came to Babylon from the island of Cos, had previously succeeded in arousing the curiosity of the Greeks. In 139 a pretor expelled the "Chaldaei" from Rome, together with the Jews. But all the adherents of the Syrian goddess, of whom there was quite a number in the Occident, were patrons and defenders of these Oriental prophets, and police measures were no more successful in stopping the diffusion of their doctrines, than in the case of the Asiatic mysteries. In the time of Pompey, the senator Nigidius Figulus, who was an ardent occultist, expounded the barbarian uranography in Latin. But the scholar whose authority contributed most to the final acceptance of sidereal divination was a Syrian philosopher of encyclopedic knowledge, Posidonius of Apamea, the teacher of Cicero. The works of that erudite and religious writer influenced the development of the entire Roman theology more than anything else.

Under the empire, while the Semitic Baals and Mithra were triumphing, astrology manifested its power everywhere. During that period everybody bowed to it. The Cæsars became its fervent devotees, frequently at the expense of the ancient cults. Tiberius neglected the gods because he believed only in fatalism, and Otho, blindly confiding in the Oriental seer, marched against Vitellius in spite of the baneful presages that affrighted his official clergy. The most earnest scholars, Ptolemy under the Antonines for instance, expounded the principles of that pseudo-science, and the very best minds received them. In fact, scarcely anybody made a distinction between astronomy and its illegitimate sister. Literature took up this new and difficult subject, and, as early as the time of Augustus



or Tiberius, Manilius, inspired by the sidereal fatalism, endeavored to make poetry of that dry "mathematics," as Lucretius, his forerunner, had done with the Epicurean atomism. Even art looked there for inspiration and depicted the stellar deities. At Rome and in the provinces architects erected sumptuous *septizonia* in the likeness of the seven spheres in which the planets that rule our destinies move. This Asiatic divination was first aristocratic—because the obtaining of an exact horoscope was a complicated matter, and consultations were expensive—but it promptly became popular, especially in the urban centers where Oriental slaves gathered in large numbers. The learned genethliologers of the observatories had unlicensed colleagues, who told fortunes at street-crossings or in barnyards. Even common epitaphs, which Rossi styles "the scum of inscriptions," have retained traces of that belief. The custom arose of stating in epitaphs the exact length of a life to the very hour, for the moment of birth determined that of death:

*Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.*

Soon neither important nor small matters were undertaken without consulting the astrologer. His previsions were sought not only in regard to great public events like the conduct of a war, the founding of a city, or the accession of a ruler, not only in case of a marriage, a journey, or a change of domicile; but the most trifling acts of every-day life were gravely submitted to his sagacity. People would no longer take a bath, go to the barber, change their clothes or manicure their fingernails, without first awaiting the propitious moment. The collections of "initiatives" (*καταρχαί*) that have come to us contain questions that make us smile: Will a son who is about to be born have a big nose? Will a girl just coming into this world have gallant adventures? And certain precepts sound almost like burlesques: he who gets his hair cut while the moon is in her increase will become bald—evidently by analogy.

The entire existence of states and individuals, down to the slightest incidents, was thought to depend on the stars. The absolute control they were supposed to exercise over everybody's daily condition, even modified the language in every-day use and left traces in almost all idioms derived from the Latin. If we speak of a martial, or a jovial character, or a lunatic, we are unconsciously admitting the existence, in these heavenly bodies (Mars, Jupiter, Luna) of their ancient qualities.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the Grecian spirit tried to combat the folly that was taking hold of the world, and from the

time of its propagation astrology found opponents among the philosophers. The most subtle of these adversaries was the probabilist Carneades, in the second century before our era. The topical arguments which he advanced, were taken up, reproduced, and developed in a thousand ways by later polemicists. For instance, Were all the men that perish together in a battle, born at the same moment, because they had the same fate? Or, on the other hand, do we not observe that twins, born at the same time, have the most unlike characters and the most different fortunes?

But dialectics are an accomplishment in which the Greeks ever excelled, and the defenders of astrology found a reply to every objection. They endeavored especially to establish firmly the truths of observation, upon which rested the entire learned structure of their art: the influence of the stars over the phenomena of nature and the characters of individuals. Can it be denied, they said, that the sun causes vegetation to appear and to perish, and that it puts animals *en rut* or plunges them into lethargic sleep? Does not the movement of the tide depend on the course of the moon? Is not the rising of certain constellations accompanied every year by storms? And are not the physical and moral qualities of the different races manifestly determined by the climate in which they live? The action of the sky on the earth is undeniable, and, the sidereal influences once admitted, all previsions based on them are legitimate. As soon as the first principle is admitted, all corollaries are logically derived from it.

This way of reasoning was universally considered irrefutable. Before the advent of Christianity, which especially opposed it because of its idolatrous character, astrology had scarcely any adversaries except those who denied the possibility of science altogether, namely, the neo-academicians, who held that man could not attain certainty, and such radical sceptics as Sextus Empiricus. Upheld by the stoics, however, who with very few exceptions were in favor of astrology, it can be maintained that it emerged triumphant from the first assaults directed against it. The only result of the objections raised to it was to modify some of its theories. Later, the general weakening of the spirit of criticism assured astrology an almost uncontested domination. Its adversaries did not renew their polemics: they limited themselves to the repetition of arguments that had been opposed, if not refuted, a hundred times, and consequently seemed worn out. At the court of the Severi any one who would have denied the influence of the planets upon the events of this world would

have been considered more preposterous than he who would admit it to-day.

But, you will say, if the theorists did not succeed in proving the doctrinal falsity of astrology, experience should have shown its worthlessness. Errors must have occurred frequently and must have been followed by cruel disillusionment. Having lost a child at the age of four for whom a brilliant future had been predicted, the parents stigmatized in the epitaph the "lying mathematician whose great renown deluded both of them." But nobody thought of denying the possibility of such errors. Manuscripts have been preserved, wherein the makers of horoscopes themselves candidly and learnedly explain how they were mistaken in such and such a case, because they had not taken into account some one of the data of the problem. Manilius, in spite of his unlimited confidence in the power of reason, hesitated at the complexity of an immense task, that seemed to exceed the capacity of human intelligence, and in the second century, Vettius Valens bitterly denounced the contemptible bunglers who claimed to be prophets, without having had the long training necessary, and who thereby cast odium and ridicule upon astrology, in the name of which they pretended to operate. It must be remembered that astrology, like medicine, was not only a science (*ἐπιστήμη*), but also an art (*τέχνη*). This comparison, which sounds irreverent to-day, was a flattering one in the eyes of the ancients. To observe the sky was as delicate a task as to observe the human body; to cast the horoscope of a newly born child, just as perilous as to make a diagnosis, and to interpret the cosmic symptoms just as hard as to interpret those of our organism. In both instances the elements were complex and the chances of error infinite. All the examples of patients dying in spite of the physician, or on account of him, will never keep a person who is tortured by physical pain from appealing to him for help; and similarly those whose souls were troubled with ambition or fear turned to the astrologer for some remedy for the moral fever tormenting them. The calculator, who claimed to determine the moment of death, and the medical practitioner who claimed to avert it received the anxious patronage of people worried by this formidable issue. Furthermore, just as marvelous cures were reported, striking predictions were called to mind or, if need were, invented. The diviner had, as a rule, only a restricted number of possibilities to deal with, and the calculus of probabilities shows that he must have succeeded sometimes. Mathematics, which he invoked, was in his favor after all, and chance frequently corrected mischance. Moreover, did not the man, who had

a well-frequented consulting-office, possess a thousand means, if he was clever, of placing all the chances on his side, in the hazardous profession he followed, and of reading in the stars anything he thought expedient? He observed the earth rather than the sky, and took care not to fall into a well.

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However, what helped most to make astrology invulnerable to the blows of reason and of common sense, was the fact that in reality, the apparent rigor of its calculus and its theorems notwithstanding, it was not a science but a faith. We mean not only that it implied belief in postulates that could not be proved—the same thing might be said of almost all of our poor human knowledge, and even our systems of physics and cosmology in the last analysis are based upon hypotheses—but that astrology was born and reared in the temples of Chaldea and Egypt. Even in the Occident it never forgot its sacerdotal origin and never more than half freed itself from religion, whose offspring it was. Here lies the connection between astrology and the Oriental religions, and I wish to draw the reader's special attention to this point.

The Greek works and treatises on astrology that have come down to us, reveal this essential feature only very imperfectly. The Byzantines stripped this pseudo-science, always regarded suspiciously by the Church, of everything that savored of paganism. Their process of purification can, in some instances, be traced from manuscript to manuscript. If they retained the name of some god or hero of mythology, the only way they dared to write it was by cryptography. They have especially preserved purely didactic treatises, the most perfect type of which is Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* which has been constantly quoted and commented upon; and they have reproduced almost exclusively expurgated texts, in which the principles of the various doctrines are drily summarized. During the classic age works of a different character were commonly read. Many "Chaldeans" interspersed their cosmological calculations and theories with moral considerations and mystical speculations. In the first part of a work that he names "Vision" (*Opaois*) Critodemus, in prophetic language, represents the truths he reveals as a secure harbor of refuge from the storms of this world, and he promises his readers to raise them to the rank of immortals. Vettius Valens, a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius, implored them in solemn terms, not to divulge to the ignorant and impious the arcana he was about to acquaint them with. The astrologers liked to as-

sume the appearance of incorruptible and holy priests and to consider their calling a sacerdotal one. In fact, the two ministries sometimes combined: A dignitary of the Mithraic clergy called himself *studiosus astrologiae* in his epitaph, and a member of a prominent family of Phrygian prelates celebrated in verse the science of divination which enabled him to issue a number of infallible predictions.

The sacred character of astrology revealed itself in some passages that escaped the orthodox censure and in the tone some of its followers assumed, but we must go further and show that astrology was religious in its principles as well as in its conclusions, the debt it owed to mathematics and observation notwithstanding.

The fundamental dogma of astrology, as conceived by the Greeks, was that of universal solidarity. The world is a vast organism, all the parts of which are connected through an unceasing exchange of molecules or effluvia. The stars, inexhaustible generators of energy, constantly act upon the earth and man—upon man, the epitome of all nature, a "microcosm" whose every element corresponds to some part of the starry sky. This was, in a few words, the theory formulated by the stoic disciples of the Chaldeans; but if we divest it of all the philosophic garments with which it has been adorned, what do we find? The idea of sympathy, a belief as old as human society! The savage peoples also established mysterious relations between all bodies and all the beings that inhabit the earth and the heavens, and which to them were animated with a life of their own endowed with latent power, but we shall speak of this later on, when taking up the subject of magic. Even before the propagation of the Oriental religions, popular superstition in Italy and Greece attributed a number of odd actions to the sun, the moon, and the constellations as well.

The Chaldaei, however, claimed a predominant power for the stars. In fact, they were regarded as gods *par excellence* by the religion of the ancient Chaldeans in its beginnings. The sidereal religion of Babylon concentrated deity, one might say, in the luminous moving bodies at the expense of other natural objects, such as stones, plants, animals, which the primitive Semitic faith considered equally divine. The stars always retained this character, even at Rome. They were not, as to us, infinitely distant bodies moving in space according to the inflexible laws of mechanics, and whose chemical composition may be determined. To the Latins as to the Orientals, they were propitious or baleful deities, whose ever-changing relations determined the events of this world.

The sky, whose unfathomable depth had not yet been perceived, was peopled with heroes and monsters of contrary passions, and the struggle above had an immediate echo upon earth. By what principle have such a quality and so great an influence been attributed to the stars? Is it for reasons derived from their apparent motion and known through observation or experience? Sometimes. Saturn made people apathetic and irresolute, because it moved most slowly of all the planets. But in most instances purely mythological reasons inspired the precepts of astrology. The seven planets were associated with certain deities, Mars, Venus, or Mercury, whose character and history are known to all. It is sufficient simply to pronounce their names to call to mind certain personalities that may be expected to act according to their natures, in every instance. It was natural for Venus to favor lovers, and for Mercury to assure the success of business transactions and dishonest deals. The same applies to the constellations, with which a number of legends are connected; "catasterism" or translation into the stars, became the natural conclusion of a great many tales. The heroes of mythology, or even those of human society, continued to live in the sky in the form of brilliant stars. There Perseus again met Andromeda, and the centaur Chiron, who is none other than Sagittarius, was on terms of good fellowship with the Dioscuri.

These constellations, then, assumed to a certain extent the good and the bad qualities of the mythical or historical beings that had been transferred upon them. For instance, the serpent, which shines near the northern pole, was the author of medical cures, because it was the animal sacred to Æsculapius.

The religious foundation of the rules of astrology, however, can not always be recognized. Sometimes it is entirely forgotten, and in such cases the rules assume the appearance of axioms, or of laws based upon long observation of celestial phenomena. Here we have a simple aspect of science. The process of assimilation with the gods and catasterism were known in the Orient long before they were practiced in Greece.

The traditional outlines that we reproduce on our celestial maps are the fossil remains of a luxuriant mythological vegetation, and besides our classic sphere the ancients knew another, the "barbarian" sphere, peopled with a world of fantastic persons and animals. These sidereal monsters, to whom powerful qualities were ascribed, were likewise the remnants of a multitude of forgotten beliefs. Zoolatry was abandoned in the temples, but people continued to regard as divine the lion, the bull, the bear, and the fishes, which

the Oriental imagination had seen in the starry vault. Old totems of the Semitic tribes or of the Egyptian divisions lived again, transformed into constellations. Heterogeneous elements, taken from all the religions of the Orient, were combined in the uranography of the ancients, and in the power ascribed to the phantoms that it evoked, vibrates the indistinct echo of ancient devotions that are often completely unknown to us.

Astrology, then, was religious in its origin and in its principles. It was religious also in its close relation to the Oriental religions, especially those of the Syrian Baals and of Mithra; finally, it was religious in the effects that it produced. I do not mean the effects expected from a constellation in any particular instance: as for example the power to evoke the gods that were subject to their domination. But I have in mind the general influence those doctrines exercised upon Roman paganism.

When the Olympian gods were incorporated among the stars, when Saturn and Jupiter became planets and the celestial virgin a sign of the zodiac, they assumed a character very different from the one they had originally possessed. It has been shown how, in Syria, the idea of an infinite repetition of cycles of years according to which the celestial revolutions took place, led to the conception of divine eternity, how the theory of a fatal domination of the stars over the earth brought about that of the omnipotence of the "lord of the heavens," and how the introduction of a universal religion was the necessary result of the belief that the stars exerted an influence upon the peoples of every climate. The logic of all these consequences of the principles of astrology was plain to the Latin as well as to the Semitic races, and caused a rapid transformation of the ancient idolatry. As in Syria, the sun, which the astrologers called the leader of the planetary choir, "who is established as king and leader of the whole world," necessarily became the highest power of the Roman pantheon.

Astrology also modified theology, by introducing into this pantheon a great number of new gods, some of whom were singularly abstract. Thereafter man worshiped the constellations of the firmament, particularly the twelve signs of the zodiac, every one of which had its mythologic legend; the sky (*Caelus*) itself, because it was considered the first cause, and was sometimes confused with the supreme being; the four elements, the antithesis and perpetual transmutations of which produced all tangible phenomena, and which were often symbolized by a group of animals ready to devour each other; finally, time and its subdivisions.

The calendars were religious before they were secular; their purpose was not, primarily, to record fleeting time, but to observe the recurrence of propitious or inauspicious dates separated by periodic intervals. It is a matter of experience that the return of certain moments is associated with the appearance of certain phenomena: they have, therefore, a special efficacy, and are endowed with a sacred character. By determining periods with mathematical exactness, astrology continued to see in them "a divine power," to use Zeno's term. Time, that regulates the course of the stars and the transubstantiation of the elements, was conceived of as the master of the gods and the primordial principle, and was likened to destiny. Each part of its infinite duration brought with it some propitious or evil movement of the sky that was anxiously observed, and transformed the ever modified universe. The centuries, the years and the seasons, placed into relation with the four winds and the four cardinal points, the twelve months connected with the zodiac, the day and the night, the twelve hours, all were personified and deified, as the authors of every change in the universe. The allegorical figures contrived for these abstractions by astrological paganism did not even perish with it. The symbolism it had disseminated outlived it, and until the Middle Ages these pictures of fallen gods were reproduced indefinitely in sculpture, mosaics, and in Christian miniatures.

Thus astrology entered into all religious ideas, and the doctrines of the destiny of the world and of man harmonized with its teachings. According to Berosus, who is the interpreter of ancient Chaldean theories, the existence of the universe consisted of a series of "big years," each having its summer and its winter. Their summer took place when all the planets were in conjunction at the same point of Cancer, and brought with it a general conflagration. On the other hand, their winter came when all the planets were joined in Capricorn, and its result was a universal flood. Each of these cosmic cycles, the duration of which was fixed at 432,000 years according to the most probable estimate, was an exact reproduction of those that had preceded it. In fact, when the stars resumed exactly the same position, they were forced to act in identically the same manner as before. This Babylonian theory, an anticipation of that of the "eternal return of things," which Nietzsche boasts of having discovered, enjoyed lasting popularity during antiquity, and in various forms came down to the Renaissance. The belief that the world would be destroyed by fire, a theory also spread abroad by the Stoics, found a new support in these cosmic speculations.

Astrology, however, revealed the future not only of the uni-



verse, but also of man. According to a Chaldeo-Persian doctrine, accepted by the pagan mystics, a bitter necessity compelled the souls that dwell in great numbers on the celestial heights, to descend upon this earth and to animate certain bodies that are to hold them in captivity. In descending to the earth they travel through the spheres of the planets and receive some quality from each of these wandering stars, according to its positions. Contrariwise, when death releases them from their carnal prison, they return to their first habitation, providing they have led a pious life, and if as they pass through the doors of the superposed heavens they divest themselves of the passions and inclinations acquired during their first journey, to ascend finally, as pure essence to the radiant abode of the gods. There they live forever among the eternal stars, freed from the tyranny of destiny and even from the limitations of time.

This alliance of the theorems of astronomy with their old beliefs supplied the Chaldeans with answers to all the questions that men asked concerning the relation of heaven and earth, the nature of God, the existence of the world, and their own destiny. Astrology was really the first scientific theology. Hellenistic logic arranged the Oriental doctrines properly, combined them with the stoic philosophy and built them up into a system of indisputable grandeur, an ideal reconstruction of the universe, the powerful assurance of which inspired Manilius to sublime language when he was not exhausted by his efforts to master an ill-adapted theme. The vague and irrational notion of "sympathy" is transformed into a deep sense of the relationship between the human soul, an igneous substance, and the divine stars, and this feeling is strengthened by thought. The contemplation of the sky has become a communion. During the splendor of night the mind of man became intoxicated with the light streaming from above; born on the wings of enthusiasm, he ascended into the sacred choir of the stars and took part in their harmonious movements. "He participates in their immortality, and, before his appointed hour, converses with the gods." In spite of the subtle precision the Greeks always maintained in their speculations, the feeling that permeated astrology down to the end of paganism never belied its Oriental and religious origin.

The most essential principle of astrology was that of fatalism. As the poet says:

*"Fata regunt orbem, certa stant omnia lege."*

The Chaldeans were the first to conceive the idea of an in-

flexible necessity ruling the universe, instead of gods acting in the world according to their passions, like men in society. They noticed that an immutable law regulated the movements of the celestial bodies, and, in the first enthusiasm of their discovery they extended its effects to all moral and social phenomena. The postulates of astrology imply an absolute determinism. Tyche, or deified fortune, became the irresistible mistress of mortals and immortals alike, and was even worshiped exclusively by some under the empire. Our deliberate will never plays more than a very limited part in our happiness and success, but, among the pronunciamentos and in the anarchy of the third century, blind chance seemed to play with the life of every one according to its fancy, and it can easily be understood that the ephemeral rulers of that period, like the masses, saw in chance the sovereign disposer of their fates.

The power of this fatalist conception during antiquity may be measured by its long persistence, at least in the Orient, where it originated. Starting from Babylonia, it spread over the entire Hellenic world, as early as the Alexandrian period, and towards the end of paganism a considerable part of the efforts of the Christian apologists was directed against it. But it was destined to outlast all attacks, and to impose itself even on Islam. In Latin Europe, in spite of the anathemas of the Church, the belief remained confusedly alive all through the Middle Ages that on this earth everything happens somewhat

"Per ovra delle rote magne,  
Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine  
Secondo che le stella son campagne."

The weapons used by the ecclesiastic writers in contending against this sidereal fatalism were taken from the arsenal of the old Greek dialectics. In general, they were those that all defenders of free will had used for centuries: determinism destroys responsibility; rewards and punishments are absurd if man acts under a necessity that compels him, if he is born a hero or a criminal. We shall not dwell on these metaphysical discussions, but there is one argument that is more closely connected with our subject, and therefore should be mentioned. If we live under an immutable fate, no supplication can change its decisions; religion is unavailing, it is useless to ask the oracles to reveal the secrets of a future which nothing can change, and prayers, to use one of Seneca's expressions, are nothing but "the solace of diseased minds."

And, doubtless, some adepts of astrology, like the Emperor

Tiberius, neglected the practice of religion, because they were convinced that fate governed all things. Following the example set by the stoics, they made absolute submission to an almighty fate and joyful acceptance of the inevitable a moral duty, and were satisfied to worship the superior power that ruled the universe, without demanding anything in return. They considered themselves at the mercy of even the most capricious fate, and were like the intelligent slave who guesses the desires of his master to satisfy them, and knows how to make the hardest servitude tolerable. The masses, however, never reached that height of resignation. They looked at astrology far more from a religious than from a logical standpoint. The planets and constellations were not only cosmic forces, whose favorable or inauspicious action grew weaker or stronger according to the turnings of a course established for eternity; they were deities who saw and heard, who were glad or sad, who had a voice and sex, who were prolific or sterile, gentle or savage, obsequious or arrogant. Their anger could therefore be soothed and their favor obtained through rites and offerings; even the adverse stars were not unrelenting and could be persuaded through sacrifices and supplications. The narrow and pedantic Firmicus Maternus strongly asserts the omnipotence of fate, but at the same time he invokes the gods and asks for their aid against the influence of the stars. As late as the fourth century the pagans of Rome who were about to marry, or to make a purchase, or to solicit a public office, went to the diviner for his prognostics, at the same time praying to Fate for prosperity in their undertaking. Thus a fundamental antinomy manifested itself all through the development of astrology, which pretended to be an exact science, but always remained a sacerdotal theology.

Of course, the more the idea of fatalism imposed itself and spread, the more the weight of this hopeless theory oppressed the consciousness. Man felt himself dominated and crushed by blind forces that dragged him on as irresistibly as they kept the celestial spheres in motion. His soul tried to escape the oppression of this cosmic mechanism, and to leave the slavery of Ananke. But he no longer had confidence in the ceremonies of his old religion. The new powers that had taken possession of heaven had to be propitiated by new means. The Oriental religions themselves offered a remedy against the evils they had created, and taught powerful and mysterious processes for conjuring fate. And side by side with astrology we see magic, a more pernicious aberration, gaining ground.

If, from the reading of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, we pass on to read a magic papyrus, our first impression is that we have stepped from one end of the intellectual world to the other. Here we find no trace of the systematic order or severe method that distinguish the work of the scholar of Alexandria. Of course, the doctrines of astrology are just as chimerical as those of magic, but they are deduced with an amount of logic, entirely wanting in works of sorcery, that compels reasoning intellects to accept them. Recipes borrowed from medicine and popular superstition, primitive practices rejected or abandoned by the sacerdotal rituals, beliefs repudiated by a progressive moral religion, plagiarisms and forgeries of literary or liturgic texts, incantations in which the gods of all barbarous nations are invoked in unintelligible gibberish, odd and disconcerting ceremonies,—all these form a chaos in which the imagination loses itself, a potpourri in which an arbitrary syncretism seems to have attempted to create an inextricable confusion.

However, if we observe, more closely, how magic operates, we find that it starts out from the same principles and acts along the same line of reasoning as astrology. Born during the same period, in the primitive civilizations of the Orient, both were based on a number of common ideas. Magic, like astrology, proceeded from the principle of universal sympathy, yet it did not consider the relation existing between the stars, traversing the heavens, and physical or moral phenomena, but the relation between whatever bodies there are. It started out from the preconceived idea that an obscure but constant relation exists between certain things, certain words, certain persons. This connection was established without hesitation between dead material things and living beings, because the primitive races ascribed a soul and existence, similar to those of man, to everything surrounding them. The distinction between the three kingdoms of nature was unknown to them; they were "animists." The life of a person might, therefore, be linked to that of a thing, a tree, or an animal, in such a manner that one died if the other did, and that any damage suffered by one was also sustained by its inseparable associate. Sometimes the relation was founded on clearly intelligible grounds, like a resemblance between the thing and the being, as where, to kill an enemy, one pierced a waxen figure supposed to represent him. Or a contact, even merely passing by, was believed to have created indestructible affinities, for instance where the garments of an absent person were operated upon. Often, also, these imaginary relations were founded on reasons that escape us: like the

qualities attributed by astrology to the stars, they may have been derived from old beliefs the memory of which is lost.

Like astrology, then, magic was a science in some respects. First, like the predictions of its sister, it was partly based on observation—observation frequently rudimentary, superficial, hasty, and erroneous, but nevertheless important. It was an experimental discipline. Among the great number of facts noted by the curiosity of the magicians, there were many that received scientific indorsement later on. The attraction of the magnet for iron was utilized by the thaumaturgi before it was interpreted by the natural philosophers. In the vast compilations that circulated under the venerable names of Zoroaster or Hostanes, many fertile remarks were scattered among puerile ideas and absurd teachings, just as in the Greek treatises on alchemy that have come down to us. The idea that knowledge of the power of certain agents enables one to stimulate the hidden forces of the universe into action and to obtain extraordinary results, inspires the researches of physics to-day, just as it inspired the claims of magic. And if astrology was a perverted astronomy, magic was physics gone astray.

Moreover, and again like astrology, magic was a science, because it started from the fundamental conception that order and law exist in nature, and that the same cause always produces the same effect. An occult ceremony, performed with the same care as an experiment in the chemical laboratory, will always have the expected result. To know the mysterious affinities that connect all things is sufficient to set the mechanism of the universe into motion. But the error of the magicians consisted in establishing a connection between phenomena that do not depend on each other at all. The act of exposing to the light, for an instant, a sensitive plate in a camera, then immersing it, according to given recipes, in appropriate liquids, and of making the picture of a relative or friend appear thereon is a magical operation, but based on real actions and reactions, instead of on arbitrarily assumed sympathies and antipathies. Magic, therefore, was a science groping in the dark, and later became "a bastard sister of science," as Frazer puts it.

But, like astrology, magic was religious in origin, and always remained a bastard sister of religion. Both grew up together in the temples of the barbarian Orient. Their practices were, at first, part of the dubious knowledge of fetichists who claimed to have control over the spirits that peopled nature and animated everything, and who claimed that they communicated with these spirits by means of rites known to themselves alone. Magic has been cleverly defined

as "the strategy of animism." But, just as the growing power ascribed by the Chaldeans to the sidereal deities transformed the original astrology, so primitive sorcery assumed a different character when the world of the gods, conceived after the image of man, separated itself more and more from the realm of physical forces and became a realm of its own. This gave the mystic element which always entered the ceremonies, a new precision and development. By means of his charms, talismans, and exorcisms, the magician now communicated with the celestial or infernal "demons" and compelled them to obey him. But these spirits no longer opposed him with the blind resistance of matter animated with an uncertain kind of life; they were active and subtle beings having intelligence and will-power. Sometimes they took revenge for the slavery the magician attempted to impose on them and punished the audacious operator, who feared them, although invoking their aid. Thus the incantation often assumed the shape of a prayer addressed to a power stronger than man, and magic became a religion. Its rites developed side by side with the canonical liturgies, and frequently encroached on them. The only barrier between them was the vague and constantly shifting borderline that limits the neighboring domains of religion and superstition.

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This half scientific, half religious magic, with its books and its professional adepts, is of Oriental origin. The old Grecian and Italian sorcery appears to have been rather mild. Conjurations to avert hail-storms, or formulas to draw rain, evil charms to render fields barren or to kill cattle, love philters and rejuvenating salves, old women's remedies, talismans against the evil eye,—all are based on popular superstition and kept in existence by folk-lore and charlatanism. Even the witches of Thessaly, whom people credited with the power of making the moon descend from the sky, were botanists more than anything else, acquainted with the marvelous virtues of medicinal plants. The terror that the necromancers inspired was due, to a considerable extent, to the use they made of the old belief in ghosts. They exploited the superstitious belief in ghost-power and slipped metal tablets covered with execrations into graves, to bring misfortune or death to some enemy. But neither in Greece nor in Italy is there any trace of a coherent system of doctrines, of an occult and learned discipline, nor of any sacerdotal instruction.

Originally the adepts in this dubious art were despised. As late as the period of Augustus they were generally equivocal beggar-

women who plied their miserable trade in the lowest quarters of the slums. But with the invasion of the Oriental religions the magician began to receive more consideration, and his condition improved. He was honored, and feared even more. During the second century scarcely anybody would have doubted his power to call up divine apparitions, converse with the superior spirits and even translate himself bodily into the heavens.

Here the victorious progress of the Oriental religions shows itself. The Egyptian ritual originally was nothing but a collection of magical practices, properly speaking. The religious community imposed its will upon the gods by means of prayers or even threats. The gods were compelled to obey the officiating priest, if the liturgy was correctly performed, and if the incantations and the magic words were pronounced with the right intonation. The well-informed priest had an almost unlimited power over all supernatural beings on land, in the water, in the air, in heaven and in hell. Nowhere was the gulf between things human and things divine smaller, nowhere was the increasing differentiation that separated magic from religion less advanced. Until the end of paganism they remained so closely associated that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the texts of one from those of the other.

The Chaldeans also were past masters of sorcery, well versed in the knowledge of presages and experts in conjuring the evils which the presages foretold. In Mesopotamia, where they were confidential advisers of the kings, the magicians belonged to the official clergy; they invoked the aid of the state gods in their incantations, and their sacred science was as highly esteemed as haruspicy in Etruria. The immense prestige that continued to surround it, assured its persistence after the fall of Nineveh and Babylon. Its tradition was still alive under the Cæsars, and a number of enchanters rightly or wrongly claimed to possess the ancient wisdom of Chaldea.

And the thaumaturgus, who was supposed to be the heir of the archaic priests, assumed a wholly sacerdotal appearance at Rome. Being an inspired sage who received confidential communications from heavenly spirits, he gave to his life and to his appearance a dignity almost equal to that of the philosopher. The common people soon confused the two, and the Orientalizing philosophy of the last period of paganism actually accepted and justified all the superstitions of magic. Neo-Platonism, which concerned itself to a large extent with demonology, leaned more and more towards theurgy, and was finally completely absorbed by it.

But the ancients expressly distinguished "magic," which was always under suspicion and disapproved of, from the legitimate and honorable art for which the name "theurgy" was invented. The term "magician" (*μάγος*), which applied to all performers of miracles, properly means the priests of Mazdaism, and a well attested tradition makes the Persians the authors of the real magic, that called "black magic" by the Middle Ages. If they did not invent it—because it is as old as humanity—they were at least the first to place it upon a doctrinal foundation and to assign to it a place in a clearly formulated theological system. The Mazdian dualism gave a new power to this pernicious knowledge by conferring upon it the character that will distinguish it henceforth.

Under what influences did the Persian magic come into existence? When and how did it spread? These are questions that are not well elucidated yet. The intimate fusion of the religious doctrines of the Iranian conquerors with those of the native clergy, which took place at Babylon, occurred in this era of belief, and the magicians that were established in Mesopotamia combined their secret traditions with the rites and formulas codified by the Chaldean sorcerers. The universal curiosity of the Greeks soon took note of this marvelous science. Naturalist philosophers like Democritus, the great traveler, seem to have helped themselves more than once from the treasure of observations collected by the Oriental priests. Without a doubt they drew from these incongruous compilations, in which truth was mingled with the absurd and reality with the fantastical, the knowledge of some properties of plants and minerals, or of some experiments of physics. However, the limpid Hellenic genius always turned away from the misty speculations of magic, giving them but slight consideration. But towards the end of the Alexandrine period the books ascribed to the half-mythical masters of the Persian science, Zoroaster, Hostanes and Hystaspes, were translated into Greek, and until the end of paganism those names enjoyed a prodigious authority. At the same time the Jews, who were acquainted with the arcana of the Irano-Chaldean doctrines and proceedings, made some of the recipes known wherever the dispersion brought them. Later, a more immediate influence was exercised upon the Roman world by the Persian colonies of Asia Minor, who retained an obstinate faith in their ancient national beliefs.

The particular importance attributed to magic by the Mazdians is a necessary consequence of their dualist system, which has been treated by us before. Ormuzd, residing in the heavens of light, is



opposed by his irreconcilable adversary, Ahriman, ruler of the underworld. The one stands for light, truth, and goodness, the other for darkness, falsehood, and perversity. The one commands the kind spirits which protect the pious believer, the other is master over demons whose malice causes all the evils that afflict humanity. These opposite principles fight for the domination of the earth, and each creates favorable or noxious animals and plants. Everything on earth is either heavenly or infernal. Ahriman and his demons, who surround man to tempt or hurt him, are evil gods and entirely different from those of which Ormuzd's host consists. The magician sacrifices to them, either to avert evils they threaten, or to direct their ire against enemies of true belief, and the impure spirits rejoice in bloody immolations and delight in the fumes of flesh burning on the altar. Terrible acts and words attended all immolations. Plutarch mentions an example of the dark sacrifices of the Mazdians. "In a mortar," he says, "they pound a certain herb called wild garlic, at the same time invoking Hades (Ahriman), and the powers of darkness, then stirring this herb in the blood of a slaughtered wolf, they take it away and drop it on a spot never reached by the rays of the sun." A necromantic performance indeed.

We can imagine the new strength which such a conception of the universe must have given to magic. It was no longer an incongruous collection of popular superstitions and scientific observations. It became a reversed religion: its nocturnal rites were the dreadful liturgy of the infernal powers. There was no miracle the experienced magician might not expect to perform with the aid of the demons, providing he knew how to master them; he would invent any atrocity in his desire to gain the favor of the evil divinities whom crime gratified and suffering pleased. Hence the number of impious practices performed in the dark, practices the horror of which is equaled only by their absurdity: preparing beverages that disturbed the senses and impaired the intellect; mixing subtle poisons extracted from demoniac plants and corpses already in a state of putridity; immolating children in order to read the future in their quivering entrails or to conjure up ghosts. All the satanic refinement that a perverted imagination in a state of insanity could conceive pleased the malicious evil spirits; the more odious the monstrosity, the more assured was its efficacy. These abominable practices were sternly suppressed by the Roman government. Whereas, in the case of an astrologer who had committed an open transgression, the law was satisfied with expelling him from Rome—whither he generally soon returned,—the magician was put in the

same class with murderers and poisoners, and was subjected to the very severest punishment. He was nailed to the cross or thrown to the wild beasts. Not only the practice of the profession, but even the simple fact of possessing works of sorcery made any one subject to prosecution.

However, there are ways of reaching an agreement with the police, and in this case custom was stronger than law. The intermittent rigor of imperial edicts had no more power to destroy an inveterate superstition than the Christian polemics had to cure it. It was a recognition of its strength when State and Church united to fight it. Neither reached the root of the evil, for they did not deny the reality of the power wielded by the sorcerers. As long as it was admitted that malicious spirits constantly interfered in human affairs, and that there were secret means enabling the operator to dominate those spirits or to share in their power, magic was indestructible. It appealed to too many human passions to remain unheard. If, on the one hand, the desire of penetrating the mysteries of the future, the fear of unknown misfortunes, and hope, always reviving, led the anxious masses to seek a chimerical certainty in astrology, on the other hand, in the case of magic, the blinding charm of the marvelous, the entreaties of love and ambition, the bitter desire for revenge, the fascination of crime, and the intoxication of bloodshed,—all the instincts that are not avowable and that are satisfied in the dark, took turns in practicing their seductions. During the entire life of the Roman empire its existence continued, and the very mystery that it was compelled to hide in increased its prestige and almost gave it the authority of a revelation.

A curious occurrence that took place towards the end of the fifth century at Beirut, in Syria, shows how deeply even the strongest intellects of that period believed in the most atrocious practices of magic. One night some students of the famous law-school of that city attempted to kill a slave in the circus, to aid the master in obtaining the favor of a woman who scorned him. Being reported they had to deliver up their hidden volumes, of which those of Zoroaster and of Hostonas were found, together with those written by the astrologer Manetho. The whole city was agitated, and searches proved that many young men preferred the study of the illicit science to that of Roman law. By order of the bishop a solemn auto-da-fé was made of all this literature, in the presence of the city officials and the clergy, and the most revolting passages were read in public, "in order to acquaint everybody with the con-

ceited and vain promises of the demons," as the pious writer of the story says.

Thus the ancient traditions of magic continued to live in the Christian Orient after the fall of paganism. They even outlived the domination of the Church. The rigorous principles of its monotheism notwithstanding, Islam became infected with those Persian superstitions. In the Occident the evil art resisted persecution and anathemas with the same obstinacy as in the Orient. It remained alive in Rome all through the fifth century, and when scientific astrology in Europe went down with science itself, the old Mazdian dualism continued to manifest itself, during the entire Middle Ages in the ceremonies of the black mass and the worshipping of Satan, until the dawn of the modern era.

\* \* \*

Twin sisters, born of the superstitions of the learned Orient, magic and astrology always remained the hybrid daughters of sacerdotal culture. Their existence was governed by two contrary principles, reason and faith, and they never ceased to fluctuate between these two poles of thought. Both were inspired by a belief in universal sympathy, according to which occult and powerful relations exist between human beings and dead objects, all of which possess a mysterious life. The doctrine of sidereal influences, combined with a knowledge of the immutability of the celestial revolutions, caused astrology to formulate the first theory of absolute fatalism, whose decrees might be known beforehand. But, besides this rigorous determinism, it retained its childhood faith in the divine stars, whose favor could be secured and malignity avoided through worship. In astrology the experimental method was reduced to the completing of prognostics based on the supposed character of the stellar gods.

Magic also remained half empirical and half religious. Like our physics, it was based on observation, it proclaimed the constancy of the laws of nature, and sought to conquer the latent energies of the material world in order to bring them under the dominion of man's will. But at the same time it recognized, in the powers that it claimed to conquer, spirits or demons whose protection might be obtained, whose ill-will might be appeased, or whose savage hostility might be unchained by means of immolations and incantations.

All their aberrations notwithstanding, astrology and magic were not entirely fruitless. Their counterfeit learning has been a genuine help to the progress of human knowledge. Because they awakened

chimerical hopes and fallacious ambitions in the minds of their adepts, researches were undertaken which undoubtedly would never have been started or persisted in for the sake of a disinterested love of truth. The observations, collected with untiring patience by the Oriental priests, caused the first physical and astronomical discoveries, and, as in the time of the scholastics, the occult sciences led to the exact ones. But when these understood the vanity of the astounding illusions on which astrology and magic had subsisted, they broke up the foundations of the arts to which they owed their birth.

## THE RELIGION OF THE MENDELSSOHN'S.

BY THE EDITOR.

FEBRUARY of the current year was a month of centennial birthdays. Naturalists celebrated Darwin, American patriots Lincoln, and lovers of music, Mendelssohn. However the two former, stars of first magnitude in science and politics, almost eclipsed the brilliant representative in the realm of tones, for science and statecraft possess a more absorbing and general interest than music. Nevertheless we do not wish to let the year pass without a tribute to that wonderful genius, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, whose compositions have become household possessions in every civilized home where music is known and cultivated.

Felix Mendelssohn, the great composer, is the scion of a remarkable family. It is said that the education of the child should begin with the grandfather. In the case of Felix Mendelssohn, it actually did begin with Moses Mendelssohn, the grandfather of the composer. We will better understand the success of his life, and the character of his work, if we see it in connection with his ancestral past.

Moses Mendelssohn, the grandfather of Felix, was a philosopher of no common power, who had made his way in the world in spite of many difficulties, and who had gained an unstinted recognition from the best minds of his contemporaries, and that at a time when the prejudice against Jews was still very strong.

Moses Mendelssohn was born September 6, 1729, at Dessau, where his father, Mendel, was a poorly paid instructor in a Jewish congregation. In those days the Jews had not as yet adopted the use of family names, and so Moses, the son of Mendel, was commonly called "Mendelssohn." Even as a child, Moses was possessed of a burning thirst for knowledge. He induced his father to send him to Berlin where at an early age he became thoroughly familiar with the hardships of the struggle for existence. All odds were

against him. In addition to poverty he had to bear the burden of an unattractive exterior. His pronounced Jewish features were certainly not improved by his being hunchbacked from the result of overwork and illness, and his awkward diffidence became more con-



MOSES MENDELSSOHN.

From an engraving by J. G. Müller, after a painting by Frisch.

spicuous because he stuttered. Yet with advancing years his face became transfigured by the expression of his thoughtful eye which rendered his personality both interesting and sympathetic.

The poor Jewish lad considered himself fortunate when in 1750 he became tutor to the children of Mr. Bernhard, a wealthy Israelitish silk manufacturer who afterwards, on account of the reliability of his talented protégé, kept him in his office as a bookkeeper and in his will made him a partner in the business.

Moses Mendelssohn developed an unusual literary talent in the line of popular philosophy, and it means much that he came into



FELIX MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY IN HIS CHILDHOOD.

A pencil drawing by Wilhelm Hensel.\* (The original in the possession of Prof. Paul Hensel in Erlangen.)

friendly relation with the foremost thinkers of his age, among them Kant and Lessing. It is well known that Moses Mendelssohn furnished the main characteristics for the hero of Lessing's great religious drama, "Nathan the Wise."

Moses was engaged in 1762 to Frommet, the daughter of a

\* This famous artist was later married to Mendelssohn's sister Fanny.

Jewish merchant, Abraham Guggenheim of Hamburg. She had become interested in him on account of his writings and was so charmed with his mental accomplishments that she overlooked the bodily shortcomings of the man.

Among the children of Moses Mendelssohn we must mention



FELIX MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY.

After a painting by C. Begas.

the second son, Abraham, the father of Felix, the composer, who was born December 11, 1776, and it is interesting to note how the inheritance of genius appears to have skipped one link, for Abraham was distinguished by neither talents nor vices. He lived for some time in Paris where he was cashier in the bank of M. Fould, but



his engagement with Fräulein Leah Solomon (also called "Lilla") induced him to change his beloved French home for Berlin where he became a partner in the banking business of his older brother, Joseph. He was an ordinary mortal of the average type without originality, and the only thing worth mentioning of him is the independence which he showed mainly in the education of his children. He took the bold step of cutting himself loose from the synagogue, which naturally alienated from him many of his Jewish customers. In honest recognition of his shortcomings Abraham Mendelssohn acknowledged the fact that he lacked the talents both of his father and his son, and the following *bon mot* is attributed to him in his later years when Felix had become famous. "In my youth I was the son of my father," he used to say, "and now I am the father of my son." In the same mood he spoke of himself as standing between the two great Mendelssohns like a dash—or a blank—as the Germans call it, a *Gedankenstrich*, which is commonly used whenever thoughts pause.

The change of mind in Abraham which estranged him from Judaism and caused him to have his family join the Protestant Church, was prepared gradually. First we must know that his sister Dorothea had married Friedrich von Schlegel, the great poet of the romantic school. Further Jacob Salomon, his brother-in-law, exercised a great influence on his sister and her husband. He had renounced the faith of his fathers and in 1805 became a Christian assuming in baptism the name Bartholdy.

For a Jew this Jacob Bartholdy had a remarkable career. He served in the Austrian army as a lieutenant during the war of 1809 and afterwards became consul-general of Prussia at Rome. He was a lover of art and had his Italian villa ornamented with frescoes by Overbeck, Cornelius, Veit and Schadow. He died in 1825 and made his sister Leah Mendelssohn his heiress. It was he who induced Abraham Mendelssohn to have his children educated in the Christian religion and baptized. Abraham, himself, adopted Christianity also but not without some reluctance, for he was not baptized until 1822, and we will say here in explanation of this step that he was opposed to any religion which claimed to be of supernatural origin. He left the synagogue, because the rabbis in his days insisted on this feature of their faith, while Christianity under the influence of Schleiermacher and the rationalist movement had, at least in the large cities, broadened into a humanistic religion, and Abraham Mendelssohn stated explicitly that he was attracted by Christianity, not on account of dogmas but through its ethical significance.

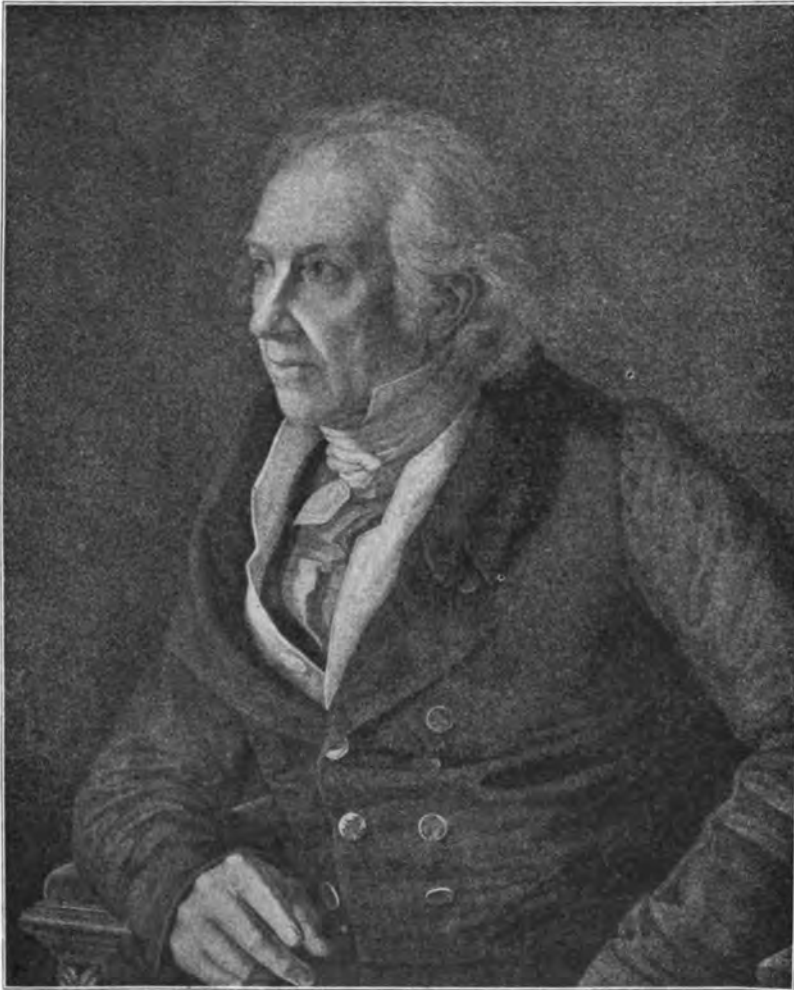
The boldness of Abraham Mendelssohn in having his children brought up in the Christian Church will be better understood when we consider that the grandparents were never informed of the



FELIX MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY.

Formerly in possession of the famous violinist Paul Joachim, Berlin.

event, because in spite of their broadened views they clung with great tenacity to their Jewish traditions. This was especially true of the parents of Felix Mendelssohn's mother, but Moses Mendelssohn, too, was by no means inclined to renounce the religion of his



KARL FRIEDRICH ZELTER.

fathers. We must remember that in 1769 Lavater had made an attempt to convert him to Christianity, and Moses refused to accede to the proposition in a dignified and noble manner. His reply was

published under the title, *Schreiben an den Herrn Lavater in Zürich* (1770). He was not as narrow as most of his co-religionists of that time, but instead of leaving the synagogue he did his best to broaden and develop it to a deeper and also more modern conception. He published not only a German translation of the Pentateuch but he also translated the Psalms and introduced new features into the Jewish service by having some psalms of Schubert's composition used in the style of hymns.

Abraham Mendelssohn assumed for himself and his children in baptism the name of his brother-in-law, Bartholdy, and when his son Felix, the composer, throughout his life clung to the double name, Mendelssohn Bartholdy, he thereby endorsed the step taken by his father. The additional name, Bartholdy, has since then remained a mark of distinction between the Christian and the Jewish Mendelssohns.\*

Felix received his first instruction in music from his mother and later on was a disciple of Berger in piano, and of Zelter, the well-known composer and friend of Goethe, in counterpoint and composition. His first laurels he gained with his opera "The Marriage of Gammacho" (1827), and his overture to "Midsummer Night's Dream." Besides his overture to "The Hebrides," his "Night of Walpurgis," and his fairy tale, "The Beautiful Melusine," he wrote the "Songs Without Words" and a great deal of church music. After three visits to England he was appointed director of the city orchestra at Düsseldorf in 1833. In 1835 we find him in Leipsic as a leader of the Gewandthaus Concerts. Here he completed his oratorio "Paulus" which was first performed at Düsseldorf in 1836. The next year he married Cecillie Jeanrenaud, the daughter of a clergyman of the Reformed Church at Frankfort on the Main. In 1841 he went to Berlin on a special invitation of King Frederick William IV, and here he completed his music for Sophocles's Antigone.

After a sojourn in Leipsic, 1842-43, he returned to Berlin as leader of the church music at the Cathedral and director of the Royal orchestra on the special appointment of the King. In spite of the royal favor he left Berlin in 1845 and stayed successively in Frankfort on the Main, in Leipsic, and in Birmingham, where his "Elijah" was performed for the first time.

In 1847 he returned to Leipsic and in the same year to Baden Baden and Switzerland. Having returned again to Leipsic in Sep-

\* Following the usage of Felix, the double name "Mendelssohn Bartholdy" should not be hyphenated.

tember, he fell sick and after a short illness died on November 4, 1847.

We barely enumerate these items of his life, for it is not our intention to enter into details, partly because they are well known



FELIX MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY.

After a painting by Edward Magnus.

and partly because they have a special interest only for students of the history of music. At present we intend only to characterize in large outlines his religious attitude, and we will say that in spite of his reverence for the faith of his fathers, his music as well as the

world-conception which his art expressed, was imbued with the spirit of Protestant Christianity which showed itself not only in his own composition but also in his reform of church music, especially in the revival of Bach—a movement which Mendelssohn started and which continues in force to the present day.

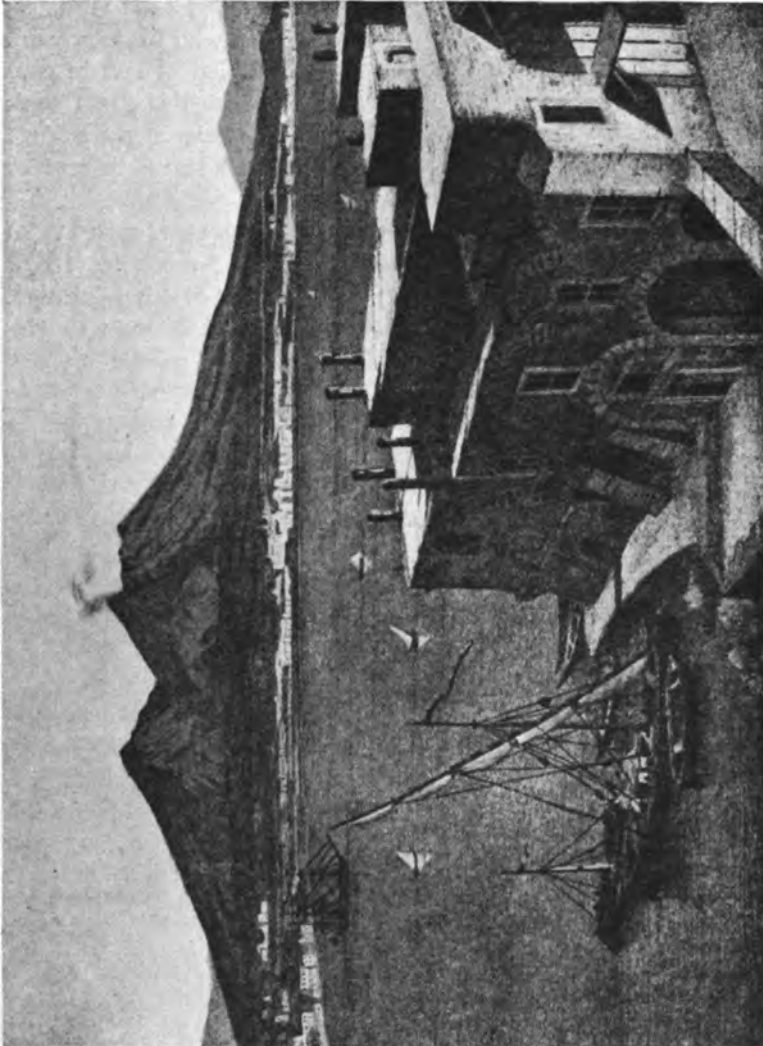
To-day we are all aware of the significance of Bach in the do-



JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH.

main of music, but that Bach is now well known is one of the merits of Mendelssohn, and he accomplished this through a revival of Bach's great masterpiece "The Passion According to Matthew." This powerful composition had been written and performed about a century before, on April 15, 1729, and soon after its master's death had fallen into oblivion. Mendelssohn discovered by accident one

of the few manuscripts which had been preserved by some good fortune, and he was overcome with a desire to bring back to life this one of the grandest musical conceptions that ever existed. He was supported in his endeavor by the opera singer Devrient who pos-



MT. VESUVIUS AND SANTA LUCIA.  
Water color by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy.

sessed a clear and well-trained voice especially suited to take the part of Jesus. There was one difficulty which the young musician had to encounter in the person of his own master, Zelter, a man who

in spite of his many good qualities, was small enough to envy his own pupil the glory of performing a masterpiece which he himself felt incapable of undertaking, and our diffident young Felix by himself would not have been able to turn the scales. But here his friend Devrient came to the rescue. He visited Zelter and personally pleaded with him. At first Zelter refused, and used the strongest terms in depreciation of young Mendelssohn who was present. Devrient was not to be refused and Zelter yielded at last in consideration of the fact that the man who undertook this great work was his disciple. Young Mendelssohn used to wonder at the strange fate of Christian music represented by Bach, which had to be rescued from perpetual oblivion by an actor and a Jew.\*

Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy was of Jewish extraction but of Christian education and a cosmopolitan in art. Among his fellow composers he was distinguished by the breadth of his education. His artistic skill was not limited to music. He was talented also with brush and pencil, and we here reproduce one of his paintings which he sketched from nature. He had more general knowledge in the history of art and the sciences, and especially in philosophy and religion, than any other musician of his time, and this is noticeable in his compositions.

All his compositions are permeated by a devout and deeply religious spirit. It is true he has not scaled the lofty heights of Beethoven's sonatas; he is no Titan, no prophet of a new dispensation, nor a hero of gigantic stature; but he is all through filled with harmony, and his melody is sweet, elevating and pure. There is a classical beauty in his tones which proves him to be a composer by God's grace. Whoever listens to his "Songs Without Words" will feel that the composer's soul is at peace with God and the world. His melodies breathe an unquestioning and pious belief in the goodness of God and are calculated to fill the hearer's soul with a sentiment of restful joy.

\* Here Mendelssohn used the contemptuous expression *Judenjunge*, almost equivalent in implication to the English slang "Sheeny."



## OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA.<sup>1</sup>

BY PROF. LAWRENCE H. MILLS.

IN speaking of our religion as having existed at an early date in Middle Asia, I do not mean to antedate the *Annus-um Domini*. Our religion at its then state of growth at the period to which I refer is naturally meant. Nor do I desire to assert that the *catena* of its external and more adventitious circumstances, whether antecedent or sequent, was extended there, in ancient Persia, for Christianity undoubtedly belongs, as regards most of its external details, to Judea, Jesus the Christ having been born in Bethlehem and having suffered at Jerusalem. What I mean is that everything which makes up the *real value* of our Christianity was there, in ancient Persia.

Indeed, we may say that everything which constitutes the elements of its actual existence as a *sincere religion* was to be found under the Achæmenian and Parthian dynasties, even to the details of its constitutive hopes and fears, and this with a completeness which filled up every crevice of receptivity in copious abundance. And I am quite confident that a large section of the Christian public is with me in not merely calling attention to this fact, but in sol-

<sup>1</sup> The first instalment of this article appeared in the July *Open Court*. This one has been reprinted with the author's revision from the *East and West* of Bombay for October, 1908. The author hopes that his readers will see that they may yet with him, if only professionally, in accepting these views, *utterly deny* that the Persians ever had anything to do with the Jews before the Jews had accepted this Exilic eschatology. That the Jews did not originally acquire these ideas from the Persians. The indisputable and unanswerable fact which I am endeavoring to make clear is that the two systems *existed in the two nations*—and that they were approximately identical and this *totally aside from all question as to reciprocal influence*. It is the more necessary to make this point because *some* writers will endeavor to shuffle up the issues, if they have not already *done so*.

In their eagerness to disprove all Persian influence whatsoever upon the Exilic Jews, early or late, they will stop at nothing to muffle up the facts.

It is then at first solely a question of the *existence* of the two systems in their approximate identity, and aside from all actual external connection,—and this no honest expert can deny.

emly appealing to all men to consider it as a part of our own spiritual history—for it bears upon the future of our present religion as well as upon our present study of the past. All that section of the baptized millions who are more passionately devoted to the truth are keen to recognize pre-Christian godliness, or even less early ex-Christian rectitude, wherever it can be discovered to have prevailed; and this as well as post-Christian superiority even up to the present day, and among peoples who had not (and who have not) yet outwardly embraced the tenets of the Church; for they hold that godliness *is* Christianity in its essence. Unquestionably, for the aims, objects and tasks of our active pietism, the *present* is more important than the past (though this present instantly becomes a part of an ever-consummating posteriority) and the near future is more vital to us in our efforts to rescue human souls—that is, to save human character—than the nearest past—in our earnest efforts. But then it is a part of our own salvation *now* for us to know what has happened with men's spiritual being! that is, with their manhood, in times gone by, as well as in times now present, for the present may well depend upon this knowledge, somewhat, as well as the future, while the far distance of that past might at times rather enhance than diminish the value of the issues, because the farther back in the matter of time any force existed, the wider is the circle of its present incidence. It has touched everything, and that is the reason why we so much value remote history; all the future was there in embryonic power. To ignore the past because it is old is to ignore the source of our intellectual existence, and of the existence of all who surround us,—for a thing is *one with its source*.

We have no right at all then to continue to exist in ignorance of any good thing which has ever transpired, or of any good men who have ever existed; for their examples should influence us, as they have, in matter of fact, helped to make us what we are. We may be prepared to die perhaps without this knowledge, allowance being made for us upon the score of "invincible ignorance," but we certainly are not so well prepared to *live* without it. A human being is perforce under obligations to admit those rays of information which reveal to him what God is doing now, and also as well what He has done in the past and even in the remote past—for Righteousness is not a thing of time or place; "God is at every now the same,"<sup>2</sup>—the future depends upon Him as it does also so plainly upon ourselves. So precisely here—even pragmatically—the existence of our religion in ancient Persia may, if indeed we cannot

<sup>2</sup> Yasna xxxi.

say that it *must*, have exerted some influence perhaps even upon that signal policy of *restoration toward Israel* which the Persian Government doubtless regarded as a trivial item in the working of its vast political machinery ever in full activity—but which was to be of such extreme interest, not only to the scanty Jews, but through them to later Europe, with one-third of the human race.

"*Our own Religion*," then, beyond all things, asserts to itself this right to be called "spiritual," by which many of us understand that it is a religion of unfettered principles as of loyal truth, and of these certain external facts were but the outcome and expression. But principles are intellectual forces following laws within the human cerebral tissues which are themselves as objectively real as the seas and the rivers; they are in fact themselves, and as of course, a part of nature, and much more difficult to encounter than most of her other powers. You cannot arrest their activity, nor restrict them, granted that they now exist, or once existed—being also inevitably future, as contained in beings now existing in the present, having themselves also issued from an unbroken past. Time and space have no application to them—these principles—for they depend upon the everlasting laws of "balance," i. e., on the evenness of gravitation, thus intellectually, spiritually, upon truth. Periods, duration and locality have only reference to the human cerebral and cardiac fibres within which their subjects lodge. So long then as there have been human beings anywhere in whose consciousness those principles exist under a law even in germ, they—those principles—will in due course one day come to birth and to maturity; they are as well eternal as immutable.

Our religion, therefore, in all that makes up its real existence, has been ever alive and effective wherever there has been an honest heart earnestly desiring to do right, however near to Israel or distant from our own spiritual forebears its time and place may have been. The Church itself seemed to acknowledge this when she half canonized some of the early Greeks. Recall what Justin Martyr (?) said of Socrates and Herakleitos. And *this* we are forced to look at—if we are honest men—for the reasons given. In fact we may plainly say that, at all phases of them, every religion has needed to be at times reformed, and our own is no exception at this moment. And no sane reformation of a religion can take place without the study of its past as well as of its present facts, and, as we may add, also of its forecasted future.

In ancient Persia then, as in less ancient Israel, these same pervading principles worked themselves into realistic systematized doc-

trines of expectation, out of which arose subordinate quasi-historical narrative, of alleged true, or imaginary circumstances, as a matter of course. These latter may, in large part, as is now agreed, be relegated to the domain of myth, and that in both branches of the religion. What concerns us chiefly is the doctrines of these laws in their regard to future destiny in view of them—and even here we are chiefly interested in them on account of their *systematized grouping in detail*. For, as man, with his soul, is *one*—or at least is so supposed to be—all moral laws become to some extent of universal recognition, and, in full accordance with this view, the main features of our common Christian orthodoxy, as embodying universal hopes, are detailed in the Zend Avesta in a manner more full perhaps, when closely analyzed, than anywhere in our own earlier Bible.

Of course, the detail of our early Christian annals was predated both by the Exilic Bible and the Zend Avesta, so that no records of real, or supposed, Christian facts appear in either, though they are much anticipated in both. Specimens only of the chief passages which portray these doctrines of the Avesta, and of the Exilic Bible, were printed by me in an essay which had been previously or subsequently twice delivered as a lecture in Oxford, and before audiences distinguished for their fairness and sympathetic response. This discourse in its form of a magazine article was well known among the Parsis in Bombay, where it was translated into Gujarati by the orders of the trustees of the Sir Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund and published by them in a large edition; it had already previously appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* of January, 1894.<sup>3</sup> To this article the reader is referred for the extracts, which were fairly copious. They fully expressed the faith of the North Persians of pre-Exilic times as to the chief constitutive articles of their creed, and ours: to wit, as to the nature and person of God, that He was one; His name was superior in depth to that used by the Christians; He had an Holy Spirit, with six other attributes which were one with Him as with each other (they might well have been, and be now, reduced to "three"); He had angels and archangels, originally the personification of the attributes, and never really losing their first significance; He was the Universal Creator, and Sovereign, theologically; He was omniscient, just and merciful; He was a law-giver and a judge; He was theocratic; His kingdom was for the poor; He was a protector, strengthener and unchangeable. There was a Devil in antithesis to Him, the most pronounced concept of the kind extant. He is, in fact, independent in origin, one of "the

<sup>3</sup> See this article as re-edited in the July number of this periodical.

two first Spirits," a very "God of this world,"—a deep, if disguised, philosophical suggestion. He has his attributes like the other, he created the evil elements of the world, he has evil servants, the chief one a feminine concept, the Lie-Druj.

There are Edens after creation in a succession. Man has a conscience; he is to be judged by it; he is fallible. There is a temptation of Zarathushtra, as there was one of Hercules, of Buddha, and of Christ, each doubtless as representing his fellow-saints. There is an Immortality, and a Resurrection—a judgment both individual and general; it is to be just,—the soul is to judge itself. There is to be a Restoration and a Millennium, a Heaven, and a Hell,—the last, as the first, being chiefly made up of thoughts, words and deeds. This is perhaps the most astonishing feature in the whole system, though it is hard to choose between the items. Like the "attributes," this proves the absolutely unlimited penetration and exhaustiveness of the ideas. The main word for "righteousness," *asha*, equaling the Vedic *rita*, cannot possibly be restricted to the sphere of external ceremonies, though no authorized ceremony could be slighted. The soul is met by its own conscience on the Judge's Bridge. The very first step it takes into Heaven enters the Good Thought, the next, the Good Word, and the third, the Good Deed; and so, if its damnation results, Hell is the soul's evil thoughts primarily, with its evil words and deeds, other torments supervening, as do other blessings for the righteous. The very primal distinction of the Godheads, Good and Evil, is "as to thought and word and deed," where all consideration of ceremonies is necessarily shut out.<sup>4</sup> These future states are to be *eternal*, as is the *soul*. There is, as said, a *propaganda* of these particulars, and a future agent of the Restoration is expected. He is to be born of a virgin, but of the seed of Zoroaster, absorbed from the waters of a lake. He is, under God, to raise the dead, and bring on the beatific restoration which is to supervene. These points, as we see, embrace all the principal expectations of our religion; they are a *Christianity before Christ*—and nothing else can approach them in their claims in this respect. The expectations, supreme as they are in interest, are here necessarily bereft of all that attraction which attaches to detailed narrative, so that I must refer the reader to the former article<sup>5</sup> where they first appeared in their graphic display. But if he follows them I must beg of him

<sup>4</sup> The Deities are indeed responsible for the existence of the ceremonies, good and evil, which they permit; but merit in view of judgment consists in obedience. The Deities do not obey. Their good, or evil, thought, word and deed could not have concerned itself with ritual.

<sup>5</sup> See the July number of this periodical.

likewise to remember that he has here spread out before him the then "future" aspirations of many millions of his once living fellow-creatures—with convictions, hopes and fears which, like his own, cannot possibly have failed to have moulded vast throngs of human lives to better things—and this, not only as regards "sentiment" of itself considered, for the sentiment inflamed by these considerations became beyond all question a spring *to action*, as well as a *curb of restraint*, turning multitudes throughout generations from murder, rapine and arson to sober industry; and that this is something solemn to contemplate, all agree.

Such then are the patent and obtrusive facts of vital interest, which no sane writer has ever yet proposed even to bring into question; for these documents are here before us, and the texts are practically uncontested as to these particulars among capable experts who have given their attention to the subject. No less, then, than this are we here called upon to contemplate, namely, the fact that the essential elements of what we most passionately hold dear as the very primal concepts of revelation,—not even excepting the future coming of a Deliverer,—while long totally unnoticed in pre-Exilic Israel, upon its strip of sea-side territory, had been household law for ages in Iran over vast regions.

*The religions were the same*—this is what we are called to fix our attention upon. And let us pointedly recognize it, though they, these religions, appear in such widely separated places, and in such distantly successive periods—the Israelitish form of it being new, while the Iranian had been established in a system almost ecclesiastical before a Jew ever seriously hoped for rewards beyond the grave—either subjective, or as if by compact; while as to this last subjective principle itself, by which I mean that of interior recompense, it stood long prior in Iran (see above), having had nothing early Semitic of the kind as a mate to it, or even as a successor; while each of these two twin systems was *of independent origin*. And this all should be most solemnly considered by every person born a Christian, whose mind is still at all religiously inclined, for the reasons stated, above and below. Mark that I here say nothing whatsoever as regards any *later* effect of this widespread Iranian creed upon the settled or scattered Jewish tribes who were afterwards indeed re-gathered to their homes in Canaan, under this same Iranian influence, that of its adherents, Cyrus and Darius, and—as I say below—this influence must have been later overpowering; but I do not mention it here for an *especial reason*. I desire even to keep it forcibly, as it were, out of sight for a moment—if I might be

allowed so to express myself—for the sake of putting into focus the fact of the *independent first development* of the Israelitish creed, in spite of the later great influence of the Persian; because, for a certain valued purpose, it is of the utmost importance that we should regard these two identical faiths, if only for an instant, as being things originally *totally apart as regards their external history*, without contact. That purpose is this, namely, that by so separating these two as to their origins, we can the more certainly recognize one still further instance of that truly wonderful thing called "*parallel development from only remotely connected origins*,"—and also the impressive fact that these faiths, with others like them, are still running their sublime course upon these parallel lines, these two also presenting the most striking and touching instance of this co-ordinate but independent growth which the world had till then, or which it has indeed since then, ever seen. And let us clearly understand this in every relation in which it stands to other elements. For it is in the interests of all *scientific psychology*, first of all—and let me emphasize this—that I make this vital point of the separate self-growth of each of the two identities, and not that I wish to base any especial authority for the Hebrew "immortality" upon it. And indeed, in a higher sense of it, and as regards the exhaustive study of the interior nature of the human soul, and of its individual idiosyncrasies, in their out-foldings—these latter being understood in the sense of the saner characteristics—all is, as it were, marred, if not indeed quite *spoilt*, the *moment* we trace all these identities in points of religious doctrine to one and the self-same actual and particular external historical or tactual source, the one set of ideas having *merely migrated*, so to speak, and with some suddenness, from Babylonian Persia to Babylonian Israel. We should, therefore, on the contrary, leave no device of any kind unattempted wherewith to convince ourselves, and others with us, of the totally *separate* and independent *original* growth of such views in the feeble Semitic exiled tribes as well as in the great nation which was the earlier scene of their origin. To lose our case here is to lose one paramount proof the more of the separate and severally individual and exclusive personality of the human consciousness in the wide flood course of the great identities; and this, though it be not everything, is yet much. To hold that all the later Jewish Immortality, Angelology, Soteriology, Resurrection, Judgment, Millennium. Heaven and Hell were merely transferred bodily, as it were "mechanically borrowed," from the Persian theology in the Persian province of Babylon—this, I say, would be for us just in so far to transfer this instance of a great coincidence found

in our historical investigation in the psychic science, from the closer sphere of interior human mental vitality and universal individual spontaneity to that of mere exterior contact, and this in one of its most conspicuous, if not, in fact in one of its most splendid manifestations—an enormous loss indeed to historical mental search would such a conclusion be. And it is therefore in the name of the higher intelligence and in the search for the elements of the pure psychic nature,—let me repeat it,—that I make this point of *independent origin*, and to such a degree incisively endeavor to put it into the closest focus,<sup>6</sup>—and this *not*, as I fervently hope, in the interests of any superstitious anxiety as regards any loss of originality on the part of Israel. For indeed, even the question of the individuality of the psychical constitution, and of the spontaneity of the cerebral functions in the human body seems to be somewhat distantly or proximately involved, as also their unity of origin; the actually distinct and finer lines of demarcation between the bodily and psychic life in their essential elements seeming to be ever the more difficult for us to trace.

So far then from wishing to prove that all the God-unity, Angelology, Immortality, Resurrection, Judgment, Millennium, Heaven and Hell were merely the Persian eschatology taken over bodily in its actual form by the Jews of the great empire, together, with their Persian citizenship, I would, on the contrary, heartily desire to avoid this as the explanation of the original existence of these concepts among the Jews. The so-called and the really individual and *separate*, but *parallel*, development is far too wonderful and too valuable an asset to be so lightly given up in such a conspicuous instance of it. Our contention indeed elsewhere, and in the other widely divergent sphere of science, is for the corporeal and psychic unity of the entire human race, but not for such a unity as obliterates all distinctive and separate individuality, with personality. To regard these two different branches of the Asiatic religious nations, so contrasted as they were in their origin—as in their magnitude, or littleness,—being Aryan and Semitic, as affording, each of them, if the facts be such, so marvelous an instance of separate psychic growth, reaching also, in each of them, the very acme of all detailed spiritualistic conviction in the main points of our beliefs

<sup>6</sup> I acknowledge again that in the former edition of this lecture I *seemed* to take the other ground; this was however through a well-meant endeavor to make the point of doctrinal identity more distinct: see my remark about the Zoroastrian system as "*determining belief*," that is to say, I held that it so encouraged belief till that belief reached a degree of influence equal, or superior in volume, to that attained by the Sadducaic school; see the July *Open Court*.



and hopes, seizes—if such a recognition truly represents the actual condition of the things—the *one leading manifestation of the individuality in unity* of all the human psychic powers which has as yet come to light as being active in regard to these paramount convictions and conclusions in two previously widely separated nations. And this is also, to each of us, as it seems to me, a matter of great interior moment, entailing the most solemn and pointed of all obligations; for, as said before, by way of preface, our own spiritual growth and soundness are to some degree dependent upon it.

We should, each one of us, personally think out, measure, and digest the lessons from it, if we still continue to be at all religiously susceptible; for the completeness of our own personal and individual spiritual structure and equipment may well demand that we should endeavor individually and personally to appreciate such interior capacity of self-development in each human nature, also in its individual responsibilities and with immediate *application to our lives*. If this particular monumental structure of evidence in the matter of psychic individuality with general identities, as shown in these startling co-equalities in sentiment and theory (see the citations), be then veritably real, as regards these essential matters, this obviously tends to prove that this individuality within general identity may prevail as to *other similar distinctions* equally, or even more, important, and it also tends to prove more.

If human souls, owing to the quasi-identity in individuality of their psychic structure and continuous essential existence, reach the same religious conclusions even extending to details, through these subtle psychic forces; and, if, though they may be seemingly so widely divided, far apart, as to place and time, they thus here reach identity, then we must consider this to be an approximating corroboration of those views themselves, and not merely as adventitious proofs of the psychic unity of man in individuality. For here are large masses of human beings distributed into groups, provinces, nations or races, far distant to the one from the other, and who may never have had the slightest external means of intercommunication, having never even heard of one another's existence—and yet they are found to have come upon the very same detailed spiritual expectations as regards another world; and this, as I affirm, most certainly tends to prove that these formulas in opinion must have had some *common origin* which even the separate individuality of each such person or such people has not enabled him or it to avoid or to ignore,—and this presumably adds to our convictions that *these doc-*

*trines themselves must be the more indisputably true, at least in their interior significance.*

For it was not until several decades at least—so we must remember—after the Jews were first deported there, that Babylon became Persian, while we need not just here consider the case of that portion of the captives, who were distributed in the “cities of the Medes”; and the interest here should therefore become *intense*. Here was Israel on the one side, for long pre-Exilic centuries without a pointed hope of any such an Immortality as most of us hold dear, without a Judgment, without a Resurrection, without a Heaven, a Millennium (or a Hell), yet suddenly at once awakened to these expectations, by a calamity which had brought swift ruin upon their remnant, while their status was at times much like that of slaves, or worse. And again, *vis à vis* to them were Median multitudes, military, civil, priestly, princely, regal, with their illustrious Imperial figure at their head,—and these, only a few brief decades later on, swarming in the streets and roads of Persian Babylon, the city with its province now from that time on the Persian capital.

Aryans to a man, these Medo-Persians—as we might almost say of them—they had long since been possessed with the hope of that same future conscious life beyond the grave which the Jews had just acquired with much emotion, let us hope; and these are the obvious ineffaceable facts which the most ultra-conservative of all historical theologians will not, because he cannot, attempt to dispute. They are the A—B—C of all historical religious knowledge upon the points; and they should be familiar, if not notorious, to every student of our Holy Faith; that is to say, so long as we hold to this spontaneous growth of Immortality among the Jews. No Bible-class, nor indeed should any Sunday-school instructor be without this knowledge as to this most solemn circumstance. *It was our own religion in a friendly race.*

*All who deny, as well as all who believe in, Persian influence, posterior or prior, are here, as perforce, agreed; this is the matter to be apprehended and held in mind. I refer, of course, to persons of clear intellect and sound candor in all my assertions as to the unanimity here.*

The prophets first speak of the details of a systematized immortality and the other elements of eschatology *in the Exilic period*,—and this is a notorious matter of common certainty *entirely aside* from the question as to where they ultimately got their later fuller ideas upon it; and no one who is educated in the preliminaries here inexorably involved, denies this. The Jewish scheme, as we

see from the earlier Bible, was utterly rudimental as regards these vital elements, in all previous time. Their immortality was for the most part a dim, shadowy, half-conscious state much like the classic Hades;—with little Judgment, and Heaven or fiery Hell, with but transient flashes of vivacity.

[This is notorious, and it was preached in my pulpit close on forty years ago, the speaker not having been then thought particularly "broad." Let the reader take up his pre-Exilic Bible and read it backwards; say, ten chapters at a time,—he will be profoundly struck with this marked negative peculiarity;—the evil kings like the good ones, died,—and "slept with their fathers"—and their (varying) sons "reigned in their stead"—and where is there any Judgment for the evil as for the good—and where is there any Hell for the one, or Heaven for the other—the "Semitic future state" before the Exile ignored or merely guessed at them, as every scholar knows, and as has been long since popularly ceded. Look at the very Ten Commandments, where is there any Last Judgment, even there,—the place of all others where we should the most expect to find it,—where is there any reward or punishment? The future state is not even mentioned. It was during the horrors of the Exile that God's people began to doubt whether, indeed, the righteous "never was forsaken";—they, like ourselves, when, similarly situated, amidst financial ruin, turned bitterly to God, and sang the finest, if, at the same time, the most terrific of their hymns (see Psalm cxxxvii, with its close—if indeed that close be genuine). Then soon after we begin to hear of "awaking from the dust," of a Judgment—rhetorically majestic beyond description (see Daniel—Revelations is its echo); then we first hear of a "golden age," culminating in the thousand years of Chiliasm (N. T.); then, first, the angels assume their names and forms, becoming "princes" (see Daniel); then a conscious "Immortality" becomes defined; then the Saviour was "promised long" and "the Gentiles were to rejoice in His Light"; and "the earth"—not alone Judea—"was to be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." It soon became a complete pre-Christianity—with the known results. (Extract from a speech delivered in London in March, 1909, and from articles elsewhere communicated.)]

To resume—that dull and dim futurity—as just said in the extract—suddenly took on for itself the fuller form of accountability in judgment, that is of conscience, and of retribution in a restored body and immortal soul, *whereas in Persia these views had been elaborated for indefinitely previous ages*: and this last their books

now prove, as does the sister Veda. For every such doctrine as that of the God-Unity, a developed Angelology, an Immortality, Resurrection, Judgment, Heaven and Recompense, *inexorably presupposes far distant antecedents*, foreshadowing its coming on, and in the same literature, unless that literature itself distinctly repudiates such antecedents; in Avesta they do stand thus affirmed to overwhelming repletion; but in pre-Exilic Israel they are denied by the conspicuous omission.

With what surprise, then, growing to astonishment, must the keen-witted Semites of the early Captivity have first discovered this circumstance! Here they were themselves just new-born novices, as it were, a handful of beginners in a full system of Immortality, doubtless also much affected by the impression that their views were a new discovery, and stirred to their utmost depths with all the emotional effects of regeneration in its train. But when they began to become acquainted with the Persian army, whose arrival, victory and continued presence they hailed as their temporal salvation, they discovered to their amazement that their own fresh ideas upon futurity were an ancient creed with their new-found friends; and that it was held almost universally, not always of course with that personal fervor which the Jews then felt as neophytes, but that it was most certainly held with ponderous conviction by the very chief representatives of the new Babylonian life, who would be, of course, the so-called Magian priesthood.

One would indeed say that they—these tendencies—must have been long latent in the keen-witted Jewish intellect, awaiting only the first stir of impulse to burst them into bloom, and at first, as I contend, with no immediate exterior or objective inculcation of them from their enormously distinguished liberators; so that, all of a sudden, if we might so express it, an immortality, with all its correlated hopes and fears, sprang into life with them, and became defined, from spontaneous vital action. Since homes were lost on earth—such was the interior psychic process, then, just as so often with ourselves—*Heaven* was to “make amends,”<sup>7</sup> while *Hell* was to heap its horrors upon oppressors—though even *Hell* itself, as it seems, was not quite quick enough for their keen just vengeance. Recall the chief Exilic Psalm of its date and creed, I mean the one hundred and thirty-seventh, the finest pièce in literature—that literature, and of its kind, I think.

Such is then the phenomenon which we are called upon to notice and to ponder, the *originality and self-growth* of immortality.

<sup>7</sup> See the extract just above.

with its fellow thoughts,<sup>8</sup> among the first Exilic Jews of Babylon, *not first learnt* from their redeemers, but sprung into quick life within their own excited interior passions, that is, from grief and hate. This also proves as a fact, if indeed it be a fact, that the Jewish soul was fine in its susceptibilities, that its intellect was sagacious,—“architectonic” as we used to call it, in the philosophical sense,—and so ingenious, while the Persians, who suddenly came in upon, and over, the Israelites in their first fervent Jewish expressions of this faith, had inherited it all through an indefinitely previous duration. Such then is our second essential point, next after the citation of the texts. Of course (and let me be here most carefully understood, as I repeat what I have all along, as I hope, implied) I am here dealing with the filled-out and symmetrically adjusted systems of the Persians and the Jews alone, as regards the particulars in point. Immortality, in a dimmer sense of it, could not be shut out from any branches of the human family who could still dream of the departed dead, or experience febrile ocular and auricular delusions, with their invariably accompanying apparitions. Recall, too, the immortality of Egypt, so important in its application. Immortality, in many a varied view of it, is well-nigh universal. What I am here discussing is that *well-defined religious system elaborated in all its main details in symmetry and practical effect*, and which we find thus extensively and pointedly established in ancient times *only among these two nations whom I name*. It is a thing also somewhat different, of course, from Plato's elaboration, precious as this last undoubtedly is, and was, as it is also different from that of wildest tribes. And it is *that*, as I contend, *this well-filled out and elaborated scheme*, which was of *native growth* in Babylonian Israel,—and this in spite of the almost immediately following arrival upon the scene of the Persian priests with the same detailed creed long since domesticated, and this but a few decades later on. So much for this, the all-important point.

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Quite another question is it indeed, when we inquire whether this so widely extended Aryan creed, in which the Israelites were overwhelmed during their first Exilic centuries in Persian Babylon, had any *later and supervening* influence upon these already accepted but new found similar convictions of the Jews.

Here I am as decided in my positive assertions as I have just been in my negatives. Every conceivable item points to the reciprocal

<sup>8</sup> I should except Chiliasm—the thousand years—that is pure Avesta.

effects of the two systems, the one upon the other,—and in view of the doctrinal identities in point, with their groupings,—and, in view of the overwhelming superiority of the position of the recently successful Persians to that occupied by the handful of mourning captives,—everything, as regarded also from every reasonable point of view, looks rather towards this later influence of the great religious patron nation upon their once suffering but now grateful protégés, while but few have suggested the other direction to the current. It would require of us indeed an hypothesis of an aggressive missionary ardor of no low degree, energized by irresistible interior and passionate vigor, if we should hold to the opinion that the crushed remnant of the Holy People attempted and actually succeeded in converting the vast Perso-Median empire to a creed which they had themselves maintained well-nigh throughout their history.

To affirm that the Jews converted the Zoroastrians would simply be to assert that they re-converted the long since previously converted, or originally believing nation, once again to its own immemorially inherited ancient creed, whereas everything indicates the surging course of a volume of influence the other way. "Affection," alone of itself, must have had something to do with the intricate psychic motions inevitably stirred within the one-party or the other in the vivid situation. The signal Conqueror of their oppressors would be naturally the object of their enthusiasm, as would be indeed the leading personages in his garrisons. Think of the change which Cyrus occasioned in their circumstances at his advent, and see how they recalled it in Isaiah xlv-*xlvi*. My claim in argument is, therefore, for a very strong and completely surrounding and enveloping *later* and supervening influence of the North-Persian One-Godism, Angelology, Immortality, Judgment, Resurrection, Millennium, Heaven and Recompense, upon the same slightly earlier developments in Israel during the Captivity.\*

And let me also not be misunderstood here once again, and with regard to a principle which I hold to be crucial in all these discussions—it is this. There are those, and many, who have indeed held and hold to the striking opinion,—so often here noticed to refute it,—that this entire scheme of Jewish God-unity, Angelology,

\* The following remarks appeared under other wording in the July number of this periodical, and they are repeated here to recall the previous publication, and for the benefit of those who may not have dwelt upon them at their first appearance. They cannot be too emphatically impressed upon all well-meaning men. Readers will doubtless notice, as I trust they will also condone, the inevitable difference in the stylistic flow of the passage; another, but not necessarily "different," "spirit" animates them; many years have elapsed since the earlier essay was penned.

Immortality, Resurrection and Recompense, was not only subsequently confirmed, defended and encouraged, in a word "*saved*," by that of the North-Persian theology of the restorers,—a proposition which we may accept,—but that the Jews *originally* and *first of all* received it from the Persians in its full definite out-formed shape, that is to say, that they *borrowed* it as a whole, took it over bodily, either through dominant influence, or through charm.

Now I do not regard it as being at all a just or honorable thing to lay one illogical straw in the path of those many who have held, or still hold, to such a view, if they hold to it with honesty. And this fact affords me here at once the duty and the opportunity of stating what I believe to be an indispensable and necessary law of which I spoke, for that law regards just this point of *mere mental initiative* in the connection, with a supposed, or really, divinely inspired authority for any certain set of opinions either new, or on the other hand, long since cherished, and even hereditary. I hold that *any so-called, or real, divine authority through inspiration, or the like, has little, if anything, to do with the fact that portions of the mental ideas themselves involved have been imparted through various sources wholly unconnected with the previous development of the faith concerned.* This inspiration has,—as I contend, to the exact contrary of the opinion just refuted,—nothing whatever to do with the question of the mental channels through which the mere ideas themselves may have been imparted to the favored race of people, and much do I deplore the prevalence of a contrary impression. I would then not only concede, but urgently *assert* such an opinion as that just mentioned by me, and this as being essential to all thorough procedure in the searchings of comparative religion. I will not indeed here cite or repeat the passage to this effect from the original article. Let the reader who at all apprehends the truly solemn issues which may be here at stake, turn to the July number of *The Open Court*—with the statements there re-edited from the *Nineteenth Century Review*,—and let him re-study the whole lecture.

## NOVALIS.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

FRIEDRICH von Hardenberg, better known by the name of Novalis, was born at Wiederstedt in Mansfeld territory, near Eisleben, May 2, 1772. His father, who had been a soldier in his youth, and still retained a liking for that profession, was at this time director of the Saxon Saltworks at Weissenfels. Tieck says, "He was a vigorous, unweariedly active man, of open, resolute character, a true German. His religious feelings made him a member of the Herrnhut Communion, yet his disposition continued gay, frank, rugged and uncompromising." The mother also was distinguished for her worth; "a model of noble piety and Christian mildness," virtues which her subsequent life gave ample opportunity for exercising. Friedrich, her second child and first son, was very delicate in childhood; he was of a dreamy disposition and betrayed little spirit, and only the enthusiastic affection with which he loved his mother, distinguished him beyond his apparently more gifted brothers and sisters. In consequence of a violent bilious disease which befell him in his ninth year, his faculties seemed to awaken into proper life, and he became the readiest and most eager learner in all branches of his studies. In his eighteenth year, after a few months of preparation in the gymnasium at Eisleben, he repaired to Jena in 1790. Here he continued for three years, after which he spent one season in the Leipsic University, and another at Wittenberg. At Jena he studied philosophy under Reinhold, Fichte, and Schelling, who exerted a lasting influence upon his mind. At Leipsic he became intimately connected with Friedrich Schlegel, one of the main leaders of the so-called Romantic school, while at Wittenberg, influenced by Friedrich von Schiller, who showed him the ideal side of practical activity, he studied chemistry, mathematics, history and jurisprudence, but especially Church history.

But the time had now arrived when study must become sub-



ordinate to action, and what is called a profession had to be determined upon. At the breaking out of the French Revolution, Novalis had been seized with a strong and altogether unexpected taste for military life; however, the entreaties of his relatives ultimately prevailed, and it was settled that he should follow his father's line of occupation. In 1794 he gave up his studies at Wittenberg, and went to Tennstedt in Thuringia "to train himself in practical affairs under the Kreisamtmann Just."



Soon after his arrival at Tennstedt Novalis met Sophie von Kuehn in a country mansion of the neighborhood. She was then thirteen years of age, but the first glimpse of her fair and wonderfully lovely form was decisive for his whole life.

Tieck speaks of her in the following manner:

"All persons that have known this wondrous loved one of our friend, agree in testifying that no description can express in what

grace and celestial harmony this fair being moved, what beauty shone in her, what gentleness and majesty encircled her."

The same author says:

"The spring and summer of 1795 were the blooming time of Hardenberg's life; every hour that he could spare from business he spent in Grüningen; and in the fall of that same year he obtained the desired consent of Sophie's parents."

Unhappily, however, these halcyon days were of too short continuance. Sophie fell dangerously sick, and the 19th of March, 1797, two days after her fifteenth birthday, she passed away. The death of his beloved became to Novalis the turning-point of his inner life. It reminded him that he also was no longer a citizen of this world, but of the other. To this period belong his *Hymnen an die Nacht*, or "Hymns to the Night," consisting of five prose poems interspersed with verse, and a sixth entirely in verse. In these he wrote "of the vague longings or aspirations of the soul as higher and truer than all science and philosophy."

With reference to the "Hymns" Carlyle says of Novalis: "Naturally a deep, religious, contemplative spirit, purified also, as we have seen, by harsh affliction, and familiar in the 'sanctuary of sorrow,' he comes before us as the most ideal of all idealists."

Sophie von Hardenberg, the accomplished authoress of *Friedrich von Hardenberg, genannt Novalis, eine Nachlese aus den Quellen des Familienarchivs* (2d ed., Gotha, 1883), says: "Why do the 'Hymns to the Night' so peculiarly lay hold of the soul of the reader? It is because they show the transformation of the poet into a Christian. In these Hymns his deepest sorrow appears transfigured by a more than earthly splendor." And Haym, who has given an outline of the Life of Novalis in his important work on the Romantic School, says: "The 'Hymns to Night,' those profoundly sorrowful strains of rapturous lamentation and of fervent pain, can be compared with nothing that our classical poetry has produced."

These "Hymns to the Night" were written soon after the death of his sweetheart, in that period of deep sorrow, or rather of holy deliverance from sorrow, and Novalis himself regarded them as his most finished productions. They are of a strange, veiled, almost enigmatical character; nevertheless, on closer examination, they appear to be in no wise lacking true poetic worth. There is a vastness, an immensity of idea; a still solemnity reigns in them, a solitude almost as of extinct worlds. Here and there too some ray of light visits us in the deep void; and we cast a glance, clear and wondrous, into the secrets of that mysterious soul. A full com-

mentary on the "Hymns to the Night" would be an exposition of Novalis's whole theological and moral creed; for it lies recorded there, though symbolically, and in lyric, not in didactic language.

"Once when I was shedding bitter tears," these are the words of the third hymn, "when dissolved in pain my hope had melted quite away, and I stood solitary by the sun-parched mound that in its dark and narrow space concealed the form of my life; solitary as none other had ever been; pursued by unutterable anguish; powerless; with but one thought, and that of misery; when looking around for help, forward I could not go, nor backward, but clung to a transient extinguished life with unutterable longing;—lo, from the azure distance, down from the heights of my former blessedness, came a chill breath of dusk, and suddenly the bond of birth, the fetter of life was snapped asunder. Vanished the glory of earth and with it my lamenting; my infinite sadness melted into a new unfathomable world; thou Inspiration of Night, Heaven's own Slumber, camest over me; the scene rose gently aloft; above it hovered my enfranchized new-born spirit. Into a cloud of dust had changed that grave; through the cloud I beheld the transfigured features of my beloved one. In her eyes lay eternity; I clasped her hand, and my tears flowed in a glittering stream. Millenniums passed into the distance, like thunder-clouds. On her neck I wept tears of rapture for this new life.—It was my first, mine only dream, and only since that time have I felt an everlasting changeless faith in the heaven of night, and in its sun, my beloved."

The sixth hymn, entitled *Sehnsucht nach dem Tode* (i. e., "Longing for Death"), begins:

*"Hinunter in der Erde Schooss."*

It has been translated by Helen Lowe in her *Prophecy of Balaam* (1841) and reproduced in the *Lyra Mystica* (1864). With some alterations it reads thus:

"Into earth's bosom let me go,  
Far from light's realms descending!  
These stinging pains and this wild woe  
Portend a blissful ending.  
The narrow bark shall waft us o'er,  
Full soon to land on Heaven's calm shore.

"Praised be that everlasting night;  
Praised, never-broken slumber;  
Day with its toils hath worn us quite,  
And cares too long encumber;  
Now vain desires and roamings cease,  
We seek our Father's House in peace.

"What should we do in this cold world  
 With Love and Truth so tender?  
 Old things are in oblivion hurled,  
 The new no gladness render:  
 O sorrowful his heart and lone  
 Who reverent loves the past and gone!

"Those ages past, whose purer race,  
 High thoughts with ardor fired,  
 When man beheld our Father's Face,  
 And knew His Hand desired;  
 While many a simple mind sincere  
 Resembled still His image clear.

"Those days of old, when spreading wide  
 Ancestral trees were growing;  
 When even children joyful died  
 Their deep devotion showing;  
 While though life laughed and pleasure spake,  
 Yet many a heart for strong Love brake.

"Those times of yore when God revealed  
 Himself in young life glowing;  
 With early death His Passion sealed,  
 His precious Blood bestowing;  
 Nor turned aside the stings of pain  
 Us nearer to Himself to gain.

"Through deepening mists how vainly gaze  
 Our fond thoughts, backward turning;  
 Nought in this dreary age allays  
 The thirst within us burning:  
 We must arrive our home within  
 That ancient Holiness to win.

"What still delays our wished return?  
 The Loved have long been sleeping;  
 Their graves our earthly journey's bourne—  
 Enough of fear and weeping!  
 With fruitless striving long annoyed  
 The heart is weary, the world a void.

"Strange rapture ever new, unknown,  
 Through the faint frame is thrilling:  
 Hark! the soft echo of our moan  
 The hollow distance filling;  
 Whence our loved ones toward us bend,  
 Their breathings of desire ascend.

"Down to the loved bride we go,  
 To Jesus, gone before us;

Be of good comfort, mourners; lo!  
 Grey twilight deepens o'er us;  
 A dream dissolves our chains unblest,  
 Our Father, take us to His Rest."

A few months after writing his "Hymns to the Night," Novalis was cured of his morbid desire for death, and in the autumn of 1797 he went to Freiberg to enter the academy of mining, which flourished under the famous Werner, whom Novalis describes in his *Lehrlinge zu Sais* ("Pupils of Sais"), an unfinished philosophical romance. To this Freiberg period belong also his "Fragments," known as *Blüthenstaub* (i. e., Pollen of Flowers"); *Glauben und Liebe* ("Faith and Love"), together with some minor poetical pieces, which he called *Blumen* (i. e., "Flowers"); all of which were published in Schlegel's *Athenaeum* of 1798 and 1800, under the pseudonym "Novalis" then assumed by him.

About a year after the death of his first love, Novalis formed an acquaintance with Julie von Charpentier and became engaged to marry her, although his Sophie continued to be the center of his thoughts; nay, as one departed, like Dante's Beatrice, she stood in higher reverence with him than when visible and near. Soon after this Novalis formed an acquaintance with the elder Schlegel, who, together with Tieck whom he first met in Jena, seems to have occasioned frequent interruptions in the young student's work. From Artern at the foot of the Kyffhäuser Mountain, Novalis went very often to Jena to see his friends, and on one such occasion in the autumn of 1799, he read to them certain of his "Spiritual Songs," which were to form part of a Christian hymnbook, which he meant to accompany with a collection of sermons. About this time he composed the first volume of his *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, a sort of art-romance, intended as he himself said, to be an "Apotheosis of Poetry."

In 1800, Novalis, who for years had had a tendency to consumption, was taken with the disease in its most acute form; and in the days of his sickness he enjoyed communion with the writings of Lavater, Zinzendorf, and other mystical writers, as well as with the Biblical treasures. He died March 25, 1801, in the house of his parents, gently and to the music of the piano which he had asked his brother to play. "The expression of his face," says Tieck, "was very much like that of John the Evangelist, shown in Albert Dürer's glorious engraving.... His friendliness, his geniality, made him universally beloved.... He could be as happy as a child; he jested with cheerfulness, and permitted himself to become the object of

jesters for the company. Free from all vanity and pride of learning, a stranger to all affectation and hypocrisy, he was a genuine true man, the purest and most lovely embodiment of a noble immortal spirit."

In the second edition of his *Reden über Religion* ("Discourses on Religion"), Schleiermacher speaks thus of Novalis: "I shall point you to a glorious example, which you all ought to know: to that divine youth who too early fell asleep, to whom all that his spirit touched became art, and whose whole perception of the world became immediately a great poem; and whom although he has hardly done more in fact than utter his first strains,—you must associate with the richest poets, those few who are as profound as they are vital and clear. In him behold the power of the inspiration and reflectiveness of a pious soul; and confess that when philosophers will be religious and seek God, like Spinoza, and artists will be pious and love Christ, like Novalis, then will the great resurrection be celebrated for both their worlds."

Novalis is best known in Protestant Germany by his "Spiritual Songs," which will always remain his lasting monument, since they are the key-note of his love for his Saviour; and though they do not bear the stamp of church hymns, still they are adapted for singing in quiet solitude, even within the heart. Schlegel pronounced Novalis's songs "the divinest" things he ever wrote, and through the influence of Schleiermacher some have been included in the *Berliner Gesangbuch*. Schleiermacher quoted these hymns in the pulpit with deep emotion. Rothe, the greatest theologian since Schleiermacher, has written a sympathetic and appreciative essay on our poet in which he says: "Novalis is the type of a modern religious poet, and even of a Christian life that only in the future will attain its full realization." Pfleiderer—no friend of the Romantic School of pietism—says: "Nowhere is there any sweeter or more powerful expression of that warm and hearty inwardness of Protestant mysticism which manifested itself in pietism, and exercised so precious and salutary an influence on the German people, then stiff and frozen from the hands of supernaturalists and rationalists alike, than in the "Spiritual Songs" of Novalis. They are the true Song of Songs of pious love for the Saviour, and express the whole gamut of its feelings from the deepest sorrow to the highest blessedness and joy. He who gave the Protestant Church these hymns, which belong to the most precious jewels of the religious poetry of all ages, he surely—Romanticism notwithstanding—was a good Evangelical Christian." (*Philosophy of Religion*, I, 274.)

Beyschlag, who has edited his "Spiritual Songs," dwells with deep admiration on "the charm of inward truth" and the spiritual elevation of these remarkable Christian hymns.

The publication of Carlyle's memorable essay on Novalis in 1829, contributed not a little to make "the chords of many an English heart thrill under the fascination and mysteriousness of his poetic thought," and as early as in 1841 we meet with an English translation of some of the poetical pieces of Novalis. "As a poet," says Carlyle, "Novalis is no less idealistic than as a philosopher. His poems are breathings of a high, devout soul, feeling always that here he has no home, but looking, as in clear vision to a 'city that hath foundations.' He loves external nature with a singular depth, nay, we might say, he reverences her, and holds unspeakable communings with her; for Nature is no longer dead, hostile matter, but the veil and mysterious garment of the Unseen; as it were, the Voice with which the Deity proclaims to man. These two qualities,—his pure religious temper, and heartfelt love of nature,—bring him into true poetic relation both with the spiritual and the material world, and perhaps constitute his chief work as a poet."

It is to be regretted that the English essayist had so little to say of Novalis's "Spiritual Songs" which Schlegel and Tieck regarded as his most important poetical productions. "They are Christian hymns of great merit and deep fervent sincerity. They display the genius of the Romantic School in its purest and highest application, and are appropriately ranked with Schleiermacher's 'Discourses on Religion,' as regards their spiritual feeling and enduring worth."

## MOHAMMEDAN PARALLELS TO CHRISTIAN MIRACLES.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

EDUARD MONTET, head professor of the Semitic department of Protestant theology in the University of Geneva, Switzerland, and author of an article on "Israel and Babylonian Civilization" in the October *Open Court*, has contributed to the July number of the *Hibbert Journal* under the title, "Les saints dans l'Islam," an important French article which is very instructive not only for those who yet hold to the miracle idea in the old sense of the word, but also for those who absolutely deny that Jesus was a historical person, making him the concrete reflection or personification of some metaphysical or other speculation of which we hear so much these days, as also for those who hold that the miracle stories of the Bible (I especially refer here to those about Jesus) are products only of the imaginative mind of a later generation to glorify the master after he had gone. Professor Montet has not written his article at all with the tendency to give instruction in this respect, he simply states facts; still, I think very valuable conclusions can be drawn from his article in the direction to which I refer. Just as the study of the modern Orient has thrown more light on some points of the literature of the Bible, as many a commentary has done, (for instance the knowledge of the wedding customs of the Syrian peasantry, the so-called "king's week," the wedding lasting seven days, has cleared up with one stroke all the remaining uncertainties regarding the composition and meaning of Canticles,) so the article of Professor Montet, based on studies and observations of certain aspects of modern Oriental life, seems to me to make clear to us why so much of the miracles, sometimes of a very crass character, has crept into the Bible and especially into the Gospels. Of course the student of comparative religion can bring up parallels in other religions in



many points to the miraculous in Judaism and Christianity, but in the study of Professor Montet, we have parallels from the same soil from which Christianity sprang, and parallels which completely cover the individual miraculous stories of the Bible and especially of the Gospels. Professor Montet, speaking of the saints of Islam, especially of the Marabouts of Morocco and Algiers, says that as in all religions that believe in the supernatural, so also in Islam the gift of miracles is not a matter belonging only to the saints of the past. Miracles belong to all times and living Marabouts perform them as well as those who have been dead for years or centuries. All kinds of miracles of any imaginable category are found in the legends about these saints of Islam. Professor Montet enumerates many such miracles and gives us examples in modern times of historical Marabouts about whom the strongest stories are told. He tells of the gift these men possess of being everywhere at the same hour on the same day; of the power of transporting themselves instantaneously to fabulous distances; of walking on water; of drying up rivers; of rendering themselves invisible; of remaining a long time without drink and food; of emitting rays and manifesting themselves under light or flames; of healing diseases and awakening from the dead; of driving out evil spirits; of multiplying bread and other food to feed many persons; of appearing after their death; of speaking with departed saints who have been dead for centuries; of transforming water into honey, etc. In reading this of Islamic saints, are we not reminded of the sudden disappearances of Jesus, of his being transported through the air by the Devil in the canonical Gospels and in the apocryphal Gospel to the Hebrews by the Holy Spirit, his mother (as he is called there) by means of one of his hairs; are we not reminded of Jesus walking on the water; of his power over the elements; of his transfiguration and his conversation with the saints of the Old Testament, Moses and Elijah; in short of every miraculous deed that is reported of him? And if Professor Montet informs us that such things are told of living saints in Islam, will we continue to hold to the view that it was not until later Christian generations and writers that these things were imagined and told of the glorified Lord? By this I do not mean to say that our Gospels were written very early or based on writings and notes collected during the life of Jesus or shortly after his death, but I wish to say that even in the lifetime of Jesus many of the wonderful stories concerning him may have become current, that were later taken up into our Gospels. If the modern fervent believer in Islam can believe in the wonderful powers of the living saint whom he actually adores,

why was this not possible of the adorers of Jesus during his lifetime? Montet tells us how dead and living saints in Islam are adored, though this seems inconsistent with rigid monotheism. The people kiss the edges of their dress, the stirrup where their foot has rested, the tracks of their steps, etc. The Gospels tell us how Jesus was adored during his lifetime, by those who believed in him, in such an Oriental fashion which we Occidentals sometimes thoroughly dislike. But we Occidentals must try to put ourselves into the spirit and feelings of the Orientals, and then we shall have no difficulty in accepting Jesus as a historical personality and will give up the attempt to represent him as only a personification of the Logos-idea or a personification of the highest social ideal, drawn on the background of the terrible social and economic conditions of his times, or any other personification. For all these procedures the Gospel writers surely do not show very much ability with the possible exception of the writer of the Fourth Gospel, but who nevertheless as well as the Synoptics presupposed Jesus as an historical character. The Gospel writers did not have the material or the knowledge of modern scholars, who, after going through all the difficulties surrounding the Christ-problem, finally think it can only be solved by some elaborate theory, which shows that Jesus is only a shadowy personification. By this I do not at all deny that mythical characters can get into company with historical characters, for I know very well that the Sun-god, under the name of Siegfried, can get into company with historical characters such as Attila, Theodoric the Great, and Burgundian kings in the German epic the *Nibelungenlied*. After reading Professor Montet's article I am more and more confirmed in my view that Jesus was a historical reality. When I hear what impossible miracles are ascribed to these saints of Islam and how they are adored, what enormous political, social, moral and religious influence they exert, how often they have played the eschatological rôle of the Mahdi, (the Mussulman Messiah), the personality of the end of the world who will preside at the Last Judgment—when I read all this, Jesus looms up to me more and more as one of those many Oriental saints who have played an influential part in the history not only of the Orient but of the world, ever since the times of the Old Testament under the Hebrew titles of *Nabi* (prophet), *Roë* (seer), or the Moslemic names of Dervish, Marabout and Mahdi; though perhaps otherwise not very much was known of these men regarding their birth-place, their development, their parents, their common life and occupation, etc. If contemporaries of Jesus, as Philo, or other writers of the first century, as Josephus, do not mention Jesus,

they have done no differently than other historians before and after them, who did not deign to make any mention of these strange men, who perhaps were too much of the commonplace and plebeian sort, though they gave the impetus to and were the nucleus of world-wide movements. These saints, as we see them in Montet's representation, are realities, too often too real. The author classifies them into ascetical and non-ascetical, continent and incontinent, modest and lewd ones, but they are all realities, there is nothing shadowy about them; they are of great influence, whether for good or evil. In general, the writer says, they are in North Africa the representatives of right against violence, of knowledge, or at least good sense, against ignorance.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### NAZARENES AND SHRAMANAS.

BY DR. S. N. DEINARD.

The relation between Buddhism and the origin of Christianity, the influence of the former upon the latter religion, their similarities and dissimilarities, are subjects that are receiving ever greater attention on the part of all earnest students interested in the two religions. The greater the advance made in these studies and investigations, the more clearly does it appear to unbiased minds how considerable a share Buddhism had in the origination of the new religion cradled in Palestine. Nay, some competent scholars and thinkers, among them Ernest de Bunsen, Arthur Lillie, and Rudolf Seydel, have in the last thirty years with great erudition and acumen elaborated learned theses to prove the *Buddhist origin* of Christianity.

I believe that a vast number of facts can be marshalled in support of the theory that Christianity in its origin was nothing else than Buddhism passed through the alembic of the Judeo-Essenic mind, and adapted to the Jewish Messianic expectations of that day. Jesus would then be no other than Buddha himself clothed in Jewish Messianic apparel.

The real personality and historical existence of Jesus are becoming more and more shadowy and matters of skeptical questionings when approached in a spirit of historical inquiry and with all theological preconceptions left behind. Contemporary history does not know him, and the Gospels are full of legend and myth. In his essay on "The Personality of Jesus and His Historical Relation to Christianity" (*Monist*, Vol. X, No. 4) Dr. Paul Carus says: "Jesus may in one respect rightly be regarded as a figure that is unknown to history." In the same essay he quotes Professor Cornill, who cannot be charged with destructive anti-Christian tendencies, as follows: "...The conclusion is unavoidable that the date commonly assigned for the birth of Christ is wrong. The place of Jesus's birth is just as much a matter of uncertainty as the time; and so is the year of his death..." Dr. Chas F. Dole says in his recent book, *What We Know About Jesus*: "Moreover, thanks to an army of scholars and critics, dissecting every verse in the New Testament, we have arrived at such a point of uncertainty as to the relative value of different elements in the Synoptic Gospels, that every one practically may take what he likes, both of the narrative and teaching, and reject as unauthentic or improbable whatever seems to him incongruous or unworthy." And again: "How many clearly authentic utterances have we from Jesus? What can we rest upon? What exactly did he do? What did he say of himself and his mission? What commandments did he lay down, or what ordinances did he establish? What new ideas, if any, did he contribute? The answers to all these questions must be found, if at all, in the study of a few pages of the Synoptic Gospels. No one is sure or can possibly be sure, of these answers." (Pp. 9, 10.)

The problem that vexes the historian who must postulate a personality back of the mythical or legendary hero, viz.: If Jesus is altogether a myth, a fiction, who, then, is the hero who occupies the central place in the Christian traditions? is thus easily settled when Buddha is assigned the position.

The Essenic fraternities of Judea, the real founders of Christianity in its most primitive, ante-Pauline form were patterned after the Buddhist order of the Shramanas (ascetics) and Bhikshus (mendicant friars). The very names of these Esseno-Christian circles indicate that. For the earliest Christian societies or brotherhoods were the Nazarenes and Ebionites, known in Church history as the heretical sects of Judaizing tendencies. The very fact that they were all Jews and clung so tenaciously to Mosaic law and Jewish customs and traditions shows their priority.

What do the names Nazarenes and Ebionites signify? All recognize the connection of Ebionite with the Hebrew word עֲבִיּוֹנִים. "Those who derive the name from the Hebrew word explain it in two ways: as applicable either to the poverty of the doctrines of the Ebionites, or to the poverty of their circumstances. Undoubtedly the name was applied to them with the former significance by their enemies, but it is more probable that they employed in a bad sense a name already existing, than that they coined it to suit their purpose. That the term was originally applied to the circumstances of the Ebionites seems the only probable supposition." (*Enc. Brit.*, VII, 618.) Now, when we bear in mind that the Hebrew word עֲבִיּוֹנִים means not only "poor" but also "mendicant," "beggar," (comp. Deut. xv. 4, 7, 11), how can we fail to recognize in the Ebionites the Buddhist Bhikshus?

While the name Ebionite has thus from the beginning been quite correctly interpreted, the name of the Nazarenes has been woefully misunderstood and misinterpreted. It is supposed to mean the "followers of the man of Nazareth," i. e., Jesus. But there is absolutely no etymological connection between the name of that little town in Galilee, נַצְרֵת, and Nazarene. Not only is the final ת of the name of the town not accounted for, but the ז is in Greek versions of Hebrew words never represented by Ζ, but by Σ. Compare the names *Ἰσαάκ*, *Φαρέτ*, *Ἐσρώμ*, *Σαλωμών*, *Σαδδώκ*, all occurring in the genealogical list of Matthew, with their Hebrew originals. The Ζ in Grecianized Hebrew words always represents the ט, as may be seen in the following names, *Ζαρά*, *Βοδρ*, *Ὀζιαν*, *Ἀχας*, *Ἐζεκιαν*, *Ζοροβάβελ*, *Αἰώρ*, *Ἐλεάζαρ*, taken from the same list. Nazarenes, therefore, can be nothing else than the Hebrew נַצְרֵתִים, or, with its Aramaic plural ending, נַצְרֵתִין, Nazarites, Ascetics, or the Shramanas of the Buddhists.

That Paul, and after him other important factors and forces, gave the movement a new turn, and imprinted a new character upon it, so that the Nazarenes and Ebionites were degraded into mere heretical sects, and still later were entirely wiped out, does not in any way, I believe, militate against the theory of the Buddhist origin of Christianity.

#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

WHAT DID THE LORD BUDDHA TEACH? By the *Anagarika H. Dharmapala*.  
Calcutta, Maha-Bodhi Office, 1909 (2453). Pp. 50. Price, 4 annas.

This address was delivered at a convention of religions held in Calcutta last April. The author is a Buddhist missionary, and is prominent among Buddhists as the secretary of the Maha-Bodhi Society, and is known to all

interested in comparative religion through the active part he took in the World's Parliament of Religions in 1893. The little pamphlet comprises a general summary of the tenets and characteristics of Buddhism. It is divided into nine chapters treating respectively of The Birth of Prince Siddhartha, The Great Renunciation of Nirvana by the Brahman Sumedha, The Attainment of Buddhahood, The Request of Brahma to Preach the Dharma, The Propagation of the Dharma, Buddhism and Caste, The God Idea in Buddhism, The Tolerant Spirit of Buddhism. A quotation from Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, on "The Imperial Religion of Buddha," forms a pertinent appendix.

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REVALUATIONS: HISTORICAL AND IDEAL. By *Alfred W. Benn*. London: Watts, 1909. Pp. 320.

Although Mr. Benn admits he has adapted his title from Nietzsche's term *Umwertungen*, and although he uses a dictum of the same author's as the motto of his book, he disclaims that he is a follower of "the great immoralist," to whom one of the later of his essays is devoted. In many cases these essays are protests against conventional judgments of men and times. "The Ethical Value of Hellenism" defends the morals of the ancient Greeks, and though the author is prepared to hear that his views are not new, he thinks it is true that they have never before been expressed in so many words. "The Alleged Socialism of the Prophets" is directed against what Mr. Benn considers serious misstatements made by Renan in his *History of the People of Israel*. In "What is Agnosticism?" the author does not expect to be able to correct the obscurity of the original meaning of the word which instead of gradual elucidation, has been the result of its constant popular use. But he will "at least have the satisfaction of putting on record in a somewhat more permanent form my protest against the misuse of what, whether it stands for truth or for error, serves at any rate to mark off in contradistinction from older forms of rationalism an interesting and, it may be, a permanent phase of speculation." Other subjects are "Pascal's Wager" and "Buckle and the Economics of Knowledge." What Mr. Benn has to say he says in an attractive style which carries with it conviction and a general feeling that his views are the result of independent and judicious thought.

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AN AGNOSTIC'S PROGRESS. By *William Scott Palmer*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. Pp. 169.

This book is based upon two articles which appeared under the same title in the *Contemporary Review*. The story of the author's progress as it was told in the articles is interrupted in the book by comments made in the light of present-day knowledge, because he considers that the later stages of a life go far to explain the earlier. His aim is avowedly "not literary, but friendly."

He says in his preface: "For me, the summing-up of the intellectual puzzle of life is that a reasonable and persevering man may open many locks with two keys. I label them for short, 'Evolution and Organic Unity,' and 'The City which hath Foundations.' They are very much alike; but the first is of the iron of science and philosophy, and the other (which I have found a master key) is gold. Nearly the whole of the new matter in my book is concerned with the filing and using of these keys; or, to drop metaphor, with my discovery and application of certain facts and principles which their labels represent."





PILGRIMS ENTERING BETHLEHEM ON CHRISTMAS DAY.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*



# THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and  
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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## THE BIRTHPLACE OF JESUS.

BY THE EDITOR.

FOLK notions are powerful factors in the formation of popular conviction, and this appears in all the domains of communal life, in politics, in social affairs, and most of all in religion. Accordingly we need not be surprised that the legends of the pre-Christian saviours affected the story of Christ, and that the traditions of the life of Jesus were retold and interpreted according to the prevalent conception of the ideal of mankind, of the God-man, the Christ. Thus the facts of actual occurrences are frequently embellished and overlaid by myths as vines cover the branches of a tree.

Since tradition at a very early date, even during his lifetime, called Jesus the "son of David," it was assumed that he must have been born in Bethlehem, the native town of David, and this notion crept into the canonical books of the New Testament.<sup>1</sup>

The fixation of the day and month in the year is a matter of history, which can be traced in sermons of St. Ambrose, Pseudo-Chrysostom and other Church Fathers. That finally adopted was the same as the birth-festival of Mithras which was celebrated at the winter solstice, and Chrysostom<sup>2</sup> says about it: "On this day [the birthday of Mithras] the birthday of Christ was also lately fixed at Rome in order that whilst the heathen were busied with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed."

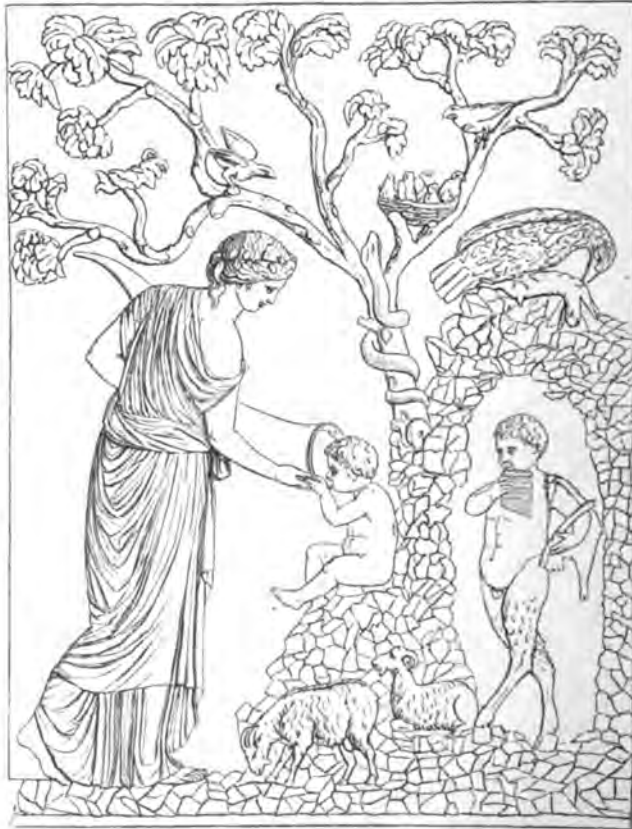
In the same or a similar way, many other occurrences were attributed to Jesus, because he was worshiped as the Christ. If

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Matt. ii. 6 and Micah v. 2. See also Luke ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermo de nativitate S. Joannis Bapt.*, II, 1113, ed. Paris, 1570. For other quotations see *Open Court*, 1899, XIII, 728-730.

pre-Christian saviours had done or suffered one thing or another, it was but natural that the same should apply to Jesus, and these traits are most in evidence in his passion and in his nativity.

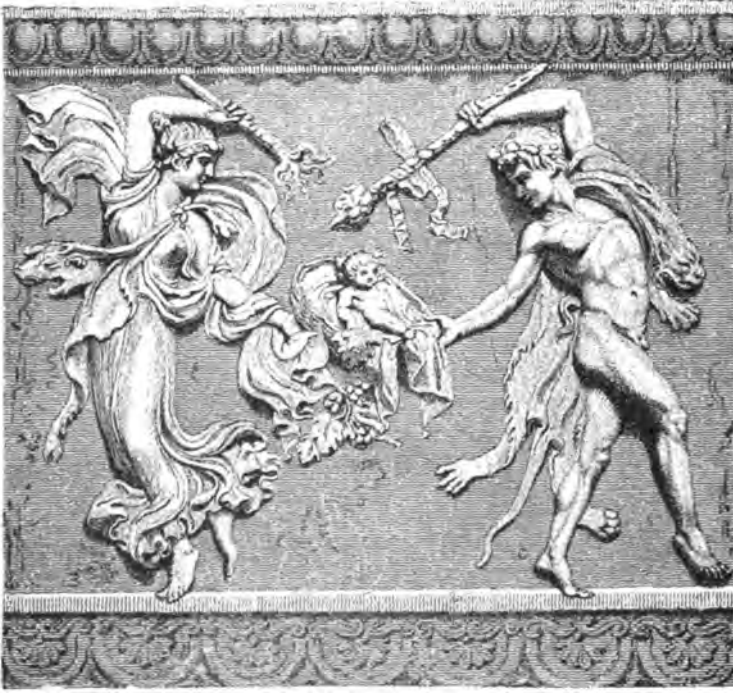
Even before the time of Mithraism the pagans had celebrated festivals of the nativity of their gods, of Zeus, Dionysus, Heracles, and others. Sometimes the mother is on a journey or flies before her ene-



THE NEW-BORN ZEUS SEATED AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE CAVE OF HIS NATIVITY.

The young faun, the tree, the birds and the goats indicate the rustic surroundings.

mies. The birth of a divine babe always takes place in rural surroundings, among herdsmen and in the secret recesses of caves. His needs are so little provided for that he is cradled in a winnowing fan or a trough or any vessel from which the cattle are fed. However, in spite of the lowly conditions under which the saviour-hero enters

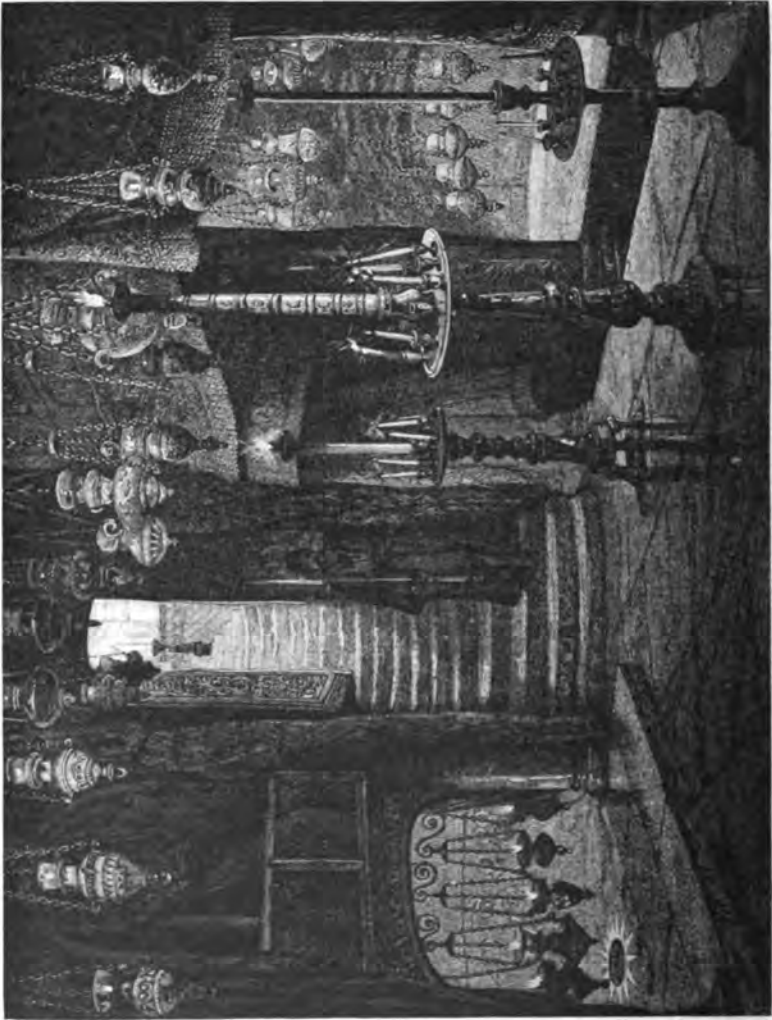


THE CHILD DIONYSUS IN THE WINNOWING BASKET.  
From a terra cotta relief in the British Museum.



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.  
(From an early print.)

into the world of men, he is greeted with great joy, and his birth is celebrated with much merry-making. The illustrations which represent such scenes prove that both in customs and sentiment



THE GROTTA OF THE NATIVITY.

there existed among the pagans something analogous to our Christmas.

Although the Gospels say nothing definite about the place of Christ's birth except that he was laid in a manger because there was

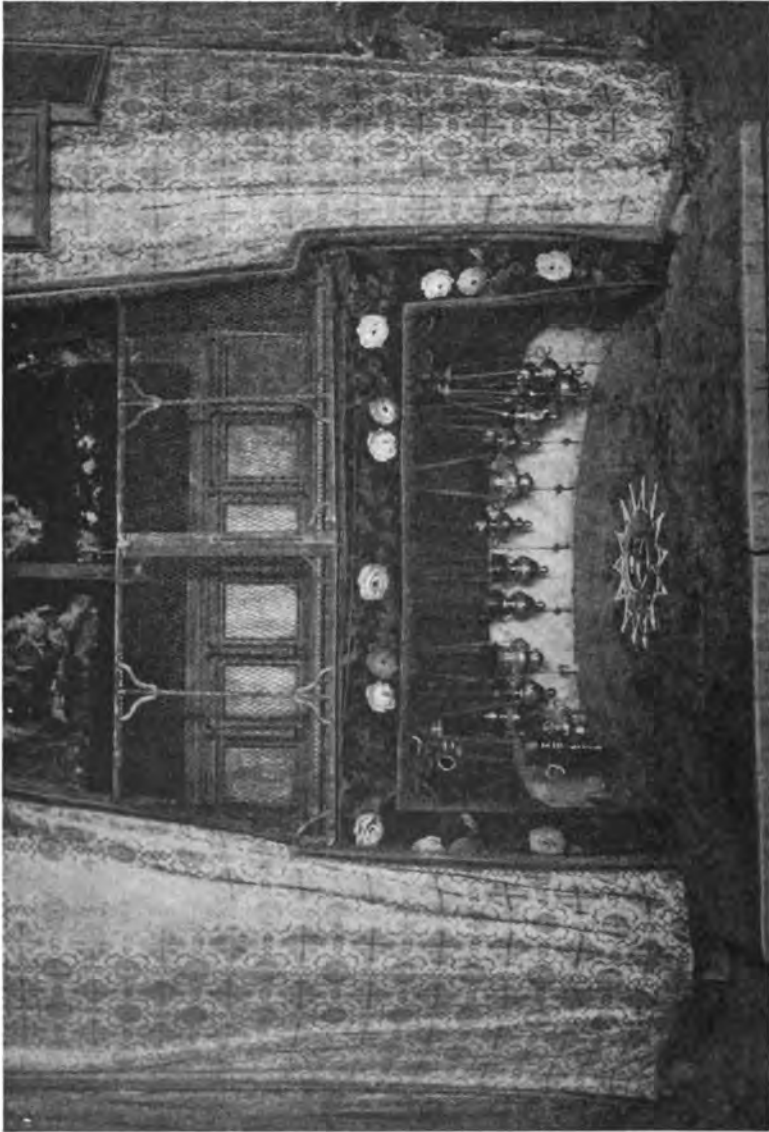
no room in the inn, tradition still clings to the old notion that the nativity of the Saviour must have taken place in a cave.



WHERE THE MANGER STOOD.

The grotto of the Nativity was definitely localized in Bethlehem at a very early date, certainly not later than the second century, for Justin Martyr mentions it as a rock-cut cave. There is

no reason to doubt that he refers to the spot where Constantine erected a basilica dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which is still stand-



THE TRADITIONAL BIRTHPLACE OF JESUS.

ing, though much changed and several times rebuilt in parts. St. Jerome lived here 34 years of his life. His study, a rock-cut room, is still shown to the traveler. Here he translated the Bible into Latin,

and here he died and was buried. A hallway connects the place of his literary labors with the vault which holds his tomb and those of his faithful admirers and disciples, a certain Eusebius (not the Church historian) and two Roman ladies, Paula and Eustochium.

Two staircases lead down to the chapel of the Nativity, one in the south from the Greek chapel, the other in the north from the Armenian chapel. It is a cave 38 feet long and 11 feet wide. A niche at the east end near the southern stairs has been marked in the pavement by a silver star as the very spot of Christ's nativity, and on a marble tablet we read the words, "*Hic de Virgine Maria,*

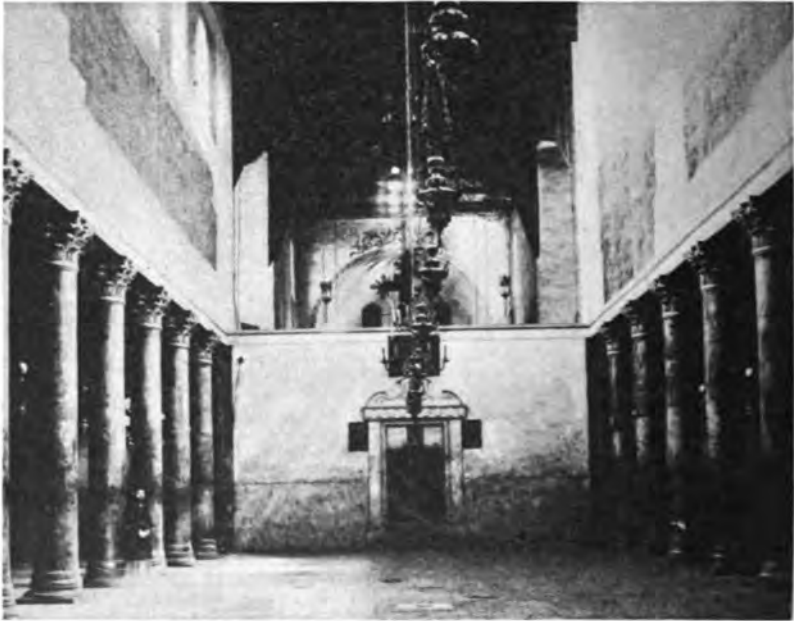


WHERE THE ANGELS SANG THE GLORIA TO THE SHEPHERDS.

*Jesus Christus natus est.*" On the other side of the southern stairs in the western wall of the cave is another niche which has been selected to serve as the spot where the manger stood, but the original manger discovered here has been carried to Rome, where it is preserved in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Further north, we are told, is the place where the magi stood when offering their gifts and worshipping the new-born Saviour.

At Christmas the nativity of Christ is celebrated by the population together with thousands of pilgrims who gather here from

long distances. The patriarch leaves Jerusalem in the morning to visit Bethlehem for this purpose. He is received with great pomp and accompanied to the church of St. Catharine. The service lasts fully nine hours, from three in the afternoon until midnight. At twelve o'clock the candles are lit, and while the Gloria is intoned to the accompaniment of shepherds' pipes, the wax figure of an infant appears above the altar. A high mass follows, and after about two hours the patriarch carries the wax figure in a cradle to the church of the Virgin and places it on the silver star in the grotto of the



CHURCH OF ST. HELENA AT BETHLEHEM.

Nativity. Here the figure is wrapped in swaddling clothes, and the chapter on the birth of Christ is read. This done, the procession returns to the church of St. Catharine where another mass is celebrated which lasts until sunrise.

The basilica built over the place of Christ's nativity belongs to the Latins, Greeks and Armenians, while the churches of St. Helena and St. George are the property of the Greek Church.

Bethlehem, like Jerusalem, must have been an old settlement of prehistoric ages. The name probably means the "house of Lakhmu (or Lakhmu)," who was one of the ancient gods of Baby-



lonian mythology. Later on when Lakhmu was forgotten, the word was interpreted to mean "house of bread." The Arabs now call it *Beit-Lahm*, i. e., the "house of meat."



RACHEL'S TOMB NEAR BETHLEHEM.

There is a picturesque ancient tomb near the town of Bethlehem where Rachel, the ancestor of the tribe of Benjamin and a kind of patron saint of the inhabitants, is reported to lie buried. From here

the visitor enjoys a good view of the town as it appears in the adjoined illustration.

This so-called Tomb of Rachel is a typical whitened sepulchre, such as is used for the Moslem saints called *weli*. Formerly a stone pyramid covered the tomb, but the site was purchased in 1841 by Sir Moses Montefiore who had it restored and decorated with a cupola and a vestibule. It is not known who lies buried here. The assumption that it ought to be Rachel is based on the passage Gen. xxxv. 19-20, where her death and burial are mentioned as follows:

"And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem.

"And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day."

The passage appears to be contradicted by another statement in 1 Sam. x. 2, according to which Rachel's tomb was situated at Zelzah on the frontier between Benjamin and Ephraim, which is to be located north of Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup>

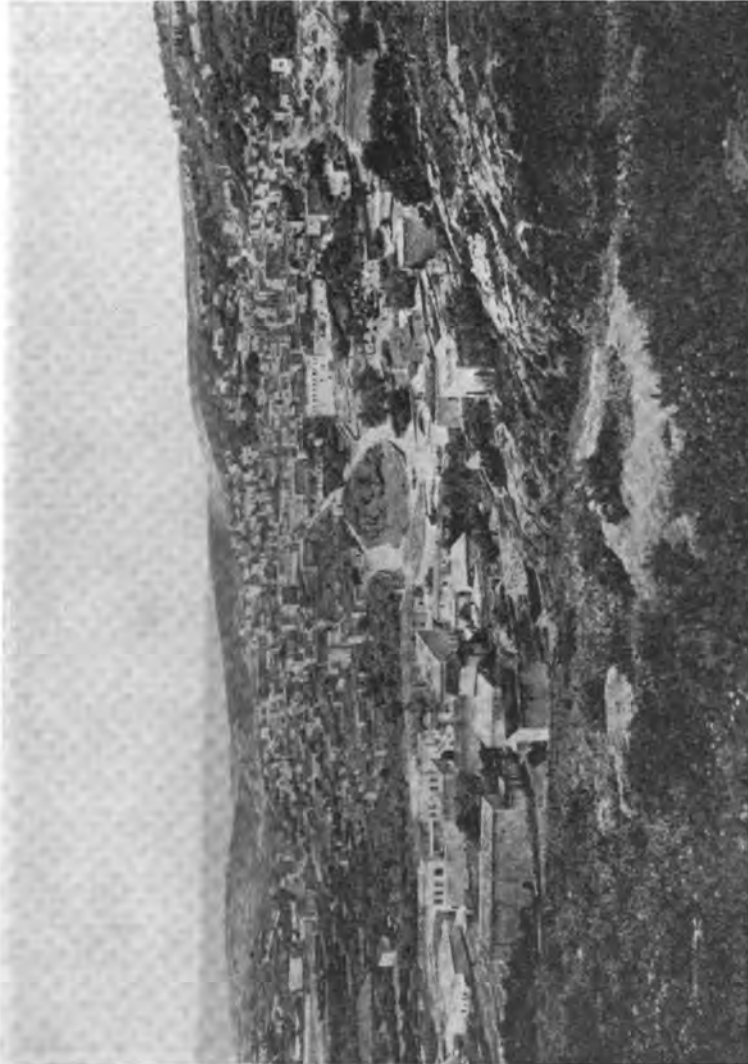
Since we know that the New Testament genealogies are impossible, that the edict of Emperor Augustus, according to which Joseph had to travel from Nazareth to Bethlehem, is unhistorical, and that the story of the magi together with the massacre of the innocents is a legend attributed to Jesus only because it had been told of Buddha and of Krishna, we must conclude that Jesus was not born in Bethlehem and we might be led to believe that he hailed from Nazareth, but here again we become entangled in difficulties.

The village of Nazareth is a beautiful spot in Galilee, and was formerly called en-Natsira, but this identification of Nazareth with en-Natsira rests upon a weak foundation. We search in vain for a town or village of Nazareth in the time of Jesus. He was called the Nazarene because he was a member of the sect of the Nazarenes. His disciples too were called Nazarenes and St. Paul was a "ring-leader of the Nazarenes," yet none of them was born in Nazareth. This term "Nazarene" is sometimes replaced in the Greek text of the Gospels by the clause "he of Nazareth," which indicates that whoever translated the original Aramaic documents into Greek mistook the designation "Nazarene" for an inhabitant of a city, and this city Nazareth was later identified in the third century, with en-Natsira in spite of the difference of the two sibilants. The

<sup>8</sup> For arguments that the tomb of Rachel must be sought north of Jerusalem, see Ebers, *Palästina*, I, p. 493 note. Cf. Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, II, p. 785 ff.

Greek ζ of Nazareth is soft as in English *dz*, while the *ts* in *en-Natsira* is a sharp *ts* like the German *s*.

Nazareth, nowhere mentioned in the Old Testament and absolutely unknown to geographers and historians at the time of



THE VILLAGE OF NAZARETH.

Christ, was an insignificant place even in the Christian era. Epi-  
phanus mentions it (*Adv. Her.* I, 136) as having been inhabited  
only by Jews until the reign of Constantine. The place grew

slowly and Arkulf who wrote in the fifth century, speaks of a church built over the house of Joseph and Mary. In the sixth century a basilica is mentioned, and since then the place has received increasing attention. We are scarcely mistaken when we attribute its present significance exclusively to the tradition that the old en-Natsira is the Nazareth of the Gospels.

In the time of the crusades, the seat of the metropolitan of Palestina Secunda was transferred from Scythopolis to Nazareth, which naturally added considerably to the importance of the town.

If neither Bethlehem nor Nazareth can be regarded as the birthplace of Jesus, where shall we seek the home of his parents and the scenes of his childhood?

Prof. W. B. Smith regards the term "Nazarene" as the title of a guardian spirit or saviour, and he believes that "Jesus" means practically the same. He therefore uses "Jesus" with the article, speaking of "the Jesus," as Christians originally spoke of "the Christ," and there is much truth in his argument. We do not deny that the saviour idea antedated Jesus, and that many incidents of his life and many traits were attributed to him because he was worshipped as the fulfilment of this ideal.

We cannot enter here into a discussion of the problem, but we will say that in spite of the truth in this conception we need not deny that Jesus, the Jesus of the Gospels, was a definite historical personality who was born at the time of Herod the Great and died on the cross as a martyr to his convictions under Pontius Pilate. We grant that the historical evidence is not quite conclusive and leaves a large margin for opinion.

As to myself, I feel there is an historical basis at the bottom of the reports of the Synoptic Gospels, and I accept the view of those theologians who believe that they are based upon a prior source best preserved in Mark and commonly known as Proto-Mark. Taking this stand I would say that a critical investigation of the Gospels can at least arrive at a pretty well established probability as to the character of Jesus and the main events of his life.

Jesus was probably born and raised in Capernaum, for the Gospels contain indications that he lived there, and that there dwelt his parents and his kin.

That Jesus was a Galilean is generally conceded, and in Matt. ix. 1, Capernaum is called "his city." Here he had his home which was known to the people (Mark ii. 1) of whom many came when "it was noised that he was in the house."<sup>4</sup> We read in Mark vi. 1,

<sup>4</sup> *ἐν οἴκῳ* which might be translated "at home."

and Matt. xiii. 54, that "when He (Jesus) was come into *his own country*, he taught them in their synagogue," and the expression, "his own country," has been commonly interpreted to mean Nazareth. But if Nazareth must indeed be identified with en-Natsira, it was a small and insignificant village at the time of Christ, yea,



THE SPRING OF THE VIRGIN BEFORE ITS RESTORATION.  
(After Ebers and Guthe, *Palaestina*.)

less than a village, so it cannot have possessed a synagogue. It was a small settlement at a spring, then called the Spring of the Guard-house, now the Spring of the Virgin. (Compare also Luke iv. 16-30, where Nazareth is called "a city" in verse 29). Thus we are led to believe that the name Nazareth has been inserted where the original



THE SPRING OF THE VIRGIN AFTER ITS RESTORATION.  
(After a recent photograph.)

referred merely to the home of Jesus and that "his own country" means the same as "his city" which was Capernaum. This is the place of which he said "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country [and among his own kin] and in his own house."

The words here quoted in brackets, "and among his own kin," occur in Mark, which is the older report, but have been omitted in Matthew, presumably because tradition gradually obliterated the differences that are recorded as having obtained between Jesus and the members of his family. (See Mark iii. 21, and Luke iv. 16, and also Matt. xii. 46 ff.) The mother of Jesus had become an object



THE RUINS OF CAPERNAUM.

of veneration; she was called the *theotokos*, the mother of God, and in the growing Church took the place of the *magna mater* of paganism, the Queen of Heaven. The existence of the brothers of Jesus was altogether denied as contrary to the doctrine of the Virgin birth.

The visitor to Palestine finds churches built in commemoration of Jesus in Bethlehem and in Nazareth, but not in Capernaum. What a strange irony of fate! While both places of legendary traditions have been beautified and consecrated by Christians who have determined every spot where Jesus is supposed to have been, Capernaum has been neglected and lies in ruins. Strange indeed; but in

the history of religion, myth triumphs over history! And he who is familiar with the law of religious development knows why this is so.

Religion cares little for facts; devout souls are interested in truths only, and the religious truths of great popular movements are mostly expressed in parables, in allegories and in symbols. They are superhistorical; they need not be actual occurrences, if only their import be true. A devotee is filled with sentiment and is apt to be wearied by science. He will respect historical investigations only if they bring grist to his mill. Otherwise he does not hesitate to reject or set aside even well-established truths of science as soon as they come in conflict with what he feels to be the truth. This truth, the religious truth of his faith, is sacred to him, and the scientific truth that would tear down his faith appears to him profane. Hence it is condemned as irreligious and evil.

These considerations must be borne in mind if we wish to understand the nature of the history of religion and the spirit which dominates its development. Piety has a logic of its own; for a devotee is convinced before he investigates, and the most irrelevant suggestion is easily accepted by an unquestioning faith as irrefutable proof.

We do not say that historical investigation should be stopped, nor that facts should be set aside for the sake of religious doctrines. We only wish to point out the psychology of faith and explain its pragmatic tendency. It is not necessary either to praise or to condemn this feature of religious habits, but we must understand its mode of operation so as to appreciate its poetry and also its power over people's minds, without being blind to its weak points, especially to the dangers that lurk in playing fast and loose with the conception of truth.

Whatever conclusion may be reached by a critical investigation as to the historic Jesus, we must bear in mind that Jesus was not a man to the early Christians, he was the Christ, he was God incarnate; and therefore all the notions associated with the Christ idea were transferred upon Jesus. What it behooved a saviour to have been, or to have done, or to have suffered, must have happened to Jesus, and we understand why it was so. The people needed an ideal, and the story of the vicissitudes of a man would have been of no use to them. They needed a god. Jesus the man was of no account; but Jesus the God, the Christ, the Saviour, was of paramount significance, and necessarily so; for in the evolution of mankind, the



superhistorical truth of religious ideals is an irresistible power which does not brook the facts of actual occurrences.

Christmas is celebrated by believers and unbelievers. Similar festivals have been celebrated in pre-Christian times among pagans, as yuletide or the weird sennight, when Wodan and his host pass by; as the nativity of Dionysus, the birth of Horus, etc., and it is probable that Christmas will continue to be celebrated as the festival of the child in the manger, whatever critics may have to say about the place or date of the birth of Christ.

## PROGRESS—AN ILLUSION.

BY W. SONNEBERG.

“THE progress of humanity may be compared to the sea during a rising tide,” declared Macaulay. “Each successive wave rushes forward, breaks, and rolls back; but the flood is steadily coming in. A person who looked on the waters only for a moment might fancy they were retiring. A person who looked on them only five minutes might fancy they were rushing capriciously to and fro. But when he keeps his eye on them for a quarter of an hour and sees one sea-mark disappear after another, it is impossible for him to doubt the general direction in which the ocean is moved.” Apt is this comparison in a double sense: apt within the closest meaning of appropriateness; apt in that it demonstrates the common course of deductions as being inconclusive and framed from partial phenomena.

Did our person watch the sea for six hours he would observe that it had lost its former advantages. Did he watch it for twelve hours he would have witnessed an example of the complete cycle in the history of human progress. Neither making a total backward or forward movement nor standing still, humanity is ever beating and tearing at the boundary of the beyond or falling back dismayed, bruised and bleeding.

To demonstrate this cycle movement, in which all forms of animate life participate, we must make manifest the falsity of the basic idea of evolution.

M. Poincaré insists that the most important hypotheses are true only so long as known facts substantiate them, and that all hypotheses are condemned to scientific oblivion as soon as enough new facts arise to combat them. Which is merely another way of saying that man in his eagerness to coordinate the phenomena of the universe into one system explaining the whole, has invariably made his de-

ductions from insufficient data, with the result that time has vindicated the error in each particular instance.

Optimism and credulity are the undoing of the prophet. From the angle of inclination, manifest in certain modern tendencies, he continues upward in an undeviating line towards the clouds. A single section of the historic activity of the race serves him as a base from which to project into the unsuspecting future, a prophecy which ignores such petty laws of nature as gravity and cohesion.

The eye of man commonly sees only the high and illuminated points of the historic horizon. The details of hill and valley, growth and decay are lost to him in the general perspective. Thereupon he is easily convinced when the word of the prophet coincides with his prejudice and his opinion. And strangely enough this narrow view of the phenomena of nature persists in an age ostensibly devoted to liberality as opposed to the broader view obtaining through so many centuries with a people popularly condemned as bigoted.

Through Greek and Roman literature, and Eastern thought, is to be found reference to the cycle in which all animate nature was believed to share impartially, in direct contrast to the modern conception of progress. This idea of the cycle, maintained so many years, has been succeeded by a theory which psychologically spells egotism. The rapid march of scientific investigation, the great stride in material matters, has carried us in imagination away off on a tangent from the old paths apathetically circled by ancient nations.

Man has assumed the burden originally borne by God, and buoys himself with the hope of outwitting nature by the vain assumption.

Optimism associates itself with the belief in progress, and pessimism with non-belief. If to be governed by egotism is optimism, and to be directed by nature is pessimism, the connection is confirmed. That the optimism of the progressive program may defeat its own purpose is patent. An attitude of absolute faith in inevitable improvement tends to reduce the impetus towards perfection by a relaxation of those efforts which would otherwise be engaged to that end.

Whatever consolation is to be derived from the philosophy of history is at best negative. Initiation into the design of nature lies not in the way of evolution. The perplexity of the older philosophers becomes more perplexed by the addition of elements which confuse the issue and isolate the observer sympathetically.

Contrary to the common expectation, scientific reasoning carries us further and further from the fountain head of truth in re-

gard to the understanding of life. The mystery repels the repeated assaults of cold-blooded logic and reveals itself to the psychologically elect. Faith has here an advantage over skepticism. Human standards are pitifully inadequate to the measuring of universal happenings.

As we diverge from the spiritual path into the material, we surrender former estimation of values; we charge the future ill-equipped for the fray, and alienate those influences most favorable to an estimable intuition.

Nature produces large flowers, radiant flowers and fragrant flowers; but combines not the three qualities in one. Every attempt of man to subvert the order of nature in this respect has been unsuccessful. Between size, odor and beauty, he must choose. The *National Food Magazine* gives notice that "Efforts of the poultryman to produce a chicken that will combine the best meat qualities with the best laying qualities have not been entirely successful, as, in chickens, like cattle, it seems that other qualities must be sacrificed for the sake of meat, and *vice versa*."

The question we ask of our social organism is, How far has it sacrificed spiritual qualities for material qualities? How have morality and happiness fared in the direction of what can truly be called progress?

"It used to be said that he who made two ears of corn grow where only one ear had grown before was a benefactor to the race," remarks James Bryce. Then he asks, "Is it necessarily so? The number of men who can live off the soil is larger, but the men need not be better off. If there is more food then there are also more mouths." This proposition forces us to decide whether a growing population is an indication of progress or a mere survival of an old idea from those ages when the gathering of arms was the strength of the city.

Evidences of improvement in general health or physique are exceedingly difficult to obtain, because the balance which nature maintains in each case of betterment is reckoned on a different scale than we ordinarily impose.

Even those who have adopted the hypothesis of evolution with its survival of the fittest, etc., are obliged to relinquish it on the threshold of modern society. Here this grand and noble theory no longer holds good. Here the weak and ill-equipped are pampered and encouraged; the strong are over-burdened. The factory system on one hand and social patronage on the other, insure at least a surcease of these rigid laws which are conceived to have originally

preserved the strong man and eliminated the weak, nor is authority lacking in proof thereof, viz., Robt. Hunter, Jacob Riis, and Jack London. What significance attaches to the abandonment of man by nature just as he is about to enter the final lap in the race to perfection? Or has the evolutionary course imagined for man been merely a tribute to his egotism which must now be discountenanced? Those who make a fetish of the evolutionary hypothesis and pin their faith to the inflexibility and unvariableness of natural laws are convicted of blind egotism out of their own logic. Biblical miracles are condemned because they involve an outrageous suspension of natural laws as man conceives these laws, yet this condemnation carries with it the doom of the hypothesis of evolution in its narrower conception. When man pits his finite conception of miracles against the infinite possibilities of nature, he is guilty of an anachronism which would bring reproach upon a Hottentot. The untaught child is nearer the heart of truth than the knowledge-laden man.

The records of the past are comprehensive and unequivocal. The egotism of the age manufactures for present humanity a soul-invention not guessed at by humanity past. Egotism introduces a principle more elusive than the fourth dimension, more mythical than the Golden Age, more hypothetical than the Martians.

Emanating from the atmosphere which is created by the hypothesis of evolution this principle fades with the ghostly retreat of the hypothesis. How exorcise so plausible an hypothesis? How secure a worthy substitute which will satisfy the scientific as well as the credulous mind? In default thereof we must discover a principle which coordinates all the known phenomena, and accounts for all those imperfections which the story of evolution glided over. Our principle must account for the bulk of the elephant and the swiftness of the rabbit; the radiance of the sun-flower and the fragrance of the violet; the strength of the shark and the agility of the eel; it must likewise account for the magnitude and stupidity of pre-historic animals compared with the lightness and intelligence of the contemporary, and explain the multitude of exceptions which modern research has found a stumbling block to the unquestionable establishment of the theory of evolution.

Emerson gave us the key to this principle in his study of compensation. "For every benefit which you receive a tax is levied.— Human labor, through all its forms, from the sharpening of a stake to the construction of a city or an epic, is one immense illustration

of the perfect compensation of the universe. Everywhere and always this law is sublime."

The tax is inseparable from the gain. Disturb the balance of nature in one direction and it reasserts itself in another. Everywhere and always this law is sublime!

Using this key to unlock the mystery of the universe, we find the mystery a mystery no longer. As we open the door and a flood of light is poured into the dark chamber, we see in the boundless crucible of life a succession of familiar molecules ever shifting, uniting and dividing; a chemical mass whose seething constituents are active in the interchange of the most commonplace substances; a fund of chemical commotion in which each atom gives to each new molecular combination some quality for which the combination must pay the price in flavor, texture, or durability. Always supreme the law of give and take!

For the primary chemical elements, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, substitute the primary physical elements, strength, agility, courage. So, let loose upon the world are certain atoms, or agglomerations of electrons to put a fine point upon it, each with its peculiar properties, which men inherit or appropriate through accident or design. Humanity has bequeathed it a definite fund of these atoms which it frames into molecules or individuals who possess characteristics according to their atomic construction.

Both sugar and wood are composed of carbon, oxygen and hydrogen; their difference is quantitative rather than qualitative. From a determinate weight of sugar can be obtained a determinate weight of carbon, oxygen and hydrogen; similarly with wood. The atom is unvarying, changeless; the molecule is constantly altering its composition.

Mendelief said, "Chemistry recognizes how changes take place in combinations of the unchanging." It is the business of chemistry to trace the changes of properties which are brought about by combining unchanging atoms so as to form different kinds of molecules. It is the business of philosophy to trace the changes of the character of the individuals brought about by the combination of primary elements.

The molecular constitution in the physical organization is for the most part as strongly marked and as limited quantitatively as the chemical. It is governed by practically the same laws of affinity and distribution. And if the physical molecule or individual is not so inexorably restricted in the matter of the interchangeability of its parts, and the establishment of an invariable weight of constit-

uents, there is always maintained a balance,—within liberal limits of course, which if disturbed in one direction reasserts itself in another. There is not space in one individual for a maximum of frivolity, wisdom, artistic impulse, and business sense, any more than there is space in a molecule for a maximum of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen at one and the same time. That is why men specialize. They recognize that one attribute must be developed at the expense of others. The law of compensation holds firm.

Take specialization in the orange. Eliminate the seed of the orange, and the pulp multiplies in answer to the law of compensation. Increase the size of the fruit beyond reasonable limits and the assertion of balance causes the flavor to suffer.

Consider the balance in human history. Suppose we look upon the known history of the race as a physical organization which has undergone certain transformations as a result of differing and various influences during different epochs. The prevailing character of Egyptian supremacy was religious; that of Greece, philosophic and artistic; that of Rome, political; that of the Modern, material. Each nation in its respective flourishing period, manifested an affinity in correspondence with the general receptivity of its population.

Correlated with the Egyptian capacity for religious governance was the coarctation to other forms of mental activity. The same is true of the philosophical control of Greece, the political absorption of Rome, and the material dominance of the modern era. Capacity in one direction premises abridgement in others.

To-day painters paint pictures, poets sing songs, philosophers philosophize, theologians argue, politicians plan; but high above all the principal incentive to action, the pride of peoples, the absorbing ambition, hovers the spirit of materialism. Our up-to-date music is Strauss's reproduction of the sound of factory whistles blended with the whirr of wheels; our art presents the narrow chasms of New York city streets, bordered on either side by lighted cliffs of towering office buildings. While these are mere surface facts, they indicate the general flow of the intellectual stream—if indication be needed for a current so swift that it bears, if properly steered by capitalistic scandal, any craft to a one hundred thousand subscription list over night. Says the Philistine De Casseres: "The soul of the New Yorker is a mere measuring utensil. It is a gauge for material things only. 'What does it cost?' 'What can I sell it for?'—are his first questions. All art is merchandise, all beauty is pressed into the service of advertising pills, porous plaster and beers. The man

of literary skill is told to write advertisements; the great musician is directed to a café; the talented painter is set to work on magazine illustrations."

We have accustomed ourselves to think that our inventions, luxuries and conveniences are the output of a brain power never before attained by the races of men. This is an assumption of intellectual superiority not substantiated by facts. There are probably more units than formerly subject to the mental stimulation of available knowledge, a more level and commonplace equality in the domain of intellect; which is quite apart from the establishment of a unique creation in brain quality.

Greek thought indisputably lies at the foundation of all modern speculation. The claim of Egypt and of China to some of our fundamental inventions is urgent. Explicit evidence of the existence of a high order of intelligence among early peoples is not wanting. A capricious intelligence follows the paths of least resistance. Regulation of the path of least resistance is beyond human ken. When an irresistible intellect meets an immovable object, it detours gracefully.

Intelligence is translated by dominant social forces into the species of activity dictated by environment and temperament. Whether the activity be philosophical, or political, or material, has no significance in terms of brain quality. The age is the slave of circumstance, and the individual is the subject of the age. Had the Church not been tyrannical, the sixteenth century would probably have witnessed some other form of reformation; had Luther not been born, the sixteenth century could not have elapsed without a great schism in the Church.

Through all the interplay of intellectual activity, the balance in compensation has been maintained. Optimism, born of the scientific advance of the century, fosters the belief that the balance can permanently be disturbed in favor of posterity. Much is hoped from environment. And in a sense environment has improved. But the improvement, when summarized, is discovered to be rather illusive and with a private balance of its own. "In millions of copies the vulgar newspaper pictures of crime reach the homes of the suggestible masses," declares Professor Münsterberg, "and every impulse toward the forbidden is dangerously reinforced. Every brutality spreads outward and accentuates the lawless impulses in the surrounding world."

Curiously illustrative of the paradoxical way of progress is the progress in matters sanitary. Increased density of population has



necessitated additional sanitary precautions, and improved sanitary conditions encourage further congregation of the people. Being the spur to sanitary improvement, the crowded condition must always be ahead of the remedy by a tantalizing few thousand souls or so. Since men commonly do not anticipate a remedy, the reciprocal relation between progress and its cause is not totally complimentary to those even in the van of the movement. Especially is this true in the case of philanthropy, where progressive economic conditions contribute a dole to those who have been deprived, by the conditions, of a rightful heritage.

Nor are other signs more promising when weighed in the balance. It is presumed to be a mark of advancement that the penalty for the courage to deliver the truth is now limited to social and commercial ostracism, whereas formerly it meant the gallows. Ostracism as against the gallows does not altogether commend itself for an advance in the humane art.

The vagaries of the moral mode are an admirable gauge of the whole progressive movement. The compensation element working here is obvious to all but the utopian-minded. From Lecky we learn that every age and every nation has certain characteristic vices, which prevail almost universally. Succeeding generations change the pattern of their morals with the fashion of their clothes; patronize small wiles and small waists instead of open brutality and bustles, without adding to either the sum total of the comfort of the soul or of the body. New forms of wickedness are invented to replace the old ones abhorred, and salvation for the race *en bloc* is still in the future.

Every addition to the sum of pleasure, James Bryce assures us, may bring some pain with it, for the enjoyment of each pleasure creates a desire to have more of it. Where new conditions have enabled men to acquire a taste for something, the want of it is felt as a privation which may become a hardship.

Just as a horticulturist must sacrifice numbers to size, and each quality to the detriment of some other quality, so in the crucible of nature is a fixed amount of elementary material which can be worked over into various products never possessing at once all those qualities which are held to be desirable, but passing in turn through successive transformations suggested by the contemporary predominant environmental influence.

Sir William Ramsay, who came to the study of the philosophy of history with the evolutionary theory firmly rooted in his mind, had to admit that he found so many facts which refused to fit the

theory that he was compelled to abandon it, at least in its narrowest interpretation. The ease with which one can arrange religions or philosophies in a series from the lowest to the highest and assume that this series represents a historical development, should at once arouse one's suspicions. But where egotism is concerned, suspicion is somnambulant. Egotism betrays into fresh egotism.

How simple it is to become the dupe of our own ingenuity we learn from the experience of Sir William. Beginning the study of Greek religion as a follower of Robertson Smith and Maclennan and accepting the Totemist theory as the key of truth, he was forced by the evidence to the view that degeneration is the outstanding fact in religious history, and that the modern theory often takes the *last* products of degeneracy as the facts of primitive religion.

The abandoned theories of the past bear witness to the transient value of hypotheses which embrace incomplete observations. Freed from prejudice and preconception, any view which we choose to take of the *complete* phenomena of nature reveals its essentially chemical character.

Applied to animals, to men, or to things, the principle of the cycle and its compensatory adjunct provides a rule of action which the hypothesis of evolution, plausible as it is, scarce dares hope to dispute. Although we cannot anticipate combinations, given the combination, the result can be computed as approximately as our familiarity with the molecular structure permits. The germination of a seed and the development of a nation are chemically associated.

Chemical formula is the compendium of life manifestation everywhere. Atoms generally combine and recombine to form various materials; never losing their identity and passing ceaselessly through a cycle of changes ordained by fate and regulated by a higher law than man is capable of comprehending.

However displeasing the prospect may be to those who must squeeze a moral from every passing molecule, the phenomenon has its compensation. The incongruity is chargeable to imagination rather than to fact; man's place in the universe not having been as yet established. Happiness is an internal-symbol dependent upon the molecular arrangement, so that the environment of the molecule is not of such great importance as its intrinsic constitution.

There is nothing necessarily depressing in the concept that racial evolution is a myth. It is to the belief in inevitable progress, as exemplified in the hypothesis of evolution, that we owe much of the egotism and irreligion of the day. Whereas belief, if it must be bolstered by an underlying thought of personal advantage, finds

a more adequate realization in the cycle principle, which offers to the individual the opportunity to advance, irrespective of the circling mass, whose opposing efforts can never be organized into a collective ascent of the hill approaching the "Celestial City."

That portion of the cycle in the visible history of the individual, which pertains to known activity on this sphere, can best accomplish a desirable destiny for itself unembarrassed by the prescription of physicians who are to be satisfied with nothing less than the simultaneous cure of all their patients.

Character is largely the outcome of a single life. We may bequeath that to the rising generation which will help to make or mar their lives, but the final issue is a matter of individual specific gravity independent of the rise and fall of social systems.

## EVOLUTION THE CHARACTERISTIC OF NATURE.

BY THE EDITOR.

MR. Walter Sonneberg calls attention in his article to an important truth which is frequently overlooked. It is this, that evolution is not a continuous progress, but only one phase in the circuit of life. It is true that life moves in circles, or rather in spirals, which are advancing circles. But for that reason we can not say that "progress is an illusion." Progress and evolution are true enough, even though they are only one phase of life, and even though they are followed by dissolution and decay.

Some evolutionists have accepted the idea that progress will lead mankind to a state of complete adaptation and will finally end in a sort of millennium when there will be perfect bliss and happiness. This is an error, for happiness is a relative factor. We may express happiness by a fraction, the denominator of which represents our needs while the numerator enumerates the satisfactions attained. Progress increases both factors simultaneously. As the satisfaction that contributes to our happiness increases so does the denominator of our growing wants. New needs arise with every invention, and we are but too quick in becoming accustomed to them. The fact is that life is a function and our happiness a correlated exponent of its motion. Pain and misfortune are caused by disturbances which clamor for a readjustment. Life may grow more and more complicated, but a life from which trouble, anxiety, obstruction, struggle, misfortunes, accidents, pain and other disturbances were absolutely eliminated, is a mere dream; closely considered it is unthinkable and we may count it as an impossibility.

At the same time we do not doubt that all evolutionists of a scientific turn of mind are, and always have been, convinced of the truth that all things that have originated will finally pass away. Solar systems rise into existence and break to pieces. Nothing

endures, and of late we have found evidence that even the chemical atoms will be dissolved again.

We must assume that in the course of eons our whole solar system, the universe in which we live, will be destroyed. On the other hand we know that new universes originate even before the old ones pass away. The heavens are studded with nebulae which astronomy has found out to be worlds in the making. Life is in constant motion. It blooms and withers, it originates and passes away; but while the several forms of life come and go life itself is ever new, and the eternal laws which sway the whole remain forever world without end.

We know that all that lives must die; but we know also that life is always triumphant.

Though all the worlds must break to pieces, growth, evolution, progress, life ever advancing, or whatever we may call it, will remain the characteristic feature of existence. The world runs in one definite direction. It is in a state of perpetual motion, and this motion exhibits the tendency of building up. Portions of it break down again but every breakdown only prepares a new start.

We conclude with a quotation from *De Rerum Natura* (which is here reproduced with some corrections):

“But as the morning wakes the eyes  
 Whose weariness the evening sealed with sleep;  
 As new-born spring the doom of winter thwarts  
 And genial resurgence foils the tomb  
 With life rejuvenized in serial birth;  
 As night and day, in alternating layers,  
 From time unfold: so too the world respire.  
 The cosmic tides in rhythmic surges rise  
 Ever to ebb in restless billows back  
 Where call the soundless Deeps; then upward heave  
 With gathered stress of nobler aspiration.  
 Thus ever from the grave is life redeemed,  
 And ruins wake to spheres regenerate,  
 Gemming the circle of eternity  
 With threaded universes evermore.”

## AN ETHER "VISION."

BY FREDERICK HALL.

THIS is an account, set down as accurately as possible, of the one strange mental experience in my life of thirty-six years.

It occurred on the fourteenth of last April, while under the influence of an anesthetic preceding a surgical operation, and I find it especially strange in that it happened to *me*, who had always regarded myself as psychologically entirely average and commonplace. I have never been accused or suspected of possessing mediumistic powers, have never been hypnotized, have never had a "premonition," am not "nervous," never saw a ghost and, to quote the author of *The Purple Cow*, "I never hope to see one." My occupation (I am a country store keeper) has, so far as I am aware, never been regarded as predisposing a man to see visions and dream dreams. Moreover my knowledge of either philosophy or psychology is such as has been gathered only from general reading and casual conversations.

The operation in question was performed by a surgeon whom I met for the first time in the operating room, assisted by Dr. K., a relative, and Dr. H., a personal friend. My recollections of *events* have been corroborated by the physicians; my sensations were as I shall describe them except that I am not positive as to their exact order.

I had never before taken ether, but the odor was not to me disagreeable. I began breathing deeply and regularly, as directed; I felt the pressure of the nurse's fingers on my pulse and then Dr. H., with whom I had often discussed the mysteries of life and death, said:

"This change coming over you is like another which you and I will some time experience."

And he laughed softly as I answered:

"We'll talk about it some day."

A few moments later he asked:

"Getting sleepy?"

"A little," I answered and, later, as I felt the drowsiness creeping over me, I added:

"I'm asleep now from the waist down."

I realized that the drug was having its effect, that I must soon pass entirely under its influence, but the sensation was far from unpleasant. It was as if I were drifting with a great resistless tide, out into a rest which in its vastness might be eternal, a sort of Buddhist Nirvana, in entering which I felt no sorrow, no regret.

Then (and of the nature of the transition I have no memory) I was all at once awake and fully conscious in a different world, perhaps (one of the physicians later suggested) that of the subjective mind—whatever that may be. At any rate, it gave no sensory impressions, neither touch, smell or sight, yet in it I felt myself perfectly at home and immediately recognized it as being far more *real* than the other world out of which I had just come. Entering it was, by comparison, like coming out of the murky shadows of a cave into the clear light of day; like passing at a step from the din and clangor of a crowded city street into the quiet of a country roadside on a summer afternoon.

The physicians believed me entirely unconscious and I had lost all control of my members, as well as all concern for them, when suddenly, as if from a far distance, though I knew that he stood just at my body's head, I heard the voice of Dr. H. saying:

"Keep breathing, Fred. Breathe deep."

Response was instantaneous and seemingly almost automatic. I drew two breaths so deep that my back quite lifted, they tell me, from the operating table and of these breaths I was conscious.

Then I heard Dr. K. laugh softly and say:

"He still knows how to mind well."

At that they say I chuckled. I do not remember it, but I do know that I was at that moment supremely amused, for I realized that these, my friends, believed they saw real things and causes, the cause, for example of my breathing, of their talking, and the like. But they *didn't*; and I did. Not in the sense of being wiser than they or exercising keener insight. Only, I was where the causes *were* and to see them required no more mental effort or ability than to recognize a color as blue or an odor as ammonia.

It is this phase of my experience which I find hardest to describe. It was as real as anything I ever experienced in physical life. It has still for me a very definite and positive value: since my waking there have risen a score of subtle mental problems which I have felt (still feel indeed) would simply vanish could they be looked at in

the light of that world, yet when I seek to picture it, it escapes like water from every form of words I fashion and in telling of it I realize not simply that I fail to enlighten my individual hearer but that the words themselves are such as could not be expected to carry any clear impression to any one who had not undergone a similar experience.

This much however by way of one more trial:

I was, in the phrase of one of Jack London's heroes, "all there." I had no dread of pain; so far as I was concerned the surgeons might have begun their work that moment; yet, although I did not see or feel it in the physical sense, I knew just where my body lay, knew I had been placed under the influence of ether and was to undergo an operation. I was as conscious as at any time I ever was of my personal affection for Drs. K. and H., and in my amusement there was no feeling of contempt or of superiority. I knew they saw all any one in their position could see, and, standing where I did, would see all I saw. But the knowledge of how little they actually did see, coupled with their evident feeling that they saw all there *was*, this was funny to the last degree; as funny as the remark of the Irishman who, shown for the first time a barometer, exclaimed: "An' who'd iver think a little machine loike thot could make it rain an' snow!"

In no wise either was my amusement due to a feeling that Dr. H. supposed that he was making me do something which actually I did of my own volition. In one sense he *did* make me breathe: not, as it seems to me, that he had any real control over *me*, but rather that my own control over my own body was so relaxed that I could not prevent his taking charge of the machine: though, for that matter, I had of course no wish to do so.

As to the causes operating in my world, they seemed not such as to at all supersede individual agency. Physical speech, physical breathing, and all the rest, were true, so far as they went, but my feeling was of their comparative unimportance and superficiality. It was as if the physical phenomena were but the echoes, or better perhaps, the broken and distorted shadows of the real things passing on my side of the veil. There one saw them as through a glass darkly, but here face to face.

'Tis a crude figure but I felt that those of the physical world knew as little of real causes as does the child who, viewing a passing train and noting its revolving wheels, supposes that they, turning of themselves, give to coaches and locomotive their momentum. Or (another figure) imagine a man seated in a boat, surrounded by



dense fog and out of the fog seeing a flat stone leap from the crest of one wave to another. *If he had always sat thus*, his explanations must be very crude as compared with those of a man whose eyes could pierce fog and who saw upon the shore the boy skipping stones.

In some such way the remarks of the two physicians seemed to me like the last two "skips" of a stone thrown from my side and they enlightened me not at all except as to the manner in which the cause, if I may so phrase it, worked itself out. All that was essential in the remark I knew before it was made.

Yet thus to discover, convincingly and for myself, that the things which are unseen are those of real importance, this was sufficiently stimulating and it will show how fully I was myself when I say that at the moment the last remark was made there flashed through my mind a conversation with a friend in which he, speaking of God as the great immanent spirit, in whom we live and move and have our being, suggested that God could perfectly control all phenomena, yet leave us infallibly convinced that what we saw resulted from natural law and natural law only. Not that this explanation quite fitted the case, not that I had any feeling of God, in the theological sense, but the very atmosphere of this world spoke to me of the oneness and rightness of all things.

"And," thought I, "I must remember all this and, when I return, must tell him how shrewd a guess he made." For, alas! the thought that I would not be able to tell clearly all that was then so plainly evident, this was to me inconceivable.

Afterward a drowsiness stole back upon me. I remembered having once read that the ears were the last part of a man to fall asleep, and I made a mental note as to the correctness of the statement. "For," said I, "I can still hear the running water in the other room."

The thought of my wife and children came last, and then I was quite gone, into realms which have left upon the plates of memory no record.

I have a notion, though it is only a guess, that most of the other sensations might also have escaped me had it not been for the two remarks of the physicians, serving as links, as it were, to join for me the two worlds and give me a momentary insight into each.

Oddly enough, I woke with no recollection of this to me unique experience. Not until some twenty hours later did it come to me, and then it came with the force of an obsession, clamorously demanding, as it still demands, to be clothed with adequate words.

One haunting enigma is the question of getting back. I was *there* once and were it Mombassa, Bagdad, Mandalay or "farthest north," any obscure or hidden corner of our planet, I would at least know how to *start* to reach it. But how set forth in quest of this realm which has for men an interest so much greater?

The doctors gave me little hope that ether would take me there again,\* though I would willingly undergo all that was disagreeable in the waking could I only come back with communicable impressions. To return simply to *be* there, as an opium eater might long to enter again his paradise, for this I have no desire.

The besetting task was not well suited to the mind of a convalescent and all that day, as I tried to frame the story of what had been to me so real and vivid, there grew upon me, more and more, the feeling that I, like the Lazarus of Browning's "Epistle," had indeed entered "the spiritual life, around the earthly life," yet must also sympathize with him in that I could not give my "neighbor the real ground" of my conviction.

Now was it simply an hallucination, such stuff as dreams are made of?

It may have been. That, of course, I must admit; but that it was, mere argument or logic would never convince me.

All of us feel, sometimes, I imagine, that there *ought* to be a world different from and better than this one; some "home of the soul," where the scales always weigh true, where life's injustices and inequalities are squared, where the oppressor's wrongs, the proud man's contumely and all the rest are quite impossible, where we are quit, once and for all, of this world's "measureless grossness and the slag."

My feeling is that for a moment I stood on the borderland of such a world, was *there*, in a sense as real as that I now am here. I did not tarry, it is true; some spiritual current swept me forth again. But, if that world should prove to be all that my Pisgah glimpse seemed to promise, and if at death I were to return thither, to become a citizen of that country, I would ask for myself or for my loved ones no better realization of the Christians' Heaven.

\* \* \*

On reading the proofs of what I have written, it has occurred to me to mention two further items in connection with my experience.

\* Prof. William James writes me however: "You would doubtless get something similar if you tried ether again."

In a recent newspaper account of a communication received through a medium by Professor Hyslop, from the spirit of his father, the "spirit" in explaining certain things which it understood better than he did said: "We see the working mind." In a sense this phrase seems to describe what I saw.

Also, this illustration has suggested to me the difficulty which I have in making clear to others what I underwent. Suppose that from the beginning the race of men had never seen in the physical sense but had somehow gotten on by the aid of the other four senses, increased and multiplied and won a certain measure of dominion over the earth, and then suppose that on some afternoon *one* of them had, for a brief space, seen in the sense in which we see, would it not be almost impossible for him to make clear to his fellow men what he had experienced? Would he have any words in which to tell it?

This is somewhat my feeling of helplessness.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

This interesting report of the ether vision experienced by Mr. Frederick Hall, of Dundee, Illinois, describes a dream in which the dreamer remains to some extent conscious of his surroundings.

There are other cases which throw light on the experience of Mr. Hall, and are especially interesting because, as a rule, the dreams are taken by the dreamers to be real, and so they are inclined to call it "dreaming true." This seems to be corroborated because some features of the dream are due to actual sense-impressions and correspond to facts. For all that the experience remains a dream and the assumed actuality is an illusion quite natural in a dream.

One instance of this kind, communicated to me by a man of good education, was a case in which the dreamer dreamed that his soul passed out of his body, hovered above it and saw his own body lying on the bed quietly breathing. It saw doctors and nurses passing in and out and actually believed that he, his own soul without corporeal shape, an indefinite being consisting merely of self-consciousness, was perched in a definite place near the ceiling in the room.

Phenomena of this kind are not uncommon, and we may state that Professor Goltz, the famous physiologist of Strassburg, experienced conditions of this kind.

The present statement of Mr. Hall is the more interesting in

that he gives the account in the full belief that his dream was a reality, and he makes his statements from this standpoint in which he interprets his experiences in the dream itself. The physiological phenomena of his cerebration are those of a dream, but the psychological sensation of dreams is the same in kind as sense-perception in a waking state. Under normal conditions, dreams are weaker, but sometimes the dream consciousness, especially if it is caused by narcotics, proves to be as strong as, or even stronger and brighter, than the normal waking consciousness, rising up to a pitch of ecstasy, to a state of psychic intoxication when the soul revels in raptures of jubilant joy.

The subjective states of perception are realities of life, and as sensations are as real as in our waking consciousness. They are not real, however, and we call them hallucinations, in the sense that no outside or objective things correspond to the visions of the dream that are caused subjectively by internal causes, while the perceptions of the waking consciousness are caused by external or objective conditions which are independent of our subjectivity and exhibit a persistence which becomes absurd in dreams.

The interpretation of visions as objective realities is a psychological fact which must not be overlooked or forgotten, for it explains much in the psychological development of mankind and sets forth the reason why visions play such an important part in the history of religion.

## JOSEPH DIETZGEN, THE PHILOSOPHER OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

BY THE EDITOR.

AMONG the philosophers of modern times Joseph Dietzgen is little known partly because he was not a professional philosopher but, scientifically considered, a self-taught man, partly because his interest lay in the practical issues of life, for he was with all his soul a devoted adherent of the labor party. Hence he has been called the philosopher of socialists or of social democracy.

Joseph Dietzgen\* was born December 9, 1828, at Blankenberg, a little town on the Sieg, a small river flowing into the Rhine a few miles above Cologne. The place is possessed of romantic traditions and a natural beauty. The ruins of an old castle are still standing, and the mountainous landscape is covered by woods and vineyards. His father was the owner of a tannery and in 1835 he moved to Uckerath, a small village in the neighborhood. In Uckerath Joseph attended the public school, and for a short time was sent to a Latin school in Oberpleis. He learned tanning in the tannery of his father, but he always had an open book with him while at work, for he was greatly interested in literature, political economy and philosophy. In 1848 he for the first time became conscious of his radical tendencies, and forthwith considered himself an outspoken socialist. In his philosophical ideas he was strongly under the influence of Feuerbach, and in his socialist convictions he followed closely Marx and Engels. Carl Marx visited him at his home on the Rhine and became his friend. At the socialist Congress at the Hague in 1872, which Dietzgen attended as a delegate, Marx introduced him with the words: "Here is our philosopher."

In 1849 Dietzgen came to the United States and made himself

\*The data of Dietzgen's life are taken from a short biography written by his son as an introduction to the German edition of *Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit*.

thoroughly familiar with the country. He partly tramped through the States, partly traveled on canal boats, from the East to the Mississippi, and from Wisconsin down to the Gulf of Mexico. He returned to Uckerath in 1851 and married a deeply religious Roman Catholic orphan of Westphalia. Their married life was extremely happy in spite of the difference in their convictions. He educated his children well, but he never succeeded in establishing the financial conditions of his home on a solid foundation. In Winterscheid he opened a grocery, combined with a bakery, which he conducted for some time with success.

In order to improve his condition he returned to the United States in 1859, where he founded a similar business in Montgomery, Alabama, but the war of secession ruined the enterprise, and when some of his friends had been hanged for their sympathy with the North he left Alabama in 1861 and returned to Winterscheid where he resumed his former business.

In 1864 he saw an announcement in a paper which called for an expert tanner to conduct the imperial tannery at St. Petersburg. He applied for the place and was accepted. Though the position was good and the Russian government was greatly pleased with his work, he disliked Russian conditions to such an extent that he left St. Petersburg and returned to Germany. He settled in Siegburg and conducted the tannery of his father which he had inherited, but he was not successful in business. The growing industry concentrated the tanneries into a few hands and made it more and more impossible for the small tanners to compete.

At the same time Dietzgen continued his propaganda for the social democratic party, and in 1878 when Hödel and Nobiling had made their unsuccessful attempt to kill the emperor he was indicted for treason and held for a long time without bail. This ruined his business and in June, 1884, he left again for the United States where his oldest son had preceded him in 1880.

In New York he took part as the coeditor of *Der Sozialist*, a German socialistic paper, and in 1886 he made his home with his son, who in the meantime had settled in Chicago. This was the year of the labor troubles in Chicago which culminated in the Haymarket riot. The arrest of the leading anarchists followed and their organ, the *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung*, was left without an editor. Dietzgen stepped in and offered his services without remuneration. He had been attacked by the Chicago anarchists because he did not agree with them on some labor questions, but he was not the man to bear a grudge against others and his helpful assistance was now

fully appreciated. He died suddenly of heart failure at the home of his son, April 15, 1888. A few moments before his death he had taken an active part in a conversation on the socialist problem.

A champion for the labor party, he was convinced that a final settlement would be impossible without a revolution, but in spite of the militant character of his convictions he was personally an amiable and lovable man. This appears for instance in a letter to one of his sons in which he gives him the following advice: "In your judgment against others and your surroundings be never harsh, but always humane. In order to act in an amiable way one must think amiably. Virtues and faults always cling together; even the villain is a good fellow, and the just man sins seven times every day."

Dietzgen had only the common education of a tradesman; nevertheless he had read a good deal and besides his native German was familiar with French and English. He wrote his first book, "The Nature of Human Brain Work," in St. Petersburg, and he expressed his conviction that in order to succeed in its demands the labor party must not only have a definite, particular platform, but must also be based upon a sound philosophy. In Siegburg he developed a great literary activity by contributing a series of articles on economical and political questions to the Organ of the German socialists, *Vorwärts*. He also contributed at various times to the *Volksstaat*, *Sozialdemokrat*, *Neue Gesellschaft*, *Neue Zeit*, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

In 1880 he wrote "Letters on Logic" and the "Acquisition of Philosophy," meaning by the latter the matured fruits which philosophy has produced for mankind, and which he recommends social democrats to utilize. His books have been published in Stuttgart by J. H. W. Dietz's successor, and an English translation of them has appeared in Chicago from the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company.

In order to characterize Dietzgen we present an extract from a summary of his philosophy by Anton Pannekoek, who has written an introduction to his work, *The Positive Outcome of Philosophy*, the English version of *Das Acquisit der Philosophie*. Pannekoek says:

"In times of primitive communism, the conditions of production were clear and easily understood. Things were produced jointly for use and consumed in common. Man was master of his mode of production and thus master of his own fate as far as the superior forces of nature admitted it. Under such conditions, social ideas could not help being simple and clear. There being no clash between personal

and social interests, men had no conception of a deep chasm between good and bad. Only the uncontrolled forces of nature stood like unintelligible and mysterious powers, that appeared to them either as well meaning or as evil spirits, above these primitive little societies.

"But with the advent of the production of commodities the picture changes. Civilized humanity begins to feel itself somewhat relieved from the hard and ungovernable pressure of fickle natural forces. But now new demons arise out of social conditions. 'No sooner did the producers give their products away in exchange instead of consuming them as heretofore, than they lost control of them. They no longer knew what became of their products, and there was a possibility that these products might some day be used for the exploitation and oppression of the producers—The products rule the producers.' (Engels). In the production of commodities, it is not the purpose of the individual producer which is accomplished, but rather that which the productive forces back of him are aiming at. Man proposes, but a social power, stronger than himself, disposes; he is no longer master of his fate. The inter-relations of production become complicated and difficult to grasp. While it is true that the individual is the producing unit, yet his individual labor is only a subordinate part of the whole process of social production, of which he remains a tool. The fruits of the labor of many are enjoyed by a few individuals. The social cooperation is concealed behind a violent competitive struggle of the producers against one another. The interests of the individuals are at war with those of society....

"Such were the impressions out of which thinking men were obliged to fashion their world-philosophy, while, at the same time, they were members of the possessing classes and had thus an opportunity to employ their leisure for a certain self-study, without, however, being in touch with the source of their impressions, viz., the process of social labor which alone could have enabled them to see through the social origin of their ideas. Men of this class, therefore, were led to the assumption that their ideas emanated from some supernatural and spiritual power....

"These successive changes of their theories are embodied in Grecian philosophy, in the various phases of the Christian religion, and in the modern systems of philosophy.

"But we must not regard these systems and religions for what they generally pass, that is to say, we must not think them to be only repeated unsuccessful attempts to formulate absolute truth. They are merely the incarnations of progressive stages of better



knowledge acquired by the human mind about itself and about the universe. It was the aim of philosophical thought to find satisfaction in understanding. And as long as understanding could not wholly be gotten by natural means, there remained always a field for the supernatural and incomprehensible. But by the painstaking mental work of the deepest thinkers, the material of science was ceaselessly increased, and the field of the supernatural and incomprehensible was ever more narrowed. And this is especially the case since the progress of capitalist production has promoted the persistent study of nature. For through this study the human mind was enabled to test its powers by simple, quiet, persistent and fruitful labor in the search for successive parts of truth, and thus to rid itself from the overirritation of hopeless quest after absolute truth. The desire to ascertain the value of these new truths gave rise to the problems of the theory of understanding. The attempts to solve these problems form a permanent part of modern systems of philosophy, which represent a graduated evolution of the theory of understanding. But the supernatural element in these systems prevented their perfection.

"Under the impulse of the technical requirements of capitalism, the evolution of natural sciences became a triumphal march of the human mind. Nature was subjugated first through the discovery of its laws by the human mind, and then by the material subordination of the known forces of nature to the human will in the service of our main object, the production of the necessaries of life with a minimum expenditure of energy. But this bright shining light rendered, by contrast, the gloom which surrounded the phenomena of human society only the darker, and capitalism in its development still accentuates this contrast, as it accentuates and thus renders more easily visible and intelligible all contrasts...."

"Capitalism is now approaching its decline. Socialism is near. And the vital importance of this transition in human history cannot be stated more strongly than in the words of Marx and Engels: 'This concludes the primary history of man. He thereby passes definitely out of the animal kingdom.' The social regulation of production makes man fully the master of his own fate. No longer does any mysterious social power thwart his plans or jeopardise his success. Nor does any mysterious natural force control him henceforth. He has investigated its effects, understands them, and presses them into his service. For the first time in his history he will then be the ruler of the earth.

"We now see that the many centuries that filled the history of

civilization were a necessary preparation for socialism, a slow struggle to escape from nature's slavery, a gradual increase of the productivity of labor, up to the point where the necessaries of life for all may be obtained almost without exertion. This is the prime merit of capitalism and its justification, that after so many centuries of hardly perceptible progress it taught man to conquer nature by a rapid assault. At the same time it set free the forces of production and finally transformed and bared the springs of the productive process to such a degree that they easily could be perceived and grasped by the human mind; this was the indispensable condition for the control of this process....

"A new system of production sheds its light into the minds of men already before it has fully materialized. The same science which teaches us to understand and thereby to control the social forces, also unfetters the mind from the bewitching effects of those forces. It enables him even now already to emancipate himself from traditional superstitions and ideas which were formerly the expression of things unknown. We may anticipate with our mind the coming time. And thus the ideas which will then dominate are already even now growing within us in a rudimentary form corresponding to the present actual economic development. By this means we are even now enabled to overcome the capitalist philosophy in thought and to soberly and clearly grasp the nature of our spirit as being dependent on matter."

Dietzgen's philosophy is naturally onesided, his sympathies being strongly engaged in favor of his class. He looks upon the world as if its whole purpose was to produce the social democratic party. He suffers from two illusions, both of which are quite common in reformers. First, he looks upon the primitive condition of mankind as a paradise, and further upon the final state to be attained as a millennium. We believe that if he had lived in the times of that primitive communism which he extols as a kind of paradise, he would have found that then life was as hard as, if not harder than, it is in the present age of the much denounced *bourgeoisie*, and even if we could abolish private possession of capital and have all capital confiscated by the community we would always have leaders, presidents, bosses, and those who are led, who have to do the bidding of others, the multitudes of the people, the captains of industry, and the laborers; and so long as the world stands the different interests of society will lead now and again to struggles more or less bitter according to conditions.

It stands to reason that with the advance of civilization and the

progress of social prosperity the contrasts between the classes and the conflicts between clashing interests will be less furious and more considerate. Nevertheless they will remain, and it is not to be expected that we shall ever have a condition in which the masses as such will have the supreme command of social conditions, especially the distribution of wealth.

Since the beginning of history there have been differences of opinion. We have anarchists, who seek the solution of the social problem by the abolition of all law and order, who clamor first of all for freedom; and we have socialists who as a principle of reform proclaim the maxim that the individual ought to submit to the behests of society, who for the sake of order would sacrifice liberty. Between these extremes society has developed in obedience to both, and the history of the world has realized a constant increase of liberty, together with a constantly greater assurance of order. In this sense both parties, socialists and anarchists, have constantly approached more and more nearly to their ideal, but the time will never come when either anarchy or socialism will be completely actualized. Society is always a compromise between the two. Private control of capital has so far been the most successful method of social arrangements. All social enterprises have failed because they have absolutely lacked the greatest possible incentive for economy and prudence, which is the reward earned by the results of one's industry and thrift.

It is probable that in the course of the future development of society poverty will more and more disappear, and even unskilled labor will be able to gain a comfortable living. The result will be that the laborers themselves will take part more and more in the possession of the general wealth of society. They will develop into small capitalists, and thus their own interests will be engaged to preserve the accumulation of wealth. Nevertheless we believe that as struggle is necessarily a feature of life so the conflicting interests of society will continue to adjust themselves by occasional struggles.

We look upon Dietzgen's philosophy as a noteworthy attempt to reconstruct philosophical knowledge from the standpoint of the laborer, and especially the socialist, but nevertheless we believe that this partisan philosophy is not of an enduring nature, and if further developed will only serve to prove that philosophy is a world-conception which must take account of all classes, of all parties, of all races, and of all the different interests of human society.

## THE JEWISH ELEMENT IN GALILEE.

IN COMMENT ON PROF. PAUL HAUPT'S ARTICLE "THE ARYAN ANCESTRY OF JESUS."

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

IN the April number of *The Open Court*, pp. 193-204, Prof. Paul Haupt discusses the question of the Aryan, that is, Indo-Iranian, not Indo-European, ancestry of Jesus, pouring upon the subject a most copious flood of mingled historic and linguistic learning. The Jewish descent of the Jesus he would seem to deny positively or at least to hold it to be "extremely improbable that Jesus was a son of David; it is at least as probable (Footnote—I do not say it is probable) that he was a scion of Deioeces or even a descendant of Spitam, the ancestor of Zoroaster"—a conclusion that might placate the manes of Nietzsche and almost persuade him to become a Christian.

Professor Haupt is careful to refer to Emile Burnouf, Rudolf von Jhering, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain (elsewhere also to A. Wirth, in the *Neue Revue*) as forerunners in his present theory. With regard to the first he would seem to be almost over-generous. Elsewhere he tells us he had not read Burnouf's article and knew of it only through a subsequent informant.

The great French philologist's idea differs widely enough from Professor Haupt's. He did not indeed expressly ascribe Aryan ancestry to the Jesus, but maintained that from the first there had been an intellectually and spiritually superior minority of Aryan Jews: "observation shows us the Jewish people composed of two distinct races. . . . mutually hostile since the most remote times. The bulk of the people of Israel was Semite and devoted to the adoration of the Elohim personified in Abel. The rest who always formed the minority were so to speak strangers come from Asia and practiced the cult of Jehovah. These were probably Aryans (*Revue des deux mondes*, LXXVI, p. 886). To these Aryans Burnouf, greatly depreciating the Semite, ascribes everything excellent in Hebrew literature and religion. How they kept their blood pure so many centuries, he does not tell.

Professor Haupt rejects the view of Chamberlain, "that the Aryan element in Galilee was due to Greek immigration in the last century B. C.," and dates it much farther back in the days of the enterprising Tiglath-Pileser IV and Sargon II, who permuted the peoples about 738 B. C., sending Galileans to Assyria and Assyrians (afterwards called Itureans) to Galilee, which appears in the wedge-writing as the Land of Hamath (better Hammath or Hammoth, Assyrian Hammâti). Hither, testifies Sargon II, he sent the Median Chief Dejokes with his kin, Indo-Iranians. The majority of those transferred by Tiglath-Pileser IV to Galilee hailed from Ullub and Kirkh in North Assyria, at the foot of the Armenian Taurus, a region not Semitic. These daring and lucky gamblers in men seem to have thought that in order to get good hands one must shuffle the cards well and then cut deep—a theory and practice which the Asia of to-day may thank for a good share of its misery and impotence. By such deportation, and not by much later Greek immigration, would Professor Haupt account for the presence of the Aryan element in Galilee.

However it came about, it must be conceded that the nations, tribes, tongues, and races poured together like many waters into the mountain basin round the Great Harp Chinnoroth (Gennesareth). But not only were the Aryans present; the Jews, thinks Professor Haupt, and this argumentatively is of far greater importance, were absent. "There were no Jews in Galilee after the year 164 B. C.," when "those that were in Galilee, that is, in Arbatta [corruption for Sabrana = Sepphoris, capital of Galilee] with their wives and their children and all that they had, took he [Simon, brother of Judas Maccabæus] away and brought them into Judea with great joy" (1. Macc. v. 14-23). Professor Haupt does not seem to deny that there were Semites in Galilee along with Aryans, but he will not admit the presence of any true-blooded Jews, though the populace was Judaic in religion, having been converted by the forcible persuasion of Aristobulus, first King of the Jews, for whom the Coronation Psalm (ii) was written. Such in brief is the ethnological situation as it lies in the mind of Professor Haupt.

Now Jesus, we are assured, was born in Nazareth, identical with the ancient Hittalon or Hannathon (for Hinnathon), the arrowhead Hinnatuni of the El-Amarna tablets (1400 B. C.), all these words meaning "protection," while Ezekiel's form Hethlon (xlvi. 15) means "swathing," the hamlet being protected or swathed by engirdling hills. This fact, thinks Professor Haupt apparently, had impressed itself on the minds of the "Angels" who told the

shepherds, "Ye will find a babe wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lying in a manger," "just as Nazareth is *swathed* in a basin with a girdle of hills" (Italics are Professor Haupt's). We are assured that the Jesus and his first disciples were Galileans, that the census of Luke ii did not take place till A. D. 7, eleven years after the Nativity, that the Lucan historical framework (so valiantly championed by Ramsay) hangs together like so much sand, that the tradition of Davidic descent and Beth-Lehem birth is not original, since "others said, This is the Christ, but others said Nay! for comes the Christ from Galilee?" and that "Our Saviour Himself referred to the belief that the Messiah was to be a son of David as an unwarranted opinion of the Scribes" (Mk. xii. 35-37); and even Prof. Percy Gardner is quoted as having "well said" that "according to all historic probability, Jesus of Nazareth was born at Nazareth."

The case then stands thus in Professor Haupt's thought: Jesus himself was called the Galilean, the Nazarean; he was most probably born in Nazareth; in Galilee, *ergo* in Nazareth, "were no Jews" (true-bloods), but only Judaized non-Jews; among these latter had been for nearly eight centuries many Aryans imported by Sargon II and Tiglath-Pileser IV; hence the ancestors of Jesus were probably found among these Aryans.

No one will question the ingenuity and seductive charm of these combinations; it remains to test more closely their logical worth, their argumentative conviction-carrying quality.

In the first place, it is vital to the scheme that "there were no Jews in Galilee after 164 B. C." This Professor Haupt would prove from the Maccabean narrative of the deportation of the Jews thence by Simon (1 Macc. v. 23). Can such proof be made out? In the first place, no mention is made of deportation from Galilee in general, but only from the capital Arbatta; such is the explicative force that Professor Haupt gives to the word "and,"<sup>1</sup> rendering it "that is": there is no reason to suppose that many did not remain behind outside and even inside the capital.

Accepting the Maccabean account at its face value, we still have no warrant to declare that "the Jews who lived in Galilee at the time of Judas Maccabæus were *all* rescued and transferred to Jerusalem in 164 B. C."

This word *all* is not used in the Maccabean text. Antecedently such a complete transfer seems highly improbable.

Still more, it is notorious that the First Book of the Maccabees

<sup>1</sup>καί.

is a glorification of the Maccabean heroes, particularly of Judas, and must be taken with quite as many grains of salt as such glorifications in general. Had Simon Maccabæus rescued and deported only a few dozen Galilean Jews, these would have multiplied themselves, in the imagination of his glorifier, far faster than the Three Black Crows. Least of all men does Professor Haupt need to be warned of the imperious need of heavily discounting the statement of Jewish and Asiatic historiographers and hero-worshippers. We must then dismiss this notion of the deportation of *all* Jews from Galilee in 164 B. C. as quite insufficiently grounded.

But even supposing that Simon had made a clean sweep, what of it? Nothing that we can see. For is it impossible or improbable that they returned, in equal may be or even in greater numbers? Does not the cat sometimes come back? Galilee was a flourishing and inviting region, almost an earthly paradise, if we may credit Josephus. At the beginning of our era the Jew was well-nigh ubiquitous. The papyri show him everywhere in Egypt. In the isles of the sea, in Delian Rheneia, on monumental marble he carved his prayers for revenge and lifted imploring hands to heaven. Why should he avoid his old home, where dwelt his co-religionists in numbers? Evidently Matthew regarded the transmigration of Jews to Galilee as a simple enough matter, for he transfers a Bethlehemite to Nazareth by a stroke of the pen. Look at it as you will, then, the absence of Jews from Galilee at B. C. 4 is unproved, unprovable, and highly improbable. *Non liquet* must be the mildest verdict.

Now if there were any Jews, even a few, in Galilee, then the whole argument against the Jewish extraction of Jesus collapses. We must take heed in applying the calculus of probabilities. If the Jews in Galilee formed only one-tenth of the total population, then if any one were chosen blindly, utterly at random, the chance would be only one in ten that he would be a Jew. But to apply this principle with confidence, one must be sure in the first place that the choice is utterly at random. Now in the case of any particular man, if there be ought to specialize him, as if there be any witness about him, any history or tradition, the choice is not at all at random, and we cannot apply the doctrine of chance. In a given city of X or on a given planet, as the earth, there are (say) only 1 per cent of Jews. In perfectly random choices only once in a hundred times on the average would one get a Jew. But if a *raconteur* should begin to tell a tale about a Jew born in the city of X, would any one interrupt him, saying, "My dear Sir, why do you try to deceive us? There are 99 Gentiles to every Jew in that city. Don't you see that

the chances are 99 to 1 that you are lying, that your hero was not a Jew at all?" Such an interrupter would be suppressed *instante*. The *raconteur* was not speaking of any purely chance selection. Neither are the Evangelists speaking of a Galilean picked up at random, but of the most specially chosen imaginable. If the supposed testimony is to be accepted at all, there is no reason for rejecting or impeaching this detail on the ground that there were more non-Jews than Jews in Galilee. Now they (at least Matthew and Luke) represent Jesus as of pure Jewish blood. There may be reasons for rejecting this testimony *in toto*, but these reasons cannot be found in the insufficient presence of Jewish blood in Galilee.

At this point it seems proper to institute a more penetrating inquiry into the nature of the evidence, touching the supposed Simonian deportation of Jews from Galilee to Judea, an inquiry that must start the more general question of the trustworthiness of the First Book of Maccabees. It must be frankly stated in the first place that the repute of the book has hitherto stood very high. Professor Torrey in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* can hardly find words too strong to please him. "We thus have here for the first time a Jewish history with a satisfactory chronology." Both in general and "in its narrative of details, it bears the unmistakable stamp of truth." "On the whole, the book must be pronounced a work of the highest value, comparing favorably in point of trustworthiness, with the best Greek and Roman histories." But when we come to look at the details, it seems hard to repress a smile. "Besides being the only detailed account which we have of the events of the greater part of this most important period, the book has proved itself worthy to hold the highest rank as trustworthy history." Strange how it could thus "prove itself" trustworthy, when we have absolutely no check on its statements, no way to tell whether they be trustworthy or not!

Professor Torrey would indeed seem to be using words in a Pickwickian sense, for he proceeds now to limit his general judgment rather narrowly. He speaks of the "author's own inaccuracy" about the inscription in honor of Simon. The letter of Demetrius, x. 25-45, he admits, "cannot be regarded as genuine," though "put in its present place by the careful and conscientious author of 1 Macc." "His statements cannot always be believed, it is true"; "in relation to foreign affairs" he exhibits "naive ignorance." His "numerical estimates are often exaggerated." His "incorporated documents are not to be taken too seriously." So too the speeches!

In *Hastings's Bible Dictionary*, Fairweather is less enthusiastic



and more succinct, but maintains the same general position. He is at pains to assign the reasons for his faith: "The writer's habit of dating the chief events according to a fixed era (the Seleucid era, B. C. 312), the general agreement of his chronology with that of the Greek and Roman authors and with the data furnished by extant coins of the period, the frankness and self-restraint shown by him in chronicling victory or defeat (!) on the part of the Jews and in speaking of their adversaries, the absence from his pages of tawdry ornamentation and weak supernaturalism,—all combine to give to his work the stamp of authentic history." "The writer is a plain and honest chronicler."

Kautzsch (*Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1899) is more discreet. He admits that "from the current almost wholly favorable judgment some deductions must be made." His opinion of the letters is in the main adverse, he inclines to accept for some at least the shrewd suggestion of Willrich that they are the insertions of the translator from an Aramaic original.

But enough of expert testimony. To the book itself.

First, we observe that the admitted discrepancies are great wherever we can compare with some profane author. Thus, Livy, (XXXVII, 39) is exact and reduces our author's 120 elephants (viii. 6) to 54. Secondly, from the fact that the writer assigns dates correctly, where all motive to incorrectness is absent, we can infer nothing as to his statements where such motives are plainly present. Indeed, Torrey seems to exercise excess of generosity in saying, "No one will blame him for passing over in silence the shameful conduct of the high priests Jason and Menelaus, or for making only brief mention of the defeats suffered by the Jews." No one? Some think that to suppress the true suggests the false. It seems then that where no motive for inaccuracy is present, and where it is impossible to test the author's statements, we are unable to say that these statements are incorrect! But where motive is present he at least suppresses very important matters, and where we can test his estimates we find them grossly exaggerated, besides finding his "incorporated documents" untrustworthy and himself repeatedly contradicted by profane history when he comes into contact with this latter. So much, by the admission of his admirers. A queer piece of most "trustworthy history"! Now, however, add the fact that the author is admittedly glorifying the Hasmonean dynasty, that he "was a warm adherent of the Hasmonean house, and probably a personal friend of its leaders" (Torrey), and what

right have we to say that "his history is not written in a partisan spirit" (Torrey)? What right have we to put faith in any statement that magnifies his party, patrons, and friends? To credit the Sadducee who admittedly tells all the good and none of the bad about the priesthood? These indeed are only very general considerations, yet sufficient to show how baseless is the universally favorable judgment of critics.

Let us now come to closer quarters. We have not space for a minute study of these sixteen chapters, but a few specimens will show that we are not dealing with pure history but with such a manifest panegyric, particularly of Judas, as reads much rather like a fairy tale.

Let it be noted then that the career of the Maccabees is one uninterrupted series of the most complete and brilliant triumphs over forces incomparably superior in numbers and equipment, of victories such as were never won by Eumenes, nor Sertorius, nor Hannibal, nor Alexander, nor Cæsar, nor Napoleon. Not once is a Maccabean worsted; only once does Judas prudently withdraw after inflicting heavy loss on the enemy. The account of this latter affair is most peculiar and throws a strange light on this highly "trustworthy history." Antiochus Eupator marches through Idumea with 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, 32 trained elephants, and lays siege to Bethsura, fights a long time, and erects engines of war. But the besieged "sallied out, burnt the engines with fire and warred manfully." Doubtless—but with what result? In this place nothing more is said. The king marches off towards Bethsacharia with a tremendous array, each elephant accompanied by 1000 foot and 500 horse, and mounted by 32 men besides an Indian driver, though elsewhere in history 3 or 4 men suffice for each elephant! Against this formidable host Judas marches out from the citadel of Jerusalem, "and Judas drew nigh and his camp in counter array, and there fell of the camp of the King 600 men." It is neither said nor hinted that any Jew was slain. Then Eleasar Awaran, brother of Judas, fancying he recognized the royal elephant by its trappings, made an heroic rush upon the beast, fought his way single-handed through the 1500 guards, dealing death right and left, cleft a passage to the beast, ran under it, transpierced it from beneath, so that it fell dead upon him and killed him, who thus offered himself up to save his people and win for himself a name everlasting. Then follows the only verse that hints a defeat of Judas. "And beholding the

strength of the King and the onrush of his troops they turned aside<sup>2</sup> from them," (vi. 47).

Most likely the forces of Judas were routed and dispersed, but the "plain honest chronicler" holds his peace.

The king marched on into Judea, against Mt. Zion. "With those of Bethsura he made peace." "They came out"—such is the euphemism for surrender—because it was the sabbatic year and provisions were scarce, not because the king could fairly take the place. Similarly in the case of the siege of Jerusalem. The Jews defend themselves successfully against the Syrians, but provisions fail because it was the seventh year, and the Jews rescued from the heathen consumed the supplies, so that the garrison was in a measure dispersed. Still no thought of capitulation! Finally Lysias, the king's lieutenant, tells him and the leaders of the host, "we grow daily weaker, we have little provisions, and the place we besiege is strong, and the care of the kingdom is on us. Let us therefore give these men the right hand and make peace with them, and with all their folk, and let them walk in their customs as heretofore, for because of these customs which we abrogated have they become enraged and done all this. This counsel pleased the king and his leaders and he sent to them to make peace and they received them; and the king and the leaders swore to them; and [trusting] these oaths they went out from the citadel; and the king entered the city of Zion and beheld the citadel of the place and set at naught the oath that he swore and bade level down the wall all round."

We note that here even in the direst distress the Jews are not beaten by their enemy; this latter acknowledges defeat by proposing a compromise, which is accepted by the Jews since it yields them everything in dispute, and it is no fault of theirs if the royal word is broken.

Now let the reader consider this account of the victorious march of Antiochus Eupator, how artfully the disasters of the Jews are transformed into splendid onsets, and prudent withdrawal, and heroic self-immolation, and successful defense, and honorable compromise yielding them all their claims, and then say whether he is reading history "fully as trustworthy" as Thucydides. Kautzsch indeed perceives that Judas must have been defeated, and says that Antiochus "*schlägt ihn*," but "the careful and conscientious" historian says nothing of the kind. So everywhere in this model history. Jonathan and Simon are both captured and murdered, (xii. 46-48; xiii. 23; xvi. 16), but only through treachery, which brought

<sup>2</sup> ἐπέκλιναρ.

only shame and no advantage to the traitors. Judas indeed was too wise to be betrayed. He fought victoriously to the last. In the final struggle with only 800 men against the host of Bacchides (20,000 foot, 2000 horse), there is great slaughter on both sides. Judas falls, the rest flee, but his brothers Jonathan and Simon remain apparently in possession of the field, at least they bear away Judas to burial in the paternal sepulchre in Modein.

Josephus modestly amends the account by saying that his brothers received Judas from the enemy "under truce."

If some one still thinks all this might have taken place just as narrated, let him consider the operations of Judas east of the Jordan (164 B. C.) where with 8000 men he campaigns for weeks and seemingly even months, fighting bloody battle after battle against immense odds, storming half a dozen fenced cities exceeding strong (one for a whole day and night, v. 50), slaughtering the enemy by thousands on thousands (8000 in one single instance, v. 34), filling up the streets with corpses so that his men marched through the city over the bodies of the slain (v. 51)—and all of this terrific hand-to-hand warfare without the loss of one single man: "there fell of them not one until their return in peace" (v. 54)! This is far more miraculous than the miracles "and weak supernaturalism" that so discredit the Second Book of Maccabees in the minds of admirers of this excellent historian.

This is not the worst, however. Nicanor, a most trusted commander, takes Jerusalem; not finding Judas there he marches five hours northwest to Bethhoron; there he is joined by another Syrian host. Judas with 3000 men is encamped 90 minutes to the northeast, at Adasa, and prays that Nicanor's host be annihilated like Sennacherib's. Battle is joined, Nicanor falls, his army is routed, the villagers stream out, and *all* the Syrians are massacred or massacre one another, not one escapes, "there was not left of them not even one."<sup>8</sup>

Notice that the statement is perfectly sharp and definite and made with all deliberation. If this be not incredible, consider the following: Jonathan sends 3000 valiant men to Antioch as body-guard to Demetrius fallen into disfavor with his army. The Antiochians gather against Demetrius to the number of 120,000 and intend to kill him. He flees to his palace, which they proceed to storm. He calls the 3000 Jews to his help; they come; they charge out into the city and slaughter 100,000 in one day; then they set fire to the city, plunder it, and save the king. Whereupon the

<sup>8</sup> οὐ κατελείφθη ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς.

Antiochians throw down their arms, sue for peace and salvation from the fury of the Jews, who were magnified before the king and all his subjects and returned to Jerusalem laden with booty (xi. 41-51).

By the side of this achievement the exploits of the Swiss guard sink into insignificance, Thorwaldsen's lion droops its tail and forgets to roar, and even Buck Fanshaw is far outdone. He indeed suppressed a riot before it could break out, by leaping in and sending home 14 men on a shutter, but these 3000 Jews slew 33½ men apiece in the suppression of this more formidable uprising.

This is not all by any means. As legate of the young Antiochus, Jonathan marches in triumph all through the region west of the Euphrates, all the Syrian troops rally to his standard, he captures Askalon and Gaza, proceeds to Damascus, and thence against a great army of Demetrius at Kedesh in Naphthali, while his brother Simon invests Bethsura and forces it to capitulation. Jonathan encamps by Lake Gennesar, and on entering the plain of Chazor early in the morning is surprised to meet a heathen army, which had also laid a trap for him by insidiously planting forces in the surrounding hill country. These now burst upon the Jews who, thus attacked, all betook themselves to flight; not one remained with Jonathan but Mattathias Ben-Absalom and Judas Ben Chalpheis, honored names! What does Jonathan, thus abandoned to the foe encompassing him on all sides with fierce and numerous attack? He rends his garments, strews dust upon his head, and prays. Having accomplished so much he turns upon the enemy, defeats the whole army and puts it to rout! When the Jews that had fled perceived his victory, they turned round and joined with him in pursuit of the enemy as far as the latter's camp in Kedesh, slaying 3000.

Here then we find the feat of Horatius at the Bridge writ large, in fact, in six-foot capitals. It sounds strange, however, that after such a marvelous victory, when Demetrius's army thus routed by one man and decimated might easily have been annihilated, to read in the very next verse, "And Jonathan turned back to Jerusalem" (xi. 60-74). One would like to read the Demetrian version of this sanguinary engagement. Queer, too, that the next chapter should open with Jonathan's overtures to the Romans and to the Spartans, "because he saw the season cooperates with him"; what need had such a hero for allies?

Wellhausen perceives the absurdity here and would relieve it by arbitrarily rejecting verse 74 quoted above, along with the incident of the embassy.

There follows the adventurous campaign of Jonathan, in which he goes 200 miles north of Jerusalem to the land of Hamath (on the Orontes) to war against the mightier host of Demetrius, which flees before him across the Eleutheros river. Thereupon he turns against the Arabs, chastises them, breaks camp and marches upon Damascus, and thence to Jerusalem, Simon meanwhile carrying all before him, even to Askalon, and establishing a garrison in Joppa.

Is it possible to see in these rapid campaigns from one end of the land to the other anything more than marauding incursions of flying squadrons, dignified into military expeditions of disciplined armies? Tryphon however determines to end this guerilla strife by capturing Jonathan. He marches to Bethsan (Skythopolis) just south of Gennesareth. Jonathan goes to meet him and with a large army of 40,000 picked men. Tryphon receives him with the most distinguished honor, enriches him with gifts, bids all treat him as they treat Tryphon himself, persuades Jonathan that he has no need of such an army, that he send them all home but a few trusties. Jonathan sends all away but 3000; of these he sends 2000 to Galilee. (Why? Is this another version of Simon's expedition?) The other thousand he retains as body guard. They depart to Ptolemais. Why? Such a voluntary act on Jonathan's part would be one of incredible folly. The arts of Tryphon were perfectly well known; who can believe that Jonathan would of his own accord disband his formidable army of 40,000 and go with an ambitious rival into the rival's country and fortress? Once in Ptolemais, of course his companions are slain and he himself cast into prison. Thereupon his 2000 in Galilee are attacked but make good their escape to Judea. (Is this a variant of Simon's deportation from Galilee?) All the heathen rejoice that the leader of the Jews is taken and hope now to blot out their memory from among men.

It seems plain that the story as told in 1 Macc. xii. 39-53 is quite beyond belief. Tryphon doubtless captured Jonathan, but in no such manner as there detailed. And what more shall we say? For time would fail to discuss the shield of gold of 1000 minae (950 pounds) in weight, of various unhistorical data, as that Antiochus was taken alive by the Romans at Magnesia (B. C. 190)! that he ceded India to them! and others that indicate the writer is thinking of the overthrow of the Achaian League 15 years after the death of Judas! Nor can we more than mention the 12 or 13 letters (86 verses) all important but none authentic, being plainly fictitious in form or matter or both.

We have already noticed the total suppression of the renegade

priests Menelaus and Jason, most important figures during many years covered by this history, but never once mentioned. We have already seen that no defeat is allowed to befall any Maccabean hero; their careers are victorious till they pay the tribute of mortality. It is commonly stated by the admirers of this book (as Fairweather) that it records Jewish disasters. In fact only one such disaster is recorded, and this example is particularly instructive. We are told that while Judas with Jonathan was pursuing his career of triumph in Gilead, and Simon in Galilee, the two leaders Azaria and Joseph hearing of the great exploits of Judas and Simon, said, "We too will win honor for ourselves and go to war against the surrounding nations." And so they did, in spite of the express injunction of Judas to join no battle in his absence; the result was that Gorgias routed them, inflicting a loss of 2000 slain. "And great disaster befell the people of Israel because they heeded not Judas and his brothers, thinking to play the valiant man. But they were not of the seed of those men to whom was given salvation for Israel through their hand. And the man Judas and his brothers were glorified exceedingly before all Israel and all the nations, etc." (v. 61-63). This is the only defeat scored against the Jews during the 40 years (175-135 B. C.) covered by 1 Maccabees; for v. 67, "in that day fell priests in the war, wishing to play the valiant in going out to war unadvisedly" (i. e., against the orders of Judas), is apparently only an expansion or a doublet (v. 61), and in any case enforces the same lesson, that victory was certain with the Maccabean seed of salvation and impossible without them. Herewith then the spirit of the book is clearly and unmistakably characterized. It is an open panegyric of the Asmoneans, it is written to show their divine prerogative as the temporal saviours of Israel. This fact is indeed stamped plainly on every chapter. As such a work of *Tendenz* it can lay no great claim to general credibility and no claim at all to credibility in detail; and in view of the fact that we have already found it literally swarming with inaccuracies and impossibilities, it becomes evident that the book, though historical and exceedingly valuable as indicating the main trend of events at a time and place otherwise almost unlighted by any independent record, is nevertheless not properly a history,—it is adulatory biography and special pleading.

The question now arises, What good reason have we to believe that the expeditions of Judas to Gilead and of Simon to Galilee ever took place at all? The allusion (vi. 53) to "those redeemed into Judea from the nations" seems hardly sufficient, but there are

two other testimonies more decisive. The Second Book of Maccabees stands as low as the First stands high in the esteem of critics. Nevertheless they concede that its attestation is worth something,—even though it be (as Geiger thinks) a Pharisaic counterblast to the Sadducean First Book,—since it seems at various points to reproduce the testimony of an eye-witness.

Now in 2 Macc. xii. 1-31 we find detailed a series of campaigns undertaken by Judas against Timotheus (already slain x. 37!), Apollonius and others, east of the Jordan, which seem to cover about the same ground as 1 Macc. v. 24-54), though the two accounts are widely discrepant at countless points. In both books Judas finally recrosses the Jordan at Bethsan (Skythopolis) *en route* for Jerusalem.

In 2 Macc. this visitation of Skythopolis is meant to be punitive, but the resident Jews bore witness to the great favor shown them by the citizens and so averted destruction from the city. This incident seems to be historic, at least we perceive no motive for its invention. But it appears inconsistent with the expedition of Simon to Galilee, for he would naturally have taken in Skythopolis on his way thither, or at least on return, so that the march of Judas thither would appear unmotivated. Hereby doubt is thrown upon Simon's exploit, which is unmentioned in 2 Macc., a doubt deepened by the silence of another and far more credible witness.

That most mysterious Psalm, the 68th, according to the concurrent judgments of such masters as Wetzstein, Wellhausen, and Haupt (who in the *American Journal of Semitic languages and literature*, XXIII, 220-240, has surpassed all others in thoroughness of treatment), relates specifically to this victorious trans-Jordanic expedition of Judas. In particular, the famous verse 18, "Thou hast led captivity captive, hast received gifts in men," seems to refer vividly to the deliverance of the Jews at the hands of Maccabæus. So too verse 22, "spake the Lord, from Bashan I will bring back, I will bring back from the whirlpools of the sea." At the same time this witness contradicts the "all" of Macc. v. 45 ("And Judas took with him all Israel those in Galaaditis from small to great, and their wives and their children" etc.), for it is repeated (verses 6, 18) "Only the rebellious dwell in a parched land (not with Jah, God)." This implies that some remained behind, even if coercion were applied, as Professor Haupt contends.

But the most important point is that while the Psalmist speaks clearly of the return from Bashan, while indeed his mind is fixed on the envy of Bashan's high hills toward Zion (verses 15, 16),



he says nothing of any return from Galilee, not even in verse 27, which mentions the princes of Zebulon and Naphtali; the rebellious stay behind not in the fertile region around Gennesareth but only in the "parchèd land."

Now Galilee was far more important every way than Gilead, and its relations with Jerusalem were closer. The poet is eager to weave in as many geographical and historical allusions as possible; had he known of any such glorious and saving expedition as Simon's, he would most probably have mentioned it somewhere in his elaborate lyric. That he omits to name it, seems to show that it had no place in his consciousness. Still further, we note that the messengers of distress from Galilee (v. 14, 15) arrive in Jerusalem precisely during the reading of the letters of distress from Gilead,—a most remarkable coincidence that cannot fail to remind one of the horrors on horror's head accumulate of Job i. 16, 17, 18, of which the writer appears to be thinking. Finally, consider the utter vagueness of the account in contrast with the minuteness of the following narrative concerning Judas, and it would seem hard to give any credence at all to the tale about Simon, which appears to have been intended merely to get him away from Jerusalem, that room might be left for the folly of Joseph and Azarias.

Nay more! We find in 2 Macc. x. 14-23 an account that bears internal marks of authenticity (along with certain obvious numerical exaggerations), in which, during a war with Gorgias, Simon is left behind by Judas *along with Joseph and Zacchæus* (apparently = Azarias), to watch two strongholds of the Idumæans. But the avaricious associates of Simon accepted a bribe of 70,000 drachmas to let some of the besieged escape, for which on return of Judas they suffered death. This incident, so discreditable to the Jews, could hardly have been invented. Since it occurs in the war against Gorgias, in the absence of Judas (who in the immediate connection is in a struggle with Timotheus, apparently the same as that described in 1 Macc. v. 30 f.), under the command of Simon along with Joseph and Zacchæus (=Azarias?), and as this arrangement seems every way more credible than the other,—for it would have been most highly injudicious in Judas to leave his base of operations in charge of such incompetents as Joseph and Azarias, while both he and Simon went far away on long expeditions,—and since there is no other place for this incident anywhere in 1 Maccabees, it seems we have no choice but to accept this parallel account as substantially correct. Accordingly it appears from all the indicia that Simon's expedition to Galilee is only a pious imagination intended

to free him from any possible complicity in a rather shady transaction, wherein his good name had suffered from apparent connection with admitted bribery. It would seem then that there is no occasion to worry any further over Simon's alleged deportation of Jews from Galilee. That story served its purpose well for nearly 2000 years, but would now appear to have outlived its usefulness.

Hereby of course it is not meant that Simon never made an incursion into Galilee, never brought back with him any Jews. Most likely he made many such incursions and brought back Jews as camp followers on several occasions, but the evidence is against the actuality of this particular expedition, and common sense is unalterably opposed to any such wholesale deportation as critics and historians—Grimm, Keil, Graetz, Michaelis, Ewald, Renan, Schuerer, Wellhausen, Holtzmann and the rest—unanimously assume. It would in fact have been very ambiguous beneficence to his blood kinsmen for Simon to deport them from blooming Galilee to barren Judea. Many of them must have had permanent homes, houses and lands, in that garden spot of Palestine. To huddle them together suddenly, deprive them of all their fixed possessions, transport them to a rugged region where for a time at least they would be homeless pensioners on the bounty of strangers, would seem to be an act of wanton cruelty as well as incredible folly. It would be treating them as enemies and not as friends.

Josephus seems to have felt the absurdity of the situation, for in his *Antiquities* (XII, 8, 3), while following 1 Macc. closely, he modifies the verse in question (v. 23), saying only that Simon "having pursued" the enemy "to the gates of Ptolemais," "took the Jews that had been made captive by them" "and turned back home." He says nothing about bringing the Jews from Galilee to Judea, but leaves us to infer that the "captives" were restored to their Galilean homes. Josephus is not an independent witness, but the fact that he takes such liberty with his Maccabean source shows clearly that he saw it was unbelievable and must be recalled to reason.

Finally, it must not be supposed that in discrediting the First Book of Maccabees we would in any wise tarnish the luster of the names of the Maccabean heroes. We grant them all honor and glory according to the measure of men. In fact their fame remains no less but even more splendid when we perceive that the record of their deeds cannot be accepted at its face value, and that the prodigious butcheries that ensanguine its pages were in large measure the visions of a perfervid imagination.

[TO BE FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER ARTICLE.]

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### LAMENTATIONS OF A TURKISH PROPHET.\*

BY TEWFIK FIKRET BEY.

[The reform party of Turkey, known to-day as the "Young Turks," consider this the greatest poem of their greatest modern poet. Tewfik Fikret Bey, this Turkish Jeremiah, wrote it in 1900 in despair at the sad condition of his country. For years he lived in seclusion in constant danger of exile or death. He could not publish the poem, but he lent a copy to one friend, who passed it to another, until all Young Turkey knew by heart this sad and scathing condemnation of the Old Regime. When the revolution came, turning the poet's despair to brightest hope, Fikret Bey was at once called to edit a new Young Turk paper in Constantinople, and in the first number he published this poem together with a retraction in verse. The translator has followed the versification very closely, using the rhymed couplet, and a meter as close as possible to the Turkish meter.]

A cloud holds thy horizon in clinging embrace;  
An obscurity white slowly grows o'er thy face,  
Blotting out and absorbing, the mist's heavy net  
Veils the scene, as with dust, to a faint silhouette—  
A majestic dust veil, what lies 'neath this robe—  
By its folds is concealed—our regard cannot probe.  
But thee, oh how fitly do sad veils conceal,  
Arena of horrors, fit nought should reveal.  
Arena of horrors, yea, majesty's stage;  
O glorious setting for tragedy's rage!  
Thou of greatness and pomp at once cradle and grave,  
Queen eternally luring, the Orient thy slave;  
What bloody amours with no shuddered protest  
Have been held to thy generous harlot breast.  
Oh within the deep Marmora's azure embrace,  
As one dead sleepest thou, whilst her waves thee enlance.  
Old Byzance! still thou keepest, immune to all harm,  
After husbands a thousand, thy fresh virgin charm.  
Thy beauty the magic of youth still retains,  
The trembling of eyes seeing thee yet remains.  
To the eye of the stranger how lookest thou tame,  
With thy languorous sapphire-blue eyes, oh how tame!  
But the tameness is that of the woman of shame,  
Without dole for the tears shed o'er thee, o'er thy fame.

\* Translated from the Turkish by Hester D. Jenkins.

As though sapping thy very foundations in gloom,  
 A traitor hand added the poison of doom.  
 O'er each particle spreadeth hypocrisy's stain;  
 No one spot of purity there doth remain;  
 All stain: of hypocrisy, jealousy, greed,  
 Naught else, and no hopes of aught else hence proceed.  
 Of the millions of foreheads protected by thee,  
 How few shining clearly and pure, may one see?  
 Thou Debauched of the Ages, sleep on till mists fail.  
 Veil thyself, O thou Tragedy, O city, veil!

O country most fertile, to Nature's heart near,  
 Though gifted, thou'rt hungry and barren and sear.  
 Each favor, each bounty, each step in advance,  
 Fatalistic, thou begg'st with hypocrisy's glance.  
 O glories, magnificence, processions and splendor!  
 O bloody towers, forts of turreted grandeur!  
 Thou sealed tomb of memories, temple so vast;  
 Ye proud-rearing columns, the city's great past.  
 Thou recountest and readst to the future her part,  
 Giant keeper of records each pillar thou art.  
 Thou toothlessly grinning procession of walls;  
 Ye cupolas; glorious mosques where prayer calls;  
 Minarets, that remind of the voices of truth!  
 O medressehs,\* and tiny courts low like a booth.  
 Ye tombstones that cry, "'Tis the Dead that are Blest!"  
 Are like beggars, a patient host finding your rest  
 'Neath the cypress' deep shade on Eternal Earth's breast.  
 O turbelhs,† what memories our senses thrill  
 Of our ancestors, now lying silent and still.  
 Old streets, struggling stream of dust and mud waves;  
 Ye ruins, whose each hole of a dead event raves;  
 O place of eternal deep sleep for the bad;  
 O roofs, raven black, o'er a tumbling house sad;  
 Thou'rt a dumb, standing sorrow, thy comrade in grief  
 Is the tall mourning chimney, where storks hold their fief.  
 Thou chimney, what bitterness sags in thy jowl;  
 Hast forgotten to smoke, for long years dost but scowl.  
 O ravening mouths who have swallowed all shames,  
 On the clamorous belly's poisonous claims.  
 O dog's howl! Thou being high-honored by reason,  
 This voice of ingratitude blames thee in season.  
 O tyranny brutal! O head, pressing foot!  
 O stupid fanatic, who lickest the boot!  
 O visions, assaulting the high vault of Heaven!  
 O bad omen, star of ill augury given!  
 O tears vainly shed, and smiles pregnant with fate,  
 Those expressions of impotence—dark looks of hate!  
 O Fear, armed Fear, to whose swift downfall go

\* Medresseh, mosque school of theology.

† Turbelhs, the tombs of kings or great men in little kiosks.

From the widow and orphan each loud plaint of woe!  
 Remembrance of honor, now sunk to a scoff,  
 Servility's path points to Fortune far off,  
 O laws but tradition! O tyranny, 'neath  
 Whose oppression no safety nor right but to breathe!  
 O justice, the courts have expelled thee for aye,  
 Unredeemed is thy promise, thy lies only stay.  
 People losing all power of emotion from fear,  
 To you is aye stretched out suspicion's long ear.  
 O mouths dumbly locked by the fear of the spy,  
 Popularity wide brings but hate in full cry.  
 To be Policy's slave, Sword and Pen, is your lot,  
 O great Moral Law, e'en thy visage forgot.  
 O crouching with fear, lowly hiding thy face,  
 Ye nobles, ye people—a once honored race!  
 O bent hoary head, thy companion thee shuns;  
 Thou maid, and the youth that after thee runs;  
 Thou mother abandoned, alas! broken heart;  
 Ye children, lone, homeless, most sad is your part.  
 Thou debauched of the Ages, sleep on 'till mists fail.  
 Veil thyself, O thou Tragedy, O city, veil!

#### A MELBOURNE MEDIUM EXPOSED.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

In the May number of *The Open Court* appeared a communication from your pen under the heading of "The Ghost of a Living Person." A Melbourne medium, Charles Bailey, claimed to be controlled by the late Rev. W. H. Withrow while that gentleman was actually living in Toronto. During the last two months Charles Bailey has visited New Zealand giving seance meetings and inspirational addresses. Bailey claims to be controlled by four spirits, two of whom are Hindus who make use of him while in a trance to produce "apports" from India, Java and Australia. Live birds of diminutive size and eggs are said to be brought in a few seconds from those countries to New Zealand. Mats and silk shawls are also produced. The conditions under which Bailey produces these wonderful phenomena are a cabinet, darkness and a limited number of spiritualists and investigators,—generally no more than forty persons present, most of whom have paid five or ten shillings for admittance. Bailey's procedure is first to allow himself to be stripped and examined and then to enter a small cabinet where he goes into a trance and is controlled by a spirit who gives a short address and even answers questions through the medium. All this performance takes place in total darkness introduced by the usual singing of hymns. At the end of the address Bailey calls for the light to be turned on when he announces that he has apports to show—objects that evoke cries of wonderment from believers and skeptical remarks from the unconvinced. Since Bailey has been in New Zealand he has met with very severe criticism in the newspapers. Several of his seances did not come up to expectations owing in all probability to his fear of exposure. A very clever conjurer, Mr. Thomas W. Driver of Wellington, New Zealand, challenged Bailey to produce apports under rigid test conditions, Driver depositing £100 which he was prepared to forfeit if Bailey could pro-

duce objects under the conditions specified in the challenge. Needless to say Bailey did not accept the conditions laid down. Mr. Driver offered to modify the conditions, but without inducing Bailey to agree. Since then Mr. Driver has given public exhibitions of producing apports under much more rigid conditions than Bailey was subjected to, one noticeable feature being that he dispensed entirely with putting the lights out.

I sent your account of Mr. Withrow's "ghost" to several papers in the Dominion and I challenged Charles Bailey to answer it, but he did not respond. Bailey has not yet finished his tour through New Zealand and while he still finds people to believe in the genuineness of his apports, the general opinion is that he is not trustworthy.

ARTHUR TALBOT.

WANGANUI, NEW ZEALAND.

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TO THE MARTYR OF NEW SPAIN.

BY CHARLES J. WOODBURY.

So speaketh Law: "With rule and plan  
I hold you safe. You shall not stray."  
Lo, from the ranks an outlaw man!  
His feet transgress the beaten way.  
His speech is new and strange and far  
And where he journeys is no road,—  
Yet soon we travel by his star,  
His words become our future's code.

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COMMENTS ON "NAZARENES AND SRAMANAS."

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

I would call the attention of Dr. Deinard to the following: The rendering of נ in the Septuagint wavers between Z and Σ. I can at least refer to two passages, perhaps there are more, where נ is rendered by Z. In Gen. xxii. 21, we read *Obē* for עֵינָי; Jer. xxxi. 34 in the Septuagint, corresponding to the Hebrew text of Jer. xlviii. 34, reads *Zogōp* for עֵינָי. נִצְרַת is also given in the New Testament by *Nazapēt*. Further the form *Nazarenos* (Ναζαρηός) in Mark i. 24; xiv. 67; xvi. 6; Luke iv. 34, is very probably formed from *Nazara* (a reading occurring in some important manuscripts for *Nazareth* in Matt. iv. 13 and Luke iv. 16. i. e. Cod. A, B, Σ and early Church-fathers) like *Magdalene* (Μαγδαληνή) from *Magdala*. Further the dominant form for designating Jesus and his followers in the New Testament is *Nazoraïos* or *Nazaraïos* in some manuscripts. These forms, especially if we consider the confusion between the vowels *a* and *o* in Syriac, might also go back to the form *Nazara*, which some claim to be the original form, for instance Keim, in his *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*. Further in the Talmud the Jewish-Christian sect is called *Nozrim* (נִיצְרִי), thus Sanh. 43a, 1076; Sot. 47a; Taan. 27b; and not *Nasirim* (נְסִירִי). Here again the *o* of the first syllable may only be a dimming of the sound *a*. With all this the enigmatic form *Nazoraïos* may not yet be solved. I have other conjectures for its origin but do not consider them well enough founded to mention here. Still if *Nazara* was another form for *Nazareth* the form *Nazoraïos* or *Nazaraïos*, could, as far as I can see, be derived from it. From all this I do not see any necessity of bringing *Nasa-*

*venes* in connection with *Nasirim* and further with the Essenes, though they surely had points in common. Besides this the ascetic institution of *Nasirites* is an ancient Hebrew one and not necessarily of Buddhistic origin. Almost every ancient religion has had such ascetics. Perhaps finally, if Dr. Deinand has read my article on "Mohammedan Parallels to Christian Miracles," he may conclude that Jesus, though we know positively very little of him, may after all be a real personality and not absolutely a myth.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

AN INDIAN STUDY OF LOVE AND DEATH. By *Sister Nivedita*. London: Longmans, 1908. Pp. 75. Price, 75c.

In this book Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble), the author of *Cradle Tales of Hinduism*, sets forth most sympathetically what she regards as the Hindu conception of death, and the subjective reunion of the living with the dead. It opens with an "Office for the Dead" which is mostly beautiful and poetic. The portion in this devoted to "The Salutation of the Dead" includes this exquisite litany:

"For all wounds and loneliness,  
For all angry and impatient thought,  
For all wherein we failed in love,  
Or loving, failed to say to thee, we loved,  
Forgive!

"For all thy need in life  
For all thy need in death,  
For labor that left thee weary,  
And for love that failed to comfort thee,  
Forgive!"

In the "Prayer" preceding the "Rest in Peace" we are surprised to find an invocation to

"Krishna, Thou loving Shepherd of the people,  
Buddha, Lord of infinite compassion,  
Jesus, Thou lover and Saviour of the Soul,"

but we must remember that the author comes from Western traditions even while adopting the forms of Oriental devotion.

The rest of the book is devoted to "Meditations" on love, the soul, peace, etc., followed by "The Communion of the Soul with the Beloved," "A Litany of Love," and "Some Hindu Rites for the Honored Dead."

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THE MYSTERY OF EXISTENCE IN THE LIGHT OF AN OPTIMISTIC PHILOSOPHY.

By *Charles Wicksteed Armstrong*. London: Longmans, 1909. Pp. 131. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

This book is a brave attempt of a busy headmaster in a Brazil academy, to cull from the accumulated results of a world's progress in science and philosophy what he considers the comprehensive view of a thinker not limited by engrossing interest in any one branch of research, and to present the result in a popular exposition. The author mentions Plato, Marcus Aurelius,

Hegel, Haeckel, Darwin, Metchnikoff and F. H. Myers as those who have seemed to him to have carried us farthest along the road to the solution of the great world-mysteries, even though the teachings of these men have been immensely divergent and often apparently contradictory. This is certainly an unusual combination of thinkers, and we cannot but regret that the lack of real scientific study, which the author deplures, has led him to give marked emphasis to Frederic H. Myers and his theory of the subliminal self, the discovery of which Mr. Armstrong considers "as even more epoch-making than Darwin's discovery of the laws of natural selection," and from which he derives functions that he considers more far-reaching than Myers himself ever suggested. The book is sincere in tone and the spirit of the author modest and unassuming.

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ON THE DOCTRINE OF PERSONAL IDENTITY. By *C. Comyns Tucker*. London: Longmans, 1909. Pp. 70. Price, 1s. 6d.

This little treatise is simply the result of the reflections of a thoughtful and intelligent man, on the occasion of a great bereavement in his life. He has been able to justify his desire for a belief in the continuation of personal identity after death and the mutual recognition of personalities in the great hereafter. He believes that his conclusion is in harmony with known analogies of nature, and in strict conformity with the working of the human mind and its necessary forms of thought. In the first part of the book two contentions are advanced: "One, that the consciousness in man of a sense of personal identity raised a presumption of a continued and individual existence after death; the other, that the form in which that continued existence will manifest itself may reasonably be assumed to be an idealized reproduction of the form in which it manifested itself here." The second part is devoted to a discussion of inferences as to the character of the future life arising from a consideration of the human conscience.

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LECTURES ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN ENGLAND. By the late *Arnold Toynbee*. London: Longmans, Green, 1908. Pp. 282.

This cheap edition of the *Industrial Revolution* has been called for by the increasing use of the book as an authority on the eighteenth century and by the appreciation of the whole of its contents on the part of educated working men. The original edition was an expensive octavo volume and a small cheap edition will be greatly in demand. The one in hand contains a reminiscence of the author by Mr. Toynbee's closest friend, Lord Milner, in place of the memoir by Dr. Jowett in the earlier edition.

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In the preliminary remarks to his essay "Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia," Professor Mills speaks of the fact that the article had been translated into Gujarati—"whether by Mr. Palanji Madan or not, the writer is not now certain." Professor Mills's memory misled him with regard to this point, and we have heard from the man who made the translation, so that we can authentically inform our readers that the Parsi scholar who deserves credit for the task is Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Naorosji Coorlāwāllā of Bombay, India. Very probably Mr. Madan was interested in some other article of Professor Mills.



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---

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The coincidence of the views of Angelus Silesius with those of Kant seems strange but both are apparently based on older traditions. Valentin Weigel propounded the same views before Angelus Silesius, and Swendenborg after him, yet before Kant. How far any one of these men has influenced his successors is a question that has caused much discussion.

It is interesting to note two passages in which Leibnitz speaks of Angelus Silesius, comparing his philosophical views to Spinoza's system, and this is perhaps natural, for we cannot doubt that a mystic poet would devote much thought to speculative philosophy.

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The *Intracellular Pangenesis*, of Hugo de Vries, was such a source of stimulation to me at the time of its appearance that I feel greatly indebted to its author. By creative imagination Hugo de Vries predicted much in his book that gained a material basis only through the histological research of the following decades. That is what makes the study of his book to-day as interesting as it is instructive.

In this paper, entitled *Befruchtung und Bastardirung*, a translation of which is included in this volume, de Vries has shown the same faculty of utilizing our present knowledge from every point of view, and of looking prophetically into the future. For in this paper also, on the ground of theoretical considerations, he predicted phenomena which were to furnish the basis for our conceptions of fertilization and heredity, but which have become actually known to us only through later works on the most intimate processes of nuclear division.

Therefore I gladly comply with the wish of the translator to introduce his translation with a few words. I say expressly "to introduce," for works of Hugo de Vries do not need a recommendation.

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