

# THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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VOLUME XXIV

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CHICAGO  
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY  
LONDON AGENTS  
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.  
1910

152318

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LAO-TZE AND CONFUCIUS.

By Murata Tanryō.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 1.)      JANUARY, 1910.

NO. 644

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## THE TRANSIENCY OF LIFE.

BY THE EDITOR.

SINCE primordial times philosophers and religious teachers of mankind have dwelt on the transiency of life, and we may truly say that if death did not exist man would live unthinkingly, without thought of the morrow and without pondering on the deeper problems of existence. There would be no philosophy, no religion and none of the ideals of sacrifice and victory of life triumphant over the power of death. Transiency and with it all that results therefrom, pain and other troubles, grief for the departed and the prospect of our own death, have been the teachers in the stern school of life.

Among the oldest documents which record a contemplation of the problem of death are two Egyptian poems, "The Hymn of King In-jetef" and "The Song of the Harper." Both are like two renderings of the same original. The text of the former is preserved in two versions. A complete copy of one of them, which, however, is very carelessly written, was found on a papyrus now preserved in the British Museum under the title "Harris 500." The other copy was discovered in a tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty (which ruled about 1600-1350 B. C.), where it was inscribed on the wall. It is written in a clear hand but exists only in fragments, which have been transported to the museum at Leyden.

Maspero was the first translator of the papyrus version in *Etudes égyptologiques*, I, 164. Both texts were edited and commented upon and translated into German by W. Max Müller.<sup>1</sup> Later translations are by Adolf Erman and James Henry Breasted.

The London papyrus is somewhat later than the tomb in-

<sup>1</sup> *Die Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter.*

scription at Leyden. Its probable date is in the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, about 1300 B. C., but the song itself must antedate even the Leyden text, because kings of the name Imjetef belong to the Thirteenth Dynasty which flourished about 1700 B. C.

The singer of this ancient hymn is accompanied by a harper. His audience is gathered together for a family reunion in the an-



SINGING THE SONG OF THE HARPER.

From an Ancient Egyptian tomb inscription. (After Breasted.)

cestral temple before the statue of their patriarch Neferhotep, which is placed upon the seat of honor together with the statues of his wife, daughter and son. After the fashion of Egyptian love songs his wife is constantly addressed as his sister, a custom which also prevailed in Palestine and is adhered to in the Hebrew Song of Songs.

The festival may have been an annual celebration like the New Year's feast in China which is mainly a family feast in commemoration of ancestors.

The Harper's Song was apparently very popular all over Egypt, and its general tone may be characterized by the line, "Be cheerful evermore," where "evermore" means "in spite of all troubles of life"; and if we wish to render its meaning fully we might say, "for all that, even more so." It is a kind of *Gaudeamus igitur*.

Herodotus tells us (II, 78) that at their banquets the rich Egyptians used to have a wooden mummy carried about in the hall. It was an ell or two in length and was painted and prepared to look very natural, and as the attendant showed it to each guest he would say, "Look upon this, and drink and be merry; for when thou art dead thou wilt be like this."

The same author mentions the popular melodies of Egypt which were typically Egyptian, for they did not introduce foreign tunes. Herodotus tells of one song especially which he found also in Cyprus and elsewhere, and compares it with the Greek dirge named after Linos. He adds that it had been sung since the beginning of civilization and in Egyptian was called "Maneros." It is not improbable that the Egyptian Maneros is our Song of the Harper, and indeed we must assume that the latter was as popular and of the same antiquity as Herodotus describes the Maneros to have been. In comparing it to the Greek Lay of Linos, he apparently means only to say that it was in some way connected with funeral rituals and the dead.

Various Egyptologists have tried to find the Egyptian equivalent for Maneros. Plutarch explains it as an exclamation of good luck,<sup>2</sup> but no explanation is satisfactory, and W. Max Müller's hypothesis is still the best. He explains it to be the Egyptian *Ma-n-er-hos*, which means a place where one sings, and is used in the sense of carousing.

The redactions of the Harper's Song as we have them contain obvious contradictions, but these can easily be explained on the assumption that the original song was modified by orthodox interpolations. According to the traditions of Egypt, the body of the deceased had to be preserved and protected by magic spells, but this was possible only for the rich, and the comfort of a preservation after death was denied to the multitudes of the poor. The Harper's Song, however, exhorts to cheerfulness even those who can not afford the luxury of an orthodox funeral. When this song proved

<sup>2</sup> *De Is. et O.*, XVII.

too powerful to be suppressed, and when its spirited tone found favor even with those who would not dare to contradict the religious notions of the established faith, it suffered the fate of the Biblical Ecclesiastes, the song on the vanity of life, a very unorthodox piece of literature which is also interlarded with orthodox interpolations. In the same way we find inserted in the Song of the Harper a description of the blessed fate of him who is buried according to the proper ritual, and yet it seems to have been used originally by the large masses of the people who were impressed with the idea that after all in death all are alike.

How popular the song was in Egypt appears from the fact that quotations from it have been inserted on a stele, bearing the date of the year 10 of Cleopatra. This inscription is apparently copied from a later redaction, for it contains many verses of extraneous matter.

The original text is much mutilated and has been edited by prominent Egyptologists. Our intention here is not to recapitulate all the difficulties of its proper interpretation but to offer an approximately readable version which shall be as faithful as is possible in this popularized reproduction.

The singer first turns to the patriarch, then he comments upon the transiency of life and finally exhorts his audience. The lesson which he inculcates is to be cheerful and to have a courageous heart, but at the same time he insists on charity and righteousness so as to ensure a blessed memory among future generations and peace in the life to come.

The song of King In-jetef reads in an English version thus:<sup>3</sup>

THE HYMN OF THE SHRINE OF THE BLESSED KING IN-JETEF.<sup>4</sup>

[Written] for harp accompaniment.

Sainted indeed is this patriarch.

The good charge has been fulfilled.

Some pass away while others remain...<sup>5</sup>

Since the time of our ancestors,

The deified kings<sup>6</sup> who lived in ancient days,

Rest in their pyramids.

<sup>3</sup> We follow the translations of Erman, Stern, W. Max Müller and Breasted.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly this name was read "Antef" or "Entuf."

<sup>5</sup> The reading of this line and its connection with the next are doubtful.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, "the gods, or divine ones."

And the noble as well as the sainted ones  
Lie buried in their sepulchers.  
There<sup>7</sup> abide<sup>8</sup> those whose place is no more.  
Behold what has become of them!

I listened to the words of Imhotep and Hardydaf  
Who speak thus in their proverbs:  
"Behold the places of these men!  
Their walls crumble, there is no trace of them  
As though they had never been!<sup>9</sup>  
No one returneth to tell what has become of them,  
To tell us how they fare,<sup>10</sup> to cheer our heart,  
Until you<sup>11</sup> wend the way whither they have gone."  
Be cheerful and let thy heart forget [its grief].<sup>12</sup>  
Best is to give leeway to thy heart during thy lifetime.<sup>13</sup>  
Crown thyself with myrrh and clothe thyself in fine linen;  
Anoint thy head with wondrous oils divine.<sup>14</sup>  
Be cheerful evermore and let not thy heart flag.  
Give leeway to thy heart, and take joy.  
So long as thou livest on earth  
Let not thy heart be troubled,  
Until cometh the day of mourning.<sup>15</sup>

The still heart<sup>16</sup> does not hear the wailing,  
And lamentations save no one from the grave.

<sup>7</sup> Viz., in the tomb.

<sup>8</sup> Literally, "they made their homes." Erman translates, "There have they built houses"; and W. Max Müller, "Die gebaut haben Heiligthümer"; and Breasted, "As for those who built houses."

<sup>9</sup> Erman ends the quotation from the Proverbs here with the third line. The others omit quotation marks altogether.

<sup>10</sup> W. Max Müller translates: "Ihre Angelegenheiten" and adds in a footnote: "D. h. wie sie aussahen und was sie thaten"; Erman translates: "How it goes with them"; and Breasted: "Of their estate."

<sup>11</sup> The change from "us" to "you" is in the Egyptian text and seems to be intentional. Müller translates: "Uns zu führen an den Platz wo(von) sie (weg)gingen."

<sup>12</sup> The word "grief" is supplied.

<sup>13</sup> Erman and W. Max Müller say "So lange du lebst." Breasted translates the line: "Let thy heart dwell upon that which is profitable to you."

<sup>14</sup> Literally, as Erman has it: "With the true marvels of the gods"; or W. Max Müller: "Getaucht in kostbares, (in) ächtes von den Götterdingen." This means: "With the ointments used in divine worship for anointing the statues of the gods."

<sup>15</sup> Literally: "The day of the [funeral] lamentation."

<sup>16</sup> The Leyden text reads: "Osiris does not hear the wailing," but the meaning remains the same, because the transfigured dead is identified with Osiris.

Therefore, celebrate the feast, and be not disheartened!<sup>17</sup>  
 No one has been permitted to take along his possessions  
 And no one who is gone hath ever returned.

The other Egyptian hymn which treats of the same theme and is inspired by the same sentiment, was discovered in the tomb of Nefer-hotep at Abd-el-gurnah, belonging to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The text was first published by Dümichen (*Hist. Inschr.*, II, 40), then by W. Max Müller. It was first translated into German by Lauth of Munich<sup>18</sup> and into English by Ludwig Stern, who also copied and published the text.<sup>19</sup>

Ludwig Stern published his translation in the First Series of the *Records of the Past*,<sup>20</sup> and Professor Erman in his *Life in Ancient Egypt*.<sup>21</sup> The song reads thus:

*Chanted by the harper in the temple of the blessed Nefer-hotep.*

Peace is now with this patriarch!  
 His good charge has been fulfilled!

Men pass away since the time of the sun,<sup>22</sup>  
 And youths come in their stead.  
 Ra [the morning sun] riseth in the dawn  
 And Tum [the setting sun] sinks below the horizon.

Men beget, women conceive,  
 And every nostril breathes the air of morn.  
 But all who are born  
 Go to their ordained place.<sup>23</sup>

Celebrate a feast, O holy father!  
 Have ointments and perfumes for thy nostrils;  
 With lotus wreaths deck the arms  
 And bosom of thy sister  
 Who liveth in thy heart and sitteth beside thee.

<sup>17</sup> Literally: "Tire not"; which means: "Do not flag in cheerfulness while celebrating the feast."

<sup>18</sup> In his essay, *Die Musik der Aegypter*.

<sup>19</sup> In *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. VI, p. 129.

<sup>21</sup> English translation, p. 387.

<sup>22</sup> Literally: "Since the time of Ra."

<sup>23</sup> W. Max Müller translates: "Sie gebären [Kinder] zu [ihrer] Zeit, [und diese] kommen an ihren Platz."



Music and song shall charm thee;  
 Cast away all cares and mind thee of joy  
 Until cometh the day  
 When we journey to the land which loveth silence.

.....<sup>24</sup>

Celebrate a feast, O blessed Nefer-hotep,  
 O Patriarch with pure hands.—  
 He has finished his life....

All this happened to our ancestors.<sup>25</sup>  
 Their walls crumble; no trace is left of them.  
 As though they had never been;  
 And so it is since the time of the sun.<sup>22</sup>

.....<sup>26</sup>

Give bread to him who has no field.<sup>27</sup>  
 And thy name will be praised by the generations to come:  
 They will look up to thee.....  
 Those<sup>28</sup> who have seen the right [way of life,  
 Have priests clad in the skin of] panther  
 Pouring libations on the ground,  
 And their bread is of fine flour.  
 The (female) singers shall weep before [their statues].  
 Their mummies shall stand before Ra

<sup>24</sup> Here only a few words are readable: "Not....peace of heart...his loving son."

<sup>25</sup> The reading is doubtful.

<sup>26</sup> Here the lines are much mutilated. Stern translates them thus: "(They in the shades) are sitting on the bank of the river, thy soul is among them, drinking its sacred water, following thy heart, at peace...." W. Max Müller declares that the language being of a later date betrays these sentences to be an insertion.

<sup>27</sup> So Erman. Stern translates: "Whose field is barren"; W. Max Müller: "Dem ohne Flur."

<sup>28</sup> This passage presents many difficulties, and we follow mainly W. Max Müller. It contains a description of the fate of the good. Stern translates thus: "[Priests clad in the skin] of a panther will pour to the ground and bread will be given as offerings. The dying women....."

This is a description of memorial festivals with libations and distributions of charity. The panther skin is the dress of the priests of Khem, the god that restores to life.

The text continues. "Their forms [viz., of the blessed] are standing before Ra. Their persons are protected [i. e., preserved or saved]." They live in Aaru (or Aalu), the Elysium of the Egyptians, where harvests never fail and where Shu, the son of Ra, will be their protector. The text continues: "Rannu [the goddess of the crops] will come at her hour and Shu will calculate his day and thou shalt awake....."

And their people will mourn.  
 Nor shall their offerings be neglected,  
 Rannu (the goddess of harvest) comes at the appointed time  
 And Shu<sup>29</sup> (the uplifter of heaven) counts his days.  
 Thou shalt awake [in Aalu]....  
 .....but woe to the evil doer,  
 He shall sit miserable in the heat of eternal fires.  
 Celebrate a feast, O holy Father,  
 Nefer-hotep, pure of hands.<sup>30</sup>  
 No palaces in all Egypt can avail him  
 Whose tomb is all his wealth....  
 Let me know what has become of him!  
 Not the least moment could be added to the life  
 Of him who passed into the realm of eternity.  
 Those whose storehouses are filled with bread,  
 Even they must encounter a last hour;  
 And that day's hour will quell the pride of the rich,  
 .....<sup>31</sup>  
 ....Mind thee of the day when hearts are sad  
 And the house is in mourning.....  
 Mind thee of the day when thou shalt start  
 For the land that is crowded.  
 [Be cheerful] evermore.<sup>32</sup>  
 None that is gone will ever return.  
 Then it will be better for thee [to have been just].  
 Art thou a witness, hate the lie.  
 He who loveth righteousness [will be blessed].  
 Neither the coward nor braggard [can escape].  
 Nor will tarry [on earth] he who is [entombed with pomp],  
 Nor he who is buried without ceremonies,  
 Neither the mummified nor he without [a shroud]<sup>33</sup>  
 Therefore let bounty prevail  
 And give as it may behoove thee.  
 [Love] the truth! Isis blesses the good;<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> W. Max Müller here translates "Destiny." He suspects these lines to be the interpolation of an orthodox redactor.

<sup>30</sup> Here and in the following lines we follow mainly Stern's translation.

<sup>31</sup> Lacuna.

<sup>32</sup> A repetition of the line exhorting to cheerfulness.

<sup>33</sup> The contrast is obvious. After death both are alike, the wealthy and mighty ones who enjoy the benefit of an orthodox funeral according to the ritual prescribed by tradition, and the poor tramp buried by the wayside.

<sup>34</sup> W. Max Müller translates: "Enjoy what Me'it (Truth), Min (Bliss), and Isis give thee."

[And mayest thou attain] after a happy old age  
To the seat of truth without [suffering and grief].

The land where the Harper's Song was composed and sung has now itself become a picture of the transiency of life, and even in its ruins it is still beautiful and exercises its charm upon the present generation.

\* \* \*

Compare with these old Egyptian songs the kindred sentiment expressed in Psalm xc of the Old Testament. The underlying ideas are the same, but there is missing in the Hebrew Psalm the exhortation to an enjoyment of life and also to leading a life of righteousness. In its place stands the idea of Yahveh, the God of eternity as contrasted with the transitory character of human affairs. Yahveh represents the enduring background of life. He is the god of Israel, the creator of heaven and earth, the Eternal One before whom a thousand years are as one day.

A scholarly translation of this song made by Professor J. Wellhausen with a consideration of the literal meaning of the original text and published in the Polychrome Bible, reads as follows:

*Prayer of Moses, the Man of God.*

O Lord, Thou art our Refuge  
In all generations.  
Before mountains were born,  
Before earth and world were brought forth,  
From everlasting to everlasting Thou art God.

Thou turnest man again to dust,  
And sayest: "Return, ye children of men!"  
A thousand years are in Thy sight  
But as yesterday when it is past,  
And as an hour in the night.

The generation of men is ever shifting,  
They are like the herb which springs anew,  
Which shoots up in the morning, and thrives,  
And in the evening it fades and withers;  
Under Thy displeasure we perish,  
Under Thine anger are we benumbed.

Thou placest our sins before Thee,  
Our secretest act in the light of Thy face;



THE ADVENT OF THE NEW YEAR.

Under Thy fury all our days vanish,  
We bring our years to an end like a thought.

Our life lasts seventy years,  
Or, at the most, eighty,  
And its unrest is toil and emptiness;  
For it passes away swiftly, and we take our flight.  
Yet who apprehends the weight of Thine anger?  
Who is terrified at the power of Thy fury?  
Teach us, therefore, to number our days,  
That we may enter the gateway of wisdom.

Return, O JHVH! how long!  
Be gracious again to Thy Servants!  
Satisfy us at morn with Thy goodness,  
That we may rejoice and be glad all our days.  
Give us joy for as long as Thou hast given us affliction,  
For as many years of misfortune as we have lived through.  
Let Thy deeds be discerned by Thy Servants,  
And Thy majesty by their children!  
May the favor of JHVH, our God, be upon us!  
Support Thou the work of our hands!

This contemplation of transiency of life and the lessons which it teaches will never be antiquated and appeals to us to-day as strongly as it did at the family reunions of hoary Egypt or in the religious service of the ancient Jewish congregation.

To show our readers how a modern mind conceives of this same problem we here reproduce a picture by Max Klinger, a modern artist, who has given shape to his thought in a picturesque fantasy where the God of Love, ever childlike and ever young, leads the procession of life on the wheel of time. With him rides Death, and they leave behind those forms of life which have been condemned to extinction, represented by the American Indian and the buffalo.

The gruesome aspect of death representing transiency, is overcome and counterbalanced by the bright light of the future, which stretches out as an unlimited vista into eternity.

The past contains dead fossils, but before us lies the prospect of a constant renewal of life with its great possibilities of an advance to ever loftier heights.

## THE REAL QUESTION OF THE ANCESTRY OF JESUS.

IN FURTHER COMMENT ON PROF. PAUL HAUPT'S ARTICLE  
"THE ARYAN ANCESTRY OF JESUS."

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

HAD we confined ourselves to the strict requisitions of logic, our discussion of the Aryan ancestry of Jesus, as thus far conceived, would have ended with the December number of *The Open Court*. But there are many other matters of interest in the pregnant paper of Professor Haupt. Powerfully he has struck, as with hammer of Thor, at a single point the broad urn of Oriental science, and the strong vibration runs round and round the sonorous rim.

As already observed, the combined authority of Cheyne and Gardner assures us that Jesus was in all likelihood born in Nazareth, and this judgment seems plainly confirmed by Professor Haupt. A threefold cord holds strongest, but what is the evidence in point? So far as I can see, absolutely none at all. Certainly none worthy of the name has yet been produced.

True, it is reported that Jesus was invoked as the Galilean by the dying Julian,<sup>1</sup> and Epictetus (IV, 7) designates certain obdurates, who are presumably Christians, as Galileans. But there are many ways to account for all that. A Galilean residence would suffice, Galilean birth is by no means necessary. Matthew has his own theory of birth in Bethlehem and residence in Nazareth, Luke holds another quite contradictory. It is the fashion in certain quarters to prefer Luke's account to Matthew's, but the preference is entirely unreasonable. In every respect Matthew's story is superior in plausibility, simplicity, naturalness. It contents itself with one star and two dreams as its supernatural machinery, not an ex-

<sup>1</sup> *ἡ ἐκκλησία, Γαλιλαίη*!—Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 21. The sole basis for the report seems to be the fact to which Gregory Nazianzen repeatedly adverts in both his invectives against the Emperor, that he preferred the term Galilean and would even make it the legal substitute for Christian.

tensive outfit surely; while Luke fairly riots in prodigies and miracles. Any even proximate analysis, such as the tyro may make, must expose the romantic, artistic, and thoroughly fictive nature of the Lucan narrative and relegate it to a position far below Matthew's in all but literary respects, with which the historical critic has no concern. In view of these facts, we must repeat that any preference for Luke's account is entirely unwarranted.

Professor Haupt rightly rejects the Lucan device, so zealously championed by Ramsay, of sending Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, to be enrolled for taxation. As if Missourians should go back to Kentucky or Virginia every census-year!

Recently the discovery and publication of an edict issued by Gaius Vibius Maximus, eparch of Egypt, A. D. 104, on occasion of a census (taken every 14 years), sets this matter in clear light. All are required to go back *home*, "each to his own hearthstone,"<sup>2</sup> to attend to their ordinary daily tasks of husbandry (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, III, 125, 1907). This is the plainest common sense. On census day every one should be "at his own hearth," surely not in some distant ancestral city. Deissmann, whom the student of the New Testament has to thank for so much "Light from the East," but whose syllogisms are sometimes fearfully and wonderfully made, fancies that he finds in this edict at least a partial parallel to the deliverance in Luke! "*Die Aehnlichkeit ist doch sehr gross*" (*Licht vom Osten*, p. 201, n. 6). But parallels may run in exactly opposite directions!

But Jesus is also called the Nazaree,<sup>3</sup> and does not this fix his birth at Nazareth? Assuredly not. *Nazaraïos* is not derivable from Nazareth, and Keim's preference for Nazara is not sustained by the manuscripts. Moreover there is no evidence whatever in favor of the existence of any such town "called Nazareth" B. C. 4, and much silent but eloquent testimony against it.

Neither Josephus, nor the Old Testament, nor the Talmud (for nearly a thousand years after Christ) knows anything of such a town. Yet Professor Haupt assures us that Nazareth = Hethlon = Hittalon = Hannathon = Hinnathon = Hinnatün = Protection. Granted. But why the change of name? and when? Professor Haupt is silent. Where is the shred of evidence that the change of name was made before 4 B. C.? There seems to be none. Such

<sup>2</sup> ἐκκελεῖν εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν ἐφίστια.

<sup>3</sup> ναζωραῖος. The several forms, Νασσαραῖος, Ναζαπαῖος, Ναζωραῖος, Ναζαρηός, are all used. The first, which we may transliterate into *Nazaree*, seems to be primitive and to reproduce most nearly the Syriac *Nazāryā* and the Hebrew, N-Z-R.



a change could not have taken place without some reason. Eastern conservatism would certainly retain the many-century-old name but for some compelling motive. Hethlon, Hittalon, Hinnathon, all these are fair- and rich-sounding words. Nazareth is inferior in sound and barely equal in sense. Why then the change, and when? The answer is that we do not hear of "a city called Nazareth" till it suddenly appears in Matt. ii. 23, to explain the epithet Nazaree. Admittedly the etymology is unsound. But there must be some explanation. What is it?

Fortunately we know something about Nazarees (or Nazorees). In the early days of the Propaganda they appear as a well-known sect, one of whose leaders was Paul; so at least says Tertullus (Acts xxiv. 5). I say well-known, for Tertullus deigns no word of explanation to Felix concerning this "Heresy of the Nazarees."

We turn to Epiphanius. Of all the ancients none knew more about sects or heresies. The study of them was his life-work, the discussion of them his *magnum opus*. No one has yet questioned his diligence, his painstaking, his minute and extended information. His orthodoxy shines conspicuous. His eagerness to bring down the dates of the heresies to the very latest is manifest. He holds a brief for Catholicism. His thesis is that every Christian heterodoxy is an aberration from a primitive unital orthodoxy. To establish this contention, he strains every nerve and not a few facts. What then is his witness? "The heresy of the Nazarees was before Christ and knew not Christ" (*Haer.* XXIX, 6). There! The cat is out of the bag. It is vain to say that this careful and erudite heresiograph did not know what he was talking about. If he did not, as the result of a life's study, pray, who did? It is vain to say that he is often confused and inaccurate. How could he be other when defending an indefensible thesis? The facts were dead against him. He could not jostle them into accord with his postulates. Hence his confusion and contradictions. But this merely strengthens his testimony quoted. We may justly question the asseverations of a witness that are made in his own interest and that serve his own purposes. But the admissions of the witness against himself, which overturn his own position and throw his own case out of court, these no judge of evidence thinks of questioning or of discounting; they are accepted not at par but above par, at a high premium. Until counter-testimony is adduced, and that will be a long time, we must hold firmly then to the unwilling witness of Epiphanius that "the sect of the Nazarees was before Christ and knew not Christ."



Was then the name derived from Nazareth? Certainly not! Such derivation was both philologically and topologically impossible. The Nazarees are located by Epiphanius on the other side of Jordan and the sea of Galilee. Why should such an important sect take its name from an unknown and contemptible hamlet? What other sect of that day took its name from an insignificant village or even a flourishing city? Call the roll, the answer is, None. We may be confident then that the party of the Nazarees had no more to do with the city of Nazareth than the party of the Tories with the city of Troy.

Common sense may raise its voice at this point. A sect might readily take its name from a person, or from an idea. Examples abound. The Nazarees might be so called from a person Nazarya' or from the idea of Najar, that is, Protection, Guarding. Nazarees might be something like Conservatives. Apparently they worshiped God as Guardian, under the special aspect of Servator or Protector. Najar-Ya' itself would appear to mean simply Guardian-Yah. The word seems nearly equivalent to Jesus, or *Soter*, or Saviour, and Jesus-Nasarya' looks like the most natural of combinations.

Accuracy of detail is perhaps not attainable at this point, but the general situation seems clear: The Nazarees were a pre-Christian sect worshiping God as Protector, Defender. They were close akin to the Iessaioi (or Jessees), who adored the same God as Saviour or Jesus, who were themselves nearly related to the more Hellenic Gnostics, who worshiped the same God as *Soter* or Saviour.

The term *Soter* was not regarded with favor by Old Catholics like Irenæus. It would appear to have smacked too unmistakably of pre-Christian Gnosticism. Hence it has been nearly quite displaced by its Hebrew translation, Jesus. It occurs in the New Testament only 24 times, and of these, 10 times in the Pastoral Letters, 5 times in 2 Peter; in fact, it is practically absent from all contexts but such as are more or less Gnostic. Irenæus substitutes Lord (*Kurios*) for it and speaks to the Gnostics ill-temperedly of "Your *Soter*."

The fusion of the Nazarees with the Jessees would appear natural and inevitable and even indicated in the combination Jesus-Nazarya. The fusion of both with the Messianists, the Christ-Servants or Christians, seems to lie just as plain before us in the immortal juxtaposition Jesus-Christ.

Not having a clear-cut subjunctive at command, I have tried hard in the foregoing to distinguish the facts from my interpretation of the facts, by the use of verbal auxiliaries, *seem*, *appear*, etc.

The facts indeed are few, but they are profoundly significant. We must construct them, *interrelate* them rationally. In *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (the writer may be allowed to say) will be found a conscientious attempt to utilize in such construction a maximum of facts with a minimum of hypothesis, though only about one-fourth of the material already assembled has been collocated in that volume.

It is notorious that all attempts, no matter how learned and ingenious, hitherto made to deduce the phenomena of primitive Christianity from a single personal focus, a unique and exaggerated man, whether Jew or Aryan, have issued in total and absolute failure. We may and we do entertain the highest reverence for the essayists, but their essays are all tissues of assumptions and even of contradictions. No matter how unanimous they may now be on their standpoint, that standpoint is untenable and must be definitely and permanently abandoned. "E'en in their glory comes the changing shade." This all-victorious school of criticism has passed its climacteric. Not only have all such past efforts aborted, but all future ones must abort also. A history, a movement of thought, feeling, action cannot be deduced from a character, a Human Being, when the clearest of all attestations of that history is to the total absence of any such character or Humanity as a factor in that history, as a component in that movement. The proof of this absence cannot of course be attempted in this paper, it must be reserved for at least one large volume; but the assertion is made on the basis of minute and registered examination.

To return from this conscious but apparently justifiable digression, we repeat the question, Whence the name Nazareth?

Professor Haupt assures us it was a new name for an old thing, the venerable city of Hethlon = Hittalon = Hinnathon = Hinnatûn = Protection = Nazareth. If this be true, and it is perilous to controvert the editor of the Polychrome Bible, then we may readily believe that it was named Nazareth from the Nazarees, who were "before Christ and knew not Christ." The relations have been exactly reversed in Matt. ii. 23, as so often in case of city-names. The evangelist cast his eye round over Galilee and saw Hinnaton = Defense, and ingeniously translated it into Nazareth = Protection, wherewith he had a firm enough hook on which to hang his innocent etymology, by which he effectually drew the fangs from the *fact* of pre-Christian Nazareeism. Similarly in Mark vi. 3, the question is put, "Is not this the Carpenter?" Turning it back into Syriac we get, "Is not this the N-S-R?" where the scarcely perceptible difference in sound between the two sibilants

allows the beautiful pun on N-3-R and N-S-R. It seems plain that the Jesus is here called the Carpenter (N-S-R) because he was the Defender (N-3-R).\*

The identification of Nazareth with Hinnatûni is very near lying, extremely plausible and highly probable; it is moreover very welcome, as solving the queer riddle of the "city called Nazareth," which suddenly appears on the map as if it had fallen from the sky. The reader may naturally ask for the evidence of this identity. The answer is that in the El-Amarna Letters (11: 16-17) in the letter of Buraburiash, King of Karduniash, to Napkhururia, King of Egypt, we read, according to Winckler, "After Akhi-tâbu went on his way to my brother, in the city of kHinatôn in Kinakhkhi etc." (*â lu*) *kHi-in-na-tu-ni ša (mātu) Ki-na-akh-khi* etc.), where (*mātu*) *Ki-na-akh-khi* is (land) *Canaan*. Again (196: 24-32), in the continuation of a letter, "But Surata took Lapaja out of Makida, and said to me, 'Upon a ship I will bring him to the King.' But Surata took him and sent him from (city) kHinatuni home" (*u-ji-tar-šir-šu-iš-tu (a lu) kHi-na-tu-na â-na biti-šu*). *Magid-da* seems to be the well-known Megiddo of the plain of Jezreel, and appears here as not far from kHinatuna.

Again, in the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III, as edited by Paul Rost, at line 232 we read:

"....[*šal-lat*] (*â lu*) *kHi-na-tu-na* 650 *šal-lat* (*â lu*) *Kana*...."

"....[*captives*] (city) *kHi-na-tu-na* 650 *captives* (city) *Kana* ....."

Here *Hi-na-tu-na* appears in close relation with "*Kana*...." apparently the *Canā* of Galilee, six miles north of the present Nazareth. To be sure, the reading "*Kana*...." is not quite certain. Layard gave instead "*Ku(?)*." Moreover, since the end of the line is lost, we are not sure of the name even if thus far correctly read. If one should find a piece of writing illegible after the letters *Adria*, one would not be sure, in the absence of other indications, whether *Adria* in Italy was meant, or perhaps *Adrianople* in Turkey. However, the *Canā* of Galilee has a strong presumption in its favor. There is in fact no other claimant for the honor of this mention.

\* The Greek is *τεκτων*, strictly *wood-worker*, as opposed to *metal-worker*, though also used in the latter sense. The Syriac of the passage actually presents *n-g-r*, which denotes *workman* in wood, metal, or stone, whereas the participle *M-n-s-r* is the exact term for *carpenter*, *sawyer*. It should perhaps be mentioned in passing that in the old Sinaitic Syriac palimpsest the Marcan passage is wanting (from v. 26 to vi. 5) and in the parallel passage (Matt. xiii. 55) we read simply, "Is this not the son of Jeseph?" The word *carpenter* would thus appear to be a later conceit.

The identification of Hethlon or Hittalon with Hinnaton (the Hannathon of Zebulun, Josh. xix. 14), seems hardly so likely. The linguistic obstacles are not indeed insuperable, but this Hethlon is an extremely elusive and uncertain quantity. "The way of Hethlon" we come upon in the Old Testament only in Ez. xlvii. 15, and xlviii. 1, as bounding the ideal Canaan on the north and apparently starting from the Mediterranean (in neither case is Hethlon recognized as a proper name in the Septuagint, which attempts to translate it).<sup>4</sup> Hence the plausible conjecture of Schwarz (*Das heilige Land*, 171) and of Van Kasteren (*Revue biblique*, 1895, p. 24), which has found so much favor, identifying it with the modern 'Adlûn (Ornithopolis), a few miles north of the mouth of the Nahr-el-Qasimiye, in latitude 33° 23' 30", whereas Nazareth lies in latitude 32° 42' 30", nearly 50 miles further south. Furrer would find this Hethlon in the present Heitla, still much further north, beyond Tripoli, and it would seem likely that Ezekiel would push the northern boundary of his ideal Canaan as far toward the pole as seemed possible.

Professor Haupt's extremely daring and ingenious reconstruction of this frontier depresses it much toward the south, starting it from Carmel and carrying it across to and up the Sea of Tiberias or Lake Gennesaret. It is perilous for any one to question Professor Haupt in such matters; for the most it would be temerarious; with Pindar, "I hold aloof." But one would at least be glad to see Professor Haupt's proofs in minuter detail than given in his article in Peiser's *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* and in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908). The taste is not instantly reconciled to the new wine of the doctrine that the *Way of Hammath* is the rather modest *Wady el-Hammâm*, and that the northern boundary of Palestine ran (along the western shore of the sea of Galilee?) to Bethsaida at the northeastern end of Gennesaret. It is very hard to imagine a patriotic idealist contenting himself with a border drooping so far to the south. Far more likely that he would retire it unduly to the north. Furthermore, if the northern boundary passed through Bethsaida, at the northeast end of Gennesareth (or Chinnereth), then since the eastern border "shall descend and shall reach unto the side of the Sea of Chinnereth eastward," the northern and eastern borders would seem to meet at or near Bethsaida; where then is there room left for that large part of the border, northern

<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης τῆς καταβαίνουσης καὶ περισχίζουσης, and κατὰ τὸ μέρος τῆς καταβάσεως τοῦ περισχίζοντος.

and eastern, defined by Ziphron, Hazar-enan, Shepham, Riblah, Ain (Numbers xxxiv. 8-11)? Passing by the well-known text-uncertainties in connection with this northern boundary, one is nevertheless embarrassed by multiplied difficulties in contracting the bounds of Palestine so far to the south.

Another most interesting identification by Professor Haupt is that of Sepphoris (modern Saffūriye) with the Arbatta, Arbacta, or Arbana of 1 Macc. v. 23. Here again the philologic possibility certainly lies open, but the probability of such a series of transformations does not seem to be high. Perhaps Professor Haupt has evidence of the actual disappearance here of the initial S into a guttural. In any case it will seem curious that Ziphron, which he equates with Sepphoris, should be mentioned (Num. xxxiv. 9) *after* Zedad (or Bethsaida) as on the northern border of Palestine. On this point we may hope for further light. That Sepphoris, the *Çipporin* of the Talmud, is the "city set on a hill," seems uncertain when one reflects that there were many cities so set in ancient times, even in Palestine; moreover, the sentiment of the verse is not new nor startling, though the phraseology, as so often in Matthew, is particularly pleasing.

In passing it should be noticed that Professor Haupt seems to attribute to the Angel (of Luke ii. 9-12) a geographic confusion that would ill become such an accredited messenger. He says, "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." But the Angel could hardly have been glancing in his phraseology at Nazareth, for he declares explicitly, "There is born to you to-day a Saviour, who is Christ-Lord, in David's city," "which is called Bethlehem." Of course, it is possible to hold that these words are not authentic, that they were added to the veridical declaration of the Angel concerning the swathing and manger. However, this does not mend matters much; for the incident of the swaddling is of itself too commonplace for record, and the sole distinguishing detail of the manger loses point and credibility except in connection with the census and the crowded state of the hotels in Bethlehem. We can hardly believe that the Child, even though a carpenter and the son of a carpenter, would have been swathed in a manger at home in Nazareth, however insistently the engirdling hills may have suggested it.

Inasmuch as H. S. Chamberlain has discussed the question, Was Jesus a Jew? with so much learning (of course, not nearly equal to Professor Haupt's) and vigor and earnestness, it would



be unjust not to notice his arguments. However, there is little to add. The general complexity of racial relations in Galilee, on which he justly insists, is not disputed. The race-Babel of the Assyrian monarchy, on which Winckler lays so much stress (*Die Völker Vorderasiens*, 1900), was even intensified in Galilee, which was a veritable witches' caldron bubbling over with varied and violent contents. Assuming for the moment the standpoint of Chamberlain, we must approve his judgment: "To what race did He belong? No answer at all can be given." But if Chamberlain rightly declines to make any affirmation, he is none the less positive in his negation. He also quotes the Maccabean passage with the added emphasis of spread-print, which however does not strengthen the argument which we have already seen collapse completely. Chamberlain thinks the Jews would not return to Galilee; but his only reason is that they refused to people Tiberias at the behest of Herod Antipas. That however was for a very specific reason, which Chamberlain forgets to state, namely, Tiberias was built on an old cemetery, as Professor Haupt remarks. This particular site therefore was "unclean" for the Jews, hence their recalcitrance; nothing is implied as to the rest of Galilee. Later, however, Tiberias became the seat of Jewish learning.

It is curious to note at this point a queer psychologic phenomenon. As must now be evident, neither Chamberlain nor any one else has any cogent reason to allege against the Jewish ancestry of Jesus. The most they can urge is that a man chosen at random from among a populace prevaillingly non-Jewish would be probably a non-Jew—a reason whose irrelevance has already been pointed out.<sup>5</sup> Chamberlain seems to have felt the uncertainty of his position at the outset, and hence his first statement (p. 211) is comparatively mild and innocent. "In religion and education He was undoubtedly a Jew; in race—in the narrower and proper sense of the word Jew,—He was most (*höchst*) probably not." After discussing the matter, however, he assures us (p. 214) there is "not the slightest occasion" (*nicht die geringste Veranlassung*) to assume His parents were Jews. This confidence grows with his manuscript, and on page 218 he declares that he who makes the assertion that Christ was a Jew is "either ignorant or untrue" (*entweder unwissend oder unwahr*). "The probability that Christ was no Jew, that he had not a drop of pure Jewish blood in his veins, is so great that it almost amounts to a certainty." Lastly, on page 219, it reaches this limit: "That Jesus Christ did *not* belong to it (the Jewish race) may be

<sup>5</sup> See "The Jewish Element in Galilee," *Open Court* for December.

considered as certain. Every other assertion is hypothetic." Now on page 211 Chamberlain knew all that he knew on page 219. No scintilla of new evidence, none we have not already examined. But by eight pages of eloquent declamation Chamberlain has convinced himself and doubtless many of his readers. So illusory is often the artificial illumination of rhetoric!

Chamberlain indeed, whose merit I would not for a moment underestimate, holds as is well known, a brief for the Aryan *vs.* the Jew. He will not even admit that Renan was quite honest in (*Vie de Jésus*, 1863, chapter II) declaring it impossible even to conjecture the race of Jesus, and later (1891) affirming "He was a Jew"\* (*Histoire du peuple d'Israël*) and violently attacking the gainsayers. He thinks he detects in this change of front the fine hand of the *Alliance Israélite*!

On one point, however, we must agree with Chamberlain heartily. The importance he ascribes to race and blood is not fictitious. It is genuine and abiding. A. Réville (who has been followed by Harnack) erred mightily in declaring (*Jésus de Nazareth*, I, 47) the question of the Aryan descent of Christ to be not only inadjudicable but also idle (*oiseuse*). The disposition so common among ethnologists and other "liberal" writers to disregard questions of race and to treat the substance of humanity as practically homogeneous, as a uniform dough out of which everywhen and everywhere equally good individual units may be made, is altogether deplorable. Jean Finot writes a big book on *Race Prejudice*; Anatole France re-echoes him and scoffs at the alleged superiority of any race; H. G. Wells swells the chorus; Prof. Thomas (says the press) calls out for miscegenation and seems to believe the millennium awaits the day when black spirits and white, blue spirits and gray, mingle, mingle, mingle, they that mingle may. We may think the Hottentots uncivilized, uncultured, disgusting, but it's only a matter of taste; they think the same of us, and apparently with equal reason! The African rice- and butter-fattened houri, who cannot rise from a sitting posture without assistance, is really just as beautiful as the Melonian Venus, her royal admirers prefer her! Jacobi's deduction of the triaxial ellipsoid of equilibrium is hardly more admirable than the Australian's calculation of his own kinship! All he needs is a little training, and the Bushman will every way equal the Anglo-Saxon! Says Réville (*loc. cit.*), "A man belongs to the nation in whose bosom he has grown up." Is the mild Mongolian

\* "Nothing but the folly of men of the world could ever have raised any doubts on this point."

grown up in New York a genuine good American?! By his earnest and vehement and well-reasoned protest against sickly sentimentality in high places, Chamberlain has earned the thanks of right-thinking men.\*

Not only are race and blood important in themselves, but in understanding a religion or a literature it makes a big difference whence it proceeds. The incapacity of the Aryan rightly to appreciate the Semite, the Hittite, and their compound the Jew, has profoundly influenced nearly 2000 years of history. The thick-strewn but thin-veiled allusions of the Song of Songs passed with Herder for the tenderest blossoms of virginal innocence, modesty, and delicacy. The English clergyman quotes Matt. v. 30 without a blush, without an inkling of what is aimed at; he regards Rom. i. 18-32 as directed against vice in general, and when he reads that Jesus went up into the Mountain he may possibly think of Tabor or Lebanon or Olivet, but hardly of Sinai, the Mount of the Law.

Once more resuming the thread of discourse, we affirm that the question of the racial ancestry of Jesus is not unimportant for such as Chamberlain and the "liberal" critics, Bousset, Wernle, Schmiedel, Haupt and the rest, who deduce Christianity from a unique human personality. But for such the question is entirely unanswerable, as Renan rightly perceived. In Galilee (*Gelil hag-gôyim*, district of the nations) was to be found unending variety of parentage. Once cut loose from the Bethlehem story of Matthew, conjecture drifts rudderless on a sea of possibilities.<sup>a</sup> For neither is there anything in any other tradition, whether of word or of deed, to give us the slightest clew. Plainly, in case of a character of whom nothing is known, nothing that he said, nothing that he did, it is absurd to talk of internal evidence. We never can tell a man's race from his birth-place, much less from his dwelling place. The greatest of Roman emperors may be a Spaniard; the most illustrious of German philosophers, a canny Scot; the profoundest of French analysts, "*la haute pyramide des sciences mathé-*

\* The great egalitarian apostle of opportunity "predicates" "intellectual equality" in "each" race "taken by itself." Ward's *Applied Sociology*, p. 110.

<sup>a</sup> Professor Haupt will not indeed by any means allow that David was of Bethlehem. In a most interesting and ingenious paper in Peiser's *Or. Litstg.*, February, 1909, he dissipates the tradition of David's connection with Bethlehem as formed of misconceptions, and refers him to Hebron, as Winckler had already referred him to the Negeb. But Winckler despairs of separating "actuality from genealogic-mythologic constructions" (*Geschichte Israels*, II, 226) and footing on Stucken's *Astralmythen*, he translates so much of the Davidic legend to the skies that it becomes almost indifferent where the minstrel king was born or whether he was born at all.



*matiques*," an Italian; the chief of Russian poets may proudly boast descent from an African Arab.

Nevertheless, although, as the matter shapes itself in my mind, the question of the Aryan ancestry of Jesus Nasarya' aligns itself with that of the Semitic lineage of Zeus Xenios, the Hittite descent of Jupiter Stator, or even the Turanian genealogy of Yalveh Zebaoth, there yet remains a kindred sense in which the question may be put and may be answered with reasonable precision: The doctrine, the worship, the cult of Jesus—the *only thing in the premises that we really know anything about*—was it Jewish? was it Aryan? was it Greek? was it Semitic? was it Babylonian? was it pamphylic, a synthesis of all tribes and tongues and worships? This Way (of the Lord), which the mighty Apollos had learned orally,<sup>7</sup> which he was "accustomed to preach and to teach accurately," which he was proclaiming as an ardent missionary all round the Mediterranean, and that in utter ignorance of the Gospel story, having learned only the Baptism of John (Acts xviii. 24, 25), this cult of the Jesus,<sup>8</sup> which Paul too taught (Acts xxviii. 31), though he knew practically nothing of a "Christ fleshwise" (2 Cor. v. 16), this *Religionsanschauung* is the broadest, deepest, and highest fact of modern civilization, culture, and history, nor can we evade the question as to its genesis. The answer thus far rendered and almost universally accepted has been that this cult was Jewish, the legitimate, prophesied, inevitable fruit of the slow-flowering century-plant of Israel's history.

"Christianity," says Renan in an outburst of enthusiasm, in 1891 (*Hist. du p. d'Is.*, v. 415, ii. 539), when his style had begun to do its worst for his judgment, "Christianity is the masterwork of Judaism, its glory, the résumé of its evolution. . . . Jesus is all and entire in Isaiah." Against this prodigious error Chamberlain has done well to protest, though his critical arguments hit far wide of the mark, and Jensen's Pan-Babylonism may render some service. But however much the Gilgamesh-Epos may have unconsciously infiltrated the mythologizing of the Evangelists, whatever echoes Zimmern or Gunkel may hear of Assyria in Epistles or Apocalypse, the proximate sources of the Jesus-Cult lie much nearer at hand in time, in space, in race. For it can be proved by "minutely accurate exegesis" that the cult was at least half-Greek, whatever foreign admixtures may have been and actually were present. Born in the Diaspora, in the blending twilight of Greek philosophy and Jewish

<sup>7</sup> κατηχημένος.

<sup>8</sup> τὸ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

theology, it was itself a *theosophy* taught primarily in secret and by mystery, even as is distinctly said (1 Cor. ii. 7): "But we speak divine wisdom in mystery."<sup>9</sup> The primitive secrecy of this cult is revealed on many pages of the New Testament, from Mark to the Pastorals (O Timothy, guard the deposit, 1 Tim. vi. 20). That the cult was largely non-Jewish is evident from a score of considerations. "Jesus came into Judea," and even "into Galilee" according to a variant of Mark i. 9, which to me appears older than our Receptus. The doctrine bloomed out almost simultaneously all around the Mediterranean. Ananias was evidently a citizen of Damascus, not a refugee from Jerusalem, yet before there had been any mission to Damascus he was a worshiper of Jesus, who appeared to him in a dream and gave him weighty instructions (Acts. ix. 10-19). Aquila and Priscilla knew it in Rome before we hear of any mission thither. Apollos knew it in Alexandria. The Twelve knew it in Ephesus before Paul preached it to them (Acts. xix. 1-7). Elymas Son-of-Jesus (most probably Disciple of Jesus) in Cyprus was a "false prophet" (that is, a more or less heterodox teacher of Christianity—the word never means anything else in the New Testament) before Paul and Barnabas came thither, and apparently long before (Acts xiii. 6-12). Moreover, when we come to examine the cult itself we find Greek elements abounding, not without some Roman. We have no space for detailed proof, which must of course be minute and painstaking. In fact, the notion of the Jesus is only an Hebraization of the Greek *Sōter*, whom<sup>10</sup> without any specification, though the reference is to Zeus, Socrates invokes in the *Philebus*, 66, D; "Zeus Soter and victory!" shouted the Greeks at Cunaxa, as their eager front rank billowed forward against the Persians.

This brings us to the part played by Judaism in the Jesus-Cult. That part has been largely misunderstood. Baur recognized a certain conflict, but quite mistook its nature, origin, and significance. With him it was a struggle between Petrine and Pauline, and he scented these two forces everywhere in early Christianity. This conflict seems to have been mainly imaginary. The supposed basis in Gal. ii. 11 ff., a mere passing incident at most, seems quite insufficient. In Acts Peter appears as liberal as Paul, and the Epistles ascribed to him are Pauline enough for the most exacting. In the Clementines Peter is not fighting Paul, but much rather his ancient self, Simon before his *conversion* (Luke xxii. 32).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ.

<sup>10</sup> τῷ σωτῆρι.

<sup>11</sup> The Revisers have here allowed their prejudices to impair their trans-

What then did Judaism for the Jesus-Cult? Precisely what by its racial nature it was bound to do: *It historized the Doctrine*, just as the Jew has always historized whatever he touched. This was not his fault, hardly even his misfortune. Equally averse to generalizations and to abstractions, he threw the cult of the Jesus into a narrative form, he gave the "new teaching" (Mark i. 27) historic form and setting, he turned a body of ideas into a body of facts; he wrote or inspired the Gospels! Such was the rôle he played, principal, poetic, dramatic, fateful, ruinous! A little leaven that has leavened the whole lump. It is the mission of criticism to disclose and identify this tremendous part played by the Jew in Greek-Christian religion. He has given that originally highly spiritual, philosophic and even theosophic religion its historical material form, a terrific investiture, a shirt of Nessus. This religion he has recognized from the start as not his own, as alien and absolutely unassimilable to his nature. Hence he has never accepted, he has steadfastly and necessarily rejected it—a fact of itself sufficient to show that this religion was not born of him, that in its origin and essence it is foreign to his being.

Doth not the ox know his owner, and the ass its master's crib? If Christianity had been the fructification of Judaism, the Jews would have adopted it with an impulse as irresistible as the rush of a planet. Herewith is said nothing against the Jew, whom all men must, at least in many regards, most reverentially admire. When we say that he is not now and never was and can never be a Greek, we institute no comparison but merely state a fact, by no means discreditable to the Jew.

It is in this sense and only in this sense that we can attach importance or even meaning to the question of the ancestry of Jesus. The paths pursued by criticism thus far in its treatment of the whole question of Christian origins are smooth and well-beaten and conduct through beautiful and interesting scenery; but they lead no whither, they are blind alleys, they are *culs-de-sac*. He who would attain to the light must turn his back resolutely upon them all. Even though he may have known the Christ fleshwise, henceforth he must know Him so no longer. That way lies hope, lies progress, lies truth.

"Wunsch um Wünsche zu erlangen,  
Schaue nach dem Glanze dort."

lation: "When once thou hast turned again"—but the word *again* is gratuitous, unrepresented in the original, which is simply *ἐπιστρέψας*—*turned round*.

## THE NAZARENE.

(With special reference to Prof. W. B. Smith's theory of the pre-Christian Jesus.)

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is a rare honor for an American scholar to have his book translated into German even before it has appeared in English, but it is passing strange if the translation is made and published by one of the author's ablest antagonists who in a preface declares his desire to have its propositions refuted. But such exactly is the fate of Prof. William Benjamin Smith's great work, *Der vorchristliche Jesus*. He publishes a very brief summary of his views in the current number, and we can only recommend those of our readers who are interested in the problem of the origin of Christianity to weigh his arguments and refute them if they can. We believe that much of what he has to say is true.\*

\* \* \*

All theologians possessed of a scholarly training know that the Nazarenes were a sect and that Jesus belonged to it. He was called Jesus the Nazarene, and the same designation was given to the disciples of Jesus and to St. Paul. At the same time we read that Jesus grew up at Nazareth in Galilee, and Nazareth is called his home; but the city of Nazareth is unknown to the geographers of Palestine and is first mentioned at the end of the third century A. D. by Eusebius and again at the end of the fourth century by Jerome as a small village inhabited by Jews. We need not doubt that they refer to the same place which is now called Nazareth and was called by the natives en-Natsira.

The readings of the word Nazareth vary in the New Testament. It is sometimes spelled Nazareth, Nazarath, Nazara, and Nazaret.

\* William Benjamin Smith, *Der vorchristliche Jesus, nebst weiteren Vorstudien zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Urchristentums*. Mit einem Vorwort von Paul Wilhelm Schmiedel. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906.

The last form is preferred and considered the most authoritative. It is probable that the Greeks would have transcribed either *ts* or *dz* by their own *z*, which, however, is always soft like *dz*. The ending *at* or *ath* is Phœnician. Other Phœnician city-names are Zarafat and Dabrat. The Phœnician feminine ending *ath* corresponds to the Hebrew *eth*, while the ending in *a* is Canaanitic. "En-Natsira" is modern Arabic, while the form "Natsara" is Aramaic.

We repeat that all scholars agree that the identification of Nazareth with en-Natsira is extremely doubtful, and it is not impossible that the translator who rendered the Gospel into Greek may have misunderstood the term Nazarene and construed it in the sense of "a man of Nazareth."

There can be no doubt that the sect of the Nazarenes existed, and that Jesus was a Nazarene. The question is only whether he was also a Nazarethian, an inhabitant of a city called Nazareth. He is never called Nazarethian, but only "the Nazarene," or "he of Nazareth," and Nazareth is often mentioned as his country, his city and his home, though the passages are open to question and may have originally referred to Capernaum.<sup>1</sup>

What do we know of the Nazarene sect? According to the Acts of the Apostles, they were communists who held everything in common. They continued to exist in Pella and Basanitis and are described by Epiphanius and Jerome as a Jewish sect of Christians.

In former publications<sup>2</sup> of mine I have identified the Nazarenes with the Nazarites, and I have not yet retracted that view. The Nazarites<sup>3</sup> of ancient Israel were such figures as Samson, who led lives of religious devotion and who were marked externally by the fact that they never permitted their hair to be cut. In the later development of Jewish life Nazirism became a regular institution. The word *nadzir* is derived from *nadzar* which is not used in its primary form and in the niphal form means "to separate, to stand aloof, to abstain from, to make a vow." A *nadzir* was looked upon as a devotee, and in Gen. xlix. 26, Joseph is called a *nadzir* in the

<sup>1</sup> For details in favor of Capernaum as the home of Jesus, see *The Open Court* for December, pages 705 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For further details see *The Story of Samson*, pp. 66-72, and also *The Age of Christ*, a pamphlet written in explanation of *The Crown of Thorns*. I have modified my position in so far as in that pamphlet I still defend the possibility that Nazareth may have been the hamlet en-Natsira, and that so long as we have no definite proof to the contrary we may assume that Jesus grew up in that place. But I have come more and more to acknowledge the improbability of the existence of Nazareth.

<sup>3</sup> נָזִירִים. We transcribe the soft ז (ז) by *dz*, and the sharp ז (ז) by *ts*.

sense of one who is different from his brethren as being near to God. In fact the term reminds us, in this peculiar use, of the title of Messiah. Luther translates the word *Fürst*, i. e., "Prince," and the authorized version, "separate from."

The common translation of *nadzir* in English has been Nazarite, and if the Nazarenes were a sect who endeavored to continue the ancient Nazarite institution as John the Baptist appears to have done, we might say that Nazarene and Nazarite are two versions of the same original name.

Prof. W. B. Smith takes another view. He believes that there existed a sect of Natsarenes (note the difference of the sibilant) whose name is derived from *natsara*, a word which means "guardian" and is derived from the root *natsar*, "to protect, to watch." In Job xxvii. 18 we read of a watch-tower *Magdal notsrim*, "the tower of the guards." The word is used in the sense of guarding the door of one's lips, and Yahveh guards mankind. He preserves from trouble (Ps. xxxii. 7; see also Ps. xii. 7; lxiv. 2, etc.) Incidentally we may mention that the word is used as meaning to keep guard or watch over a hostile city in the sense of besieging it, and the word *notsrim* (Jer. iv. 16) means besiegers and is translated in the authorized version by "watchers." We will add that the root *natsar* has another meaning which is the same as *natsats*, which means "shine, sparkle, bloom, sprout"; and the noun derived from it, *netser*, means "sapling, sprout," and in a figurative sense "scion," in the authorized version translated "branch" (Is. lx. 2).

In Is. xi. 1, a scion of David is promised and Matthew makes a pun on the name of Nazareth when narrating that Joseph settled in that city; he adds, following his usual mode of Old Testament interpretation, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets: He shall be called a Nazarene."<sup>4</sup>

For our present conception of the origin of Christianity it appears quite indifferent whether the Nazarenes to whom Jesus belonged were a sect who took their name from the old *nedsrim* (or devotees), or from the *notsrim*, "guardians." The character of their religious ideals must in either case have been the same, and as we have stated elsewhere the term Nazarenes or Nazarites appears

<sup>4</sup> Here the author of this passage confounds two words. If he identifies Nazareth with the hamlet en-Natsira, he makes a pun on the word by taking it in the sense of a shoot or a scion, while Nazarene in the sense of "he of Nazareth" is ultimately derived from the root that means "to guard, to watch."

On account of the prophecy mentioned here we may be sure that this passage was contained in the original Aramaic manuscript of Matthew, which we may call Proto-Matthew, but it was not contained in that other source also used by him which New Testament scholars call Proto-Mark.



to have been merely another name for the Essenes repeatedly mentioned in secular literature, and also for the Ebionites, the sect of "the poor," sometimes alluded to in early Christian literature.

We are satisfied to have mentioned the distinctions between the names Nazarene, Nazarite, and "he of Nazareth"; and will indicate the difference between Professor Smith's views and our own. He points out, and successfully too, that there is a pre-Christian Jesus-conception in the sense of a saviour and draws the conclusion that there was no historical Jesus. Jesus to him is not a name but a title; it is an equivalent for Christ, Messiah, *natsara* (guardian) and *σωτήρ*. He therefore speaks of "the Jesus," and he believes that the whole life of Jesus as depicted in the Gospels is an historization of a religious idea. The Jew, he claims, has a preference for matters of fact, and following his disposition, he factualizes (*sit venia verbo*) religion.

Now in the writer's opinion, which can be substantiated by many facts of history, actual occurrences in life and mythical conceptions are closely interwoven. What is myth but a humanization of super-human phenomena? The events of solar manifestations are told in the several sun myths of Izdubar (Gilgamesh), Heracles, Samson, Siegfried, etc., as if the sun were a hero. On the other hand, if a hero appears who distinguishes himself by extraordinary feats, reminding his admirers of their mythological demi-gods, he is deified and his deeds are told and retold, and modified under the influence of the well-known myths. On the one hand the sun is viewed in the light of an actual hero; on the other hand a hero's life is viewed in the light of solar phenomena. Thus it happens that the two naturally and easily fuse together, a remarkable instance of which may be seen in the life of Napoleon.

In this connection we remind our readers of the Péréz satire which has been republished in Mr. H. R. Evans's *Napoleon Myth*. It was originally written to refute the higher criticism of New Testament theology when it claimed that Jesus was a solar hero and a mere myth; and while it does not serve the purpose which the author of this clever satire had in view, it proves that mythical notions can easily be fitted to a hero, whose typical character originally furnished the feature for the humanization of a myth.

For these and kindred reasons we believe that though Professor Smith is right in claiming the pre-Christian idea of a Christ, a Saviour, a Jesus, we need not jump at the conclusion that the New Testament Jesus is a mere precipitate of the pre-Christian Christ ideal.

In spite of all arguments, Jesus may have existed, and the main data of his life as enumerated in the gospels, especially in Mark, may have actually occurred. We would designate as the most assured incidents in the life of Jesus all those features which a later tradition would scarcely have invented, and which may be considered as remnants of the original strata of tradition which were left in the text by mistake, perhaps because it could not be avoided without upsetting the whole traditional picture of Jesus, but which were minimized in the further history of the Church as being in contradiction to its doctrines. Such features are the life of Jesus as an exorcist, his narrow Jewish views, his notion that the general judgment day was close at hand, etc. If Jesus had been a mere precipitate of the pre-Christian Christ-conception, some of these features would certainly have been omitted, and since it is a matter of history that myth crystalizes around real personalities from whom it derives the definiteness of its individual coloring, we deem the negative phase of Professor Smith's position as hypercritical although we acknowledge that his positive assertions are irrefutable.



## BUDDHIST RELICS.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN Buddhism had taken a firm root in China, there arose among the pious Buddhists of the Celestial Empire a burning desire to visit the holy land of their faith and see with their own eyes the spots where the Bhagavat, their blessed teacher, was born, where he had found enlightenment, where he had preached and where he had passed out of this earthly life of pain and sorrow. We have reports of their travels and it is remarkable how faithful and reliable their records are. Fa-Hien visited India in the fourth and Hiuen Tsang in the sixth century of the Christian era.

Song Yun, another Chinese pilgrim and a contemporary of the latter describes in detail a most magnificent pagoda, a kind of Buddhist St. Peter's, situated in Purushapura, the capital of Emperor Kanishka, and it is stated that it contained some of the remains of Buddha. Some time after the Mohammedan invasion the pagoda and the monastery connected with it were still standing, for Alberuni, the Mohammedan historian, mentions the building as the Kanishka Chaitya.

Moslem rule was hostile to Buddhism, for Mohammedans look upon the use of Buddha statues as idolatrous, and so Buddhist sanctuaries were plundered and destroyed while the stupas fell into ruin.

Since an archeological interest was first awakened, European savants have made a systematic search for the sacred sites of early Buddhism, and the reports of the Chinese pilgrims have proved most valuable guides.

In 1808 Mr. William Peppé investigated a tumulus on the Birdpur estate belonging to the Gibbon and Peppé families, and after having dug a well in the center about 10 feet square and having broken through 18 feet of solid masonry, he came upon a large and heavy stone box, weighing about fourteen hundredweight,

chiseled from one solid piece of sandstone and covered by a closely fitting lid, which, however, was broken into four pieces. Since there is no sandstone near, it must have been carried to its place from a long distance.

Professor Rhys Davids in his article on "Recent Discoveries Concerning the Buddha" (*Century Magazine*, Vol. LXI, p. 837 ff.) briefly describes the contents of the box in these words: "Inside this massive and costly coffer were three stone urns or vases, a stone box like a jewel-casket, and a crystal bowl, all intact, together with fragments of what had been wooden vessels of the same kind.



STEATITE URNS CONTAINING BUDDHIST RELICS.

The four stone vessels were all of steatite, or soapstone, and had been carefully turned in a lathe, the marks of which were still visible. The bowl of crystal was exquisitely worked, and had a closely fitting lid of the same substance, the handle being carved to represent a fish. The lid lay separately on the floor of the coffer, possibly shaken off by the same earthquake that had broken the solid lid of the coffer itself.

"In the vases were fragments of bone, a quantity of dust and fine ash, several hundred small jewels exquisitely carved in carnelian, shell, amethyst, topaz, garnet, coral, and crystal, and quan-

tities of stars, flowers, and other minute objects in silver and gold. The jewels were as fresh and clear as on the day when they had been deposited in the coffer. The silver was tarnished and dull, the gold still bright."

One of the steatite urns bore the following inscription in Pali:

"This place of deposit for the remains of Buddha, the August One, is that of the Sākya, the brethren of the Distinguished One, in association with their sisters and with the wives of their sons."



CRYSTAL BOWL SURMOUNTED BY A FISH.

The Birdpur estate is situated in the Tarai, a jungle district in the level ground near the foot of the Himalaya mountains. The tumulus lies in English territory about half a mile from No. 44 of the boundary pillars.

The Shakyas, a vigorous little nation of republican institutions, were the kinsmen of Buddha, but they were overcome by the neighboring kingdoms, Kosala and Magadha, and their capital, the city Kapilavastu, was destroyed. Its site has been identified with the ruins at Tilauna Kot in Nepal, several miles north of the tope of the

Birdpur estate. It is obvious from Mr. Peppé's discovery that after their defeat the Shakyas lived on and around the present Birdpur estate, and the size of the monument as well as the art displayed in the manufacture of the several vessels and of the jewelry testify not only to a high state of civilization and wealth, but also to a great enthusiasm for their famous kinsman.

It is interesting to meet here in the Shakya tomb of Buddha with an ancient religious symbol, the fish, which has gained a renewed significance in Christianity through the strange coincidence that the Greek word *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, meaning "fish," was interpreted as an acrostic of the words "Jesus, Christ, God's Son, [our] Saviour."

The sandstone casket and its contents have been deposited in the Museum at Calcutta, while the bones were distributed by the British government among Buddhist monasteries in Burma, Siam, Ceylon and Japan.<sup>1</sup>

Not far from this spot, a few miles toward the northeast on Nepalese ground, hunters had noticed a curious pillar which resembled the pillars set up by Ashoka, "the Buddhist Constantine," and when Dr. Führer visited the place he was instrumental in causing the government of Nepal to have the pillar dug out. The inscription upon it reads thus:<sup>2</sup>

"Devānam Piya Piyadassi [epithets of Ashoka] came himself in his twenty-first year and paid reverence here. And he put up a stone pillar, with a stone horse<sup>3</sup> on it, on the ground that the Buddha, the Sākya sage was born here. And the village Lummini, since the Exalted One was born there, is hereby relieved of its tax of one-eighth share of the produce."

There is a shrine near by which contains a bas-relief, representing "a recumbent figure of Mahā Māyā, the Buddha's mother, as just having given birth to the future teacher."<sup>4</sup>

Here accordingly is the place which was identified in the days of Emperor Ashoka with the garden Lumbini, where according to the Buddhist canon Buddha was born while his mother was on the way to visit her parents.

Buddhism has died out in the country and the shrine is now dedicated to a local deity called "Rummin Dei, the Goddess of Lummini." Rhys Davids says:

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Francis J. Payne's article in a recent number of *The Buddhist Review* (Oct., 1909, p. 303).

<sup>2</sup> We quote again from the article of Prof. Rhys Davids, pp. 840-842.

<sup>3</sup> The reading "horse" is doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from the same article, p. 842.

"There, all through the centuries, though the great teacher and his teaching have long been forgotten, the villagers, worshipping they know not what, have retained in their village shrine the evidence of the respect in which the teacher's mother came, in the third or fourth century of Buddhism, to be held by his later followers."

Quite recently another discovery has been made which is not less interesting than those just mentioned, for it consists in the unearthing of the famous Kanishka pagoda at Purushapura, the present Peshawur.

Archeologists had searched for the place in vain, but M. Foucher, a French scholar who visited the spot, pointed out two curious



THE TWO MOUNDS RECENTLY EXCAVATED.

mounds as the probable sites of the pagoda and the monastery. Mr. Marshall, chief of the archeological department of India, and his assistant, Dr. Spooner, took the hint, and their excavations were rewarded by a discovery of another tomb of Buddha's remains, situated exactly on the spot where it is located by Hiuen Tsang.

We must remember that according to the "Book of the Great Decease," Buddha died in Kusināra (Sanskrit. *Kushināgara*) and after the body had been burned eight parties claimed the remains. We are told that a war would have broken out had not the Brahmin Dona settled the dispute by a division of the relics. Accordingly

eight stupas were built in eight different countries, among which is prominently mentioned the land of the Shakyas, the countrymen of Buddha. Hiuen Tsang describes the stupa which they built over their portion of the remains, and his report, as stated above, has been verified in all its details by M. Peppé's discovery.

We may doubt the details of the division of Buddha's remains as narrated in the "Book of the Great Decease." It is not probable that a distribution would have taken place at once after the cremation of the body, but there is no reason to doubt that with the spread of Buddhism the main representatives of the Buddhist faith cherished a desire to possess the ashes and presumably demanded them, which naturally resulted in a division. If we strip the report of the distribution of the relics of its dramatic setting, we may very well accept the historicity of the event itself, especially as it tallies with the reports of the Chinese pilgrims and has been verified by these recent excavations.

We do not venture to fix the exact date of the Shakya tomb of Buddha, but we may say without fear of contradiction that it appears to be considered prior to, and can certainly not be later than, the reign of King Ashoka. Buddhism had spread soon after the great teacher's death, but under Ashoka it reached its first great ascendancy.

The history of India is a story of constantly repeated invasions. Ashoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, a foreign conqueror, reigned from 272 to 232 B. C. He became a convert to Buddhism and did much to spread this faith which was more liberal and scientific than the popular Brahmanism. The dynasty of Chandragupta decayed under the weak government of Ashoka's grandsons, and their empire broke down under the attacks of Greco-Bactrian invaders.

The Greeks were called in India Yavanas, which is a corruption of Ionians, but the Yavana kings also favored the Buddhist faith. One of them, Milinda (about 140-110 B. C.) has been immortalized in a Buddhist canonical book, which relates his discussion with the Buddhist saint and philosopher, Nagasena. The book is entitled *Milinda pañha*,<sup>5</sup> i. e., "Questions of King Milinda," Milinda being the Indian equivalent for Menander.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Translated by Rhys Davids in *S. B. of the E.* Vol. XXXV.

<sup>6</sup> Milinda must have enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. He is frequently mentioned by Greek authors under his Greek name, Menander. Plutarch (*De Repub. Ger.*, p. 821) tells the same story of him which is told of Buddha, that after his death several cities wanted to have the body of this righteous king entombed in their own domain, and the dispute was adjusted by a division of the sacred ashes which resulted in the erection of several stupas in different places. Many of his coins are still extant which prove

The Yahvanas were followed by the Indo-Scythian invaders who conquered northwestern India as far as Benares. The best known among them was King Kanishka, who lived at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era. He was a contemporary of the great Buddhist philosopher and saint Ashvaghosha, and was the builder of the great pagoda at Peshawur.



COINS OF KING KANISHKA.

(British Museum.) Both coins show King Kanishka on the obverse and the Buddha on the reverse. The upper coin is of copper, the lower one of gold.\*

The religion of King Kanishka in his youth appears to have been either Greek, Persian or Greco-Brahmanic, for his first coins struck at the beginning of his reign bear the images of Greek and that like King Kanishka he was a pagan at the beginning of his reign. They show a palace, a victory, a jumping horse, a dolphin, a two-humped camel, an elephant-goad, a boar, a wheel, a palm-branch, an elephant, an owl and a bull's head. Only one coin appears to be typically Buddhist, for the inscription reads: MAHARAJASA DHARMIKASA MENANDRASA. See Rhys Davids's introduction, *loc. cit.*, pp. xx and xxi.

\* Reproduced from *The Buddhist Review*, July, 1909. After the official catalogue of the British Museum.



Hindu deities, e. g., Helios and Selene, personifications of the sun and the moon; but later on he became a fervent supporter of the Buddhist faith, and since then his coins bear the images of Buddha.

King Kanishka belonged to the Sarvastivadin sect of the Hinayana church, and he held a council for the purpose of keeping the doctrine undefiled and drawing up commentaries on the three Pitakas which we are told were engraved on sheets of copper and buried in a stupa.

Whence and how King Kanishka obtained the relics of Buddha so as to have them preserved near his capital is not known, but we may understand that he endeavored to make his capital the center of the faith which he had espoused, and we may be sure that in his time this enormous monastery, and the pagoda standing near by, were considered the central shrines of Buddhism, and take the place of St. Peter's at Rome in Christianity.

Mr. J. H. Marshall, in an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Oct. 1909) describes the discovery of the Kanishka stupa as follows:

"The structure which Dr. Spooner has unearthed measured 285 feet from side to side, which is nearly 100 feet in excess of any other monument of this class existing in India. In plan it is square, with large projections on the four faces, and with massive circular towers at the corners—a feature that is not found in any other stupa that I know of. The walls of the structure are built of massive rough-dressed stones, diapered between with neat piles of brick instead of the usual slate found in Gandhara buildings, and are ornamented with reliefs of seated Buddha-figures, alternating with Corinthian pilasters in stucco. At some point higher up the walls, there appears to have been a band of enameled tiles, with an inscription in Kharoshthi letters boldly incised upon it. Many of the tiles belonging to this band have been found on the western side of the monument, and it is likely that more may turn up in the as yet unexcavated débris. These tiles, which are covered with a pale blue vitreous enamel, are the first of their kind, I may notice, that have yet been discovered in India.

"I was fortunate in visiting Dr. Spooner's excavations just when the plan of this great stupa had been made out, and urged him to set to work at once and search for the relics which were said to have been enshrined within it, and which Hiuen Tshang tells us, it will be remembered, were the relics of Gautama Buddha himself: for I had hopes that they might have been deposited beneath the foundations of the plinth, which was more or less still



CASKET CONTAINING RELICS FROM KANISHKA'S STUPA.  
(Reproduced from a recent number of the *London Illustrated News*.)

intact, instead of in the superstructure, as is frequently the case. Accordingly, a shaft was marked out in the center of the monument, and was laboriously sunk through the massive walls radiating from the middle of the structure, until the original relic-chamber was at length reached, at a depth of some 20 feet below the surface. Within this chamber, still standing upright in the corner where it had been placed some nineteen centuries ago, Dr. Spooner found a metal casket, and within it the relics, enclosed in a reliquary of rock-crystal. The casket itself is similar to the Greek *pyxis* in shape, with a height of some 7 inches and a diameter of nearly 5. The lid, which is slightly curved and incised to represent a full-blown lotus, supports three figures in the round: a seated Buddha in the center, and a Bodhisattva on each side. The edge of the lid is further adorned by a frieze, in low relief, of flying geese bearing wreaths in their beaks; while below, on the body of the vase, is an elaborate design, in high relief, of young Erotes bearing a continuous garland, in the undulations of which are seated Buddha figures and attendant worshipers leaning towards them out of the background. But the chief central figure on the casket is that of the Emperor Kanishka himself, standing erect with a winged celestial being bearing a wreath on either side. The figure of the Emperor is easily recognizable from his coins, but the identity is further proved by the inscriptions on the casket. These are in Kharoshti and are four in number, punctured in dots in the leaves of the lotus on the top and on the background between the geese and other figures on the sides.

"Dr. Spooner translates them as follows:

1. 'For the acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvastivadin sect.'
2. [Illegible, but the name of 'Kanishka' almost certainly occurs.]
3. 'May this pious gift be for the welfare and happiness of all beings.'
4. 'Agisala, the overseer of works at Kanishka's Vihara, in the Sangharama of Mahasena.'

"In the last line the letters forming Kanishka's name are so arranged that half fall on one side and half on the other of the Emperor's figure.

"As to the reliquary inside the metal casket, it is of plain rock-crystal, six-sided and hollowed out at one end to receive the relics, which consist of four fragments of bone packed tightly together.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently Kanishka's stupa was not erected on an altogether new site, but on a spot already hallowed by tradition, and the expression *Mahasēnasa sangharamē* appears to give us the name of the earlier establishment.

The aperture was originally covered by a clay sealing, bearing the impress of what is doubtless the royal signet with the device of an elephant. This sealing had become detached owing to the infiltration of water, but it was found lying beside the reliquary and has been preserved along with the other articles, including a coin of Kanishka which was found close to the relic chamber. That Hiuen Tshang is correct when he tells us that these relics were the relics of Gautama-Buddha himself we have no reason to doubt; indeed, his testimony on this point is confirmed by the size and costly magnificence of the monument enshrining them, which we can hardly believe that Kanishka would have erected in honor of any relics but those of the greatest sanctity. Where the relics were deposited before they found their way to this spot we are not told; but it could not have been a difficult matter for Kanishka to obtain well-authenticated relics from one or other of the famous stupas within his dominions, and it was natural enough that he should wish to sanctify and enrich his capital at Purushapura by transporting them to it."

If we compare the style of art displayed on the casket of Kanishka's stupa with the Gandhara sculptures we notice at once the kinship that obtains between the two, yet the figures of the Gandhara period are purer Greek and may have been made by native Greek sculptors. Agisala, the artist of Kanishka's casket, must have been of Greek extraction, for his name is obviously the Indianized Agesilaos, but his art too has been Indianized. Mr. Marshall comments on this point:

"Although the general design and composition are good, the reliefs are manifestly inferior in point of execution to the majority of the Gandhara sculptures, and no one, I think, who examines the casket itself, can fail to perceive that this is simply the result of decadence, and is in no way connected with the difference of materials in which the artist was working. Moreover, the figures of the Buddha on the casket are of the familiar conventional types, and, if we regard the Gandhara school as responsible for these types, it follows that that school must have evolved them before the time of Kanishka; for it is not possible that the evolution and general acceptance of such types should have taken place within the short space of a single reign. My own view is that the Gandhara school is the outcome of an uninterrupted tradition of Indo-Hellenistic art that extended back to the time of the Greek kings of Panjab, and that the successive phases through which that art passed, as it be-



CASKET CONTAINING RELICS FROM KANISHKA'S STUPA.  
Side view showing Kanishka's figure below the circle of geese.  
(Reproduced from a recent number of *The Buddhist Review*.)

came more and more Indianized, are clearly distinguishable in the antiquities that have come down to us."



A BUDDHIST TOPE IN THE KHYBER PASS.

It is difficult for us to form an appropriate conception of the impressive beauty of Buddhist stupas. Rhys Davids in the above-mentioned article describes them thus:

"Placed, as they are on rising ground or on the tops of hills, they still form a striking feature in the landscape of Buddhist countries. In ancient times, covered throughout with white cement, ornamented at the base with pillars and with the well-known Buddhist tee,\* rising like the cross at the summit of the dome of St. Paul's, they must have been objects of surpassing beauty. The dome of St. Paul's as seen from Waterloo Bridge, whence the church itself is hidden from view, and only the beautiful form of the dome is visible against the sky, gives to one who has not seen the Buddhist stupas the idea of what they must really have been like."

It is truly remarkable how in this case ancient traditions, preserved in writing and afterwards with the downfall of a civilization lost sight of, yea absolutely forgotten, have been verified in most of their details. We have here mentioned only the three most important instances of a discovery of Buddhist relics, but there are more, and all of them aglow with the zeal and devotion of a noble faith—a faith which in spite of many differences is in its ethical maxims so much like Christianity.

\*The top ornament on Buddhist stupas, called *tee*, is an umbrella which like the baldachin, is an emblem of sovereign power.



# THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

AS SHOWN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS RELIGIOUS RITES AND CUSTOMS.<sup>1</sup>

BY HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER.

1. When unaffected by European ideas, the great majority of the American Indians of both continents are unquestionably animists. Indeed, all of them must be so classed if we take the word 'animist' in the broad sense given to it by Mr. Tylor; and even after we have made—as we must make—some discrimination of the very different grades of speculative power which the term implies, it is still to be borne in mind that only in a broad way do these grades distinguish different races and peoples. While, of course, the lowest tribes are fairly uniform in their ways of thought, yet the most advanced peoples, as those of Mexico and Peru, are by no means wholly freed from primitive ideas; along with philosophic theologies they retain instinctive superstitions, and their mental attitudes (like our own) must be conceived rather as a congregation of vaguer and distincter insights than as systematic unfoldments of their clearest point of view. The human mind may be likened to a forest tree: at the summit, in the clear light of day, is the greenest and most vigorous foliage, the proper source of the tree's strength; but far down the shade are still verdant the boughs of an earlier growth; and the lower trunk is still cumbered with dying branches and marked by ancient scars.

2. Primitive or *instinctive animism* (the "zoönism" of Mr. Stuart-Glennie, the "hecastotheism" of Major Powell) is that stage where nature is simply regarded as living, in all her manifestations, without reflection, without personification; the inanimate has never

<sup>1</sup> This paper is an expansion of the article "Communion with Deity—American," written for Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

suggested itself as a possibility, and the feeling of nature's animation has never risen to the idea of personality.

Typical of such a mental state are the almost unorganized hordes of wandering savages of the South American forests. Doubtless the rivers, trees, and beasts which form their environing world seem to them endowed with the same sort of irresponsible instincts and desires as their own, but it is misleading to speak of such a consciousness as a recognition of spiritual life or as in any distinctive sense religious. Garcilasso de la Vega, describing the Indians of pre-Inca times, says<sup>2</sup> that among these tribes were Indians "little better than tamed beasts and others who were worse than the most savage animals." They adored, he says, herbs and flowers and trees, beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, huge stones and little pebbles, high mountains, caverns, deep precipices, the earth and its rivers, fire, natural prodigies. But there were some, such as the Chirihuanas on the borders of Peru, who worshiped nothing at all, unmoved to the adoration of a higher power even by fear. It is indeed difficult to discover much evidence of religious sensibility in some of the inferior peoples, though the difficulty is probably due rather to lack of conceptual power than want of motive. Thus, the Fuegian Yahgan are said to have no real notion of spirits; in the darkness they sometimes imagine themselves assailed by the Walapatu, but it is only the more lively-minded who know these as disembodied ghosts, for the rest the Walapatu are merely warriors of the neighboring tribe.

But any recognition of external powers is a beginning in the ideal definition of environment and the classification of nature. It is already an important conceptual step, following which the further step of endeavoring to appease or win over such of these powers as may be thought potent for ill or good is not long in taking. Rude forms of sacrifice develop—the exposure of food offerings (perhaps suggested by the provisioning of the dead, for this custom prevails even among the wandering Amazonians), the slaughter of prisoners (where the more primitive self-glory of killing may be the basis), and even the offering up of one's own kin and offspring in times of stress.

Human instincts are complex. It is practically impossible to tell whether the elementary feeling in sacrifice is desire to win aid by pleasuring the higher power, or desire to propitiate by depriving one's self. The two desires are at the root of very distinct religious

<sup>2</sup>*History of the Incas*, I, ix. Garcilasso was himself half Indian, and writing as he did within a generation of the Spanish conquest, his work is our most valuable single document on the Inca civilization.

developments—worship and penance, communion and atonement,—but at their source they cannot be clearly disentangled. If fear be the primal religious emotion, placation of the feared power is doubtless the fundamental rite; yet even placation may be interpreted as a form of pleasuring. Cruel himself, primitive man deems other powers to take delight in suffering, and so, in the presence of danger, inflicts loss or pain upon himself to satisfy the malevolent might which he feels to be working against him, on the principle that homœopathic application sates or deceives the enemy, and so brings immunity. The Arawaks, before shooting the rapids of a river, inflict severe punishment upon themselves by putting red pepper into their eyes to satisfy the evil waters, and it is quite possible that the Fuegians, said to have thrown their children into stormy seas to lighten their boats, did so rather as an act of propitiation of the watery demon. Before setting out on the warpath, many North American tribes were accustomed to make offerings of parts of their bodies, as bits of flesh, toes, fingers, or to subject themselves to severe tortures. The sacrifice of children by their parents or of a tribesman by the tribe in case of a calamity, such as an epidemic, occurred in both Americas. Voluntary human sacrifice is also recorded; enthusiasts among the Guanches are said to have offered their lives to the mountain they worshiped, and Garcilasso states that Indians of certain tribes worshiping the tiger (*jaguar*), the lion (*puma*), or the bear, meeting these animals, threw themselves upon the earth to be unresistingly devoured by their gods. The latter of these practices (perhaps not altogether credible) seems to point to totemic cults rather than to animistic sacrifice, primitive and unadorned; yet it should not be confused with human sacrifice or voluntary suicide at the graves of the dead, both of wide-spread occurrence, for the motive underlying these customs is one of service (“tendance,” as it has been called) rather than propitiation of malevolent powers and aversion of ill.

3. Communion with a superhuman, or an extrahuman, world is, broadly speaking, a pragmatic definition of that world. The rites and practices by means of which man seeks to influence or to come into relation with powers other than human are the surest interpreters of his conceptions of those powers. A food offering implies a deity endowed with appetite, and if the food offering must be made before the human worshipers may partake of food, there is the further implication that the deity is thoughtful of his precedence—is, in fact, a jealous god. The fear that seeks to satisfy with blood the ill-wreaking powers of nature ascribes to

those powers a ferocious delight in cruelty, and eventually personifies them under the hideous forms of bugbears and ogres, as the man-devouring monsters of the Central American pantheons.

For not only are rites and practices interpreters, they are also in large part the framers of the conceptions by which they are eventually justified to reason. Ideas as well as myths are ætiological; conception follows action, and in religion the rite is prior to the theology. Sacrifice is characteristic even in the early aniconic stage of animism; gifts are offered to rivers and trees and hills—whatever powers and patrons the animist would placate or win—in the instinctive belief that these objects are endowed with human appetites and likings. But as thought gains in clearness, conceptual deities evolve from nature; objects which have all along been treated as human in feeling are inevitably conceived and represented as human in form; anthropomorphic theology follows from animistic instinct. Thus, the Mexican *Tlaloc*, the rain-giving mountains, take form as man-headed pyramids, colored the blue of the sky above, the green of verdure below, and eventually concentrate into the god Tlaloc. Cuécaltzin, the fire, the flame, "the ancient god," worshiped in the simple hearthfire, becomes anthropomorphized as Ixcócauhqui,<sup>3</sup> "Yellow Face," and is given a manlike image. Even the sun—of all nature divinities most fixed and impressive in its natural form—becomes man-faced in Peruvian temple-images, thus outwardly symbolizing the mental iconography inevitable to animistic thought when it comes to conceptual realization.

4. The second stage in this conceptual development, treading close on the heels of primitive animism, is what may be termed "*fetishistic animism*." Fetishism is merely highly localized animism. Experience early teaches men that certain natural objects or powers are more potent than others, and again there are natural objects impressive by reason of unusual appearance or given special significance from some chance happening. Should such objects be fixed or beyond control, as a tree, a waterfall, a mountain, the sun, the winds, they are on the way to become nature deities; but should they be portable, or at least appropriable, by the individual, they take rank as fetishes as soon as his special regard is devoted to them. But that there is no hard and fast line between deified nature powers and fetishes is shown by the intermediate examples: thus, one Ojibwa is said to have worshiped a certain boulder which he

<sup>3</sup> For the spelling of Mexican names I follow the usage in Jourdanet and Siméon's scholarly edition of Bernardino de Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle Espagne*, Paris, 1880.

saw move of itself, while another had for his special tutelary a birch tree in which he had heard an unusual sound. Schoolcraft states that the Indians propitiated "wood-dryads" at certain *consecrated spots*, with offerings of tobacco, vermillion, red cloth, or any other



ZUNI CAVE SHRINE, WITH PRAYER PLUME OFFERINGS.  
(From 23d RBEW. M. C. Stevenson.)

treasure, and he also states that the Indians adore curiously wrought boulders having the essential character of idols; these are "sometimes distinguished by the use of pigments," but are "generally oddly-shaped water-worn masses, upon which no chisel or labor of any kind has been employed."

The fetish, then, may be merely a natural object of striking appearance or associations, or it may be such an object more or less modified by human art. In any case, its use denotes a distinct advance in the systematization of ideas. It represents a concentration of religious experience, and so becomes a concrete symbol.



ZUNI CAVE SHRINE WITH IMAGES REMOVED FOR PHOTOGRAPHING.  
(From 23d RBEW. M. C. Stevenson.)

It is regarded as a powerful being, not merely for the life which is in itself, but for the vicarious function by which its possessor is able to control other powers; indeed, its only virtue is this outer control, and the savage who has lost faith in its power to bring him good



disregards it at once.<sup>4</sup> Thus the fetish already stands for experience outside itself and has in it the germ of the true symbol. It is a key to the powers of nature, by the mere holding of which the possessor believes that he is enabled to influence their action.

In strict sense the "fetish" is distinguished from the "idol" as the fact from the symbol, the living body of the god from his mere portrait. But the distinction is by no means absolute; we have seen that the fetish is already an inchoate symbol, and, on the other hand, the image of a god seldom or never entirely loses the odor of sanctity. The development of fetishism toward symbolism follows yet other paths. In the first place, it runs into the purely symbolic art



FETISH NECKLACE OF HUMAN FINGERS; CHEYENNE.  
(After Bourke.)

of magic. On the magic principle that like influences like, a fetish representing some animal is deemed to give the possessor a special control over, or success in the capture of that animal, or to give him its qualities. Characteristic contents of the Indians' "medicine bags" are skins or parts of animals or their dried bodies, and from these to painted or beaded representations is but a step. As a rule the contents of the "medicine bag," though they may be bartered, are a constant possession; the painting, of course, is a matter of repetition and is varied to suit the occasion, so that in a lacrosse game described by Dr. Eastman the runners painted themselves with

<sup>4</sup>A pathetic illustration is the case of one of the women wounded at Wounded Knee. She wore a "ghost shirt," and when told that it must be removed, said: "Yes, take it off. They told me a bullet would not go through. Now I don't want it any more."



representations of birds, of fleet animals, of the lightning—various emblems of swiftness. It should be noted, too, that, in general, as the symbolic character of the fetish gains, its special sanctity and value diminish; in the direction of magic it develops into the mere talisman.

Fetishes in general among the Indians are alienable and are often material of barter, but there is a special type of charm which is as fixed for the individual as the totem is for the clan. This is the personal tutelary sought during a period of fasting at the age of puberty—a custom common to many North American tribes. The tutelary might be a stone bearing a rude likeness to some bird or animal, in which case all creatures of that kind were regarded as having the finder under their protection, or it might be some natural object thought to have made a special sign, as with the two Ojibwas cited above, but most commonly it was some object seen in a dream or vision. In such case it was represented by an image or painting, and so came to acquire the representative character of the true symbol.

The development into symbolism takes also a mythological form. As the agent of a natural power, the fetish comes to be looked upon as the image of the essential nature of this power, which thus acquires a mythologic personality from the very concreteness of its representative. It is very difficult for man (primitive or civilized) to hold clear the distinction of symbol and symbolized, and it is only obvious that the development of symbolic expression should have peopled the world with all manner of quaint personalities. When by patent associations the Hopi represents the sky by an eagle and the earth by a spider, it is a natural confusion which presently names the sky "Eagle" and the earth "Spider" and identifies them as mythologic beings of eagle and spider character.

5. It is plain that the stage of instinctive animism is passed. The individual object is no longer animate in its own character, but as the sign or abode of a more far-reaching power. Nature is no longer regarded as a swarming of multitudinous living beings, but as the abiding place of indwelling potencies. Personification and mythology have begun to play their part.<sup>6</sup> There is a seen and an unseen world, and the latter is the world of wills. Nature is partitioned among personalities, and gods have begun to be.

<sup>6</sup> The Zufi myth which accounts for the character of stone fetishes by a story of the transformation of living beings to this form illustrates the transition. The more primitive belief in the actual vitality of the fetish is seen to be inadequate to experience, but yet the power of the fetish must be explained; whence its life is referred to a past time.

This higher *mythologic animism* undoubtedly represents a great imaginative advance, reflecting the development of the abstractive faculty which mental symbolism implies. It is the foundation of polytheistic philosophy and the ideal basis of the complicated pantheons of Mexico and Peru.

But we should not forget that the attainment of clear personification is by no means uniform in the same race or the same experience. The older and vaguer animism, a trifle philosophized perhaps, remains still the normal attitude toward the comparatively unnoted or unspecialized mass of experience. This cannot be better illustrated than by the North American doctrine of a type of nature power variously known as *manitou* (Algonquian), *orenda* (Iroquoian), and *wakanda* (Siouan). The *manitou*, says Schoolcraft,<sup>6</sup> is "a spiritual or mysterious power. . . . Manitous, except those of the tutelary class, are believed to be generally invisible and immaterial, but can assume any form in the range of animate creation and even, when the occasion calls for it, take their place among inanimate forms." George Copway, one of the first Indians of the north to write about the Indian people, describes the conception of his own tribe, the Ojibwa:<sup>7</sup> "The skies were filled with the deities they worshiped, and the whole forest awakened with their whispers. The lakes and streams were the places of their resort, and mountains and valleys alike their abode." And while these nature spirits, headed by the Great Spirit, their general guardian, included many that might properly be ranked as deities, they dwindled to mere sprites having only a group or class character—powers rather than personalities—curiously conceived as minims in size. "During a shower of rain thousands of them are sheltered in a flower. The Ojibwa, as he reclines beneath the shade of his forest trees, imagines these gods to be about him. He detects their tiny voices in the insect's hum. With half-closed eyes he beholds them sporting by thousands on a sun-ray."

J. N. B. Hewitt, an Iroquois, has given us a more philosophical analysis of the belief.<sup>8</sup> "All things were thought to have life and to exercise will, whose behests were accomplished through *orenda*—that is, through magic power reputed to be inherent in all things. Thus all phenomena, all states, all changes, and all activity were

<sup>6</sup> *Information Respecting the History, Conditions and Prospects of the Indians of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1853.

<sup>7</sup> *The Ojibway Nation*, London, 1850.

<sup>8</sup> "Iroquoian Cosmology" in 21st *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington. Future references to the *Reports* in this article will be abbreviated "RBEW."

interpreted as the results of the exercise of magic power directed by some controlling mind....The wind was the breath of some person. The lightning was the winking of some person's eyes.... Beasts and animals, plants and trees, rocks, and streams of water, having human or other effective attributes or properties in a paramount measure, were naturally regarded as the controllers of those attributes or properties, which could be made available by orenda or magic power. And thus began the reign of the beast gods, plant gods, tree gods, and their kind. The signification of the Iroquoian word usually rendered into English by the term "god" is "disposer," or "controller." This definition supplies the reason that the reputed controllers of the operations of nature received worship and prayers. To the Iroquois god and controller are synonymous terms."

It will be seen that we have here a point of view that fluctuates between a material view of nature powers and a purely spiritual or psychical view; and in proportion as the conception lifts itself free from the material prepossessions of mere sensation, there is gain in mythical distinctness and personality. Probably the *katchinas* of the Hopis and other Pueblo Indians represent a clear advance in the direction of mythical and conceptual definiteness, while yet retaining evident traces of the more naive animism. J. W. Fewkes, the authority on this subject, describes them as follows:<sup>9</sup> "The term *katchina* was originally limited to the spirits, or personified medicine power of the ancients, personifications of a similar power in other objects have likewise come to be called *katchina*. Thus the magic power or medicine of the sun may be called *katchina*, or that of the earth may be known by the same general name. The term may also be applied to personations of these spirits or medicine potencies by men or their representation by pictures or graven objects." It is to be noted that each *katchina* has its recognized symbolic form, that it is clear personification; while the *manitou* is always a god *in posse* and may be a god or godling *in actu*, the *katchina* is never less than the latter. The development of the Mexican rain-god Tlaloc from the rain-giving mountains, *tlaloque*, which has been noted above, is a further illustration of the advance from a vague and general animation of nature to concrete personification; and in the manifold applications of the Peruvian term *huaca*, broadly equivalent to the Greek *ἄγος*, we can clearly infer a pervasive, naive animism preceding the highly symbolic religion of the Incas.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

<sup>9</sup> "Hopi Katchinas," 21st RBEW.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### PESHAWUR.

Dr. Thomas Patrick Hughes, the author of the *Dictionary of Islam*, who spent twenty years at Peshawur, sends some interesting photographs of the place of his former residence, and with reference to the newly discovered Buddha relics writes from his present residence on Long Island:

"I am deeply interested in the account given in the Anglo-Indian papers of the discovery of the extensive foundations of the Stupa erected by the



THE MISSION HOUSE ERECTED ON THE OLD WALLS OF THE GURKHATRI.

Buddhist king Kaniska somewhere about the beginning of our Christian era, and which is supposed to have contained the ashes of the Lord Buddha.

"The spot is very familiar to me. It is just outside what is now called the "Lahori Darwaza" or Lahore Gate of the city, and on the Hastnaggar and Michni road. In the winter of 1883 a Muslim farmer was ploughing the field close by when he turned up an earthen pot which was found to contain a number of gold coins of the reigns of Havisha and Kaniska. According to the law which governs "treasure trove" in India the British government pur-

chased these coins, and I was able to buy some of them for my friend the late Sir Henry Peek, Bart, M. P., and they are probably in the possession of his grandson Sir Wilfred Peek of Rousden in Devonshire, England.



A STREET IN PESHAWUR NEAR THE LAHORE GATE.

"The finding of this pot of coins on this spot ought to have suggested to the government very careful excavations, but the frontier was in a state of unrest at the time. There never has been the least doubt as to the existence of this stupa, for it is mentioned by many travelers of note, by the Buddhist

pilgrims Fa Hian in A. D. 400, Sun Yung in 520, and Hawen Tshung in A. D. 630. Both the emperors Baber and Akbar give some account of it in their diaries, and the Muslim historian Al Bairuni in his *Tarikh I Hind* writes of it, and so do the historians Masudi and Abul Rahan. Baber says there was a great Peepul tree, 1500 years old, standing close by and that the begging bowl of Buddha was supposed to be there besides some very important Buddhist manuscripts.

"The site of the stupa appears to be about midway between the Bala Hissar or Fort at one time occupied by the King of Kabul when he was in possession of the Koh-i-Nur diamond, and the Gurkhatri where I at one time resided and where we entertained the Ameer of Afghanistan in March



BUDDHIST REMAINS DUG OUT OF THE TOPES OF THE PESHAWUR VALLEY.

1869. The Gurkhatri is mentioned by Akbar as the monastery erected to the honor of Goraknath, a Hindu saint. It is a large quadrangle. Over the entrance is the Tahseel or revenue office, at one time occupied by General Avertable, the Sikh commander who entertained Lady Macknaughten, Lady Sale, and the other Kabul prisoners on their return to India in 1842. Over the opposite entrance is the Government guest house, and in the left-hand corner the Mission House now occupied by lady medical missionaries.

"During my residence in Peshawur I always felt that the ruins of the great stupa would be found in or near the Gurkhatri, but the place now excavated must be about a mile distant. It is on fields irrigated by a Persian



ALL SOULS CHURCH ERECTED FOR THE NATIVE CHRISTIANS BY DR.  
HUGHES IN PESHAWUR.



ALL SOULS CHURCH : FULL VIEW.



well and much lower than the elevated site known as the Gurkhatri. It is not far from the fort erected by the Muhammadan conquerors, and it seems unaccountable that the British Government had not carefully excavated the spot during its sixty years of occupation.

"Dr. Spooner, who discovered the ruins, was working under the directions of Mr. John Hubert Marshall, who, after taking the highest classical honors at Oxford, was engaged for some time in the excavation of the ruins of Praeosis in Crete. He was invited to India by Lord Curzon with the intention of making discoveries in Trans-Indus territory through which Lord Curzon traveled before he became viceroy of India.

"Peshawur is the ancient Gandhara of the Scythians. It contains about 70,000 souls, and outside the native city there is a cantonment of 20,000 troops. The whole valley is rich with Buddhist remains. At Shahbazghari there is Rani Ghat, "the Queen Rock" mentioned by Arrian as the fortress attacked by Alexander after a siege of four days. There is also the famous inscription of Asoka which contains the names of Antiochus and four other Greek kings. Alexander did not pass through Peshawur but came down the valley on the left bank of what is now called the Vabul river and skirted the hills of Swat and Bajour, crossing the Indus above Attock and proceeding to Taxila where he encountered Porus, the Hindu ruler of the Punjab."

"It seems to be a question whether the casket found in the stupa actually contains the bones of the Lord Buddha, but it is very probable that further excavations will unearth more hidden treasures. The Buddhist remains within the dominions of the Ameer of Afghanistan have never been excavated, and as the city of Balkh stands on the ruins of ancient Bactria, a city which is said to have been the rival of Ecbatana, Babylon, and Nineveh, Mr. Marshall under the patronage of the Government of India has a vast field of research before him."

#### MME. EMILIE HYACINTHE LOYSON.

We are just informed of the demise of Mme. Emilie Hyacinthe Loyson. She died at her home in Paris, and the funeral services were held at the American church on the Avenue de l'Alma. Almost all denominations were represented by the foremost leaders with whom she and her husband were in personal connection.

Mme. Loyson was an American by birth, belonging to the old Puritan family of Butterfield, and her father was prominent in the educational development of the pioneer days of Ohio. She had an unusually ascetic temperament, and at a very early age showed real literary ability. At eighteen she married Captain Meriman of Ohio and lived for several years in New York and Brooklyn. She felt restless and dissatisfied with Protestantism, and a year after her husband's death in 1867 united with the Roman Catholic Church. From the time of her visit to Rome in 1863 she had been greatly impressed with the ignorance of Roman women, and now set about founding a college for their higher education. In this she had the support of women of rank and influence in England and Russia; the Italian government offered her money; the city of Rome gave her the choice of a site; the Vatican expressed its approval, and she was offered financial aid and the title of countess with the Pope's patronage, but she courteously refused on the ground of her American citizen-

ship, and her second marriage to Father Hyacinthe Loyson forced her to abandon the project.

She had marked individuality, and showed herself an extraordinary co-worker of her husband. She had, indeed, given much attention to theological reading and church reform before her marriage to Père Hyacinthe.

To Father Hyacinthe and his wife was born one son who is to-day one of the rising poets of France, and dramas that he has written have been performed on the stage with marked success, notably *Les ames ennemies*.

Mme. Loyson took a deep interest in the conciliation of all religions,



especially desiring brotherhood and mutual sympathetic appreciation among all monotheistic peoples, Jews, Moslems, and Christians. For the purpose of gaining the goodwill of the Mohammedans, Father and Madame Hyacinthe Loyson undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which Madame Loyson described in her *To Jerusalem Through the Lands of Islam*, in which she shows herself an entertaining *raconteuse*, and which is embellished with many interesting photographs.

Madame Loyson was extremely active and led a very busy life. Her endeavors were mainly devoted to the education of women in countries where there is the greatest need, first in Roman Catholic countries, and then in the

Orient. In addition, she took an interest in every movement that made for peace and social improvement. The last work of her pen, still unpublished, is her autobiography which bears the title, "The Evolution of a Soul, From the Forests of America to the Vatican Council," and it is to be hoped, in the interest of her numerous friends, that it will be published as soon as the manuscript has been revised and duly prefaced by her son, upon whom naturally devolves this duty of filial piety.

### THE WORLD CIPHER.

BY EDMUND NOBLE.

[Curvilinear motions and forms have a perennial fascination for the student of nature. They begin in the spheres, circles, ellipses and spirals which the physicist investigates; they impress themselves upon the naturalist in the rounded shapes which are so often associated with function and efficiency in the realm of life. Still more wonderful is their relation to the esthetic sense of man, for when highly organized conscious states arise, the law of power reappears as a law of beauty in the creations of the constructive, plastic and decorative arts. Curved paths and outlines do not exhaust what are known as "intelligent adaptations," but they conspicuously reveal the working of the universe process towards that order—at once the source and anticipation of human reason—in which antagonisms find their reconciliation, and confusion its final harmony. A mystery has long brooded over these evidences of objective plan, until it has seemed to some that Nature resorts to them as her most favorite modes of self-expression. Could such manifestations of cosmic unity be adequately suggested in verse, they would remind us of the sublime astronomical theories of Kant and Laplace; the patient biological studies of Darwin and Pettigrew; but also of the loving insight of Leonardo da Vinci, and even of that poetic fancy of Novalis: "Men travel in manifold paths: whoso traces and compares these will find strange figures come to light—figures which seem as if they belonged to that great cipher-writing which one meets with everywhere, on wings of birds, shells of eggs, in clouds, in the snow, in crystals, in forms of rocks, in freezing waters, in the interior and exterior of mountains, of plants, animals, men, in the lights of the sky, in plates of glass and pitch when touched and struck on, in the filings round the magnet, and the singular conjunctures of chance."]

I'm older far than the lotus'd Nile—  
Than man with his dome and pillared aisle.

My circles spread ere the sands were sphered;  
I bridged the void ere the vault was reared.

I've paved the path for the day-beam's leap,  
And the rushing stars my orbits keep.

With the flame and fume my fingers play;  
I swirl in the magnet's hidden ray.

In the frozen snow you'll find me curled;  
Aglow I coil in the making world.

I round the tear and the joyous sun,  
And the crescent shine when the day is done.

A breath unfolds me from summer dust;  
I wheel in the cyclone's awful gust.

The ether ripples I chase along;  
I bosom the widening tides of song.

I madly dance in th' electrons' heat,  
And whirl in the maze of flying feet.

My ovals murmur in forests hoar;  
I've jeweled the sea's untrodden floor.

I dash from the cascade's sounding peak;  
Silent I lean on the sail's white cheek.

Mine is all magic of wave and wing;  
New charms to the cradled cloud I bring.

I lift the germ to the flower, and wed  
The main to the angry wrack o'erhead.

Through the bending grass I glide and gleam;  
I flow and flash with the winding stream.

My roofs are raised in the woodland glade;  
I curve in the storied colonnade.

Behold me in plume, and beak, and claw;  
The egg and the nest obey my law.

I mount the stair of the twining shell;  
In showers I ride on the rainbow's swell.

I gloom in the arch o'er beauty's eyes,  
And girdle with light the midnight skies.

Snatch me from Chaos, and who shall mould  
The protyle's clash into orbs of gold?

Sift me from Order, and what remains  
Of human hearts with their joys and pains?

Ancient of birth from the flood and storm,  
I sway in the ceaseless drift to Form.

I crown the throes of the primal strife  
With the toil-won harmonies of life.

I am the spell of color and tone—  
Lord of the dreams that blossom in stone.

Mine are all mystic symbols writ  
On the fair robe of the Infinite.

Mine is the art of Nature's vast plan,  
That flows from the Cosmos down to man,

And mine the lure of the deathless grace,  
That smiles by turns on her changing face.

Seek'st thou the rule of the bubbling foam?  
Take the unweighed ocean for thy home.

Will'st grasp the world from atom to soul?  
First span the deeps of the mighty Whole.

Would'st uncipher my riddle? Then be  
The Many, the Weaver, who weaveth me.

### LAO-TZE AND CONFUCIUS.

China has produced two indigenous movements of thought which have been antagonistic to each other throughout the history of Chinese civilization and have left no opportunity unimproved of mutual attack and criticism. They go under the names of Taoism and Confucianism.

Taoism is presumably the original religion of ancient China. It is a belief in the Tao or reason, the right method of thought and action, a trust in the mysterious ways of heaven, and a submission to the divine will that governs the world.

Popular Taoism is full of superstition, but its recognized leader Lao-tze is one of the profoundest sages that ever lived. He preached a purity of heart in contrast to the ritualism and ceremonialism of the *literati* who fill all important positions and practically govern China. They recognize Confucius as their leader, and Confucius tried to reform the people by minute rules of propriety.

The story goes—and it is presumably historical—that Confucius once met the venerable philosopher Lao-tze in person. The latter was by almost half a century his senior and must have been an old man when Confucius was in his best years. Lao-tze was then Keeper of the Secret Archives of the state of Cho, and his fame induced Confucius to visit him in order to learn something about the ancient sages and their views of ritual, so as to regulate thereby the rules of decorum for the present generation. But Confucius had knocked at the wrong door. Lao-tze was too much of a philosopher to be guided by the traditions of the buried past, and the ostentatious behavior of the ambitious young scholar was offensive to him. Confucius left him in disappointment.

The shortest and perhaps the most authentic report of this meeting is given by Sze-Ma-Ch'ien, and has been reprinted in the original Chinese text with two English translations, one verbatim, the other in proper English style, on pages 95 and 96 in *Lao-Tze's Tao-Teh-King* (published by the Open Court Publishing Company).

Our frontispiece represents this meeting which if it is not historical is certainly *ben trovato*, for it contrasts these two lines of thought, Taoism represented by the philosophical thinker, Lao-tze, and Confucianism represented by K'ung-tze, the man who preached Ethical Culture pure and simple. Lao-tze is easily recognized by his white beard. He steps forth from the house as the host to meet his guest. Confucius is accompanied by his disciples and approaches with great ceremony. The picture was painted by Murata Tanryō, a modern Japanese painter who preserves the traditional style without being modernized to any extent through Western influence.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

HALF-SILENT FELLOWSHIPS. By *Mary Morgan* (Gowan Lea). Edinburgh: Foulis, 1909. Pp. 104.

In general effect this is the daintiest possible little volume. Though apparently a collection of fugitive thoughts gathered together in haphazard fashion the whole represents "a plea for the hours of seeming idleness." It is a plea for the beauty in every-day times and seasons, for appreciation of homely service, for the humorous point of view, for the cherishing of simple ideals, for the communion with books and works of art, for an intimacy with nature, and for the closer companionship with one's better nature and higher thoughts. It may be noted that the effect of bucolic simplicity is somewhat marred on examination by the occasional insertion of entire paragraphs of untranslated French which could better have stood an English rendering, and there is no advantage in using the French term when its English equivalent is equally original and expressive. *Châteaux en Espagne* lacks the classical directness of "castles in Spain" as used for instance by George William Curtis, while "an embarrassment of riches" is no weaker than *embarras de richesses* and has the advantage of a simplicity consonant with that of Gowan Lea's own poetical English style.

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Miss Olga Kopetzky, the Munich artist who illustrated *The Philosopher's Martyrdom* and is now engaged in making a special study of Buddhist art, writes with reference to the article on "Foundations Laid in Human Sacrifice" in *The Open Court* of August, 1909, that she remembers similar superstitions to have obtained in her childhood in Bohemia, her native country. When her father, a citizen of Kuttenberg, was building a new house, live kittens were offered to him again and again to be used as sacrifices in the foundation stones of the walls, and when he refused to buy them, the people said that the walls would be sure to fall.

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The publishing house of Dürr at Leipsic, continues its Philosophical Library, and we note especially Paul Lorentz's *Lessing's Philosophie*, and a new German translation of de la Mettrie's *L'homme-machine*, by Max Brahn, together with Eugen Kühnemann's Schiller's Philosophical Writings and Poems. The latter is a collection of passages, which contains Schiller's opinions as to the esthetic education of man, his ideas of the sublime, on the limits of the beautiful, on naïveté and sentimental poetry, his poem "The Ideal and Life," and other philosophical poems.

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Ernest Flammarion, the publisher, (Paris: 26, rue Racine) has issued an interesting book by Alfred Binet on "The Modern Ideas Concerning the Child" (*Les idées modernes sur les enfants*, 1909, price 3 fr. 50), in which the author considers the progress made especially in Germany and America in education based upon experimental psychology and physiology. He considers appreciatively the significance of the movement and presents his own views in the present volume of 344 pages.







THE GHOST DANCE: ECSTASY. (After Mooney.)

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 2.)      FEBRUARY, 1910.

NO. 645.

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## THE REPETEND.

BY WALTER R. EGBERT.

IN the process of division, the quotient sometimes reminds us of Tennyson's "Brook,"—it goes on forever,—the perpetual motion of numbers. Our first impulse is to blame the divisor, and often the fault lies there; but it is possible, with a different dividend, for that same divisor to furnish a perfect, finished quotient.

Custom seems to sanction the continuance of the operation of division as far as the third decimal place. In long continuous and successive operations of multiplication and division, this lopping of the quotient may seriously impair the accuracy of the final result. Whenever possible, it is best to defer the division until the final operation.

In the case of dollars and cents, the third decimal place is sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes, yet in such operations as are involved in partial payments and compound interest, the final result is considerably affected by retaining or rejecting all decimal figures beyond the third place.

In denominate numbers, the third decimal place—or the fourth or even the fifth,—should be carefully considered with reference to the *name* it bears. A difference of half a thousandth of a mile is a difference of nearly one yard; while a difference of half a thousandth of a square mile would be about equivalent to a square lot 116 feet on a side,—a piece of ground sufficient for raising 175 bushels of potatoes. Who could tell the value of such a lot if situated along Broadway? Portia's "twentieth part of one poor scruple" seems very attenuated, like the ghost of departed quantity, yet in the Philadelphia Mint is a weighing apparatus so delicately and accurately adjusted that the weight of the lead recording your name on

a visiting card can be told. In chemical and physical experimentation, the attenuated thousandth part may defeat a valuable purpose, and produce results far-reaching and sometimes fatal to science.

The question of the stopping-place in very accurate and important calculations becomes a question of no little moment. In a scale of sizes, let a coconut represent the first, or tenths decimal unit. Then would an English walnut represent the hundredths unit, a cherry seed the thousandths decimal unit, and a cabbage seed the next down the line. Yet if the first decimal unit were a globe the size of the sun, the earth upon which we live would probably take its size further down the line than the fourth. Nothing is great or small save by comparison; so the practice of stopping the division at the third decimal point ought to be carefully considered as to the character of the quotient.

In a division which does not terminate, the result can be brought as near as desired to accuracy, yet it can not be brought to the perfect finish. Something must remain incomplete, hence unsatisfactory.

If, as a matter of experiment, the division be continued into the realm of attenuated decimal values and a careful inspection of the quotient figures be made, almost invariably there will be found a succession of groups of the same figures in the same order. The discovery of repetition in the work is soon discovered when the divisor is a small number. With large numbers, the experimenter will rarely have the patience to work on until the quotient figures and the work are duplicates of the earlier processes. With the divisor 19, the duplication of work is not revealed until the eighteenth quotient decimal figure has been passed; while with the divisor seven, the repetition may be noticed after the sixth quotient figure.

Such series of repeating quotient figures are called *repetends* or *circulates*. Repetends are the result of division when the divisors are prime numbers. Some composite numbers also produce repetends; but these repetends will be identical with the circulates of the prime factor found in the divisor, if there be but *one* prime factor there. With a divisor 14 and a dividend 1, the circulate 714285 is found. This is the circulate of five-sevenths.

It is possible that with another basis of notation, fewer unending divisions could be found. Our decimal system of notation seems to be responsible for the circulates. A duodecimal basis of notation would yield more satisfactory results in the operations of division; but none of us would yield our decimal system of notation for a complicated system which would require constant reductions from one denomination to another. When we compare our system of

writing money—the decimal notation—with the English system—not decimal—, and mentally perform those constant reductions in the English currency, we appreciate the difference, greatly to the advantage of the decimal system. Were we only familiar with the metric system of denominate numbers, we should deplore our duped condition of servitude to reductions in denominate numbers. But spare us the transition stage! There is a mental repugnance against the supposed possibilities of the concomitant “reductions” necessary. The anticipated condition seems parallel to the physical discomfort of breaking in new shoes,—only more prolonged.

The repetend is neither formidable nor mysterious. Does not our antipathy frequently originate in our real lack of knowledge of things? The very dots which mark the innocent repetend seem like sentinels of mathematical woe;—yet the device is excellent. There is no other possible way of indicating this continuous array of numbers save by some device or system of marking. The  $\pm$  does too much indefinite service at the “tired” part of the quotient, and the “etc.” imparts a careless mysteriousness very misleading in the field of repetends. A dot over the first and another dot over the last of the figures in the series which repeats, is an excellent device. A single dot answers if but one figure is repeated.

A few hours' close study should yield a good return in knowledge of the repetend. There may lie in the circulate possibilities yet unheard of in the domain of numbers.

If 1 be divided by 7, it will soon be discovered that there can be but six possible remainders,—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6,—consequently if all these six remainders appear before the original dividend again occurs (regarding the first dividend as a remainder), there will be a series of numbers repeating in the quotient. This is exactly what happens with the divisor 7.

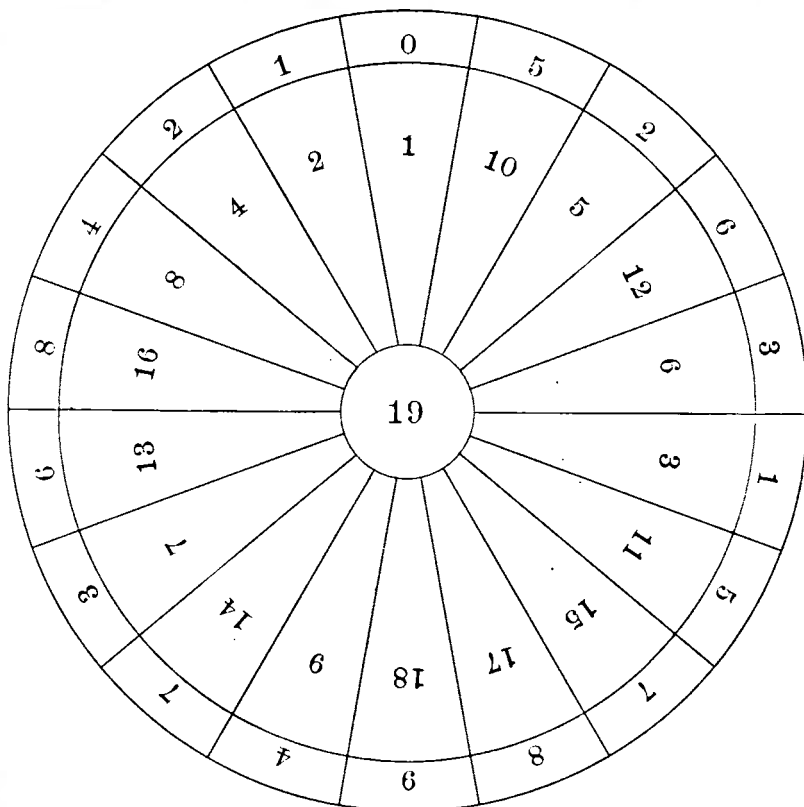
Again with the divisor 17, since there are sixteen numbers below it, there are sixteen figures in the repetend. It frequently happens—though not always—that the number of figures in the repetend is one fewer than the number of units in the divisor. In all such cases, there is a single cycle of the repetend.

With 13 as a divisor, using all the possible numbers below it as dividends, two different repetends will be found, each cycle consisting of six figures. The two cycles conjointly contain one fewer figure than the divisor has units. Likewise 71 has two cycles of 35 figures each.

If 1 be divided by 19 until the remainder 1 appears again as a dividend, a repetend of eighteen figures is found. This furnishes an

excellent example of the *single cycle*. A very convenient arrangement of the quotient figures and the remainders may be made to conform to the circular arrangement by placing the divisor at the center of the circle, the dividends (or remainders) next, and the quotient figures, which are the repetend, farthest out. A little study of the attached diagram, or cycle for 19, will soon reveal the advantage of this arrangement.

Nineteen is not contained in one, so there can be no "whole number" in the quotient. With the annexed cypher, 19 is not con-



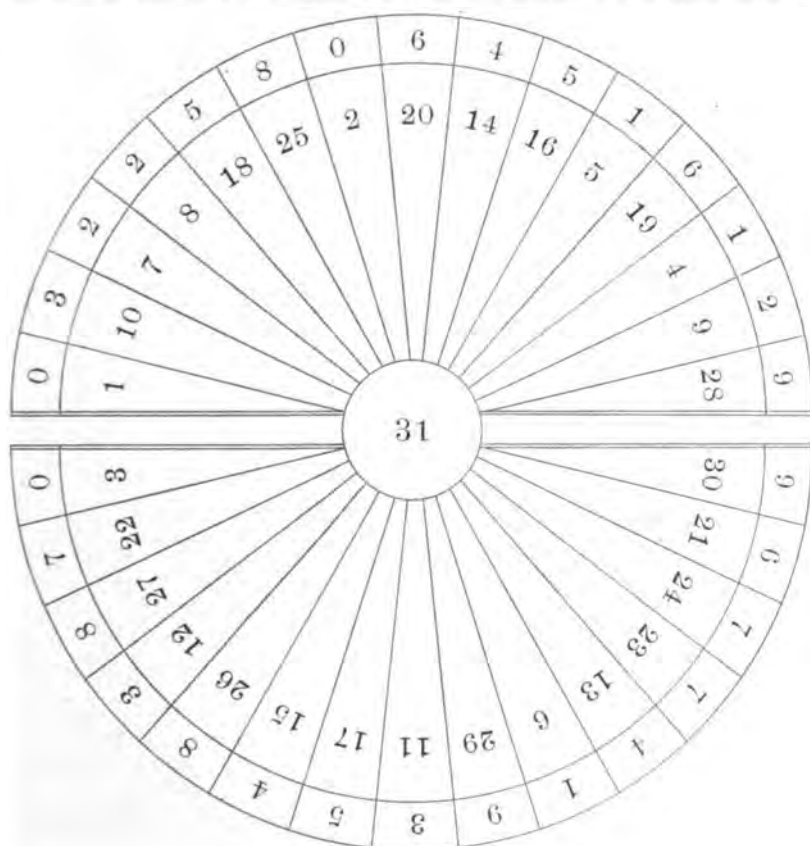
tained, so the decimal portion begins with 0; and ten, placed in the next sector, is treated as a remainder. With an annexed cypher, (100) as a dividend, 19 is contained 5 times with a remainder of 5. The quotient is placed above the dividend and the remainder in the next sector to the right. The work advances clockwise.

The first decimal figure of any repetend of 19 lies just outside

the number which is the dividend, and in the same sector. Thus the repetend for  $1\frac{4}{19}$  is .736842105263157894.

Some peculiarities of the cyclic arrangement may here be noticed. The sum of any two opposite repetend figures will always be 9. The sum of any two opposite remainders will always be equal to the divisor.

When in the process of division a remainder one unit below the divisor is found, the middle point of the division has been struck,



and the completion of the work may be done by taking complements of 9—starting with the first quotient figure—for the other half of the repetend, and complements of the divisor for the opposite remainders. The cyclic arrangement relieves the divider of half the work.

When two different repetends produced by the same divisor are taken conjointly and conform to all the essentials of the single

cycle, they may be termed complementary cycles. Thus 31 as a divisor produces complementary cycles which may be arranged as in the diagram on the preceding page.

This arrangement of the complementary cycles gives all the characteristics of the single cycle. A ruler edge will assist to find the opposite complementary figures. The reading of the complementary repetend must be confined to that semicircle in which the dividend is found. Thus the reading for  $\frac{20}{31}$  is .645161290322580. Do you appreciate that with the exception of a few figures as a whole number, here are all the possible problems in division with a divisor of 31? Here are thirty problems in division, from which a teacher can test thirty problems of busy work,—both as to quotient figures and remainders.

The divisor 79 gives three sets of complementary circulates, of thirteen figures each. In the cyclic arrangement, each repetend will occupy a sector of sixty degrees.

It sometimes happens that a divisor will produce repetends that of themselves conform to all the characteristics of the single cycle. Such series may be called independent cycles. With the divisor 13, two independent circulates are found, each of which conforms to all the conditions of the single cycle. They may be arranged in two different circles. These two circles will contain all the possible conclusions of all divisions by 13, which do not "come out even." The divisor 73 gives nine complete independent cycles of eight figures each.

The prime numbers in their order as divisors, with 1 as the dividend, give the following results:

- 3, produces two complementary cycles of one figure each.
- 7, produces one cycle of six figures.
- 11, produces five sets of complementary cycles of two figures each.
- 13, produces two independent cycles.
- 17, produces one cycle of sixteen figures.
- 19, produces one cycle of eighteen figures.
- 23, produces one cycle of twenty-two figures.
- 29, produces one cycle of twenty-eight figures.
- 31, produces two complementary cycles of fifteen figures each.
- 37, produces six sets of complementary cycles of three figures each.
- 41, produces four sets of complementary cycles of five figures.
- 43, produces two complementary cycles of twenty-one figures.
- 47, produces one cycle of forty-six figures.
- 53, produces two sets of complementary cycles of thirteen figures.
- 59, produces one cycle of fifty-eight figures.
- 61, produces one cycle of sixty figures.



- 67, produces two complementary cycles of thirty-three figures.
- 71, produces two complementary cycles of thirty-five figures.
- 73, produces nine independent cycles of eight figures each.
- 83, produces two complementary cycles of forty-one figures each.
- 89, produces two complementary cycles of forty-four figures.
- 107, produces two complementary cycles of fifty-three figures.
- 113, produces one cycle of one hundred and twelve figures.

If in arranging the remainders within the circle, the circumference be divided into equal arcs, and lines be drawn from the middle points of these arcs starting with 1 and drawing right on in the consecutive order, a beautiful design of parallel chords will appear. There will be two exceptions to the parallel arrangement, and these two chords will intersect at the center of the circle, and of course be equal. The parallel chords will also be equal. The long-sought-for method of trisecting an arc may lie in this field.

In working with repetends, two operations are found. The division which produces the repetend may be called reduction descending, and the operation which brings the repetend back to its original dividend and divisor may be called reduction ascending. The process of bringing back the countless smaller and smaller values to an expression of the highest numerical value, is not easy; and because not always understood, it elicits the student coinage "horrid" and "dreadful." The rule of giving the repetend a denominator of nines, should be understood before it is allowed to be used. A simple device in subtraction clears the repetend of its comet-like tail; but, at the same time, compensates for that by giving the denominator of 9's. The process will be explained under the caption, "Teaching the Repetend."

#### TEACHING THE REPETEND.

The class in recitation may be divided into six sections, and work in division assigned as follows:

- First section, reduce one-seventh to a decimal.
- Second section, reduce two-sevenths to a decimal.
- Third section, reduce three-sevenths to a decimal.
- Fourth section, reduce four-sevenths to a decimal.
- Fifth section, reduce five-sevenths to a decimal.
- Sixth section, reduce six-sevenths to a decimal.

Soon some alert pupil will report, "It goes back to the same thing all the time." The sections report in order while the teacher writes the results on the wall-slate.

First section,  $\frac{1}{7} = .14285714285714$

Second section,  $\frac{2}{7} = .285714285714$

Third section,  $\frac{3}{7} = .4285714$

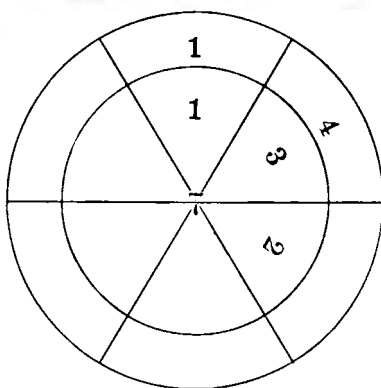
Fourth section,  $\frac{4}{7} = .57142857142857$

Fifth section,  $\frac{5}{7} = .714285714285$

Sixth section,  $\frac{6}{7} = .8571428$

These results should be carefully inspected and compared. Develop the point that in each quotient six figures repeat. Erase from each quotient all beyond the sixth figure and place the dots over the first and the last of each quotient. Explain their use. Note that these six figures are always in each repetend, and always in the same order.

These results may be concisely tabulated by means of a circle. Each pupil draws a circle about two inches in diameter. Divide the circumference into six parts, using the radius as a measure. Join each point of division with its opposite point. Let an inner circle



be drawn. Let 7 be placed at the center and 1 in the sector just above the 7. Mental division is now in order. Since 7 is not contained in one, we proceed into decimals. 7 in 10, 1 and three remaining. Place the quotient 1 in the outer space above the one, and the 3 in the adjoining sector. 7 in 30, 4 and 2 remaining. Place the quotient figure in the outer space above its dividend 3, and the remainder in the next sector.

Continue the division and record until the cycle is finished.

The definition of repetend may now be called for. Each pupil finds his particular problem in the diagram. Pupils discover a kind of division table. Each pupil reads from the "wheel,"—the reading being always clockwise. Thus  $\frac{1}{7} = .857142$ . Pupils will appreciate the economy. Here are six problems in one.

In the assignment of work for the next lesson, ask each pupil to prepare a "wheel" of repetends, using prime numbers not higher than 23 as the divisors. Not all the numbers within this range will produce a single cycle. This discovery may annoy some pupils, but the teacher assists to make the "wheel" in this case.

The reduction to the dividend and divisor which produced a given repetend is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 ? = .428571 \\
 1000,000 \times ? = 428571.428571 \\
 1 \times ? = .428571 \\
 \hline
 999,999 \times ? = 428571. \\
 ? = \frac{428571}{999999} = \frac{47619}{111111} = \frac{15873}{37037} = \frac{429}{1001} = \frac{39}{91} = \frac{3}{7}. \\
 \frac{1}{7} = .428571.
 \end{array}$$

In this process of reduction, multiply the given decimal repetend by such multiple of ten as will cast the entire repetend to the left of the decimal point. Then subtract once the repetend, and the attenuated decimal parts will disappear, leaving an entire quantity which is one unit below the multiple times the number. Hence the denominator of nines.

It seems improper to take several numbers at random, mark them as a repetend, and ask for the corresponding fraction. It seems like inverting the process of creation. Let the teacher who thinks otherwise find the fraction which would give .999.

Not a little educational value attaches to work with the repetend. With what persistence men seek the North Pole!—an impulse which urges them to know the unknown, the ultimate. To what extent is education responsible for this continuity of persistence? He who has been taught to terminate all division at the third decimal point could never be a man of great research. He would want to stop at the third cache on the northwest coast of Baffin's Bay. The dogged quality of sticking to a thing is valuable, and everything in the course of education that develops this quality should be utilized. A degree of satisfaction always attaches to a *finished* thing, though it be a jack-o-lantern.

The discovery of a repetend satisfies; for, though not perfectly finished, it is possible to see down the line of infinitesimal values into the realm of non-assignable values. We appreciate the end. The otherwise inconclusive becomes satisfactory; and we place the repetend dots over the discovered repetition of figures and, in imagination, see them dance off down into the infinite space of incalculable small values. A result to the third decimal place +, draws the curtain before the last act is over.

The cycles which we discover in mathematics seem to be the numerical counterparts of the cycles in nature. The life story of the moth furnishes a physical cycle in the insect world; while a grain of corn discloses a valuable repetend whose scale of values is permanent.

## THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

AS SHOWN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS RELIGIOUS RITES  
AND CUSTOMS.<sup>1</sup>

BY HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER.

### [CONCLUSION.]

6. It is not until symbolization has proceeded so far that the distinction of seen and unseen world is clearly realized, until there is felt to be a gap between the passive tangible and the active intangible nature of things, that we can accurately speak of "communion" with a lordlier world. To be sure, in the earlier stage there are all the germs of religious communion. There are cherishings, offerings, propitiations, pleas addressed to objects vaguely felt to be potent in man's destinies, the beginnings of sacrifice, penance and prayer; but as yet there is no science of intercourse with a higher reality, for as yet the severance of this from the world of every-day contacts is not felt. Life is still on a sensuous basis, and the ideal world which makes religion possible is in process of creation.

Most of the Indian peoples had already reached the higher stage when the white man came. However grotesquely blazoned by the imagination, they had nevertheless learned to conceive of a divine world interlocking with and dominating the human. But with few or none of them was the idealism thorough enough to make the distinction of worlds systematic; in whole areas of experience the primitive, instinctive animism prevailed. Hence it is that we find everywhere in Indian rite the dominance of magic. For magic is not a form of communion, in strict sense, but of compulsion, and it tends to maintain itself in connection with the less personal, the more naïve, notions of nature powers; it is directed to the control not of deities, endowed with independent wills, but of

<sup>1</sup> This paper is an expansion of the article "Communion with Deity—American," written for Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

those irresponsible nature forces which, if they are personified at all, are regarded as mere genii, slaves of the lamp or of the seal, and are counted in groups and kinds rather than as individuals. Magic is essentially a vast extension of the principle of identity; its universal formula is *similia similibus*, "like affects like." The Indian warrior who adorned his body with painted charms believed that he was thereby compelling to his aid the powers of nature so symbolized; the dance in which he fore-represented the fall of his enemy laid a kind of obligation upon his gods to fulfil its promise; the song in which he called down maledictions, robbed his foe of



ZUNI SUN SHRINE.

Illustrating personified conception of nature power. (From 23d RBEW.  
M. C. Stevenson.)

strength by its very naming of weakness. The Huancas made tambours of the skins of slain foes, the beating of which was to put their enemies to flight; the Indians of Cuzco lighted fires on clear nights in the belief that the smoke might act as clouds to prevent frost; the Sioux medicine-man made an image of the animal or other object which he regarded as the cause of disease and then burned it, thus symbolically curing his patient; and certain tribes of the Northwest are said to have made images of the children they wished to have, believing that the fondling of these images would encourage the coming of real children. Perhaps the clearest illustration of the primitive inability to separate the destinies of like

things is to be found in the mandate of a prophet to the Ojibwas: "The fire must never be suffered to go out in your lodge. Summer and winter, day and night, in the storm or when it is calm, you must remember that the life in your body and the fire in your lodge are



THE HEARTH ALTAR.  
(Photo by Curtis.)

the same and of the same date. If you suffer your fire to be extinguished, at that moment your life will be at its end."<sup>10</sup>

Thus the symbol seemed to give man control over potencies other than his own, and so released him from his primitive servitude to helpless fear; he had but to find out the secret signs of nature

<sup>10</sup> 14th RBEW, II, 678.

to command her inmost forces. But all this is magic; it is not worship. Communion with gods—prayer and its response, sacrifice and its rewards, participation in divine knowledge, sacramental blessings—is very different from compulsion of nature-powers by the magic of mimicry.

And yet the ritual of worship plainly springs from the ritual of magic. Magic, as we have said, tends to cling to the lower and less clearly personified conceptions of supernature; but just as animistic elements persist into mythic thinking, so do the principles of magic persist in higher rites. Probably the only sure criterion of the transition from magic to worship, from compulsion to communion, is degree of personification: where man conceives a power as a person, capable of exercising intelligent will (as the Iroquoian *ongwe*, "man-being"), he unconsciously comes to take toward it the mental attitude which marks his intercourse with his own kind, the attitude of question and answer, gift and reward, service and mastership.

That the magic of resemblances permeates primitive theories of worship is sufficiently shown by the wide use of mummery in feasts of the gods. This was especially characteristic of ancient Mexico, where worshipers and victims were often invested with the symbols of the divinity, as if thereby to partake of the divine nature. In the Hopi dances the *katchinas* are similarly represented by the dancers. The Aztecs, in their mountain worship, made edible images of these deities, which, after being worshiped, were eaten as a kind of sacrament. Votive offerings, too, were often in the likeness of the deity: the Mantas, says Garcilasso de la Vega,<sup>11</sup> worshiped a huge emerald to which emeralds were the acceptable offering; in the Aztec worship of the rain godling pop-corn was scattered about to symbolize hail. The tears of the victims offered to the rain-gods were in Mexico, as with the Khonds of India, regarded as omens of the next season's rainfall.

7. But the general blending of mimetic magic and higher ritual elements appears most clearly in the great Indian festivals. It will suffice to describe one, the Peruvian *Citu*, as given by Garcilasso,<sup>12</sup> a festival which offers many striking analogies to certain Greek and Roman feasts. The *Citu* followed the autumn equinox, and "it was to all a time of great rejoicing, for they solemnized it when they would drive from the city and its neighborhood all the ills, the hardships, and the weaknesses that afflict mankind." The festival

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, IX, viii.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, vi, vii.



was introduced by a day of fasting. The night following was spent in making a kind of bread called *cancu*, which was only partially cooked. There were two sorts of this bread, prepared separately, for in the one was mixed blood drawn from the nostrils and between the eyebrows ("which is their ordinary bleeding in case of illness") of children of five and ten years. Then the celebrants bathed the body, after which, with a piece of the bread made with blood, they rubbed the various parts—head, face, stomach, shoulders, arms, legs—in order to cleanse themselves, for "they imagine that thus they banish from their bodies all sorts of disease and weakness." This ceremony occurred at the home of the eldest near relative, and when it was finished he took a portion of the dough, rubbed the door of the house with it, and left it attached to the lintel<sup>13</sup> as a sign of the purification. The high priest performed the same ceremony in the temple of the sun, and it was performed at other shrines, particularly that marking the first stopping-place of Manco Capac on his coming to Cuzco. At the palace the eldest of the uncles of the Inca officiated.

At sunrise the sun god was adored and besought to banish all ills, "interior and exterior," and the fast was broken with the bread not mixed with blood. After this, says Garcilasso, there came from the fortress an Inca of royal blood. "He is richly clad, as a messenger from the sun. His robe is drawn up about his body, and he bears a lance adorned with a fringe of vari-colored plumes, extending from butt to head, and with quantities of gold rings—like the lance which is borne as a standard in war. This runner issues from the fortress and not from the temple of the sun, because he is regarded as a messenger of war, and in the temple only the affairs of peace may be treated. He proceeds, flourishing his lance, to the center of the principal plaza of the city. There he is joined by four other Incas bearing similar lances and with their robes drawn up, as is the custom of those who run upon affairs of importance. The courier touches with his lance the lances of these four, to whom he says that the sun commands them as his agents and messengers to chase from the city and the country round about all the evils and maladies that they find. Then the four set forth by the four great roads which terminate at the city and which they regard as leading to the four quarters of the world. All the inhabitants, men and women, young and old, seeing them pass, put

<sup>13</sup> At their spring-festival in honor of the maize goddess, Cinteotl, the Aztecs fastened gladiolus at the doors of their houses and sprinkled them with blood drawn from their legs and ears.

themselves at the doors of their houses, and acclaiming and applauding they shake their garments as if to clear them of dust, and with their hands rub head and face, arms and legs, thinking that by this means they chase from their houses the ills, so that the messengers of the sun may banish them from the city." The lances were carried by relays several leagues from the city and there planted to show that the ills were thereby banished beyond these limits.

The night following the people went forth publicly carrying torches made of plaited straw with round basket-shaped butts, and with these they traversed all the streets of the city "chasing forth with flames the ills of the night as with their lances they have exterminated those of the day." They threw the burning torches into the river, where the day before they had bathed, that the current might carry down to the sea the evils they had rid themselves of, and if any one afterwards discovered the extinguished remnant of one of these torches on the bank, it was regarded as a thing to be shunned, contagious of ill. The next day was a day of song, dancing, and general rejoicing, with great sacrifice of llamas to the sun and a feast upon the roasted flesh of the sacrificed animals, in which all shared who had taken part in the festival.

The magic character of most of the rites in the *Citu* (in which, from the stress laid upon family origins, we may suspect some element of ancestor-worship and the laying of ghosts) is sufficiently obvious: first the individual and the household, and then the city, the greater household, were symbolically purged. But along with this magic are other elements: adoration of the sun, prayer, sacrifice, and finally a holy sacrament,—communion with deity in a proper sense. The latter elements are clearly overshadowed; they do not constitute the essential part of the ceremonies; they are manifestly late additions. The whole festival is nearer the magical than the humanistic conception of religion.

The same is true of the great part of Indian religious feasts. The dances of the North American Indians are almost purely magical. The buffalo dance of the Sioux, designed to bring the game when food was scarce, imitated the habits and hunting of that animal; and in some tribes when the men were off hunting the women performed dances to ensure their success. The famous Busk (*puskita*) of the Creeks, a festival of the harvest home sometimes called the "green-corn dance," presents many analogies to the *Citu*, including fasting, purification, and the symbolic driving forth of ills. The elaborate festivals, or "dances," of the Pueblo Indians are largely symbolic prayers for rain in their arid country. And it

should be noted that what is originally mere magic compulsion of nature powers may, with higher conceptions, be regarded as a prayer, acted rather than said, a dramatic representation of men's needs addressed to the givers of good.

8. As the scale of civilization ascends, magical elements sink farther and farther into the background. Among the more primitive Indians mimetic festivals, including "mysteries," or dramatic representations of myths, as well as dances, are the most conspicuous ceremonials. With the more settled and civilized peoples other elements—temple service, cult—come to the fore, and almost every type of ritualistic celebration and every conception of intercourse with deity is developed.

Of the various types of ritual observance the tribal and national festivals probably retain most pronouncedly the magical element. They are directly associated with the social welfare of the celebrants and serve to give expression to the ideal of solidarity which makes society possible; in this sense their magic is real; it has a psychical force in the consciousness of the participants, reflecting that change of mind which makes possible the development of a vast commune like the empire of Peru out of what must have been a mere anarchism analogous to that of the savage Amazonians. This social significance of the feast is well illustrated in the character of the five principal feasts of the Incas. Of these, the *Citu* was a symbolic purification of society, probably with some reminiscence of ancestor-worship, analogous to the Roman *Lemuria* or the Greek *Anthesteria*. Of the remaining festivals, the chief was the great feast of the sun at the summer solstice, at which delegates from all parts of the empire marched before the Inca in their national costumes, bearing gifts characteristic of the products of their provinces—clearly a symbolization of the empire of the national deity. Two other festivals were connected with the production of food: these were the feast of the young vegetation in the spring, designed to avert frosts and other blights, and the harvest home in the fall, which was a minor and chiefly family festival. The remaining celebration was the occasion of the initiation of young men to warriors' rank, an annual or biennial observance the connection of which with the welfare of the State is obvious.

These feasts may be taken as generally typical of Indian tribal celebrations. Local conditions vary the period of celebration, the number, and the stress on this element or that—as the stress on rainmaking comes to characterize the "dances" of the Pueblo Indians, or as the populous pantheons of Mexico caused a great increase in

the number of festivals. But the social significance remains throughout, developing from what may be termed the summation of individual into tribal "medicine" or "orenda"—as in the magic dances by which game is allured—up to the conception of a sacramental banquet of the worshipers with their god. This sacramental character has already been variously illustrated, but it is worth while to instance in the Aztec worship of Omacatl, god of banquets, the fabrication of an elongated cake which is termed a "bone of the god" and is eaten by the participants in his festival. The eating of the body of the god recurs in several cults among the Aztecs, with whom ceremonial cannibalism was customary; with the Incas, on the other hand, the typical sacrament was a feast shared by the god with his worshipers, or with such of them as were deemed related to him, for in the great feast of the sun only the "children of the sun" were allowed to partake of the vase of liquor from which their god and ancestor had first been invited to drink.

9. Rites and practices of an ascetic nature are numerous and varied throughout the Indian world. At the root of such practices is not merely the desire to placate evil powers by self-inflicted punishments, but also the purely social desire to prove publicly one's endurance and valor. The horrible tortures inflicted upon themselves by the Mandans in the so-called "sun dance" and similar practices of other Northern tribes (Father de Smet states<sup>14</sup> that the warriors of the Arikaras and Gros Ventres, in the preparatory fast previous to going on the warpath, "make incisions in their bodies, thrust pieces of wood into their flesh beneath the shoulder blade, tie leather straps to them, and let themselves be hung from a post fastened horizontally upon the edge of a chasm 150 feet deep") are probably as much due to a desire to prove worth and endurance as to propitiate the sun or the Great Spirit.

Similarly, the fastings which introduce so many Indian festivals spring from a variety of motives. Among the hunting tribes with whom involuntary fasts were a matter of common chance, to fast frequently in times of plenty was a part of the normal training of a brave. The training began early. Dr. Eastman,<sup>15</sup> describing his early childhood, says: "Sometimes my uncle would waken me very early in the morning and challenge me to fast with him all day. I had to accept the challenge. We blackened our faces with charcoal, so that every boy in the village would know that I was fasting

<sup>14</sup> *Life, Letters and Travels*, New York, 1905.

<sup>15</sup> *Indian Boyhood*, New York, 1902.

for the day. Then the little tempters would make my life a misery until the merciful sun hid behind the western hills."

But there was also a far deeper, a mystical motive which made the fast a prominent feature of the Indian's life. The fast endured by the young Indian seeking the revelation of his tutelary has already been mentioned. Similar fasts, especially by medicine-men and women, seeking revelation in dream and vision, were common. Copway describes<sup>18</sup> in detail the visions of a young girl of his tribe (the Ojibwa) during a protracted period of fasting. It was in the summer season and her people were coasting along the lakeside. The girl was taken with a mood of pensive sadness and spent much time alone. "One evening she was seen standing on the peak of pictured rocks; and as the sun was passing the horizon, and the waves dashed furiously, she was heard to sing for the first time. Her long black hair floated upon the wind, and her voice was heard above the rustling of the leaves and the noise of the waters. When night came she could not be seen. She had fled to the rocky cave, from whence were to go up her petitions to the gods." She was not found until the fourth day, and during all that time she had tasted neither food nor drink. Her friends besought her to return to the camp, but she refused to do so until the gods were propitious to her. The night of the fifth day a young warrior appeared to her in a vision: "What will you have," he asked, "the furs from the woods—the plumes of rare birds—the animals of the forest—or a knowledge of the properties of wild flowers?" She answered: "I want a knowledge of the roots that I may relieve the nation's sufferings and prolong the lives of the aged." This was promised, but she was not yet satisfied. On following days and nights other visions came. In one of her dreams two beings conducted her to the top of a high hill, whence she could see the clouds and lightning beneath. Her companions said: "That which is before you, bordering on the great hill, is infancy. It is pleasant but dangerous. The rocks present the perilous times of life." At the very summit, where all the world was spread out below, as far as the western sea, one of the beings touched the maiden's hair, and half of it turned white. In a final dream she was asked to enter a canoe on the lake, and when she had done so, one of her visitors sang:

"I walk on the waves of the sea,  
I travel o'er hill and dale."

"When becalmed," said they, "sing this, and you will hear us whisper to you." The next day, the tenth of her fasting, she permitted

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*

herself to be taken to the camp. "I have received the favor of the gods," she said. "I have traveled the journey of life and have learned that I shall not die until my hair is turned white."

It is obvious that there is the making of a mystical philosophy in this vision; and in a number of cases Indian religious sects have originated from the fasting-visions of their prophets. Character-



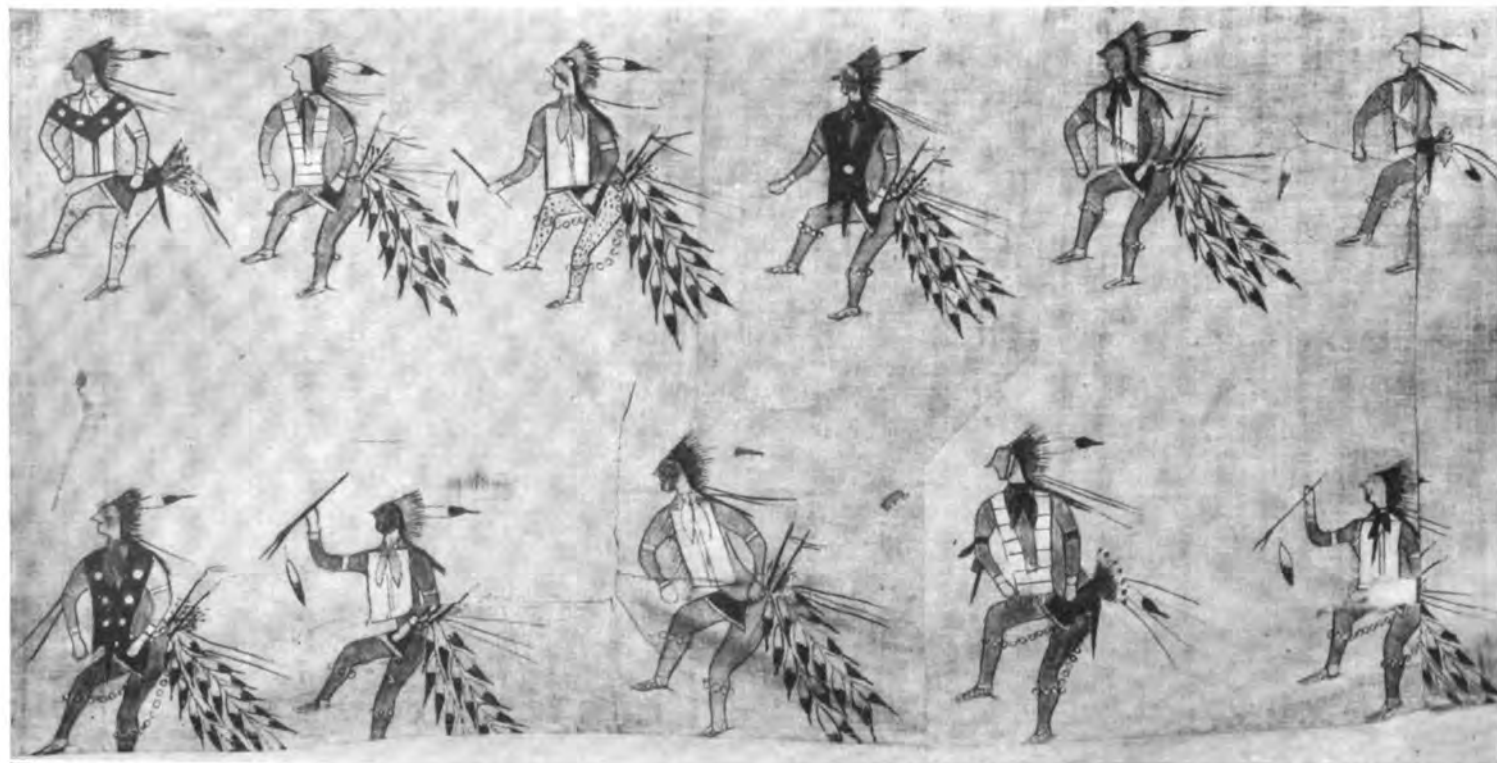
DREAM JOURNEY TO THE SPIRIT WORLD. PART I.

The original of this entire series was painted on a long strip of cloth by La-lu-wahk, a Pawnee, in 1875. It belongs to the Loan Exhibit of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

istic of such a vision is a journey into the spirit-world, whence the prophet returns to reveal "the Way" to his fellows; and in all Indian life there is nothing more pathetic and beautiful than the naive faith in these revelations.

Fasts of a purely ritualistic character naturally pertain to a





DREAM JOURNEY TO THE SPIRIT WORLD. PART II.



more conventionalized stage of religion. In Peru two types of fasts were observed, one perfectly rigorous, the other merely involving



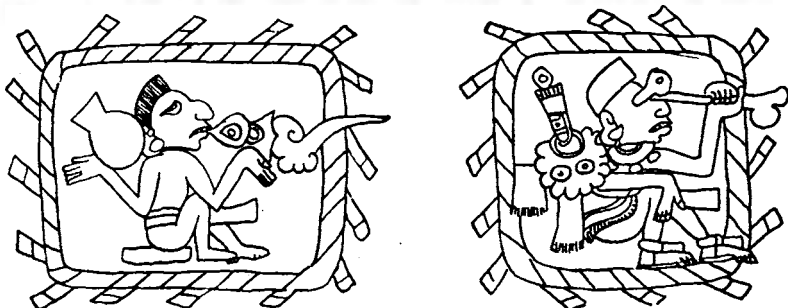
DREAM JOURNEY TO THE SPIRIT WORLD. PART III.

abstinence from meat and seasoned food. In Mexico also fasts varied in their severity. In both countries fasts were imposed upon

the priests that were not observed by the commons. The Peruvian priests, Garcilasso states, fasted vicariously for the people.

Continence was enjoined as a feature of all important fasts. The notion of perpetual celibacy seems to have occurred only in Peru, where a certain number of priestesses were chosen to be "Virgins of the Sun"; they were really regarded as the Sun's wives. Garcilasso states that there was a law that a virgin who fell should be immured alive, though there was no recorded instance of occasion for the infliction of this penalty—which, like their keeping of the perpetual fire in the temple of the sun, is strikingly reminiscent of the Roman Vestals.

Penance for sins committed and confession of sins with a view to expiation were probably far more common than our records show. Confession and penance both appear in some North American religions of late origin, but probably from the influence of Catholic



MEXICAN PICTOGRAPHS SHOWING FORMS OF PENANCE.

teachings. The clear case of native practice is the Aztec, recorded by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun. The confession was secret, and the priest prescribed penance according to its gravity. But, says Fray Bernardino,<sup>17</sup> "they say that the Indians awaited old age before confessing the carnal sins. It is easy to comprehend that, although they had indeed committed errors in youth, they should not confess them before arriving at an advanced age, in order not to find themselves obliged to give over these follies till the senile years!" It is only fair to add that Sahagun's own account of the eagerness of the Indians to confess to the Spanish fathers rather belies this cynicism. The Mexicans also punished severely lapses on the part of the servitors of the gods. At the festival of the gods of rain in the sixth (Mexican) month "they chastized terribly on the waters of the lake those servants of the idols who had committed any fault in their

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, xii.

service. Indeed they were maltreated to the point of being left for dead on the shores of the lake, where their relatives came to bear them home almost without life."<sup>18</sup>

10. Sacrificial rites have already received mention in preceding paragraphs. The motives underlying them are probably as various as the forms they assume. It seems hard to give any other motive than placation for the casting of tobacco or valuables into the waters of a river before shooting the rapids, and placation is certainly the motive which prompts offerings to smallpox. But it seems quite as certain that another motive must be sought for the great body of sacrifices of a sacramental nature, and it would seem fairly obvious that the explanation is to be found in the very ancient custom of giving food offerings to the dead. The lowest nomads practice this custom and it persists far into civilization. It is easy to see how, the idea once formed, gods come to share with ghosts this service, for the distinction of god and ghost is very slow in forming. Furthermore, after prowess as a warrior, the greatest social virtue of the Indian is to be a successful hunter and feast maker, and the greatest honor he could bestow upon his gods would be to invite their participation in his feasts. Doubtless, too, the influence of totemism must be taken into account in the evolution of sacramental feasts: the totem is at once a god and an ancestral spirit, forming a natural link between the feared ghost of a kinsman and a true nature deity. Yet another and worthier motive is to be found in that complex state of mind which underlies man's desire to prove himself fit for the god's service—fit in his power of self-deprivation and again in the completeness of his trust in his god. Such a motive appears very clearly in Dr. Eastman's account<sup>19</sup> of his first childish offering, when he was called upon to offer up without blenching, in a wild and lonely cavern, which was the shrine of "the Great Mystery," that which was dearest to his boy's heart, his dog. The lesson was in self-control, but the stimulus to it was high-hearted devotion. A somewhat similar motive very possibly underlies the strange custom of "potlatch" of the Indians of Alaska and British Columbia, a custom which pronounces as the most praiseworthy of a man's deeds his giving over to his fellows, at a great feast which he prepares for them, all his worldly possessions, the accumulation of long years. That this custom may have a religious significance (and it is difficult to find any feature of aboriginal life not to some extent religious) is indicated by its analogue in Mexico. As an act of exceptional de-

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II, vi.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*

votion in the worship of the god of mat-weavers, Napatecutli, a man might make a banquet where, after songs and dances in honor of the god, he gave away all his possessions, saying: "I take it as a matter of no moment to be left without resources provided my patron god be satisfied with this feast; whether he supply me once more or leave me in want, be his will accomplished."

The acceptability of the offering to the god, and hence the favor which this acceptability implies, is already a step in auspicy. The further step of making sacrifices for discovering the god's attitude is natural to take, and divination was one of the chief motives underlying the sacrifices of the more advanced peoples in America, as it has been of pagan peoples the world over.

The forms and materials of offerings may be resumed in general categories. Votive offerings in the most primitive stage consist merely of cherished possessions of whatever nature; later, they have some special reference to the needs or character of the deity. In Peru the temples of the sun were filled with gold and silver images of all sorts of animals and plants, images of men along with them. In the Hopi ceremonies sticks representing corn as well as actual ears of corn are placed before representations of the rain and cereal divinities—so clearly symbolizing the gifts expected that one might almost term them material prayers. Feathers, ornaments, figurines, and the like, are of course common offerings.

The use of incense in the strict sense is not widely recorded. The Siksika are reported to have in each tipi an altar (a mere hole in the earth) where sweet gum is daily burned, and the Aztecs are said to have burned copal as incense before their gods. If the ceremonial smoking of tobacco and other odoriferous herbs may be so termed, the burning of incense was very widely practised. As a matter of fact the smoking of the pipe is an important religious function, and the pipebowl has even been termed an "altar" by some students of Indian conceptions. Pine needles are burned for incense by the Pueblo Indians, and the Hopi kivas are filled with the fragrance of burning juniper tops. Perhaps the most interesting offering of sweet scent to divinities was the Mexican offering of flowers, especially to the *tlaloque*; and in the third Mexican month the "first fruits" of the flowers were offered to Tlaloc at the festival of that god, previous to which occasion "no one dared breathe the fragrance of a flower."

Offerings of food and drink, first to the dead as provision for the journey into the other world and then to other powers and deities, occur in a variety of forms. The Peruvians made libation

by putting the finger into the cup before drinking and then waving it in the air until the sun had drunk the offering, following this action by twice or thrice "kissing the air" as a special sign of adoration; the Mexicans, before tasting food, cast a portion into the hearthfire to satisfy that divinity. Vegetables, fruits, and cereals belong to the regular materia of sacrifice in both North and South America, and in Peru, at least, appear to have been burned on altars. The bodies of animals also are undoubtedly in part food offerings, but this is certainly not their major significance.

The motives underlying animal sacrifices are exceedingly complex. The sacrifice of the favorite dog, cited above, is clearly of the nature of a votive offering; it is a case of surrender of that which is treasured; and perhaps most of the sacrificing of dogs and ponies by North American Indians is of this nature, though it is easy to infer for it a quite different origin, namely, as an outgrowth of the slaughtering of favorite animals at the grave to accompany the dead into the next world. Again, we have seen that animal (and, especially with the Mexicans, human) sacrifice was frequently involved in the sacraments, or feasts shared by worshiper and deity. The notion of a mystic union with the god is implied in the Mexican habit of devouring the theanthropic victim in various rites, which very likely harks back to the more elementary belief that the "magic" of a slain enemy is absorbed in eating his body or drinking his blood. That this belief affects other animals than man appears in the eating of animals not ordinarily regarded as food by medicine-men and others who wished to gain the particular powers of these animals.

Magical reasonings, also, loom large in animal sacrifices. The Mexican habit of lacerating victims to be sacrificed to the gods of rain, so as to cause them to bleed, or of passing through fire those to be sacrificed to the god of fire, plainly indicate magic antecedents. The Pawnee sacrifice of a captured girl whose body was torn to pieces and the fragments buried in the fields to render them fertile, is again a case of obvious magic. The Peruvian preference for twin lambs, as indicating greater fecundity, points to the same type of thinking. Among the Incas black lambs were the favorites for sacrifice, black lambs being less likely than white ones to have spots of another color, and so being regarded as a more perfect breed. But the Collas, whose chief deity was a white llama, preferred white lambs for their sacrifices.

Sacrifice for the purpose of divination was general both in Mexico and Peru. It is probable that no sacrifice was made without prognostication of its favor or disfavor with the god, and thence

naturally arose the habit of making sacrifices whenever prognostics of coming fortunes were particularly desired. The divination might be by omens drawn from the behavior of the victim, as when the Aztecs regarded sadness on the part of the theanthropic victim of Toci, mother of the gods, as betokening ill, or the tears of victims offered to the rain gods as foretelling rain; or it might be that the divination was by extispicium, as seems to have been the common mode in Peru, where there was an elaborate code of signs, the supremely favorable prognostic being drawn when the lungs continued to palpitate after being drawn from the animal's body.

Possibly the strongest motive of all that actuate animal sacrifice is to be found in the occult significance of blood. Bloodletting in some form or other is a constant accompaniment of all sorts of rites. Among the wilder Indians it was common to gash the body as a sign of mourning and to remain without washing until the dried blood was worn away. The Mexicans similarly gashed or pierced themselves till the blood ran at the altars of certain of their gods; and with the blood of victims, human or animal, these altars were constantly smeared. In their sacrifices, too, both in Mexico and Peru, it was the heart of the victim that formed the real offering. The heart was torn from the still living victim and immolated as the god's essential portion. Facts such as these can best be interpreted in the light of the ancient and deep-seated belief common to all primitive men, that the blood is in some occult and intimate sense the seat of vital strength and the proper rejuvenator of the ailing soul.

II. The general subject of sacrifice is not to be passed over without some special discussion of that feature of it for which America is particularly notorious. Human sacrifice was practised in varying degrees from end to end of the two continents. In Mexico it reached a scale never elsewhere equalled, and the prevalence of cannibalism in connection with it has made the practice even more repellent. The ready inference has been of the exceptional cruelty and brutishness of the Indians, and while this inference is no doubt to some extent justified, there are yet considerations modifying the harshness of first-off appearances.

It is necessary in the first place to note the roots of the custom among the lowest savages and to see what its meaning is for them. Probably there is more or less of untutored exultation, a kind of egoistic afflatus prompted by the consciousness of having in his power an enemy whom he has feared, that incites the savage captor to dispatch his prisoners, but such a motive could never become the



basis of a custom. Similarly, a cruel delight in the buffoon-like antics of the tortured person is no adequate account of the persistence of torture. Superstitious reasons always underlie wide-spread racial habits.

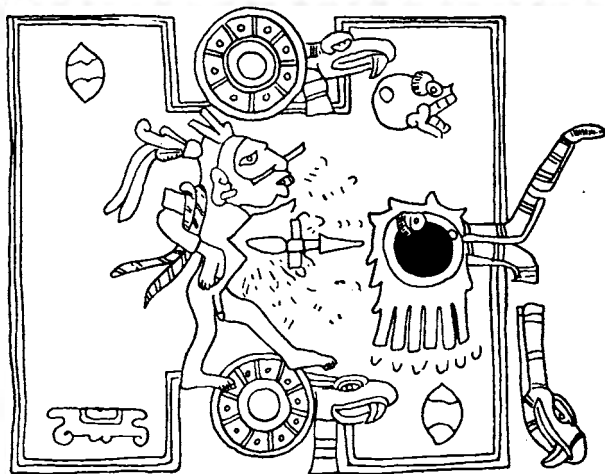
And of such reasons, with respect to ceremonial man-killing, two are of early and almost universal occurrence. The first of these connects with belief in ghost-life. A dead man, especially if he has been powerful in life, must be placated, lest he utilize his freedom from possible retaliation to plague the living. For this purpose, he must have service in the future world, the service of subjects, slaves, or captives,—souls little to be feared in comparison with his,—while, if he have come to his death violently, he must be revenged on his slayers ere his soul can rest and his ghost be duly "laid." These motives are obviously at the basis of the great mass of sacrificial rites designed to honor or appease the dead. The Assiniboin explained their extreme cruelty in massacring the women and children of a captured camp of Blackfeet on the ground that it was necessary to satisfy the *manes* of their own people who had been slain by this tribe, and it is known that captives were much more likely to be spared by the North Americans if none of the capturing force were slain. The custom of putting to death captives and inferiors at the grave of a prominent warrior is too familiar to need particularization. That his wives were also put to death was as natural as that his weapons should be ceremonially broken or interred with him. But it should be remembered that the perfectly unquestioning belief in a continued life which such practices implied robbed the sacrifice of much of its obloquy. Indeed, such sacrifices were often voluntary. Garcilasso states<sup>20</sup> that "when the Inca or some one of the great lords of the country came to die, their servants and the wives whom they had most loved immolated themselves by letting themselves be interred alive in the grave, saying that their keenest desire was to go to serve in the other world their kings and their good lords." Among the Natches of North America persons are said to have applied as long as ten years beforehand for the privilege of accompanying their chief in death. There is an account of an Indian chief of the Northwest who caused himself to be buried alive in the grave of his favorite son; and a Mbaya woman, a convert to Catholicism, when she found that there were to be no sacrifices at the funeral of a chief's daughter, asked a fellow tribesman

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, VI, v.



to knock her in the head that she might go to serve the maiden in the other world; the request was immediately complied with.<sup>21</sup>

A second and almost equally potent motive to human sacrifice is for the purpose of assimilating the qualities of the slain person by devouring some portion of his body. This is the obvious explanation of the cannibalism practised by the Mexicans in connection with their sacrifices, and the rudiments of the idea are found among the lowest savages. The cannibal tribes of Brazil not only eat their slain enemies, in the belief that whatever courage these may have possessed will be thereby acquired, but they eat the bodies of their own children in the expectation of spiritually uniting with them. Similarly, the Ximana burn the bones of their dead and mingle the



MEXICAN PICTOGRAPH ILLUSTRATING MODE OF HUMAN SACRIFICE.

ashes with their drink. In North America many of the most advanced tribes were in the habit of eating portions of their enemies' bodies, especially the heart, in order to absorb their desirable qualities. The stress placed on the heart in these practices gives a clue to the development of the form of sacrificial execution (wholly analogous to the "Bloody Eagle" of our own Norse ancestors) which prevailed in Mexico, and which the Peruvians carried over from earlier human sacrifices to the sacrifices of animals.

Rites originating in worship of ghosts are transferred instinctively to nature deities, and the motives just discussed (though doubtless complicated by such motives as prompt sacrifice in gen-

<sup>21</sup> These stories appear in *Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, by Rushton M. Dorman, Philadelphia, 1881,—a work which brings together under classified heads many facts from diverse sources.

eral) are a fair explanation of the source of the human sacrifice practised in Mexico on a huge scale, and in Peru and elsewhere among the more settled Indians on a far more limited scale. The reason for the difference of degree which has made the Aztec civilization loom so detestable deserves a brief consideration.

It is widely held by students of comparative religion that civilizations generally pass through a stage at which human sacrifice is practised, the human victim eventually giving way to an animal surrogate. In America, though the conception of sacrifice was widely developed, there were but two centers—Mexico and Peru—where the social development was such that sacrificial rites had come to predominate over magical, and where civilization had reached a stage at which human sacrifice (judged by Old World standards) should have begun to be archaic. In one of these two centers—Peru—it had become archaic, at least with the advanced population, who, if Garcilasso is trustworthy, waged a conscious propaganda against it. But Peru possessed a worthy surrogate, the llama, the only considerable domestic animal in the two continents. Where sacrificial demands are extensive, no wild animal and no tame carnivore, as the dog, will answer; there must be herds, prolific and at hand. Mexico had no such animals. Apart from men, quails formed the principal animal sacrifice; and it would seem to be no great stretch of inference to find in this fact the main reason for the extensiveness and persistence of human sacrifice in that country.

And for what it is worth as a palliative for horrors that in the reading can only seem unredeemed, the Mexicans believed that at least such of their human victims as bore a theanthropic character were destined to a far happier lot in the future world than was in store for ordinary mortals: like the warrior slain in battle, the sacrificial victim might expect his soul to proceed at once to the mansions of the sun—contrast enough to the realm of rayless night which was the destination of those who died a natural death. Furthermore, if we may judge by some of their world-weary utterances, the Aztecs did not look upon death as an unmitigated evil; in language worthy of Ecclesiastes, they addressed the new-born child:<sup>22</sup> "O sorrow! thou hast been sent into this world, place of fatigue, of grief and of discontent, where reside sore labor and deep affliction, where woes and sufferings reign in all their might. Yea, thou art come to earth not for rejoicing and happiness, but to suffer affliction and torment in flesh and bone. Here thou art doomed to the extremity of toil, for it is for this that thou hast been sent into the world." One

<sup>22</sup> Sahagun, *op. cit.*

might surmise that not a little of this *Weltschmerz* was due to the influence of the bloodiest religion the world has ever known.

12. Of the various modes in which the power approached was regarded as giving response, extispicium was undoubtedly the commonest. Human and animal sacrifices were largely made for this purpose, and it was practised not only by the more civilized peoples of the south, but also by some of the hunting tribes, who occasionally used buffaloes for the purpose. But besides this form of divination nearly every known type was developed. The Incas had found augury in the flights of birds and drew prognostics from the stars, while comets foretold disaster; earthquakes, tidal waves, circles about the moon, were all portents to be read by the omen-wise. A similar science of signs was developed in Mexico, as is shown by the list of omens of disaster which Prescott gives as precursing the coming of the Spaniards:<sup>23</sup> "In 1510 the great lake of Tezcuco, without the occurrence of a tempest, or earthquake, or any visible cause, became violently agitated, overflowed its banks, and, pouring into the streets of Mexico, swept off many of the buildings by the fury of the waters. In 1511, one of the turrets of the great temple took fire, equally without any apparent cause, and continued to burn in defiance of all attempts to extinguish it. In the following years, three comets were seen; and not long before the coming of the Spaniards a strange light broke forth in the east. It spread broad at its base on the horizon, and rising in a pyramidal form tapered off as it approached the zenith. It resembled a vast sheet or flood of fire, emitting sparkles, or, as an old writer expresses it, 'seemed thickly powdered with stars.' At the same time low voices were heard in the air, and doleful wailings, as if to announce some strange, mysterious calamity."

Prophecies from a more direct source were believed to come through those men who had learned the secret way to the other world. The gift of prophecy is often thought to come during the fast which is a part of the youth's preparation for maturity among North American tribes, and it is often vouched for by ability to do various tricks and produce effects of a kind strongly suggestive of the spiritualistic medium. Among the Ojibwas, for example, "the Jesakkid can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes. The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form

<sup>23</sup> *Conquest of Mexico.*

an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful *manido* [*manitou*] of the Jesakkid, and through him with numerous other malevolent *manidos*, especially the Animiki, or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting the arrival of *manidos*, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything is favorable, the response is not long in coming."<sup>24</sup> Intercourse with the unseen world in trance was, of course, common; and occasionally the prophet managed to fortify his claim to such communion by verifying his predictions: at all events, the famous Assiniboin chief, Tchotka, is said to have obtained his hold over his tribe by predictions of the deaths of his rivals which he managed to fulfil by an adept use of poisons.

Dreams are very generally regarded as oracular, or even as veritable visitations from tutelar powers, a dream of a powerful shaman or of a chief or king being naturally viewed as more important than that of one having less significant connection with the superhuman realm. But oracles were also derived from the lips of idols. The Incas, usually quick to destroy the cults of conquered peoples, allowed the Huancas to retain their worship of an oracular idol while forbidding the worship of their tribal deity, the dog; and among the conquered Yuncas was another speaking statue, Rimac, "he who speaks," in a valley of the same name, which became a sort of South American Delphi, consulted by alien chiefs and the conquering Incas as well as by those with whom the cult was native. The responses of Rimac were sometimes "confused and ambiguous, promising neither good nor ill," but there were priests and trained diviners to interpret them.

But with all these various forms of special revelation, it should be remembered that the ordinary response which the Indian expected for his devotions was less direct: it was not foreknowledge nor advice, but success in the enterprise in hand, continuance of the right to live, food, victory, social prosperity; and at the basis of this expectation lurks the old motive of the compulsoriness of magical prefigurements.

13. Omens require skilled interpreters that they may be read, and every form of ritual, as it acquires elaboration, becomes a special mystery which only those carefully initiated to its usages and secrets are competent to interpret. The primitive, simple rites, those

<sup>24</sup> 7th RBEW, p. 158.

prompted by mere instinct, as placation by food offering, pass readily from individual to individual by imitation, if indeed they be not naturally originated by each person separately; and customs of greater complication, as formal sacrifice or use of magic, may be practised by all the individuals of a tribe, and handed on, without priestly specialization, from parent to child. But a very little advance in social complication is sure to be reflected in ritual and speedily to result in the formation of classes of adepts to whom the direction of ceremonials is referred. So priesthoods arise.

The social beginnings of religion far antedate the culture of the lowest living savages. Ghost or ancestor-worship (if by this we may import any form of "tendance" of the dead) must be as old as burial, or any special care of the dead body, and ancestor-worship is already a society religion; it represents the cult of a group—family or clan—not that of an individual. And if we are to conceive of primitive hordes as made up of families, it is apparent that the seeds of specialization are already sown; we have already, in dim forecast, an Inca clan, descended from one conquering hero, to whom in future days are to be entrusted special privileges and ceremonies when the worship of the deified ancestor comes to be imposed upon the conquered.

But ancestor-worship is early complicated by another form of social specialization—totem-worship. Whatever may have been the origin, whatever may be the secret of the much-discussed totem, there can be no question of its comparatively wide prevalence in America, nor yet of its essential function, viz., to systematize and solidify clan and family organization. That it does this by means of a name, a symbol, and that the social sanction of this symbol should assume a religious form, only illustrates once again the correlation between growth in powers of vicarious thought and social advance. The totem is primarily a recognition sign; but the sanctity with which the primitive mind enlarges a name, or any token, and the tabus and sanctions with which it is speedily encompassed, give it a place among the powers of nature. And when it assumes a material likeness (whether for purposes of magic or of heraldry), the extreme readiness of the imagination to identify associated objects affords easy route to the reification and deification of the sign. Thus we have the whole congeries of kindreds named after animals, plants, and what-not, each clan finding not only a recognition sign but a tutelary in its totemic emblem. That the deified emblem should eventually be regarded as a clan ancestor



(and that so should ensue all the puzzling interplay of totemic tabus) is an easy inference from the known habits of mind.

Naturally totemic and ancestor worship take the form of ceremonials in which all the members of the clan participate and from which the members of all other clans are excluded; the clan gods have interest only in the clan members. And so in the tribe or village composed of several clans, each preserves its own cult and ceremonies—rites which not only bring to each clan member the benefits designed, but form a public sanction of the participant's social status. But, to a large extent, the interests of the clan are also interests of the tribal community, and so it comes about—even after tribal rites have been introduced—that the clan continues to perform its own rites, and for the sake of the tribe as well as, or because, for its own sake. Illustration is the practice of the totem kins of certain Siouan tribes of performing magic rites designed to insure the increase of the animal with which they deem themselves specially related in order that there may be plenty of game for the tribe. Illustration, again, in a more complex society, is the Hopi prayer for rain conducted by the famous Snake and Antelope fraternities. These fraternities are controlled by the combined Chua and Ala clans, but the rite is for the welfare of the whole people.

In the tribal community the more powerful clans readily gain a pre-eminence for their cults, not merely by reason of political strength but also by imaginative appeal—the evidence of divine favor which their prosperity reveals. Likely, too, the accident of having for totem an animal of special economic value may give predominance; at least it is a legitimate hypothesis that the cases recorded by Garcilasso of Peruvian peoples who worshiped the animal upon which they chiefly subsisted may represent cults of totemic origin, the impetus to which was given by increase-magic similar to that of the Sioux. And it would be only natural that the favored clan should eventually form a Levitical caste having in charge the state rites. Thus certain clans attain priestly privileges in their character of keepers of the more potent mysteries. The individual no longer wholly performs his own ceremonies; communion is vicarious, undertaken for him by those holding the more advantageous position with deity.

Of course within the clan itself a similar development takes place. As ceremonials become traditional, it naturally devolves upon the more capable of the clan elders to conduct them and to instruct with greater care those of the young of their kin who show special aptitude. Still, even in well advanced societies, considerable

initiative may be left to the individual. Among the Hopis, Mr. Fewkes states,<sup>28</sup> "not only have clans introduced new katchinas from time to time, but individuals have done the same."

But individual and tribal as well as clan rites tend to fall into the hands of special classes of persons. In the former—the primitive animistic and fetishistic worships of the individual—the mediator is the "medicine-man" or shaman, one who, like the Jesakkid, is specially gifted in powers of communication with the unseen. Such a man may also become the leader in tribal ceremonials, or again these may be largely intrusted to a society of initiates, such as the Ojibwa Midewin. Eventually the sense of solidarity may warrant the passage of certain ceremonials from the tribe to its confederates or allies, and a special delegation of instructed and competent men will be sent to transmit the rite. Such is the case with the so-called Hako (see below), which passed not only from tribe to tribe, but from linguistic stock to linguistic stock, until it became the common property of a majority of the plains peoples. So again, it was necessary for the Incas, in their great military proselytizing to the cult of the sun, to leave with each conquered or converted people certain men capable of instructing in the appropriate rites.

In all of these phases of worship we see the emergence of the priestly idea, which, in the civilized nations of the south, reached an old-world definiteness of development. There different temples and cults had their separate priesthoods, with high priests at their heads, while there were religious houses for both boys and girls into which those were taken who were to be trained to special service.

14. The rites which we have hitherto considered have been of two main types: magical rites, designed to compel unseen powers to the performer's desire; and the rites of service, whether of the nature of placation or of pleasuring ("tendance"). There remains to be considered a third form of communion: direct supplication, prayer.

Expression of desire is the root of language, and it is, therefore, an idle quest to ask after the origin of any instinctive form of it. But we may, in a general way, classify some of the elementary types of prayer as having a more or less conventionalized character.

It is first to be noted that prayer is not necessarily vocal. It may be conducted by symbols, sign language; and signs are practically always retained with it: that is, there are conventional postures and gestures with which he who prays naturally or customarily accompanies his words. The beginning and end of almost every formal address to deity by the North American tribes was

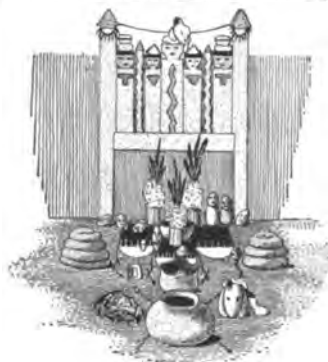
<sup>28</sup> *Loc. cit.*





THE GHOST DANCE: PRAYER. (After Mooney in 14th RBEW, facing p. 927.)

accompanied by a raising of the calumet or other token. Garcilasso describes a peculiar Peruvian gesture of adoration made by "kissing the air," which he says was performed when approaching an idol or adoring the sun. Father de Smet, at a feast among the Blackfeet, was requested by a chief to "speak again to the Great Spirit before commencing the feast. I made the sign of the cross," he says,<sup>26</sup> "and said the prayer. All the time it lasted, all the savage company, following their chief's example, held their hands raised toward heaven; the moment it was ended, they lowered their right hands to the ground. I asked the chief for an explanation of this ceremony. 'We raise our hands,' he replied, 'because we are wholly dependent on the Great Spirit; it is his liberal hand that supplies all our wants.



-SIA ALTAR, WITH PRAYER PLUMES AND OFFERINGS.  
(After M. C. Stevenson in 23d RBEW.)

We strike the ground afterward, because we are miserable beings, worms crawling before his face.'"

But other symbols beside gestures are employed. The Zuñis make extensive use of prayer plumes in their worship of nature spirits and ancestors. In a ceremony in which she took part Mrs. Stevenson describes their *modus operandi*:<sup>27</sup> "After the telikinawe (prayer plumes) are all stood in the ground each person takes a pinch of meal brought by the mother-in-law in a cloth and, holding the meal near the lips, repeats a prayer for health, long life, many clouds, much rain, food, and raiment, and the meal is sprinkled thickly over the plumes. . . . These plumes remain uncovered until sunset the following day, that the Sun Father, in passing over the road of day, may receive the prayers breathed upon the meal and into the plumes, the spiritual essence of the plumes conveying the breath prayers to him."

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> "The Zuni Indians," 23d RBEW.

In many cases the symbolic objects used as prayers acquire a sanctity equal to or greater than that of a fetish or idol. This was especially true of the calumet and of the feathered wands employed in the Hako ceremonials. The prayer sticks used in various Indian religions in a manner analogous to the Catholic rosary also acquire a fetishistic sacredness. These prayer sticks are small strips of wood, engraved with symbolic characters. Their use among the followers of the Kickapoo prophet Keokuk is described as follows:<sup>28</sup> "They reckon five of these [engraved] characters or marks. The first represents the heart, the second the heart and flesh, the third life, the fourth their names, the fifth their families. During the service they run over these marks several times. First the person imagines himself as existing upon earth, then he draws near the house of God, etc. Putting their finger on the lowest mark they say, 'O our Father, make our hearts like thy heart, as good as thine, as strong as thine.—As good as thy house, as good as the door of thy house, as hard and as good as the earth around thy house, as strong as thy walking staff. O our Father, make our hearts and our flesh like thy heart and thy flesh.—As powerful as thy heart and thy flesh.—Like thy house and thy door and thy staff, etc. O our Father, place our names beside thine—think of us as thou thinkest of thy house, of thy door, of the earth around thy house, etc.'" This prayer is "repeated to satiety" and in "a monotonous musical tone."

In this prayer there are to be noted two characteristics bearing upon the early psychology of prayer communion. First, it is sung or chanted. Song plays an important rôle in the life of the Indian. It accompanies all his ceremonies, it is the music to which he dances, even his games and gambling are accommodated to its measures. It is a spontaneous and natural expression of his emotion under all of life's stresses, and it is only to be expected that his prayers should mostly take this form. Indeed, it may be doubted if all his songs are not of the nature of prayer, either plea or thanksgiving. Some such case is surely implied by his peculiar reverence for proprietary rights in song. Mr. Frederick Burton, who has made an especial study of the music of the Ojibwas, says<sup>29</sup> that "the composer is the owner, and wherever ancient customs are still preserved no Indian ventures to sing a song that does not belong to his family." This plainly indicates the sacred character of formalized emotional expression: there is prayer in the very utterances of emotion, and wherever the expression is such as to stir the emotions of listening men, it is felt that it cannot be less mandatory upon the gods.

<sup>28</sup> De Smet, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> See *Craftsman*, July, 1907.

The second point to be noted is the painstaking repetition (in the example as given, much abridged) ; the worshiper goes over the ground step by step, lest any elision of utterance leave a loophole for misunderstanding or failure. This is practically name magic. It is the principle of the incantation and the spell. The name is not merely a mark of identification ; it is a part of the essential being ; it is a kind of spiritual essence. In its utterance there is appropriation of the veritable existence of the named object and control of its activities. This is a commonplace of savage thinking which lies at the base of the formulization of prayer.

Doubtless there is a secondary, a less conscious motive underlying repetitive expression. For repetition reacts upon the mind, concentrating attention upon the object of desire and adding to the magic of naming the magic of thinking—the potency which the mere thinking of anything exerts to bring that thing to pass. The primitive mind does not distinguish readily between truth and conception, fact and myth, and it is not surprising that its own activities should seem to it to exercise occult causation (a belief which the more enlightened are slow to let go).

These various motives are admirably illustrated by the Hako ceremonial. The Hako consists of songs and dances with much mimetic action, embodied in some twenty rituals. The first stanza of the first part of the first ritual is as follows:

“Ho-o-o!  
 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!  
 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!  
 Heru! Awahokshu. He!  
 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!”

This stanza (there are thirteen in the song, varying only in the fourth verse) is explained by Miss Fletcher in detail:<sup>30</sup> *Ho-o-o* is an introductory exclamation. The verse three times repeated is made up of variants of *Ihare*, which is an “exclamation that conveys the intimation that something is presented to the mind on which one must reflect, must consider its significance and its teaching.” *Heru* is an “exclamation of reverent feeling, as when one is approaching something sacred.” *Awahokshu* is “a composite word; *awa* is a part of *Tiráwa*, the supernatural powers, and *hokshu* means sacred, holy; thus the word *Awahokshu* means the abode of the supernatural powers, the holy place where they dwell.” *He* is again a variant of *Ihare*. Many of the songs are of a more dramatic character, and some have stories connected with them which must be understood to make them

\* “The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony,” 22d RBEW, II.

comprehensible, but this stanza gives a fair example of the frame of mind in which they are conceived and sung.

The ceremony of the Hako as a whole is more analogous to the mystery than to any other form of rite, for it embraces in its purpose the teaching of truths and the sanctifying of the participants as well as a plea for blessings. But that the Indians themselves consider it as primarily a prayer is evidenced by the statement of the leader: "We take up the Hako in the spring when the birds are mating, or in the summer when the birds are nesting and caring for their young, or in the fall when the birds are flocking, but not in the winter when all things are asleep. With the Hako we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty, and, of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere." This is prayer, but it is prayer not far removed from magic.

Of prayers evincing a more individualized religious consciousness examples are not wanting, especially among the more cultured tribes. The lengthy Aztec supplications which have been preserved for us in what must be an approximately trustworthy form have been termed "penitential psalms." They are certainly replete with poetic imagery, though their perusal is likely to leave one with the feeling that the Aztecs were more keenly impressed with the smart and dolor of the general context of life than with any individual conviction of sin. Fine types of devotion are nevertheless not wanting. Father de Smet<sup>21</sup> records the supplication of an Indian who had lost three calumets (than which no greater loss could readily befall): "O Great Spirit, you who see all things and undo all things, grant, I entreat you, that I may find what I am looking for; and yet let thy will be done." This prayer, the Father comments, should have been addressed to God.

15. But we have yet to reach the most characteristic and heart-felt type of Indian religious experience—religious values as they strike home in the individual life. There can be no question but that as a race the Indians are born mystics, and it is the mystic consciousness—in trance and vision—which is the most impressive feature of their religious life.

The mysticism is begun already in the Indian's special view of nature. For nature is to him endowed with an inner, hidden life having passions and volitions analogous to man's, so that her whole external form is but the curtaining outer flesh of this inner light. An animist is an incipient pantheist, and your pantheist is but a sophisticated, ratiocinating mystic.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*

Phases of Indian mysticism have come to the fore repeatedly in preceding paragraphs. Reliance upon dreams, the visions brought on by fasting, the trance and mediumship of shamans and prophets, soul journeys to the spirit world—all these are phases of the underlying belief that man may find within himself revelation of a higher life, that the veil which parts the seen from the unseen is but of the flimsiest. Possession by a higher power, *enthusiasm*, is also a tenet of Indian mysticism, taking form amongst those peoples who had invented intoxicants in the induced inspiration of drunkenness. Again, there was belief in the familiar spirit, the *daimon*. A Pend d'Oreille prophet had foretold precisely a Blackfoot attack upon his people. When about to be baptized, he explained his gift: "I am called the great doctor, yet never have I given myself up to the practices of juggling, nor condescended to exercise its deceptions. I derive all my strength from prayer; when in a hostile country, I address myself to the Master of Life and offer him my heart and soul, entreating him to protect us against our enemies. A voice had already warned me of coming danger; I then recommend prudence and vigilance throughout the camp; for the monitory voice has never deceived me. I have now a favor to request: the mysterious voice calls me by the name Chalax, and, if you will permit, I desire to bear that name until my death."<sup>32</sup> Black Coyote, an Arapaho marked by seventy patterned scars where strips of skin had been removed, explained them to Mr. James Mooney.<sup>33</sup> Several of his children had died in rapid succession. In expiation, to save his family, he undertook a four days fast. During the fast he heard a voice, "somewhat resembling the cry of an owl or the subdued bark of a dog," telling him that he must cut out seventy pieces of skin and offer them to the sun. He immediately cut out seven pieces, held them out to the sun, prayed, and buried them. But the sun was not satisfied, and he was warned in a vision that the full number must be sacrificed.

Black Coyote was a leader in the Ghost Dance in his tribe, and it was through him that Mr. Mooney gained his first insight into the Indian understanding of this mystical religion. The Ghost Dance religion is the latest of a long series of Messianic religious movements whereby the Indians have looked for an eventual release from white domination and the eventual restoration of their primitive state. Doubtless Christian doctrines have had an influence in giving form to the idea, and its recurrence and spread is to be largely

<sup>32</sup> De Smet, *op. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> 14th RBEW, II.



accounted for by the fact of Indian contact with a strange and troubling race—a contact which has tended to awaken a sense of closer relationship and ethnic solidarity among the native tribes and to stimulate the Indian mind to many unwonted ways of thought. But in their inception these religions, none the less, bear a thoroughly aboriginal cast. They come as revelations to the prophets who are their founders, come in trance and dream, and in large part their *modus operandi* is to induce trance and dream in their adherents—usually in the dances and fastings, perhaps hypnotisms, which center the ceremonial.

Wovoka, the prophet of the Ghost Dance religion, received his revelation at about the age of eighteen. To quote Mr. Mooney's account: "On this occasion the 'sun died' (was eclipsed) and he fell asleep in the daytime and was taken up to the other world. Here he saw God, with all the people who had died long ago engaged in their oldtime sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling and live in peace with the whites; that they must work and not lie or steal; that they must put away all the old practices that savored of war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be united with their friends in this other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing this dance at intervals, for five consecutive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves and hasten the event."

It is little wonder that as this revelation passed from tribe to tribe it came to mean a promise of restoration, here on this earth, of the old life the Indian still holds dear. The whites were to be forced back by the hand of God, the Indian dead were to come to life and re-people the land, the herds of buffalo were to be restored, plenty was to prevail forever. And the dance became the occasion of vision of this blessed state, a ghostly realization of the hope deferred sent for the comfort of those wearied in waiting.

How closely the utterances of the Indian may approach to those of the white mystic is shown in the account given by a Puget Sound prophet, "John Slocum," of his revelation.<sup>34</sup> "At night my breath was out and I died. All at once I saw a shining light—great light—trying my soul. I looked and saw my body had no soul—looked at my own body—it was dead. . . . My soul left body and went up

<sup>34</sup> Recorded by Mooney, *op. cit.*

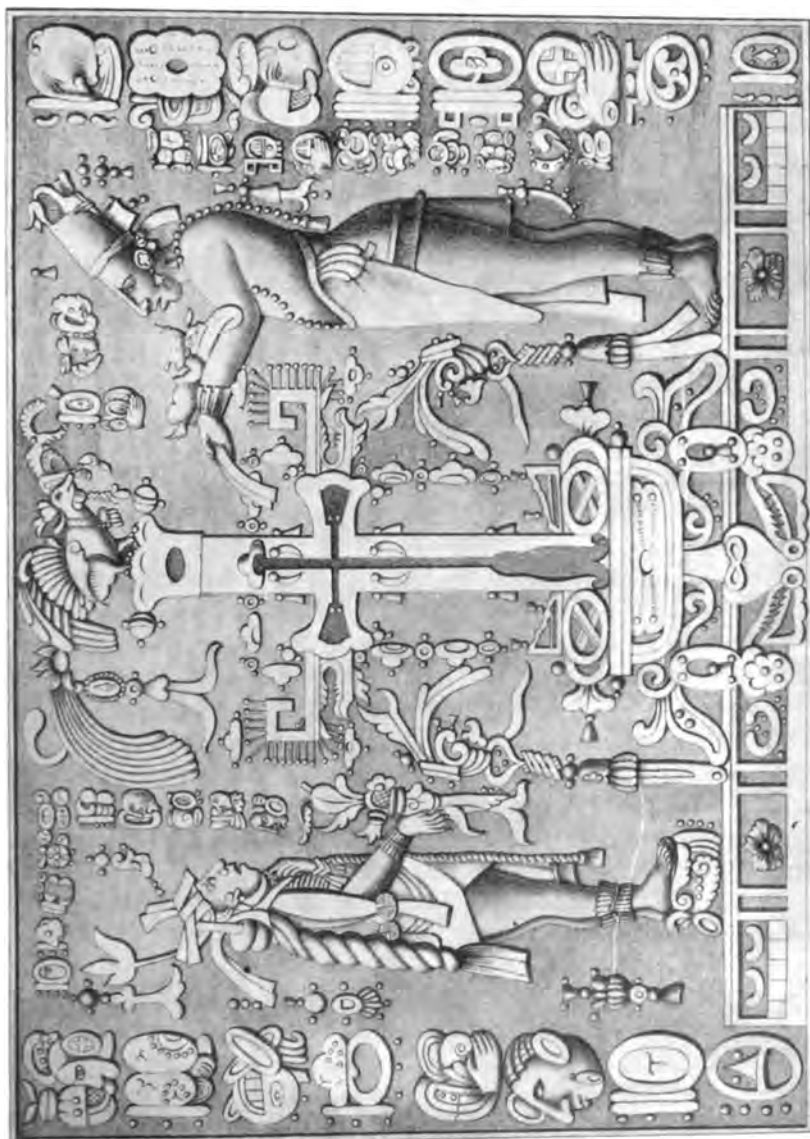


to the judgment place of God.... I have seen a great light in my soul from that good land; I have understand all Christ wants us to do. Before I came alive I saw I was sinner. Angel in heaven said to me, 'You must go back and turn alive again on earth.' When I came back I told my friends, 'There is a God—there is a Christian people. My good friends, be Christians.' When I came alive, I tell my friends, 'Good thing in heaven. God is kind to us. If you will try hard and help me we will be better men on earth.' And now we all feel that it is so." The ideas here are derived from the teachings of the whites, but the mystical experience which gives them their force and vividness belongs to no particular race,—or, if it belong to any one more than to another, it is surely the Indian whose claim to it is best.

16. In conclusion a word must be said regarding the reflective aspect of the Indian's thought, his philosophy, and the devotional spirit responding to it. There is, of course, among the Indians a gradation of conception as great as their gradation in culture, which ranges from the utter savagery of the naked cannibals of Brazil to the grave and refined decorum of men like the Aymara and Maya; but it may be questioned whether the intellectual advancement of the Indian at his best is not greater than that accompanying a like stage of material knowledge elsewhere in the world. The American continents appear not to have furnished the natural facilities for material conquests to be found in Mediterranean and some Asiatic regions; there were not equally natural alloys of metal, for example, and no animals comparable to the horse and ox capable of domestication.

Certainly the mental attainment of the Indian, at its culmen, may be fairly compared with early Greek and Hindu thought. While Indian speculation had nowhere passed beyond the stage of mythologizing thought, it had, in its mythologies, frequently attained a henotheistic and approached a monotheistic or even pantheistic conception of the divine nature. The attainment of such conceptions is, in fact, almost implicit in the evolution of speech. We have spoken of the peculiar sanctity which attaches to a name in primitive thought and of its irresistible tendency to hypostatization. This is curiously illustrated by the Indian notion of an archetypal chief (a veritable Platonic Idea) of every animal species, from which each individual of the species draws its life. The myth of such universals—*universalia ante res* in the true scholastic sense—is a plain consequence of the primitive inability to think an abstraction other than concretely; every idea corresponds to a reality because every idea is a

present vision of its object. And with man's growing consciousness of his superiority over the rest of the animal kingdom, it is inevitable



MEXICAN ALTAR-PIECE FROM PALENQUE, SHOWING CHILD SACRIFICE

that the archetype of his own species, the anthropomorphic god, should assume the leadership of the whole pantheon of animal deities.

Eventually, too, the Indian conception of the natural world as

made up of congeries of active, volitional powers, of *makers* and *doers*, must result in the notion of a supreme Maker, Controller of all lesser destinies. The Supreme Being will, to be sure, be concretely represented—that is always a necessity of primitive thinking; but the dominant idea is sure to be betrayed in his names and attributes. The Mexican Tezcatlipoca was represented under the form of a young man, but he was regarded as “invisible and impalpable,” penetrating all places in heaven, in earth, and in hell. The very names of certain Peruvian deities prove their abstractness: Pachaychacher, “he who instructs the world”; Chinchacamac, “creator and protector of the Chinchas”; Pachacamac, “he who animates the world,” “soul of the universe.” Possibly some of these names were originally cult epithets, but this does not detract from the fact that they came to be considered the proper description of the deity. Pachacamac was originally the god of the Yuncas, by whom he was worshiped under the form of an idol. It is an interesting commentary on the mental pre-eminence of the Incas that when they had conquered the Yuncas they assimilated Pachacamac to their own sun-worship. The sun was worshiped by the Incas as their ancestor, and if not as a purely monotheistic god, at least as one infinitely superior to all others. But the god of the civilized Yuncas was not to be disregarded, and from the recorded remarks of some of the Inca emperors it is plain that sun-worship, essential as it was from a political point of view, was not wholly satisfying to Inca intelligence. Hence it was that they adopted the belief in Pachacamac, regarding him as the sustainer of life; but they decreed that, because he was invisible, there should be no temples built to him and no sacrifices offered; they were to content themselves with adoring him, says Garcilasso,<sup>36</sup> “in their souls, with great veneration, as sufficiently appears from the external demonstrations which they made with the head, the eyes, the arms, with the whole attitude of body, whenever his name was mentioned.”

In North America the more enlightened tribes seem all to have recognized a “Great Spirit” or “Master of Life”—a supreme power to whom was due an especial devotion, as the ultimate giver of all good. And it is curious to note how this belief constantly tends to elevate the supreme deity to a sphere remote from human interest; he becomes an impassive spectator of the world he has created, to whom it is useless to address prayers and sacrifices save through mediators.

Thus, the Ojibwas place at the head of their pantheon a Great

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, VI, xxx.

Spirit, or Manitou, whose name is mentioned only with reverence, but who plays no great part in worship. Beneath him is the Good Manitou from whom men receive the mysteries and between whom and men Manabozho, the "Great Rabbit," acts as mediator. A similar belief in a supreme god and demiurgic beings appears among the Pawnees. "All the powers that are in the heavens and all those that are upon the earth are derived from the mighty Tirawa atius. He is the father of all things visible and invisible." But "at the creation of the world it was arranged that there should be lesser powers. Tirawa atius, the mighty power, could not come near to man, could not be seen or felt by him, therefore the lesser powers were permitted. They were to mediate between man and Tirawa." The following verses translated by Miss Fletcher from a Pawnee ritual show how nearly this conception approaches the monotheistic ideal:<sup>36</sup>

"Each god in his place  
Speaks out his thought, grants or rejects  
Man's suppliant cry, asking for help;  
But none can act until the Council grand  
Comes to accord, thinks as one mind,  
Has but one will, all must obey.  
Hearken! the Council gave consent—  
Hearken! and Tirawa, mightier than all."

The name of the Supreme Being is never uttered by the Indian save with devout reverence. Indeed, one missionary, in commenting upon the lack of oaths in Indian tongues, states that the Indians are not merely shocked but terribly frightened at the white man's swearing. This points in the direction of name-magic, but that name-magic can be no full account of the Indian's attitude, that this attitude is indeed one of intense and earnest reverence, the barest acquaintance with Indian psychology makes sure.

But the Indian is not entirely free from that skepticism which advance in reflective thinking must always entail. It is recorded of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui that he questioned the divinity of the sun on the ground that in following always the same course through the heavens it was acting the part of a slave rather than of a free and regnant being. And there are certain utterances of the Aztecs, such as that in which Tezcatlipoca is addressed: "We men, we are but a pageant before you, a spectacle for your sport and diversion,"—which imply an unlooked-for maturity of reflection and give promise of philosophic development which we can scarce but regret the history of the world should not have made possible.

<sup>36</sup> In 23d RBEW, II.

## RELIGION, ITS NATURE AND ITS RELATION TO SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

BY THE EDITOR.

**M**OST definitions of religion are too narrow because religious people think first of all of their own faith, and the anti-religious bear in mind mainly those features for the sake of which they reject religion.

In Christian catechisms religion is frequently defined as man's covenant with God or man's relation to God, and it is natural that the adherents of monotheistic religions have always insisted on the paramount importance of the idea of God. Yet it can not be denied that Buddhism, which unequivocally is one of the great world-religions, can be taught without any reference to a personal deity. We grant that the God-idea is fundamental, and we claim that the fundamental truth of it is not absent in Buddhism, but it is expressed in a different way. No religion is possible without an authority of conduct, and if we define God as that something in the world which enforces a definite morality, an authority or a power of some kind whose law can not be trespassed without impunity, we must grant that belief in God is an indispensable factor in religion, but we need not call this power God and we can describe its authority in other than theistic terms.

If we wish to characterize the essential features of religion we must bear in mind all actual religions whether theistic or not theistic, and must even think of all possible religions, conceiving them as future religions not yet actualized.

Religion has passed through many phases, and in each successive period its transient features have been made prominent. During the magical period, any person would have been deemed irreligious who had denied the magic power of prayer, sacrifice and ritual. Still further back religion was animistic and at that time

the belief in animism was uppermost in the minds of devotees so as to be thought indispensable in any religion worthy of the name. During the Middle Ages belief of the commonly accepted church dogmas was most rigorously insisted upon, while at the present time the ethical moment is emphasized, and so religion is now generally conceived first of all as ethics, or rather as supplying a motive for moral conduct.

In order to define religion so as to cover the whole ground we must bear all these difficulties in mind and think out the essential features which everywhere characterize not only religious sentiment but also religious views and actions.

Under all conditions and in all ages religion has been the main motive power in the lives of individuals as well as in the historic movements of the world, and even those who are confessedly irreligious are swayed by sentiments which, though moving in another direction, are quite analogous to what religious people call religion. There is in every normal person some supreme idea, or principle, or tendency, which characterizes his soul, pervades his sentiments, and dominates his entire conduct. It is the main factor that determines his religion; and this main factor of religion is the attitude which a thinking being takes toward the All.

This attitude is a product of natural growth.

It develops from the fact that no being is an isolated creature, but part of a greater whole, the All. Unconsciously he feels his relation toward the cosmos, and this All-feeling or panpathy finally becomes religion.

In the physical world the panpathy of each particle finds expression in gravitation. Every mass has its gravity in itself; but the action caused by gravity determines its relation toward its surroundings, and these surroundings are the great All of which it is a part.

It is the tendency of every particle as a part of the All to develop in thinking beings into a world-conception, which is characterized by more or less definite views as to the nature and purpose of existence, and thereby dominates the conduct of man.

\* \* \*

After these general observations we offer the following dogmatic description of religion:

Religion is a world-conception which has become a conviction. "Conviction" means a firm confidence in the correctness of an idea. Its equivalent in religious terminology is "faith." Conviction



is not opinion; conviction is serious and accepts truth as something superhuman. Truth is not made by man, but truth existed before it was found. This idea finds expression in the doctrine of revelation which is common to all religions in a certain phase of their development.

Every conviction is a motor idea and as such possesses three elements: It is of (1) the heart, (2) the head, and (3) the hand, which means

1, that it is a strong sentiment, manifesting itself frequently as zeal, or enthusiasm, or devotion;

2, that it is a notion or idea which makes it possible to have religion formulated into a *credo* or *doctrine*; and

3, that it is an impulse which dominates man's behavior from within as a motive of action.

The lower a religion is, the more instinctive are its principles, the less clearly defined and unverified are its doctrines, and the more adulterated it is with superstitions. The higher a religion ranges the more it agrees with demonstrable truth, and the nobler will be its ethics. Truth is the test of religion. Agreement with truth leads to the right kind of action called morality; superstition, (disagreement with truth) leads to the wrong action, that is to say, immorality.

\* \* \*

Religion is akin to science in so far as both are devoted to truth. Religion is accepted in the confidence of being the truth; and science means, (1) search for the truth, (2) the methods of this search, and (3) the results of it, viz., the assured knowledge at a given time.

Both science and religion are devoted to truth; but in popular parlance science is closely associated with the latest results of enquiry, while religion refers mostly to the tenets of established churches based upon the world-conception of their founders. But this is a secondary difference which does not touch the essential significance of either religion or science.

The main difference between science and religion is this,—that a scientific idea is purely intellectual and changes into a religious doctrine only when it becomes a conviction, that is to say, when it is espoused with fervor and is accepted as a principle regulating conduct.

As an instance of such transformation of a scientific theory into a religious idea we may mention the doctrine of evolution,



which not long ago was considered an impious heresy and is now fast becoming an integral part of our world-conception.

Masses move slowly and so religion is naturally conservative; it retains the old modes of expression and its devotees cling even to its traditional errors. It is always averse to change and resents the critical spirit of science. Masses are not imbued with a scientific spirit and are apt to forget that their religion is based upon the science of past ages. But the more education spreads the better we learn to appreciate the relation of science to religion and when the masses know that science is religion in the making, all the antagonism between science and religion will disappear.

## AN EXCURSION INTO THE INFINITELY SMALL.

BY J. BARANDUN.

MILLIONS of people have already made excursions into the infinitely large—into the boundless universe. From star to star, from world to world, their minds have ascended, like Byron's "Cain," and like Byron's Cain they have come back to earth again—exhausted, defeated! Like Herbert Spencer they shuddered at the thought of infinity—ungraspable and nevertheless real; unthinkable, and nevertheless true! And they realized that our poor earthly brain was only made to grapple with earthly problems.

But very, very few people—a few lonely thinkers and scientists—have ever tried to penetrate into another world, another universe, the world of the infinitely small. Some philosophers of antiquity reached it on the wings of Pegasus, but returned empty-handed. In more modern times, Leibnitz, Herbart, Wundt, Fechner, Lotze, and with them a number of celebrated scientists, have dived into those mysterious depths, whither chemical investigation has never penetrated. On this field of research science is still in its infancy. But we shall use its results to form a diver's bell with which to dive down into those dark realms and to look for pearls. We think the reader who accompanies us will find himself richly rewarded.

First we arrive at the realm of the elements, the building material out of which the visible world is made. Here every educated reader is more or less at home, so we need not tarry long. We know these elements are composed of molecules, and these of *chemical* atoms—to be carefully distinguished from the atoms of which we shall have to speak later on. These atoms can be weighed, measured, and part of them seen. An atom that forms the five-billionth part of an inch is still accessible to the scientist. So chemistry is still *terra firma*, but it borders on a wonderland whose portals are locked to exact science.

Until very recently atoms were considered the ultimate units of

which the elements were composed. But to-day the most eminent scientists think that these units, or atoms, are likewise formed by numerous minor units which are themselves aggregates of still smaller units, and so forth, down into the infinite depths of the infinitely small, until the ultimate essence is reached, which shows itself as energy, force or will (Schopenhauer's will-to-live), and which in no case can be a mere nothing. According to its qualities or modes of action we might call it matter or spirit. It is in itself neither the one nor the other, but lies beyond both of them, or, in other words, matter and spirit are its manifestations for our intellect. (By the way mere words in themselves do not explain anything.) This unknown  $x$  is, then, the source of all life.

It is thought that in each molecule the atoms circle around each other like systems of stars. Thus the world of the infinitely small forms a parallel in more than one regard to the world of the infinitely large.

From this point we may reach a number of inferences which may seem strange to our readers, who may regard them as a dream.

In order that the reader may better understand what is to follow, we beg him to recall some facts of psychology. We must remember that the concepts or pictures of things form the foundation of mental life. If we look at a tree and then close our eyes, we have a concept of the tree. This concept must be the product of the reciprocal action of the atoms outside and inside of our brain. In other words, the atoms inside of our brain must have assumed the shape of a tree in conformity with the object outside. Out of such concepts our mental life is formed in the course of time. The sum a person has acquired of concepts and their relations forms what we may call his inner or mental world.

Du Bois-Reymond, the great scientist, regards the origin of a concept as the greatest world-riddle. No physiologist could offer the least explanation for such a riddle. But if we go down deep enough into the world of the infinitely small, a solution may at least be suggested.

Assuming that about a million atoms or smallest units move around in a molecule, and assuming also that another molecule with as many atoms be near; assuming, thirdly, that the atoms of both molecules be arranged differently (homogeneous, but not identical), then the atoms of one molecule will assume a position which corresponds to a likeness (picture, concept) of the other molecule. As an illustration we may think of one army facing another. Then the soldiers of one army will arrange themselves according to the way

those of the other army are arranged, for the purpose of self-defense (self-preservation). Not having more space at my disposal, I must leave a good deal to the reader's imagination. If he be of a philosophical turn, he will be able to follow me without great difficulty.

What I wish to show is that even the smallest molecules develop concepts within themselves, and with them a certain amount of mental or inner life. This inner life is infinitely below man's. It is of course unconscious, but it is there nevertheless. This fact—if fact it be—would explain in a very natural way the problems of inheritance and reproduction. Two seeds, for instance, may look almost exactly alike. Nevertheless each one of them produces a different plant or animal, because each seed contains an exact likeness of the plant or animal it came from, and this inner likeness or inner mental life realizes itself as the seed develops.

Thus we reach a much deeper and more worthy idea of life than a shallow materialistic philosophy possibly could. Assuming that each molecule preserves forever the inner (mental) world once acquired, and further assuming that it be at least as indestructible as the chemical atoms are supposed to be; then we would have in the whole universe, as far as it is in motion, an evolution of mental life, or an evolution of matter into mind. Every motion would produce concepts, at least in the molecules participating in it. The whole stellar world might then be regarded as a stupendous factory, where matter is changed into mind. Every motion, every feeling, every thought, would have a lasting importance which would reach far beyond our terrestrial life and perhaps out into eternity. In this connection many a reader will perhaps recall Haeckel's "animated atoms" (*beseelte Atome*) or Wundt's "animated will-centers" (*Willenszentren*).

These hypotheses would also throw new light on many phenomena of nature which Darwinism cannot satisfactorily explain, and also on nutrition which would mean, in a certain sense, an education of the lower atoms by the higher ones. The animal, for instance, cannot assimilate minerals, because the distance between the two classes of atoms is too great. Then the plant steps in between and gives the mineral atoms such an inner life that they become capable of associating with the animal's atoms. It is also easy to be seen that the real origin of life is to be sought deep down in the wonderful small world. Life began with motion itself, as soon as concepts began to be formed in the original molecules.

It is thus also easily to be inferred that there is life and motion, yea a species of concept life, even in the molecules composing the

hardest stone or metals. Space does not permit us to cite examples here. Chemistry tells wonderful stories about the force of the "animated" atoms. One gram of hydrogen, for instance, could produce sufficient heat to drive a steamer five times over the ocean. If we assume that one hundred atoms be sufficient to form a concept in a molecule, then the atoms of a single molecule would suffice to represent the mental wealth of the greatest genius!

We may safely assume that the "changing of matter into mind" (the production of concepts in the molecules) may have taken place long before our solar system was formed, and will go on taking place indefinitely. Now if we take it for granted that every molecule keeps for all times the inner little world of concepts once formed, from the lowest to the highest, then we would have found the way to a magnificent conclusion, or, perhaps rather, a dream. Suppose all those molecules, from the beginning till now and for all times, could unite and form a higher unity, this higher unity, containing all the animated molecules, would then be a kind of world-spirit or world-soul, the units (molecules) of which would all be in a certain sense individuals with their own independent inner life, and each individual or unit would know, according to its measure of capacity or inner life, all that the others know. This would be reward or punishment enough, if we think of the self-conscious units. The idea of such a transcendental world-order would also incite to greater mental activity in this life, in order to have greater capacity for enjoyment (mental pleasures) through eternity. The units of this world-soul (if a figurative expression be permitted) would come from all realms of nature. But we must not think of "souls" in the usual sense of the word. It would also be impossible for a unit (molecule) to leave the others or to return to the planet it came from.

If we ask, in conclusion, what pains or pleasures such a condition would offer to the individual units, then first of all it is not to be forgotten that complete extinction of all mental life would always be preferable, because no life can be without pain. Pain is in its ultimate essence the checking of a desire. If a concept finds an obstacle in its way when trying to rise into consciousness, then a painful feeling ensues. And such cases occur wherever there are concepts.

But as life cannot be extinguished, such speculations are idle. The inner life, the pains and pleasures, of the different units, would correspond to the degree of inner life attained before dissolution. A well-developed molecule or unit could survey all that had happened

during countless ages, seeing it in the molecules then taking part in the process of evolution. Its whole surroundings would be something like a theater with ever changing scenery and actors ever new, and new units would continually arrive from all parts of our universe. It might also be assumed that in different parts of the endless ocean of space different world-spirits of this kind might be forming or be in the process of formation. According to the laws of equilibrium we might even foresee the cessation—but not extinction—of all life of such a great union of disintegrated molecules; but this life would begin again with the slightest impulse from outside. We may also, thinking of the composite nature of the elements (see above), fancy the formation of different elements in different parts of space, which would lead to forms of life wholly incomprehensible to us. But to expound all these ideas, a whole book would be required. So I shall close with a stanza from Byron, which gives us a fair idea of what a highly developed unit might expect after dissolution from the other units ("death") and which at the same time shows how the greatest poet of mankind looked at "eternal life":

"Eternal, boundless, undecayed,  
A thing unseen, but seeing all,  
All, all, on earth or skies displayed,  
Shall it survey, shall it recall;  
Each fainter trace that memory holds  
So dearly of departed years,  
In one broad glance the 'soul' beholds,  
And all that was, at once appears.—  
Before creation peopled earth  
Its eyes shall roll through chaos back,  
And where the furthest heaven had birth  
The 'spirit' trace its rising track."—

This may all be a dream, but in a poor world like this, it is so sweet to dream!



## HAVE ATOMS SOULS?

BY THE EDITOR.

OUR readers may remember an editorial article published in *The Open Court* of December, 1907, on "Goethe's Soul-Conception" which contains a number of quotations from the great German poet on the subject of immortality.

He speaks of the soul as an entelechy or monad and apparently seeks the mystery of its persistence in the infinitesimal realm of molecules or atoms. So far as we can see this idea is untenable but it appears that it suggests itself to a thoughtful man when he dimly feels the truth of the preservation of man's life after death in some form or other. Mr. J. Barandun, the editor of the German Milwaukee periodical, the *Freidenker*, without any apparent acquaintance with these little-known passages of his great countryman, proposes in his "Excursion Into the Infinitely Small" a theory which in its essentials bears a close similarity to Goethe's monadology of the soul. Mr. Barandun also believes that the problem of the soul must somehow be sought in the infinitely small, the molecule or atom, and takes pains to make it plausible that a molecule can be possessed of concepts. In the beginning of the article he speaks of "those mysterious depths whither chemical investigation has never penetrated" and grants that his theory may be a mere dream, to be sure the dream of a thinker, of a man who forms a definite theory, and we will here make a few comments which in our opinion will shatter that beautiful dream but will place the underlying hope of man's life after death on a sounder and more scientific foundation.

The German freethinkers are frequently assumed to be materialists pure and simple, but here we learn that they are not indifferent to the deeper problems of life, and the editor of the *Freidenker* himself attempts the investigation of the nature of the soul in a new line. If we can not agree with Mr. Barandun, we must yet grant that we read his expressions with much interest, and believe at the

same time that his theories appear at first sight sufficiently plausible to be worth while investigating and—refuting.

First we will grant that molecular and atomic life is still to us a book with seven seals. We have not the slightest conception of the mechanical interaction of the atoms which combine into the higher units of a molecule. Still less do we know anything about the form of the atoms. We are justified in assuming that the atoms of all the several chemical elements are different configurations made up of the same uniform material called by physicists the ether, and not without reason identified with the luminiferous ether, that mysterious medium of light in empty space. Theories have been advanced as to the mathematical shape of atoms conceived as whorls, but all the propositions made in this line are still lacking corroboration by experiment and are at best probable hypotheses. If they are true, however,—and I deem them a step in the right direction,—they go far to upset both Mr. Barandun's and Goethe's idea of soul-atoms, for how can these whorls whose form is determined by mechanical impulse contain pictures of things outside, while no things are as yet in existence? Otherwise it stands to reason that one atom is exactly like another. For details as to the different shapes of the atoms of the several elements the reader may consult Prof. Ferdinand Lindemann's article "On the Form and Spectrum of Atoms" in *The Monist* for January, 1906.

The currents in these infinitesimally small whorls would sweep away any formation of images and leave no possibility for concepts of a definite kind. There are other reasons which make it improbable that atoms or even the components of atoms, the original ether elements, contain any thought or mental activity, for all that exists manifests its existence according to its nature, and we see that the physical world is governed by physical laws while in the world of the soul the dominant factor is mentality. If a man makes up his mind to do a certain thing, if the farmer hitches his horses and plows his fields, his action is explained by the idea of attending to his business, and this idea acts as a stimulant in definite nerve centers to which definite muscular motions respond. The play of all motions is mechanical, including here chemical and other physical processes under the wider term, molecular mechanics; but the response in the nerve centers is not explicable without giving consideration to the meaning of certain psychical commotions taking place in the brain. This feature, the typical characteristic of mental life, is absolutely absent in physical and mechanical phenomena, which are governed exclusively by physical and mechanical laws. For certain reasons

we must assume that all life is endowed with a potentiality of feeling; or in other words, objective existence as we see it, which is matter in motion, possesses an aspect analogous to what we call sentiment, sensation, feeling, awareness, soul, or in one word subjectivity. But if this subjectivity in the domain of physics possesses any feeling or sentiency, we may be sure it is infinitely less than any feeling we know of, for its presence does not enter into the effect, and when formulating the laws of the behavior of atoms the physicist may without fear of making an error dismiss it and ignore its presence.

The subjectivity of the purely physical world gains significance only in definite combinations of high complexity which we call organizations. And here only in the domain of organized life sentiency first rises into existence; sentiency changes into sensation, sensation in a highly complicated mental state develops awareness, and finally awareness of sensations of a definite kind when repeated is recognized to be the same and stands for the cause which elicits it. Thus it acquires meaning, and so sentiency changes into mentality. This is the process which we can trace and I make bold to say that the way in which matter changes into mind is no longer an unsolved problem.<sup>1</sup>

In a certain sense we can say that atoms have souls. We know that all objectivity has a subjective aspect. It contains the potentiality of developing feeling, and if we understand by soul the subjective aspect of an objective unit of reality, we would be compelled to confess that the whole world is aglow with that something from which in a higher evolution the human soul develops. On the other hand if by soul we understand mentality, being the psychical organism capable of changing mechanical impacts into sensations, of forming ideas from sense material and reacting with purpose upon surrounding conditions, involving an adjustment according to ideas formed;—if in a word soul means anything like the human soul even though we may grant on a smaller scale, we must positively deny that there is anything of that nature present in the atom, and we must reject the idea as fantastical, or as Mr. Barandun says, a dream.

If the solution here briefly outlined is true, Goethe's assumption of monad souls and Mr. Barandun's concept-endowed atoms would

<sup>1</sup> For details in which this subject has been discussed see the writer's *Soul of Man*; also *Fundamental Problems*, "Is Nature Alive," pp. 110-133; and in *The Monist*, "Fechner's View of Life After Death," XVI, 84, "The Soul in Science and Religion," *ibid.*, p. 219, and "Psychology a Domain of Its Own," XIX, 387. A brief synopsis of this view is made in *Philosophy as a Science*, pp. 12-20.

have to be changed into the doctrine that all existence is alive in the sense that under definite conditions it can be changed into organized life, and organized life in its turn develops mind. The problem of the soul does not lie in the infinitesimal but can be traced from the very facts of psychical experience. At the same time the dim feelings we have concerning the truth of immortality are justified by the persistence of ideas which as it were lead a superpersonal life. Man's soul consists of motor thoughts. Certain mental dispositions are transferred by heredity from parents to children, but definite thought-forms are impressed by example and education from generation to generation, and every notion, every bit of knowledge, has an idea of its own. These thought-forms migrate from individual to individual. They take possession of souls and use the individuals as instruments, and when a man dies the real significance of his life does not die with him. In the measure that he has impressed the type of his thought on his surroundings during his lifetime he will continue to live a kind of super-individual life as an indelible factor in the future of the race. The importance of this truth which the average man dimly feels has assumed the shape of myth and allegory in different immortality-conceptions, and every one feels instinctively that life does not end with death, but that his higher self will outlive his term of individual existence. In this sense Goethe scorned the idea of regarding death as a finality, saying:

"Naught of transiency  
Howe'er it appear!  
Ourselves to immortalize,  
For that are we here."

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### JOHNSTON'S BHAGAVAD GITA.

BY EDWIN W. FAY.

[*Bhagavad Gita*, "*The Songs of the Master*," translated with an Introduction and Commentary by Charles Johnston, Bengal Civil Service, Retired; Indian Civil Service, Sanskrit Prizeman; Dublin University, Sanskrit Prizeman. Published by the author, Flushing, New York, 1908. Professor Lanman would render the title by "The Exalted One's Teachings."]

The general public, so far as the interest of the general public attaches to an ethical poem of the very highest importance, should give a cordial welcome to Mr. Johnston's translation of the Bhagavad Gita. No piece of Hindu literature has the same claims on public attention. Historically, Wilkins's translation of this poem (1785) was the first book of Sanskrit literature to be offered to English readers; and the intrinsic merits of "The Lord's Lay" have met with the most competent appreciation. Wilhelm von Humboldt thanked God that he had been permitted to live long enough to meet with this poem, which to his mind satisfied, above every other work, in any language whatsoever, the true and proper conception of a philosophical poem. This praise will not seem exaggerated to careful readers of the present excellent version. As literature, the Bhagavad Gita is truly a thing to admire.

The work contains seven hundred stanzas, of the length of our standard Doxology, divided among eighteen cantos of unequal length,—the whole devoted to a discussion of what we of the West feel as the problem of the relation of man to God, of the soul to immortality. The first twenty-seven stanzas paint in the scene, outlining the opposing hosts gathered for fratricidal conflict on the Field-of-Law: Arjuna, leader of the eventually victorious side, turns to Krishna, his charioteer, a Vishnu incarnate, to lament, in the next twenty stanzas, the necessity of any contest at all: why slay, he asks, and why be slain? And for the rest of the poem the talk goes on, touching the deep questions of the soul, but one never loses sight of the stupendous scene of impending battle whereon hangs the fate of dynasties and men. We are held fast as though the dialogue were the still small voice, insistent amid tramp of men, neigh of chargers, clash of arms. The battle can wait, while the hero fights the fight of his soul. It is some broad contrast like this that charms the Western mind. It is as though reflections from the frame threw all their light inward upon the eager, strained face of one at question with his soul,—all unconscious of the illumination, the Correggio-like lime-light—*sit venia verbo*—in which he shines. So real, though, is the dramatic setting that, while we strain toward the drama of the soul—drama still, however quiet—we seem to hear the blasts of the conchs of war.

In the second canto Arjuna again propounds his question, why should I slay, why suffer myself to be slain; and the answer comes in a curiously convincing syllogism: Fear Death? There is no death. Fear Death? All men die. Therefore fight the good fight.

This is not the place to synopsise, book by book, the contents of the Gita, but a word or two on the general problem it presents may not be amiss. Arjuna, with his Hamlet temperament, shrinking from the task and duty that confronts him, cries out in bitterness of soul, "I shrink from the body of this death"; and Krishna gives him, in form fit for an Oriental mind, the comfort of

"Give earth yourself, go up for gain above":—

a comfort somewhat veiled for us folk of the West under the abstractions of "Detachment," "Renunciation," though perhaps not different, in the last analysis, from that other teaching from the East, "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world." The means of detachment, or renunciation, is knowledge, soul-vision, consecrated for us in the answer "Only believe." And as an aid to belief, Krishna reveals himself in the eleventh canto as very God, returning afterward to his incarnate form to discourse for the rest of the poem on the practical ethics of renunciation. Renunciation! the alluring aloofness of the Epicurean deities; Renunciation! the dream of the Lotos-Eaters. "There is no joy but calm": it is not this that Krishna teaches, but work and renunciation. "Do the work that is laid on thee, for work is better than ceasing from works. Nor could thy bodily life proceed if thou didst cease from works" (iii. 8). "Giving up attachment to the reward of works, ever content, not seeking boons, though thoroughly wrapped up in work, such a one engages not in work" (iv. 20).

Renunciation! But how elusive is this prescription against wretchedness. Here and there, once or twice in a lifetime, we meet with elect souls that have attained unto calm, and all the world admires, asking if there be a road by which another may travel to that goal. And one answers, "by work for others"; and one says, "by love"; and this one and that one seek to reveal "the Christian's secret of a happy life." And all the recipes are so simple till we come to try them. Best recipe of all, for us, is "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. . . Take no thought for the morrow." But who can, by willing, cease to take anxious thought for the morrow? And if one look at that whole alien race, that dark flotsam and jetsam eddying in our midst, whom we of another descent call shiftless and improvident and trifling, so regardless are they of the morrow, one may well wonder whether he understands aright that seeming simple direction of our Faith, "Take no thought for the morrow;" or whether,—his understanding being right,—his heart has wandered, with our race ideals, far from God. Krishna, also, in the Bhagavad Gita finds a way to say, "Take no thought": "As the unwise work, attached to their work, so let the wise man work detached, working for the order of mankind" (iii. 25). This too is a path to happiness if we could, after gaining it, maintain the will to follow it to the end. But it is not an essentially different way from the way of Buddhism; and the restless *Intransigents* among us, who would travel by a Hindu path, may well ponder an admonition of Professor Hillebrandt's: "Those, I think, who, unsatisfied with Christianity, are arriving, after long wanderings amid theosophic theories, at the oasis of Buddhism, there to fill



their cups, will, in the long run, be as little refreshed as the people of India have been."

It would be ill treatment of readers of Mr. Johnston's translation not to remind them that what they are reading is a Western interpretation of an Eastern scripture (and the same red light of warning must be placed alongside this comment), but Mr. Johnston's privilege of a long residence in India has given him opportunities for a sympathetic comprehension of the Oriental point of view. We, his readers, may only hope for a faint apprehension, so far as the East from the West in its way of thinking. Yet there is some danger lest our translator has too greatly generalized what is specifically Hindu,—a result attained, among other devices, by rendering the original Sanskrit rather according to the earlier etymological sense of the words, than according to their acquired and semi-technical sense. Taken as it stands, the Gita is an ethico-teleological discussion of sundry tenets of the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies; but our author's interpretation takes the Gita as either prior to the formal development of these tenets, or as an earlier stage in their development. What *yoga* means to him everywhere is union; and union, the re-absorption and involution of the particular "me" in the divine Thou (in Hindu parlance "That"), is an alluring and compelling idea. But the standard interpretation of *yoga*, in consonance with the Yoga philosophy, is rather "preparation" or "devotion"; and the Yogin, the devotee of Yoga, as we historically know him, was one who sought to draw near the divine "That" after the fashion of St. Simeon Stylites. It was from such as he that the Hindu fakir developed. That Mr. Johnston's generalized version means more, and very much more, to us in a spiritual way, there can be no doubt; but it were well for the reader to see how it differs from the current interpretation of Hindu scholars, as exhibited in Telang's translation (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VIII.)

## JOHNSTON :

## TELANG.

II, 66. "There is no soul-vision for him who is not united, nor is there any divine experience for him; without experience of the divine there is no rest, and what happiness can there be without rest?"

VI, 10. "Let the follower of union, dwelling apart, ever seek union with the Self, standing alone, controlling mind and heart, free from expectation, uncovetous."

"He who is not self-restrained has no steadiness of mind; nor has he who is not self-restrained perseverance in the pursuit of self-knowledge; there is no tranquility for him who does not persevere in the pursuit of self-knowledge; and whence can there be happiness for one who is not tranquil?"

"A devotee should constantly devote his (sic) self to abstraction, remaining in a secret place, alone, with his mind and self restrained, without expectations, and without belongings."

II, 41, Johnston: "The thought whose essence is determination is single. Many-branched and endless are the thoughts of the undetermined."

How different is this rendering, which involves the entire suppression of stanza 39, from either of the following Hindu renderings:

— Dutt: "In this [i. e., the Yoga philosophy?], there is mind's but

one state, consisting of *firm devotion*; whereas undevoational men's minds are many-branched, and attached to endless pursuits."

— Telang: "There is here [i. e., for those who enter on this 'path'], but one state of mind consisting in firm understanding. But the states of mind of those who have no firm understanding are many-branched and endless."

Far be it from this reviewer to assume a knowledge of the Bhagavad Gita equal to Mr. Johnston's. It is clear that the version before us has been very deliberately pondered by a mind competent in point of scholarship as in natural acumen for the task. From the general introduction as well as the special introductions to each book the general reader can but receive illumination. The technical student can but receive stimulus. And if he be, like the reviewer, as touching the special matter of the Bhagavad Gita, but a semi-technical reader, at best, he will reserve for further study the question whether the royal caste of Aryans was, as the author asserts, of Egypto-Chaldee origin, and the farmer-artisan caste a yellow Mongol stock; and he will ask himself whether the explanation of the name of the Sankhya philosophy is as truly, as it is clearly and cleverly, given in the following words (Introd., p. xiii): "First of these great primal powers was that of causation, which we may conceive as the power of number. For, when we count a series of things in number, we imply much more than that they are different. We imply that they are related, and that they follow each other in orderly sequence. The three stages which we call cause, causing, and effect are but one instance of numbering; we think of the second as the result of the first, and the third as the result of the second.... From this principle of numbering, the system which sprang from it was called the Sankhya or Number system."

In conclusion, a word to assure the already sore bestead general reader that he may feel every confidence that in perusing this version of the Bhagavad Gita he is getting the best digested and most easily digestible translation accessible. He will be reading a work done into real English, with the help, in the introductions, of a really illuminating commentary; and though he cannot fail to realize the great study and learning on which our author's work is based, he will not find a single pedantic footnote, nor a single citation of authority (alas! for the reviewers), nor any disturbing detritus of unassimilated "apparatus." And though he will find one or two misprints (again for gain, p. 8; Deity for Deity, p. xlv), the clear and comely print, paper and binding leave nothing to desire.

And for an epilogue, one citation more, as an instance of the universal validity of every great scripture: "Better one's own duty without excellence than the duty of another well followed out" (iii. 35). This aspect of renunciation—a sort of Home-Rule at home—were well worthy of observance (alas! how unobserved) in a government of divided powers like our own.

#### A VEDANTA CELEBRATION.

The Open Court Publishing Company has in hand the manuscript of Prof. Paul Deussen's voluminous book on the Vedanta, translated from the German original by Charles Johnston, and we hope that it can appear in the course of the coming year. It is the classical exposition of the Brahman Vedanta philosophy, a most painstaking and exhaustive work which will scarcely ever be excelled or antiquated. In our correspondence with Pro-

fessor Deussen we learn that on the 14th of February, 1910, the admirers of the Vedanta sage, Shankara, will assemble to inaugurate in his birthplace, Kalati, a temple dedicated to the memory of this greatest expounder of Brahman philosophy. A letter which Professor Deussen received from V. Subrahmanya Ayer, Head Master of the Government High School of Tumkur, reads in part as follows:

"May I take this opportunity of informing you that it has now been arranged to commemorate the name and work of Shankara at Kalaki, where, as you know, he was born. This place has been forgotten altogether for over a thousand years. The requisite funds have been collected, and a temple is in the course of construction. It is proposed to place in it an image of Shankara; and His Holiness, Gagadguru Sri Satchidananda Sivabhinava Narasimha Bharati Swami, his apostolic successor at Singeri, is on his way to Kalati, to perform the installation and opening ceremony which will be celebrated on the 14th of February, 1910."

Prof. Paul Deussen has translated all the Upanishads, which are the classical books of the Vedanta, and he is unquestionably recognized by Eastern and Western Sanskrit scholars as the best authority on the subject. The Brahman correspondent concludes his letter to Professor Deussen thus:

"I cannot think of a greater or more devoted admirer or representative of Sri Shankara in our day than yourself. And you have done more than anybody else to spread his metaphysical fame in Europe and America. It is the desire of men like me here, that you should associate yourself in some way with this great movement, and you may do whatever you think appropriate."

### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE IDEA OF A FREE CHURCH. By *Henry Sturt*. London: Walter Scott Pub. Co. Pp. 309. Price, 5s. net.

This book is an attempt to apply the principles of pragmatism to the solution of the most urgent religious problems of our day. The author examines the moral teaching of Christianity and in vigorous terms pronounces it to be obsolete and inadequate, proposing that a new church should be established. He sets forth at length the general principles of conduct and ideal of life which he holds to be most suitable to modern civilization. He indicates man's need of religion, and explains the principles of free religion and of the new theology which he believes ought to be substituted for the Christian faith.

Mr. Sturt retells briefly what he regards as the true history of Jesus in a rationalized résumé of the Biblical narrative. He holds this story to be utterly misrepresented in the accounts adopted by the churches. He shows how such a free religion as he advocates would influence our daily conduct, and he enforces his argument by contrast with the practical tendencies of Christianity, which he believes to be largely mischievous. Finally he offers suggestions for the work of organizing a Free Church.

Most points of current religious controversy are touched upon, though briefly, and the author has spared no pains to make his views and proposals as definite as possible. His style is clear and to the point, and he makes no effort to conciliate the orthodox since it is not to them that he is writing. Many of his statements may well be considered too sweeping by the most unprejudiced. "Of all the terrible intellectual disasters of Europe the Bible has

been by far the greatest, mitigated only partially, etc." His conclusions have been carefully considered but do not always coincide with the most assured results of Biblical criticism. For instance, it will no longer do to say that "Christianity is nothing but a spiritualized and humanized Judaism; and the triumph of Christianity was the death of the ideals of ancient culture."

The book offers the unchurched a working hypothesis. We would suggest, however, that the author is hardly consistent in claiming pragmatism as the foundation of his undertaking; because since Christianity has undoubtedly benefited many, must it not so far (pragmatically considered) be the truth?

The author's zeal will hardly be appreciated here where free churches exist in many different types, unless it be clearly understood that he writes in a country where there is an established church, and where non-conforming associations are at a disadvantage. There it is natural that the exponent of a Free Church should feel that he is a voice crying in the wilderness.

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AUS NATUR UND GEISTESWELT. A series of nearly 300 volumes. Leipzig: Teubner. Price, 1 mark each, bound, 1.25 mark. Gift edition, 2.50 marks.

In this series of popular scientific works the publishing house of B. G. Teubner is doing a great service. The publisher's purpose is to lessen the tendency to caste divisions which comes with the increasing spread of culture by giving the scholar a larger audience and by offering an opportunity to the layman to familiarize himself with the achievements of the world of science. He hopes to avoid the proverbial danger of "a little learning" by furnishing familiarity with the methods of attaining results so that the reader may exercise an independent discrimination with regard to the statements presented to him. In order to make this series a true popularization of science, the best authorities are selected for its contributors. A few of its recent numbers are before us and their enumeration may remotely indicate the scope of the series: F. Muckle, *Die Geschichte der socialistischen Ideen im 19ten Jahrhundert* (2 vols.); F. Knauer, *Die Ameisen*; J. Unold, *Aufgaben und Ziele des Menschenlebens*; M. Verworn, *Die Mechanik des Geisteslebens*.

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A treatise by Professor Jorge del Vecchio of the law faculty of the University of Sassari on the philosophical assumptions of the notion of justice, has been translated from the Italian into Spanish by the counsellor Mariano Castañón, (*Los supuestos filosóficos de la noción del Derecho*, Madrid: Reus, 1908), and now forms part of the Juridical Library of Spanish and Foreign authors (Biblioteca Jurídica de Autores españoles y extranjeros).

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A rational and psychological study of *Islam, Her Moral and Spiritual Value*, written by Major Arthur Glyn Leonard, has appeared from the press of Luzac & Company. It is furnished with a foreword by the Mohammedan authority, Syed Ameer Ali, who has written a number of works on Islam, including a contribution to the "Religions Ancient and Modern Series" (Open Court Publishing Company, price, 1s. each).

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James Maclehose & Sons, of the University Press of Glasgow, have issued a reprint of a valuable fifteenth century theological tractate, *Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith* (price, 5s. net). The text is preceded by an introductory essay on the development of fifteenth century opinion by the editor, J. L. Morison.







MAP OF JERUSALEM.

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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 3.)

MARCH, 1910.

NO. 646.

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## THE LOST RESURRECTION DOCUMENT.

A REVIEW AND AN ESSAY.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

AN anonymous writer uses the theory of telepathy to explain the apparitions of the risen Lord, and this book,<sup>1</sup> due to the advent of psychical research, marks a new era in New Testament criticism. "It is not in any degree irreverent," says the author, "to suppose even a Divine Person to utilize a law which, in the opinion of Myers, operates as universally in the spiritual world as does gravitation in the material, and which is becoming quite a favorite explanation of the inter-communion of God and man."

The author then proceeds to say that he wishes to avoid the danger of making the resurrection a mere case of *post-mortem* apparitions, and he believes that Paul had personal experiences which raised it above this category. It is just here that weakness lurks at the outset. If Paul had any such experiences, he has not communicated them to us, for the vision on the Damascus road was such as many a mystic has enjoyed.

The author goes farther astray by treating Luke and John as equally good witnesses as Mark. We need not go over the old familiar ground of Synoptical criticism to disprove this. The author seeks to reconcile the contradictions between Luke's exclusively southern apparitions and Mark-Matthew's exclusively northern ones by postulating a "Universal Christophany." He believes that the apparition to the five hundred brethren "once for all" (1 Cor. xv. 6) happened to all of them simultaneously in different places, and he

<sup>1</sup> *Resurrectio Christi: an Apology Written From a New Standpoint and Supported by Evidence, Some of which is New.* London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1909, 12mo, pp. xii + 127.

further supposes that the Lord impressed upon the subconscious minds of the five hundred the command to go to Jerusalem. Gnostic and apocryphal books are ransacked to show late traces surviving in fictitious documents of the supposedly ancient idea that the five hundred of 1 Corinthians were the five hundred at Pentecost, impelled to Jerusalem by the Universal Christophany. The awkward fact that Matthew (depending on the lost Mark-ending) has an apparition in Galilee expressly excluded by Luke, is explained upon the telepathic principle that Jesus and the Twelve were seen in Galilee, while the latter were physically at Jerusalem.

As one who accepts the facts of telepathy and apparitions, both of the living and the dead, I should heartily endorse this clever explanation if criticism had not taught me that it is impossible to put Luke and John on the same historic footing as Mark. Mark has been shown by scientific analysis to be a more trustworthy record than any other of the four. Where the others exaggerate, Mark simplifies. In my unpublished *Documentary Introduction to the Gospels*, I give abundant proof of this. To take only one example: Mark relates that James and John asked the Lord that they might sit at his right and left hands in his glory; Matthew says it was *their mother* who made the request. This was because, when the canonical First Gospel was compiled, the Apostles were saintly characters, incapable of ambition. Of course this one case would not prove such a thesis; but a dozen such cases do prove it by cumulative evidence. Similar traces of later exaggeration abound in Luke, and above all in John.

Mark being thus raised to the level of chief witness, his account of the Resurrection is of transcendent import. But it is lost, and can only be pieced together by criticism. The oldest manuscripts of the New Testament, at Rome and St. Petersburg, omit the last twelve verses of Mark, and have a mysterious blank where those verses are found in later copies. The Old Syriac (second century) ends the Gospel at verse 8, and clinches it by adding:

"Here endeth the Gospel of Mark."

The Armenian translation (fourth century) also omits the verses, and a tenth-century Armenian manuscript ascribes their authorship to the presbyter Aristion (or Ariston). Now, as Papias (early second century) quotes a certain presbyter Aristion as an oral authority on the life of Christ, and as the incident about drinking poison (Mark xvi. 18) is among the traditions associated with Aristion and other oral witnesses, we are quite safe in saying that Mark

xvi. 9-20 is the work of a second-century divine. To distinguish it from the original Mark, we call it the Mark Appendix, or the Longer Appendix, for some manuscripts have a different and shorter appendix. Eusebius and Jerome both declare that the Appendix was lacking in many ancient manuscripts in their time (fourth century), so that the external evidence is altogether against their authenticity as a part of the true Mark's Gospel.

We come now to the internal evidence. This is equally conclusive. The genuine Mark ends in the middle of a sentence:

"They went out and fled from the tomb; for trembling and astonishment had come upon them: and they said nothing to any one; they were afraid because".....<sup>2</sup>

Here then we have an exciting story ending in mid career, and at verse 9, the Resurrection is told all over again from a different standpoint and in a cold conventional way. Nothing is said about what became of the women; nothing about the mystery of the empty tomb; nothing about the charge of the young man (an angel, of course, in Matthew and Luke) to go into Galilee. Thus do internal and external evidence agree in throwing the Mark Appendix under a cloud. This is not higher criticism, but lower criticism—the rules of evidence used in courts of justice.

The orthodox explanation of the gap is that after the fire at Rome in 64, the Italian civil wars that followed, and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70, so few manuscripts were left that Mark was reduced to a single copy, mutilated at the end. But Paul Rohrbach (*Schluss des Markusevangeliums*, 1894) has given weighty reasons for believing that the Church herself deliberately suppressed Mark's (i. e., Peter's own) account of the Resurrection, and had Aristion's compilation put in its place.

According to the concurrent testimony of the Fathers, beginning with Papias, Mark is Peter's Gospel, having been based upon that disciple's discourses about Jesus and his doings. It is therefore of supreme importance to know why this eminent apostle's account of the Resurrection has not come down to us. The tantalizing thing about it is that Luke and Paul (Luke xxiv. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 5) both relate that the Lord made an early appearance to Peter. Shahrastāni of Persia, a twelfth-century writer (see *Open Court*, September, 1902) tells us that when he did so he transmitted to him the power. Why, therefore, in Peter's own Gospel, are there no details of this

<sup>2</sup> The abruptness can only be seen in the Greek ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. The particle γάρ can no more end a sentence, much less a book, than the word "because."

weightiest of all the apparitions? The extant genuine Mark leads up to it. At the supper-table (Mark xiv. 28) Jesus says:

"After I am raised up, I will, go before you into Galilee."

And at the tomb the young man says to the women (Mark xvi. 7):

"Go, tell his disciples *and Peter*, He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you."

We are therefore led to expect that the Lord appeared in Galilee and appeared there to Peter. Rohrbach explains the suppression of the story by the fact that in the second century when the Gospels were officially published by the Church, the schools of Paul and John had supplanted the earlier one of Peter, and that Peter's account was at variance with the traditions current at the time of redaction. It was therefore suppressed.

Renan had already hinted at this. The mystery of the floating tradition about the woman taken in adultery, in John viii, absent in the oldest manuscripts, put into Luke by others, and once extant in the lost Gospel of the Hebrews, prepares us to believe that the Gospels were manipulated in very early times. Rendel Harris once put this fact humorously thus:

In the nineteenth century, said he, in 1895, if a man wishes to establish heresy and finds an awkward text that upsets his notion, he twists the meaning; but in the second century the process was easier: *he altered the text!*

The Quaker apologist, Barclay, in his chapter on the Scriptures, says:

"Other Fathers also declare that whole verses were taken out of Mark, because of the Manichees."

I have not found any scholar who could verify this statement, and moreover the Manichees (third century) are too late. But the practice was older than the third century, as abundant interpolations and excisions betray; and it is a reasonable piece of higher criticism (this time) to maintain that the original Mark (which was taken quite early to Alexandria, says Eusebius) was *not* reduced to a single copy by Italian or Syrian wars, but was altered by the Church.

What was the motive? It lurks in a passage which I have always maintained<sup>a</sup> is borrowed from the lost ending of Mark: viz., Matthew xxviii. 16, 17:

"The eleven disciples *went away into Galilee*, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him they worshiped him: BUT SOME DOUBTED."

<sup>a</sup> See *New Church Messenger*, July 21, 1897.

Now this note of doubt is not Marcan, but Matthæan. It is Mark, not Matthew, who makes Pilate doubt that Jesus was dead; it is Mark, not Matthew, who says that he *could* not heal skeptics. (Matthew merely says he *did* not.) The *narrative* element in Matthew is taken almost wholly from Mark, as has been abundantly proven by analysis. (See Edwin Abbott's article "Gospels," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*). Now, as Matthew follows Mark step by step throughout, he follows him here, and this priceless story of the scene on the Galilean mount is the chief remnant left us of the lost ending of Mark. But why should the percipients doubt? Because the apparition was phantasmal, as it was to Paul (1 Cor. xv. 8).

Now, in the second century docetism had already arisen: i. e., the belief that Jesus was not a man of flesh and blood, but a phantom. The Buddhist Church had to combat a similar heresy (see my *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, 4th ed., Vol. II, p. 119). Mohammed, who mixed the Buddha-legends and the Christ-legends, and to whom an apocryphal docetist Gospel was just as good as a canonical one, adopted the heresy in his Koran. When the Athanasian creed was composed, the heresy had become so dangerous that the words were inserted, "man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world."

It is therefore reasonable to believe that when, in the reign of Trajan, the Church collected the Gospels and put the chosen four into one volume, they determined to suppress an account which might play into the hands of the docetists, just as Epiphanius affirms that they suppressed the statement that Christ wept. Peter's account was probably more detailed than the fragment in Matthew, and the reasons for the doubts would probably be given.

Only in the latest Gospels, Luke and John, do we find the grossest forms of the Resurrection story: the statement that the Lord appeared in a substantial form, and ate and drank with the disciples. Paul puts the phantasmal appearance to himself on the Damascus road upon the same footing with all the Resurrection apparitions, and it is quite probable that Peter, our earliest original witness, had already done the same. But a later age and a newer school would not permit it to stand. As a believer in all the phenomena vouched for in the immortal work of Myers,<sup>4</sup> I consider the materialized apparitions possible; but I reject them for want of evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Myers, it is true, though accepting their reality himself, admits the difficulties of accurate observation and the chance of fraud, and refuses to press them on the reader's belief.

In the lost Mark-ending we should place the famous charge to Peter, so dear to the Roman Church. It exists at present nowhere but in Matthew xvi, and yet it is absent at the corresponding point in Mark. As Mark is Peter's Gospel, it ought certainly to have contained the words which gave him the primacy, and it probably did. Similar words occur in John *as uttered after the Resurrection*, and near the place in Matthew where the charge is found there are similar utterances. (John xx. 23; Matt. xviii. 18-20.) But these refer to the Church, giving her the same power as the charge to Peter gives to him. If the charge originally stood in the lost Mark-ending, this would explain why Shahrastāni declared that the Lord transmitted his power to Peter during the apparition to him. But the school of John, which was established at the great literary center of Ephesus after Peter was dead, disputed the primacy of Peter and made John the Beloved Disciple. Moreover, John's Gospel maintains that the Beloved Disciple ran a race with Peter to the tomb and won it. If we had Peter's version of the incident, we might hear another tale.

I do not believe that the Gospel of John was written by the fisherman of Galilee, but I do believe it was based on traditions received from him by an unknown Philonic philosopher, and the distinguished name of the Apostle was fastened upon the book, according to the dictum of Tertullian: "The works of disciples are accounted those of their masters."

Whether the lost ending contained a passage about the Descent into Hades (known to us only from the First Epistle ascribed to Peter) I cannot say. Perhaps it did.

Another reason for the suppression of the Mark-ending was its Galilean partisanship, as we noted at the outset. The Evangelist Luke, whose poetic Gospel became far more popular than Mark's plain Roman prose, maintains that all the apparitions occurred in or around Jerusalem, thus excluding the Galilean ones:

"Tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high." (Luke xxiv. 49.)

"He charged them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, which, [said he], ye heard from me: for John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." (Acts i. 4.)

This means that they were to stay in the capital until the feast of Pentecost, when the great outpouring or illumination took place. Further to shut the door against Galilean appearances, Luke gives



us the only account of the Ascension, or final appearance of Jesus, and this took place at Bethany, a suburban village:

"And he led them out until [they were] over against Bethany; and he lifted up his hands and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he parted from them." (Luke xxiv. 50, 51.) [Some manuscripts, but not all, add: "and was carried up into heaven."]

"As they were looking, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight." (Acts i. 9.)

Here in Acts, too, the scene is at Jerusalem, and this account, in the Acts of the Apostles, is the only one which suggests a bodily ascension. The line in Luke which suggests it is not in all manuscripts; Matthew and John give accounts of farewell apparitions, but not of bodily ascension, while the genuine Mark is truncated, and we do not *know* what this earliest record said. We may justly surmise, however, from the Galilean tone of Mark, and from the closeness wherewith the First Gospel in its *narrative* element sticks to Mark, that he contradicted Luke, had at least one Galilean appearance, and that probably the final one. The John Appendix (as Rohrbach points out) tries to reconcile the two claims. The original John (which ended with Chap. xx) knows only of Jerusalem apparitions, but the Appendix (Chap. xxi) introduces Galilee, thus agreeing with the Petrine tradition, accepted by the First Gospel also.

I too explain this contradiction partly upon psychical grounds, but differently from our Anglican divine. I have long believed that the Ascension story of Acts is a late fiction, and that the original Gospels knew only of farewell apparitions, but not of a bodily ascent, Romulus-like, into heaven. These farewell scenes were many; they were different with different people, both individuals and companies. Until the Gospels were officially edited, each region was free to maintain that the Lord was last seen in its vicinity; but when the final redaction took place, the contradiction was impermissible, and the ruling party, that of the capital, had its way. This, together with the phantasmal nature of Mark's apparition-story, was enough to condemn his narrative to the flames; and Aristion and others were allowed to round off the Gospel according to their taste.

I believe that the original Mark ended something like this:

"They went out, and fled from the tomb; for trembling and astonishment had come upon them; and they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid of the Jews.\* But they told all things

\* Gospel of Peter, second century.

unto Peter and his companions,<sup>6</sup> who went into Galilee.<sup>7</sup> There Jesus appeared unto Peter,<sup>8</sup> [and forgave him for his denial]. And he said unto him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah;<sup>9</sup> for flesh and blood hath not revealed me unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art a Rock, (Peter), and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. I have been put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit, wherein also I have descended and preached unto the spirits in prison; and now angels and authorities and powers are made subject unto me.<sup>10</sup>

"And Peter, with the rest of the eleven,<sup>11</sup> went unto a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him they worshiped [him]; but some doubted, [for his form was phantasmal]. And Jesus came to them and spake unto them, saying: All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations *in my name*,<sup>12</sup> teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the consummation of the æon.

"[After this Jesus was seen no more of his disciples.]"

\* \* \*

P. S. I take this opportunity to correct two mistakes (both my own) in former articles. In *The Open Court* for April, 1906, p. 253, the age at death of William Brockie, founder of the Sunderland Free Associate Church, should be seventy-nine (1811-1890). In the issue for August, 1908, p. 477, the age and dates of William Metcalfe's widow should be eighty-six (1819-1906).

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

All theologians, including the orthodox, are agreed that the end of Mark has been lost and that the conclusion which appears in our authorized version is a later substitute. This is not a theory

<sup>6</sup> Shorter Mark Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew xxviii. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Luke xxiv. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 5; John xxi. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. xvi. 17-19.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Peter iii. 18, 19, 22.

<sup>11</sup> Matt. xxviii. 16-20.

<sup>12</sup> For the reason of this reading and the omission of the Baptismal Charge and the Trinitarian formula, see *Open Court*, September, 1902, reprinted in my *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*.

but a fact. It is not invented to explain difficulties in the text, but it is the state of things to be explained and the commonly accepted explanation must be sought in some such way as suggested by Rohrbach, that the original conclusion of Mark did not agree with the orthodox church doctrines of the second century. That the original conclusion of Mark furnished evidence in favor of docetism, which assumed that Jesus was not a real man but a spiritual being who only appeared to be a real man, is not only possible but even probable, and the facts presented by Mr. Edmunds furnish enough evidence in favor of this belief. But we must protest against the view of Mr. Edmunds that psychical research has succeeded in establishing the theory of telepathy, and in spite of the bulk of Mr. Myers's work we make bold to say that the proof furnished by psychical research is for many reasons insufficient. We do not deny that the belief in apparitions and telepathic communications existed and that many of the disciples were convinced of having seen Jesus after his death, but this is far from furnishing true evidence in favor of the objectivity of this phenomenon. P. C.

## THE BABYLONIAN GOOD FRIDAY.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE know that pre-Christian paganism in almost all the countries of Hither Asia and in Egypt celebrated a kind of Easter festival to commemorate the renewal of life, and this Easter festival follows upon a corresponding Good Friday. While Easter represents the resurrection of the god of vegetation, of the sun, or of life in general, the Good Friday ceremony commemorates his death and descent into hell, or his temporary defeat. In the Christian calendar the two festivals are placed close together, and in some pagan rituals this arrangement may have had precedence, but as a rule the two feasts were celebrated in different seasons of the year, e. g., the death of Tammuz falls in the high summer season, while his resurrection was celebrated in the spring.

The idea of a god that dies and rises to life again is common to almost all pre-Christian mythologies. In Babylonia we find this idea attributed to several deities, who for all we know may originally have been the same and were worshiped in different places under different names, whereupon they may have developed into different deities.

A kind of Good Friday celebration is mentioned by Ezekiel, who, as told in Chap. viii, sees in a vision the abominations carried on in the temple of Jerusalem. The temple service at that time was performed in the way customary among the surrounding nations, and so Yahveh kept away from his sanctuary. In the 14th verse Ezekiel speaks of "the gate of the Lord's house toward the north," and he adds, "Behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz." Another mention of the lamentation festival is made in Zech. xii. 11, where the prophet alludes to the "great mourning in Jerusalem as the mourning of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon." The latter passage may be neglected because the text is corrupt and the meaning uncertain, nor does it contain anything

new except the name of the Aramaic or Edomitic Tammuz, Hadad-Rimmon.

The Babylonian Tammuz festival is very old and can be traced back to the Sumerian period. In Sumeria the god Tammuz was represented as a son of Ea, and he was called *Dumuzi*, which means "genuine son," or *Dumu zi abzu*, that is, "genuine son of the deep."

The god Tammuz is also mentioned in the old Babylonian inscriptions of Gudea and his predecessors of Telloh, and we must assume that this lamentation for the death of Tammuz is an ancient festival which dates back to prehistoric times.

The Tammuz cult was connected with the Adapa myth and also with the Greco-Phœnician legend of Adonis. In fact Adonis means nothing but Lord, and is the title of Tammuz, a title which he also bore in Babylonia where in the text he was called *Belu*, that is "Lord," or *Edlu*, that is "hero."

Adapa may have been originally identical with Tammuz, for the Adapa myth relates how it happened that one of the immortal gods was mortal and had somehow acquired mortality.

\* \* \*

The Adapa myth is recorded in the clay tablets of Tell-Amarna, and in three fragments of the Assurbanipal library. The narrative briefly told is as follows:

Adapa, the son of Ea, is endowed with wisdom from his father who was one of the great Babylonian trinity of gods, the others being Anu and Bel. Adapa was in charge of his father's shrine at Eridu and procured for it the necessary supply of bread, water and fish. One day while he was fishing the south wind upset his boat so that he sank into the sea, and Adapa in revenge broke the wings of the south wind. When Anu, the god of heaven, noticed the change on earth, he inquired into the cause and summoned Adapa before his seat of judgment. Ea, Adapa's father, advised his son to appeal to the compassion of the gods, to put on a garment of mourning, and when he came to the palace of Anu he was to refuse bread and drink and a new garment, but when they offered him oil he should anoint himself with it. He says: "When thou appearest before Anu bread of death will be offered thee; eat it not. Water of death will be offered thee; drink it not. A garment they will offer thee; put it not on. Oil they will offer thee; anoint thyself with it." When Adapa is conducted before the throne of Anu, the gods Tammuz and Gishzida take pity on him and pacify Anu's wrath. Everything happens as predicted by Ea, except that Anu

offers him bread of life and water of life, which Adapa refuses and thus forfeits his immortality.

The suggestion has been made that Adapa may be the original form of the Hebrew Adam, and that the change from *p* to *m* may be partly due to a scribe's mistake, partly to the natural habit of people to explain a foreign word by some familiar etymology, Adam meaning man.

The main point in the story of the food of life by which some half-divine being forfeits his immortality is obvious, and it appears that Adapa is a humanized counterpart of Tammuz. Adapa represents the loss of immortality, Tammuz its restitution. In a similar way Adam is opposed to Christ, and Christ is called the second Adam.

The Adapa myth must have been very popular in ancient Babylon. The Gilgamesh epic (table VI, 46) mentions the lamentations for the death of Tammuz, which were repeated annually, and the story is also referred to in Istar's descent to hell.

The mortal enemy of Tammuz is the god Ninib, who is the sun-god at the time of the most intense summer heat. The rays of the sun kill the god of vegetation, and this is represented in the myth of Adonis who is killed by a boar while hunting. The boar is sacred to Ninib for in some phases of ancient mythology the sun is represented as a boar with golden bristles. This same idea is preserved in northern mythology, where the sun-god, called the Lord or *Fro*, (the masculine of Freya, "lady," corresponding to the modern German *Frau*) is represented as riding on a golden boar, and the souls of the departed heroes are feasting in Walhalla on the meat of a boar, the supply of which is inexhaustible.

The resurrection of Tammuz is celebrated by a procession in which Tammuz himself is carried on a float, representing a ship called "the ship of plenty," and there he appears in the shape of a couching bull. The triumph of the god culminates in his marriage to Nina, the fish-goddess.<sup>1</sup>

The British Museum contains a hymn to Tammuz<sup>2</sup> which has been translated by Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, according to whose version it reads thus:

"(Lament) for my mighty one who liveth no more.  
— — — — who liveth no more, for my mighty one who liveth  
no more.

<sup>1</sup> The name literally means "House of Fish."

<sup>2</sup> Tablet 15821, Plate 18.



— — — — — who — — — — — liveth no more; for my mighty one  
who liveth no more.

— — — — — my spouse who liveth no more.

— — — — — my — — — — — who liveth no more.

— — — — — great god of the heavenly year who liveth no more.

Lord of the lower world who liveth no more.

Lord of vegetation, artificer of the earth, who liveth no more.

The shepherd, the lord, the god Tammuz who liveth no more.

The lord who giveth gifts who liveth no more.

With his heavenly spouse he liveth no more.

(The producer of) wine who liveth no more.

Lord of fructification; the established one who liveth no more.

The lord of power; the established one who liveth no more.

Like a mighty bull is his appearance; the forceful one, like an  
ancient bull he coucheth.

Like a mighty bull is his appearance; in his ship of plenty  
like an ancient bull he coucheth.

In accordance with thy word(?) the earth shall be judged.

(Thus) the high parts of the earth verily shall be judged.

— — — — — who — — — — — verily they shall cry out for it.

For food which they have not to eat they shall verily cry out.

For water which they have not to drink they shall verily cry  
out.

Verily the maiden who is pleasing shall cry out for it.

Verily the warrior who is acceptable shall cry out for it.

— — — — — thy — — — — — the mighty one, the land with a  
curse is destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

— — — — — the mighty one, the land with a curse is de-  
stroyed.<sup>3</sup>

Power of the land (is he). With (his) gift no gift can vic.

Power of the land (is he). The Word<sup>4</sup> which overcometh  
disease.

Power he exalteth, exalteth.

Food which they have not to eat he raiseth up.

Water which they have not to drink he raiseth up.

The maiden who is pleasing he raiseth up.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "the land he overwhelmeth with a curse." Professor Prince prefers the passive form in his translation because the curse is caused by the absence of Tammuz from earth. It is a curse to the country that Tammuz no longer quickens the life of vegetation.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Prince adds in a note: "Here Tammuz is the life-giving Word, a conception which has many parallels in early Semitic literature and which culminated in the Word of the Gospel of St. John."

The warrior who is acceptable he raiseth up.  
The mighty one who destroyeth your people.  
The god Ninib destroyeth even the least among your people.  
With her gracious aspect Ninā speaketh.  
In her gracious rising verily she shineth forth.  
Where she waxeth full, her procreative power is mighty of  
aspect.  
The creative one (with) the staff of her left hand, verily she  
establisheth the cleansing *uxulu*-herb.<sup>5</sup>  
With her sceptre of judgment she commandeth.  
The creative one with her firm voice she speaketh to him.  
XLI lines. A hymn for the god Tammuz."

<sup>5</sup> A plant used for purification ceremonies.

## THE CABALA.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

ALTHOUGH the Cabala belongs to the past, it nevertheless demands our attention on account of the interest taken in it by men like Raymond Lully, the "Doctor Illuminatus" as he was styled (died 1315); John Picus di Mirandola (1463-1494); John Reuchlin (1455-1522); Cornelius Henry Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535); John Baptist von Helmont (1577-1644); the English scholars Robert Fludd (1574-1637) and Henry More (1614-1687). How much Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493-1541) and Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), called "Philosophus Teutonicus," were influenced by cabalistic doctrines, is difficult to state. At any rate the names mentioned before are sufficient to call attention to a theosophical system which has engaged the minds of Jewish and Christian scholars.

It is surprising how scanty the English literature is on the Cabala. True that in the *History of the Jews* by Basnage, London, 1708, we have a lengthy account of this theosophy (pp. 184-256); but this account is originally given in the French work *Histoire des Juifs*, by the same author. John Gill (died 1771) in his "*Dissertatio de genuina Punctorum Vocalium Hebraicorum Antiquitate, contra Cappellum, Waltonum,*" etc., prefixed to his *Clavis Pentateuchi*, Edinburgh, 1770, refers to the Zohar to prove the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel-points, because it states that "the vowel-points proceeded from the Holy Spirit who indited the Sacred Scriptures" etc. (on Song of Songs 57b; ed. Amsterdam, 1701). Of course so long as the Cabala was believed to be a genuine revelation from God, and Simon ben Jochai (of the second century) was believed to be the author of the Zohar, to whom God communicated all the mysteries, it was but a matter of course to believe in the antiquity and divinity of the vowel-points.

John Allen (died 1839) in his *Modern Judaism*, London, 1816 (2d ed. 1830) also gives an account of the Cabala, in which he

premises the antiquity of the Zohar, which he makes the primary source of the primitive Cabala. Passing over Dean Milman's (died 1868) *History of the Jews*, London, 1829, (often reprinted), in which we naturally also find references to the Cabala, we mention J. W. Etheridge (died 1866), author of *Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova, a Survey of the Religious and Scholastic Learning of the Jews, Designed as an Introduction to Hebrew Literature*, London, 1856. This author seems to have been acquainted with the researches of the Jewish scholars in Germany, but he nevertheless stoutly adheres to the traditional view. Thus he remarks on page 314:

"To the authenticity of the Zohar, as a work of the early Kabbalistic school, objections have indeed been made, but they are not of sufficient gravity to merit an extended investigation. The opinion that ascribes it as a pseudo-fabrication to Moses de Leon in the thirteenth century, has, I imagine, but few believers among the learned in this subject in our own day. The references to Shemun ben Yochaï and the Kabala in the Talmud, and abundant internal evidence found in the book itself, exhibit the strongest probability, not that Shemun himself was the author of it, but that it is the fruit and result of his personal instructions, and of the studies of his immediate disciples."

We may say that Etheridge's view is *mutatis mutandis* also that of Ad. Franck, author of *Système de la Kabbale ou la philosophie religieuse des Hébreux*, Paris, 1843 (2d. ed. 1892); translated into German by A. Gelinek (Jellinek), *Die Kabbala oder die Religionsphilosophie der Hebräer*, Leipsic, 1844, with which must be compared D. H. Joel, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Sohar*, *ibid.*, 1840, which is an exceedingly good supplement to Franck's work. But an examination of the works published by Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1831, p. 405; Geiger, *Melo Chof-nayim*, *ibid.*, 1840, introduction, p. xvii; Sachs, *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, *ibid.*, 1845, p. 327; Jellinek, *Moses Ben Schem Tob de Leon*, Leipsic, 1851, could have convinced Etheridge that the Zohar, the text-book of the Cabala, is the "pseudo-fabrication" of Moses de Leon in the thirteenth century. That Landauer (died 1841) in his essays on the Cabala published in the *Litteraturblatt des Orients*, 1845, p. 178 et seq., 1846, p. 12 et seq., ascribes the authorship of the Zohar to Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia towards the end of the second half of the thirteenth century, is the more weighty and instructive because he originally started with opinions of an exactly opposite character (Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*,

p. 299). Nevertheless Etheridge's book was a good work; it was the praiseworthy attempt of an English Christian to acquaint the English-speaking people with the post-Biblical literature of the Jews.

Four years after the publication of the above work, Canon Westcott (died 1901) published his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, London, 1860, in which he incidentally refers to the Cabala, without adopting Etheridge's view as to the authorship of the Zohar: on the contrary he says (p. 159, Boston, 1867): "The Sepher ha-Zohar, or Book of Splendor, owes its existence to R. Moses of Leon in the thirteenth century," and this, he says in a note, "has been satisfactorily established by Jellinek in his tract, *Moses ben Schem-tob de Leon und sein Verhältniss zum Sohar*, Leipsic, 1851. The warm approval of Jost is sufficient to remove any lingering doubt as to the correctness of Jellinek's conclusion: *A. Jellinek und die Kab-bala*, Leipsic, 1852."

The publication of Jellinek's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kab-bala*, 2 parts, Leipsic, 1852; and his *Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik*, part I, *ibid.*, 1853; Stern's "Versuch einer umständlichen Analyse des Sohar" (in *Ben Chananja, Monatsschrift für jüdische Theologie*, Vols. I-IV, Szegedin, 1858-1861); Jost's *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, Vol. III, pp. 66-81, Leipsic, 1859; more especially of Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden*,<sup>1</sup> Vol. VII, pp. 73-87, 442-459; 487-507, Leipsic, 1863, paved the way for Christian D. Ginsburg's (now very scarce) essay *The Kabbalah*, London, 1865. As a matter of course he adopts the results of modern scholarship and rejects the authorship of Simon ben Jochai.

As far as we are aware, nothing has been published in English since 1865. *The Kabbalah Unveiled* by S. L. M. Mathers, London, 1887, gives only a translation of some parts of the Zohar, which Knorr von Rosenroth had rendered into Latin. Nevertheless this work is interesting, because an English reader—provided he has enough patience—can get a taste of the Zoharic wisdom and unwisdom.

#### NAME AND ORIGIN OF THE CABALA.

By Cabala we understand that system of religious philosophy, or more properly of Jewish theosophy, which played so important a part in the theological and exegetical literature of both Jews and Christians ever since the Middle Ages.

<sup>1</sup> The English translation of this work, published by the Jewish Publication Society of America, is of no service to the student, because the scholarly notes, which are the best part of the original, are entirely omitted.

The Hebrew word Cabala (from *Kibbel*) properly denotes "reception," then "a doctrine received by oral tradition." The term is thus in itself nearly equivalent to "transmission," like the Latin *traditio*, in Hebrew *masorah*, for which last, indeed, the Talmud makes it interchangeable in the statement given in Pirke Abot I, 1: "Moses received (*kibbel*) the Law on Mount Sinai, and transmitted (*umsarah*) it to Joshua." The difference, however, between the word "Cabala" and the cognate term *masorah* is that the former expressed "the act of receiving," while the latter denotes "the act of giving over, surrendering, transmitting." The name, therefore, tells us no more than that this theosophy has been received traditionally. In the oldest Jewish literature (Mishna, Midrash, Talmud), the Cabala denotes the whole body of Jewish tradition. The name is even applied to the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, and the Hagiographa, in contradistinction to the Pentateuch. As a scientific system the Cabala is also called *chokmat ha-cabalah*, i. e., science of tradition, or *chokmah nistarah* (abbreviated *ch'n*, i. e., *chen*, חן), i. e., secret science or wisdom, and its representatives and adherents delighted in calling themselves *maskilim*, i. e., "intelligent," or with a play of words *yodé ch'n*, i. e., "connoisseurs of secret wisdom."

Having defined the term Cabala, which was still commonly used for "oral tradition" in the 13th and 14th centuries even after the technical sense of the word was established, we must be careful to distinguish between cabala and mysticism. Like other Eastern nations, the Jews were naturally inclined to theosophical speculation, and though this tendency may have been repressed by the definite teaching of revelation as long as they were confined within the sacred boundaries of Palestine, it found a freer scope after the Exile.

There were two subjects about which the Jewish imagination especially busied itself,—the history of the Creation, and the *Merkabah*, or the Divine apparition to Ezekiel. Both touch the question of God's original connection with His creatures, and that of His continued intercourse with them. They treat of the mystery of nature and of Providence, especially of Revelation; and an attempt is made to answer the question, how the Infinite God can have any connection or intercourse with finite creatures.

It is difficult to say how far back it is possible to trace with certainty Jewish mysticism. Even in the book of Sirach (Ecclus. xlix. 8) it is the special praise of Ezekiel that he saw the chariot of the Cherubim. When we come to the period of the Mishna, we



find the existence of a body of esoteric doctrine already presupposed. It is laid down that "no one ought to discourse the history of Creation (Gen. i) with two, or the Chariot (Ezek. i) with one, unless he be a scholar, who has knowledge of his own" (Chagiga II, 1).

Further allusions to these mysterious doctrines occur in the Talmud, but any rash investigation of them was discouraged, as is shown by the story of the four sages in "the enclosed garden," i. e., who were engaged in theosophical studies. One of them, it was said, had looked round and died; another had looked round and lost his reason; a third eventually tried to destroy the garden;<sup>1</sup> while the fourth alone had entered and returned in safety (Chagiga, fol. 14, col. 2).

Little by little mysticism made its way from Palestine into Babylonia and found many followers. Its adepts called themselves "Men of Faith." They boasted of possessing the means of obtaining a view of the divine household. By virtue of certain incantations, invocations of the names of God and the angels, and the recitation of certain prayer-like chants, combined with fasting and an ascetic mode of living, they pretended to be able to perform supernatural deeds. For this purpose they made use of amulets and cameos (*Kameoth*), and wrote upon them the names of God and the angels with certain signs. Miracle-working was a trifle to these mystics. The books which they wrote only gave hints, and only those were initiated into the mystic secrets, in whose hand and forehead the adepts pretended to discover lines that proved them to be worthy of being initiated.

\* \* \*

Deferring until later the works belonging to this period, we will now speak of the origin of the Cabala. Although the name "Cabala" in its pregnant meaning is first used in the 13th century, yet Jewish tradition claims a high antiquity for the Cabala and traces it back, among others, to three famous Talmudists, as the proper founders of the Cabala, viz., Rabbi Ismaël ben Elisa (about 121 A. D.); Nechunjah Ben-Ha-Kanah (about 70 A. D.), and especially Simon ben Jochai (about 150 A. D.),<sup>2</sup> the reputed author of the Zohar.

Whatever may be the claims of these traditions they must be re-

<sup>1</sup> In the Talmud he is called Elisha ben-Abuja, surnamed Acher, i. e., "the other one," after his apostasy from Judaism. It is related of him that while attending the Jewish college he had often been noticed to carry with him writings of the "Minim" (probably of Gnostics), and that he had even been in the habit of quoting Greek poetry. Elisha was a pupil of the famous rabbi Akiba; comp. Jellinek, *Elisha ben-Abujja, genannt Acher*, Leipsic, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> See my article *s. v.* in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop.*, Vol. IX, p. 757.

jected. The mystical speculations of the Cabala are entirely foreign to older Judaism, especially original Mosaism. It is true that the Talmud contains many things concerning God, heaven, hell, world, magic, etc.,<sup>3</sup> but these things were generally assigned to some individuals, and are elements derived from Parsism and neo-Platonism; and much as the Talmud and Midrash may otherwise speak of the three teachers mentioned before, such things are not recorded of them. The Cabala as a mystical system and its development as such undoubtedly belongs to the Middle Ages, beginning probably with the seventh century of our era, and culminating in the Book Zohar. A fuller and more mature development of the Cabala is due to the speculations of later masters.

The origin of the Cabala belongs to that period in which Judaism on the one hand was permeated by a crude anthropomorphic notion of the Deity, whereas on the other hand Platonism and Aristotelianism strove for the ascendancy in formulating the fundamental doctrines of Jewish belief. With Moses Maimonides (1135-1204) rationalism had reached its climax. The injunctions of the Bible were only to be explained by the light of reason. Only the simple, primary or literary sense (*peshat*) of the Scripture was recognized, the existing allegorical interpretation (*derúsh*) was considered either as rabbinical fancy, or one saw in it only a poetical form. Even the Talmud had been systematized and codified. Religion had become a more or less meaningless *opus operatum*. Philosophy had always been treated as something secondary, which had nothing to do with practical Judaism, as it is daily and hourly practiced. Maimonides, on the other hand, had introduced it into the holiest place in Judaism, and, as it were, gave Aristotle a place next to the doctors of the Law. Instead of unifying Judaism, Maimonides caused a division, and the Maimonists and Anti-Maimonists opposed each other. A reaction came and the Cabala stepped in as a counterpoise to the growing shallowness of the Maimonists' philosophy. The storm against his system broke out in Provence and spread over Spain. The latter country may be considered as the real home of the Cabala. When the Jews were driven from that country, the Cabala took root in Palestine and thence it was carried back into the different countries of Europe.

The fundamental ideas of the Cabala are un-Jewish, derived from Philo, the neo-Platonists and the neo-Pythagoreans; we sometimes even notice Gnostic influences. But the close amalgamation

<sup>3</sup> The reader is referred for such things to my article "Talmud," *loc. cit.*, Vol. X, pp. 170, 171.

of these different elements with Biblical and Midrashic ideas has given to these foreign parts such a Jewish coloring, that at the first glance they appear as an emanation of the Jewish mental life.

#### HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABALA IN THE PRE-ZOHAR PERIOD.

The history of the Cabala comprises a period of nearly a thousand years. Its beginnings may be traced back to the seventh century, whereas its last shoots belong to the eighteenth century. For convenience' sake we can distinguish two periods, the one reaching from the seventh to the thirteenth century, the other from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. The former is the time of gradual growth, development and progress, the other that of decline and decay. The origin of the Zohar in the thirteenth century forms the climax in the history of the Cabala. It became the treasury to the followers of this theosophy, a text-book for the students of the Cabala, the standard and code of the cabalistic system, the Bible of the Cabalists.

From the seventh to the ninth century we meet with the representatives of the mysteries of the *merkaba*,<sup>1</sup> which is expounded in the so-called *Hekaloth*, i. e., "Palaces." This work, which is ascribed to Ismaël ben-Elisa, opens with a description of God's throne and his household consisting of angelic hosts. In this mystical production, which has been reprinted by Jellinek in *Bet ha-Midrash*, Vol. III. pp. 83-108, the praises of the Almighty God and his chariot throne are celebrated. We are told that each of the seven heavenly palaces is guarded by eight angels; a description of the formula is given by virtue of which these angelic guards are obliged to grant admission into the celestial palaces; also a description of the peculiar qualifications necessary for those who desire to enter into these palaces. Some hymns of praise and a conversation with God, Israel and the angels conclude this treatise, which like the *Shiur Koma* or the treatise on "the Dimensions of the Deity," also ascribed to Rabbi Ismaël, knows nothing of the speculations of the En Soph, the ten Sephiroth and the doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls.

Another work belonging to this period is the *Othijoth de Rabbi Akiba*, i. e., "the Alphabet of Rabbi Akiba," which alternately treats

<sup>1</sup> *Merkaba*, i. e., "Chariot," mentioned in Ezek. i and x, which treat of the Divine Throne, resting on wheels, and carried by sacred animals. Great mysteries are attached by the ancient Jews to all details of this description of the Deity and his surroundings, which in imitation of *Maasey Bereshit*, i. e., "the work of the hexahemeron" or "cosmogony," is also called *Maasey Merkaba*, "the Work of the Chariot," a kind of "theosophy."

each letter of the Hebrew alphabet "as representing an idea as an abbreviation for a word, and as the symbol of some sentiment, according to its peculiar form, in order to attach to those letters moral, theanthropic, angelological and mystical notions." This treatise is also given in Jellinek's work, cited above, Vol. III, pp. 12-49, Leipsic, 1855. A Latin translation of Akiba's Alphabet is given by Kircher, in his *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*,<sup>2</sup> and in Bartolucci's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*.<sup>3</sup>

Bodenschatz in his *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*. (Erlangen, 1748) gives in Part III, p. 15, the following specimen: "On the words: 'The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart' (Ps. xxxiv, 18) we read: 'All who are of a broken heart are more agreeable before God than the ministering angels, because the ministering angels are remote from the divine Majesty 360,000,000 miles, as it is said in Is. vi. 2: "Above it stood the Seraphim" (*mimaal lo*), where the word *lo* by way of gematria means 36,000. This teaches us that the body of the divine Majesty is 2,000,000,336,000 miles long. From his loins upward are 1,000,000,180,000 miles, and from his loins downward 118 times 10,000 miles. But these miles are not like ours, but like his (God's) miles. For his mile is 1,000,000 ells long, and his ell contains four spans and a hand's breadth, and his span goes from one end of the world to the other, as is said Is. x. 12: "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span?" Another explanation is that the words "and meted out heaven with the span" denote that the heaven and the heaven of all heavens is only one span long, wide and high, and that the earth with all the abysses is as long as the sole of the foot, and wide as the sole of the foot, etc., etc.'"

Another part of Akiba's Alphabet is the so-called "Book of Enoch,"<sup>4</sup> which describes the glorification of Enoch and his transformation into the angel Metatron, regarding him as "the little God" in contradistinction to "the Great God."

These mystical treatises came into existence in the course of time, and their teachings rapidly spread. So numerous became the disciples of mysticism in the twelfth century that Maimonides found it necessary to denounce the system. "Give no credence to the nonsense of the writers of charms and amulets, to what they tell you or to what you find in their foolish writings about the divine names,

<sup>2</sup> Rome, 1652, Vol. II, p. 225 f.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. IV, pp. 27 f.

<sup>4</sup> Also reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet Ha-Midrash*, Vol. II, pp. 114-117.

which they invent without any sense, calling them appellations of the Deity, and affirming that they require holiness and purity and perform miracles. All these things are fables: a sensible man will not listen to them, much less believe in them."<sup>5</sup>

A new stage in the development of the Cabala commences with the publication of *The Book of Creation or Jezirah*, which is the first work that comprises the philosophical speculations of the age in one systematic whole. Scholars are now agreed that the Book of Jezirah belongs to the eighth or ninth centuries, and that it has nothing to do with the Jezirah-Book mentioned in the Talmud, where we are told that "Rabbis Hanina and Oshaya studied it every Friday, whereby they produced a calf three years old and ate it" (*Sanhedrin*, fol. 65, col. 2), and whereby Rabbi Joshua ben Hanania declared he could take fruit and instantly produce the trees which belong to them (*Jerusalem Sanhedrin*, chapt. VII towards the end).<sup>6</sup>

The Sepher Jezirah as we now have it, is properly a monologue on the part of Abraham, in which, by the contemplation of all that is around him, he ultimately arrived at the conviction of the Unity of God. Hence the remark of the philosopher Jehudah Halevi (born about 1086)—"the Book of the Creation, which belongs to our father Abraham . . . demonstrates the existence of the Deity and the Divine Unity, by things which are on the one hand manifold and multifarious, whilst on the other hand they converge and harmonize; and this harmony can only proceed from One who originated it" (*Khozari*, IV, 25).

Referring the reader to the literature on the Sepher Jezirah to Goldschmidt's book, pp. 35-46,<sup>7</sup> we will state that the Book of Creation consists of six *Perakim* or chapters, subdivided into thirty-three very brief *Mishnahs* or sections, as follows: the first chapter has twelve sections, the second has five, the third five, the fourth four, the fifth three, and the sixth four sections. The doctrines which the book propounds are delivered in the style of aphorisms or theorems, and, pretending to be the dicta of Abraham, are laid

<sup>5</sup> More, *Nebuchim* I, 61. Wünsche thinks that the treatise *De Judaicis superstitionibus* by Agobard, bishop of Lyons (died 840), was directed against this mystic tendency.

<sup>6</sup> L. Goldschmidt, *Das Buch der Schöpfung*, Frankfurt a. M., 1894, p. 10, remarks: "I am inclined to put the time of the composition of the Book Jezirah into the second century B. C., and assert that it is the same book of the Creation which is mentioned in the Talmud." He is also inclined to make Palestine the place of its composition.

<sup>7</sup> We may add the English translation of the book by Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Vol. II (1883), pp. 690-695.



down very dogmatically, in a manner becoming the authority of this patriarch, who, according to Artapanus instructed King Pharaoh of Egypt in astrology (Eusebius, *Praep. evang.*, IX, 18); fulfilled the whole law, before it was given (*Apoc. Baruch*, chap. 57; *Kiddushin*, IV, 14 fin.), and victoriously overcame ten temptations\* (*Pirke Aboth*, V, 3).

The book opens with the statement that "by thirty-two paths of secret wisdom, the Eternal, the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, the living God, the King of the Universe, the Merciful and Gracious, the High and Exalted God, He who inhabits eternity, Glorious and Holy is His name, hath created the world by means of number, word and writing (or number, numberer, numbered)" I, 1.—The book shows why there are just thirty-two of these. By an analysis of this number it seeks to exhibit, in a peculiar method of theosophical arithmetic, on the assumption that they are the signs of existence and thought, the doctrine that God produced all, and is over all, the universe being a development of original entity, and existence being but thought become concrete: "in short, that instead of the heathenish or popular Jewish conception of the world as outward, or co-existent with Deity, it is co-equal in birth, having been brought out of nothing by God, thus establishing a Pantheistic system of emanation, of which, principally because it is not anywhere designated by name, one would think the writer was not himself quite conscious."

The following will illustrate the curious proof of this argumentation: the number 32 is the sum of 10, the number of the ten fingers (I, 3), and 22, the number of the Hebrew alphabet, this latter being afterwards further resolved into  $3+7+12$  (I, 2). The first chapter (I, 2-8) treats of the decade and its elements, which are called figures in contradistinction from the 22 letters. This decade is the sign-manual of the universe. In the details of this hypothesis the existence of divinity in the abstract is really ignored, though not formally denied. Thus the number *one* is its spirit as an active principle, in which all worlds and beings are yet enclosed. "One is the spirit of the living God, blessed and again blessed be the Name of Him, Who liveth for ever—Voice and Spirit and Word, and this is the Holy Ghost" (I, 9).

*Two* is the spirit from this spirit, i. e., the active principle in

\* Comp. in general Beer, *Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, Leipzig, 1859; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 1893, pp. 89-132; Bonwetsch, *Die Apokalypse Abrahams*, 1897, pp. 41-55.



so far as it has beforehand decided on creating; "in it He engraved the twenty-two letters" (I, 10).

*Three* is water; *four* is fire; "in it He hewed the throne of glory, the Ophanim<sup>9</sup> and Seraphim, the sacred living creatures, and the angels of service, and of these three He founded His dwelling place, as it is said, He maketh His angels breaths, and His ministers a flaming fire (I, 11. 12). The six remaining figures, 5-10, are regarded severally as the sign-manual of height, depth, east, west, north and south, forming the six sides of a cube, and representing the idea of form in its geometrical perfection (I, 13).

In the words of the Book of Creation the hexade is thus described: "*Five*: Three letters from out the simple ones; He sealed spirit on the three, and fastened them in His great Name J H V.<sup>10</sup> And He sealed with them six outgoing (ends, terminations); He turned upwards, and He sealed it with J H V. *Six*: He sealed below, turned downwards, and sealed it with J V H. *Seven*: He sealed eastward, He turned in front of Him, and sealed it with H J V. *Eight*: He sealed westward and turned behind, and sealed it with H V J. *Nine*: He sealed southward, and turned to His right, and sealed it with V J H. *Ten*: He sealed northward, and turned to His left, and sealed it with V H J. These are the Sephiroth: (1) Spirit of the living God, and (2) wind [air or spirit?]<sup>11</sup> (3) water, and (4) fire; and (5) height above and (6) below, (7) east and (8) west, (9) north and (10) south."

[*Sephiroth* is the plural of the word *Sephirah*. Azariel derives the word from *saphar*, "to number"; later Cabalists derive it either from *saphir*, "Saphir," or from the Greek σφαῖραι, "spheres," and are not at all certain whether to regard the Sephiroth as "principles" (ἀρχαί), or as "substances" (ὑποστάσεις), or as "potencies, powers" (δυνάμεις), or as "intelligent worlds" (κόσμοι νοητικοί), or as "tributes," or as "entities" (αζαμοθ), or as "organs of the Deity"

<sup>9</sup> Ophanim (אֹפַנִּים, plural of אֹפַן), translated "wheels" in the English version (Ezek. i. 20), is taken by the Jewish Rabbis to denote "a distinct order of angels," just as Cherubim and Seraphim. Hence the Talmudic explanation of Exod. xx, 20, by "Thou shalt not make the likeness of those ministering servants who serve before me in heaven, viz., Ophanim, Seraphim, sacred Chajoth and missive angels." (*Rosh ha-Shana*, fol. 24, clo. 2). *Ophan*, the prince of this order, is regarded by the ancient sages as identical with the angel *Sandalphon*, סַנְדַּלְפוֹן = συνάδελφος, co-brother or fellow-companion of the angel Metatron.

<sup>10</sup> These three letters mean Jahu, or Yahveh, now pronounced Jehovah, of which they are the abbreviation; what follows shows how the permutation of these three letters marks the varied relationship of God to creation in time and space, and at the same time, so to speak, the immanence of His manifestation in it.

<sup>11</sup> The word *ruach* means all these.

(*Kelim*). We might fairly well translate the word *Sephiroth* by "emanations."]

We see, however, that this alone establishes nothing real, but merely expounds the idea of possibility or actuality, at the same time establishing that which is *virtualiter* as really existing in God, the foundation of all things, from which the whole universe proceeded. The actual entities are therefore introduced in the subsequent chapters under the twenty-two letters. The connection between the two series is evidently the Word, which in the first Sephira (number) is yet identical in voice and action with the spirit (I, 9); but afterwards these elements, separating as creator and substance, together produce the world, the materials of which are represented by the letters, severally divided into gutturals, labials, palatals, linguals and dentals (II, 3), since these by their manifold manifestations, name and describe all that exists.

These twenty-two letters of the alphabet are then divided into three groups, consisting respectively of:

1. The three mothers or fundamental letters (ch. III);
2. Seven double (ch. IV), and
3. Twelve simple consonants (ch. V).

First are subtracted from the twenty-two letters the three mothers (Aleph, Mem, Shin), i. e., the universal relations of (1) principle, (2) contrary principle, and (3) balance (i. e., the intermediate).

In the world. we have air, water, fire. This means, the heavens are from fire, the earth from water, and the air indicates the intermediate between the fire and the water.

In the year . . there is fire, and water, and wind. The heat comes from fire, cold from water, and moderation from wind (air) that is intermediate between them.

In man . . . . . there is fire, water and wind. The head is from fire, the belly from water, and the body from wind that is intermediate between them.

The three mothers or fundamental letters are followed by the seven duplicate letters—Beth, Gimel, Daleth, Caph, Pe, Resh, Tau<sup>12</sup>—duplicate, because they are opposites as life and death; peace and evil; wisdom and folly; riches and poverty; grace and ugliness;

<sup>12</sup> These letters of the Hebrew Alphabet are called double because they have a double pronunciation, being sometimes aspirated and sometimes not, according to their being with or without the *dagesh* (i. e., a point in the middle).

fertility and desolation; rule and servitude (IV, 1). These seven duplicate letters correspond to the seven outgoings: above and below, east and west, north and south, and the holy Temple in the middle, and it upbears the whole (IV, 2). From them God created:

In the world. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon.  
In man . . . . . Wisdom, Riches, Dominion, Life, Favor, Progeny,  
Peace.

In the year. . . Sabbath, Thursday, Tuesday, Sunday, Friday, Wednesday, Monday.

With these seven letters God also formed the seven heavens, the seven earths or countries, and the seven weeks from the feast of Passover to Pentecost (IV, 3, 4). These letters also represent the seven gates of issue in the soul: two eyes, two ears, and a mouth, and the two nostrils.

Turning finally to the twelve single letters (ch. V), they show the relations of things so far as they can be apprehended in a universal category. By means of these twelve letters God created the twelve signs of the zodiac, viz.:

In the world. Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces.

In the year . . . the twelve months, viz.: Nisan, Ijar, Sivan, Tamus, Ab, Elul, Tishri, Cheshvan or Marcheshvan, Kislev, Tebet, Shebat, Adar.

In man . . . . . the organs of sight, hearing, smelling, talking, taste, copulating, dealing, walking, thinking, anger, laughter, sleeping (ch. V, 1).

They are so organized by God as to form at once a province, and yet be ready for battle, i. e., they are as well fitted for harmonious as for dissentious action. "God has placed in all things one to oppose the other; good to oppose evil, good to proceed from good, and evil from evil; good to purify evil, and evil to purify good; the good is in store for the good, and the evil is reserved for the evil" (VI, 2). "The twelve are arranged against each other in battle array; three serve love, three hatred; three engender life, and three death. The three loving ones are the heart, the ears and the mouth; the three hating ones: the liver, the gall, and the tongue; but God the faithful King, rules over all three systems. One (i. e., God) is over the three; the three are over the seven; the seven are over the twelve, and all are joined together, the one with the other" (VI, 3).

We also learn that the twenty-two letters, though a small number, by their power of "combination" and "transposition," yield an endless number of words and figures, and thus become the types of all the varied phenomena in the creation. "Just as the twenty-two letters yield two hundred and thirty-one types by combining Aleph (i. e., the first letter) with all the letters, and all the letters with Beth (i. e., the second letter), so all the formations and all that is spoken proceed from one name" (ch. II, 4). To illustrate how these different types are obtained we will state that by counting the first letter with the second, the first letter with the third and so on with all the rest of the alphabet, we obtain 21 types; by combining the second letter with the third, fourth, etc., we get 20 types; the third letter combined with the fourth, etc., yields 19 types; finally the twenty-first combined with the last letter yields 1 type. In this way we get as the Hebrew table shows:  $21+20+19+18+17+16+15+14+13+12+11+10+9+8+7+6+5+4+3+2+1=231$ ; or

*ab ag ad ah av az a<sup>c</sup>h at ai ak al am an as etc.*

*bg bd bh bv bz b<sup>c</sup>h bt bi bk bl bm bn bs etc.*

*gd gh gv gz g<sup>c</sup>h gt gi gk gl gm gn gs etc.*

*dh dv dz d<sup>c</sup>h dt di dk dl dm dn ds etc.*

*hv hz h<sup>c</sup>h ht hi hk hl hm hn hs etc.*

The infinite variety in creation is still more strikingly exhibited by permutations, of which the Hebrew alphabet is capable, and through which an infinite variety of types is obtained. Hence the remark: "Two letters form two houses, three letters build six houses, four build twenty-four, five build a hundred and twenty houses, six build seven hundred and twenty houses;<sup>13</sup> and from thenceforward go out and think what the mouth cannot utter and the ear cannot hear" (IV, 4). A few examples may serve as illustration. Two letters form two houses, by using the first two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, א ב in the following manner:

$$1 = ab$$

$$2 = ba$$

Three letters, א ב ג, a, b, g, build six houses, namely:

$$1 = abg; 2 = agb; 3 = bag; 4 = bga; 5 = gab; 6 = gba.$$

<sup>13</sup> In order to ascertain how often a certain number of letters can be transposed, the product of the preceding number must be multiplied with it, thus:

Letter $2 \times 1 = 2$	$5 \times 24 = 120$
$3 \times 2 = 6$	$6 \times 120 = 720$
$4 \times 6 = 24$	$7 \times 720 = 5040$ and so on.

Four letters, א ב ג ד, a, b, g, d, build twenty-four houses, viz.:

1 = abgd	7 = bagd	13 = gabd	19 = dabg
2 = abdg	8 = badg	14 = gadb	20 = dagb
3 = agbd	9 = bgad	15 = gbad	21 = dbag
4 = agdb	10 = bgda	16 = gbda	22 = dbga
5 = adbg	11 = bdag	17 = gdab	23 = dgab
6 = adgb	12 = bdga	18 = gdba	24 = dgba

The Book of Creation closes with the statement: "And when Abraham our father had beheld, and considered, and seen, and drawn, and hewn, and obtained it, then the Lord of all revealed Himself to him, and called him His friend, and made a covenant with him and with his seed; and he believed in Jehovah, and it was computed to him for righteousness. He made with him a covenant between the ten toes, and that is circumcision; between the ten fingers of his hand, and that is the tongue; and He bound two-and-twenty letters on his tongue, and showed him their foundation. He drew them with water, He kindled them with fire, He breathed them with wind (air); He burnt them in seven; He poured them forth in the twelve constellations" (ch. VI, 4).

\* \* \*

The examination of the contents of the Book of Jezirah proves that it has as yet nothing in common with the cardinal doctrines of the Cabala, as exhibited in later works, especially in the Zohar, where speculations about the being and nature of the Deity, the En Soph<sup>14</sup> and the Sephiroth, which are the essence of the Cabala, are given.

To the period of the Book of Jezirah belongs the remarkable work which in the Amsterdam edition of 1601 is entitled: "This is the book of the first man, which was given to him by the angel Raziel." In this work the angel Raziel appears as the bearer and mediator of astrological and astronomical secrets, and shows the influence of the planets upon the sublunary world. To the same period belongs the Midrash Kohen, a kind of romantic cosmology (newly translated into German by Wünsche in *Israels Lehrhallen*, III, Leipsic, 1909, pp. 170-201).

With the thirteenth century begins the crystallization of the Cabala, and Isaac the Blind (flourished 1190-1210) may be regarded

<sup>14</sup> *En Soph*, אֵין סוֹף = *ἄπειρος*, i. e., "Endless," "Boundless," is the name of the Deity given in the Zohar, where it is said of God (III, 283b) that he cannot be comprehended by the intellect, nor described in words, for there is nothing which can grasp and depict him to us, and as such he is, in a certain sense, not existent (אֵין).

as the originator of this lore. The doctrines of the Sephiroth<sup>15</sup> taught already in the Book Jezirah are further developed by his pupils, especially by Rabbi Azariel (died 1238), in his "Commentary on the Ten Sephiroth, by Way of Questions and Answers," an analysis of which is given in Jellinek's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbalah*, Leipsic, 1852, Part II, p. 32 f. In this commentary Azariel lays down the following propositions:

1. The primary cause and governor of the world is the En Soph (i. e., a being infinite, boundless), who is both immanent and transcendent.
2. From the En Soph emanated the Sephiroth which are the medium between the absolute En Soph and the real world.
3. There are ten intermediate Sephiroth.
4. They are emanations and not creations.
5. They are both active and passive.
6. The first Sephirah is called "Inscrutable Height" (*rum maalah*); the second, "Wisdom" (*chokma*); the third, "Intelligence" (*binah*); the fourth, "Love" (*chesed*); the fifth, "Justice" (*pachad*); the sixth, "Beauty" (*tipheret*); the seventh, "Firmness" (*nezach*); the eighth, "Splendor" (*hod*); the ninth, "the Righteous in the Foundation of the World" (*zadik yesod olam*); and the tenth, "Righteousness" (*zedaka*).

The first three Sephiroth form the world of thought; the second three the world of the soul; and the four last the world of body—thus corresponding to the intellectual, moral and natural worlds.

That Isaac the Blind must be regarded as "the Father of the Cabala," is acknowledged by some of the earliest and most intelligent Cabalists themselves. And the author of the cabalistic work entitled *Maarecheth haelohuth*, said to be a certain Perez of the second part of the thirteenth century, frankly declares that "the doctrine of the En Soph and the Ten Sephiroth is neither to be found in the Law, Prophets, or Hagiographa, nor in the writings of the Rabbins of blessed memory, but rests solely upon signs which are scarcely perceptible."

Another remarkable book of this period is the *Sepher Bahir*, or Midrash of Nehunjah ben-ha-Kanah. According to this work, long before the creation God caused a metaphysical matter to proceed, which became a fulness (*melo*) of blessing and salvation for all forms of existence. The ten divine emanations, which are not yet called Sephiroth, but *Maamarim* and appear as categories en-

<sup>15</sup> See above p. 123.



dowed with creative power, are connected with the attributes (*mid-doth*) of God as well as with his fingers and other members.

The doctrine of metempsychosis is already given here in its most important features. The work itself, though ascribed to Nehunjah is of much later date, because it speaks of the Hebrew vowels and accents. Only a part of the Bahir book has been published, first at Amsterdam, 1651; then again at Berlin, 1706. The greater part is still in manuscript in the libraries at Paris and Leyden.

The conversion of the famous Talmudist and scholar Moses Nachmanides<sup>18</sup> (1194-1270) to the newly-born Cabala gave to it an extraordinary importance and rapid spread amongst his numerous followers. In the division of the synagogues caused by the writings of Maimonides, Nachmanides took the part of the latter, probably more on account of the esteem he felt for this great man than for any sympathy with his opinions. Maimonides intended to give Judaism a character of unity, but he produced the contrary. His aim was to harmonize philosophy and religion, but the result was a schism in the synagogue, which gave birth to this queer kind of philosophy called Cabala, and to this newly-born Cabala Nachmanides became converted, though he was at first decidedly adverse to this system.

One day the Cabalist who was most zealous to convert him was caught in a house of ill-fame, and condemned to death. He requested Nachmanides to visit him on the Sabbath, the day fixed for his execution. Nachmanides reproved him for his sins, but the Cabalist declared his innocence, and that he would partake with him of the Sabbath meal. According to the story, he did as he promised, as by means of the Cabalistic mysteries he effected his escape, and an ass was executed in his stead, and he himself was suddenly transported into Nachmanides's house! From that time Nachmanides became a disciple of the Cabala, and was initiated into its mysteries, the tenets of which pervade his numerous writings, especially his commentary on the Pentateuch.

To the first half of the twelfth century belongs the *Massecheth Azilûth* or "the Treatise on the Emanations," supposed to have been written by Rabbi Isaac Nasir. From the analysis given by Jellinek (*Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik*, Part I, Leipsic, 1853) we learn that the prophet Elijah propounded that

1. "God at first created light and darkness, the one for the pious and the other for the wicked, darkness having come to pass by the divine limitation of light.

<sup>18</sup> See my article s. v. "Nachmanides" in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop.*

2. "God produced and destroyed sundry worlds, which, like ten trees planted upon a narrow space, contend about the sap of the soil, and finally perish altogether.

3. "God manifested himself in four worlds, viz., Azila, Beriah, Jezirah and Asiah, corresponding to the four letters of his name J H V H. In the Azilatic luminous world is the divine Majesty, the Shechinah. In the Beriatic world are the souls of the pious, all the blessings, the throne of God, who sits on it in the form of Achteriël (the crown of God, the first *Sephira Keter*), and the seven different luminous and splendid regions. In the Jeziratic world are the sacred animals in the vision of Ezekiel, the ten classes of angels with their princes, who are presided over by the fiery Metatron,<sup>17</sup> the spirits of men, and the accessory work of the divine chariot. In the Asilatic world are the Ophanim, the angels who receive the prayers, who are appointed over the will of man, who control the action of mortals, who carry on the struggle against evil, and who are presided over by the angelic prince Synadelphon.<sup>18</sup>

4. "The world was founded in wisdom and understanding (Prov. iii. 13), and God in his knowledge originated fifty gates of understanding.

5. "God created the world—as the book Jezirah already teaches—by means of the ten Sephiroth, which are both the agencies and qualities of the Deity. The ten Sephiroth are called Crown, Wisdom, Intelligence, Mercy, Fear, Beauty, Victory, Majesty and Kingdom: they are merely ideal and stand above the concrete world" (pp. 2, 3).

The conversion of Todros ben Joseph Halevi Abulafia (1234-1304) to the Cabala, gave to this science a great influence, on account of Abulafia's distinguished position as physician and financier in the court of Sancho IV. King of Castile. The influence of Abulafia, whose works are still in manuscript, can be best seen from the fact that four Cabalists of the first rank ranged themselves under his banner and dedicated their compositions to him. These four Cab-

<sup>17</sup> The angel who stands behind the throne of God.

<sup>18</sup> This Synadelphon is no doubt the same as "Sandalphon," the theme of Longfellow's poem of that name, which commences thus:

"Have you read in the Talmud of old,  
In the Legends the Rabbins have told  
Of the limitless realms of the air,  
Have you read it,—the marvelous story  
Of Sandalphon, the Angel of Glory,  
Sandalphon, the Angel of Prayer?"

In a note on page 668 (Boston and New York edition, 1893) it is stated that Longfellow marked certain passages in Stehelin's *The Traditions of the Jews*, which evidently furnished the material.

alists were Isaac Ibn Latif or Allatif, Abraham Abulafia, Joseph Gikatilla, and Moses de Leon, all Spaniards.

Isaac Ibn Latif (about 1220-1290), starting with the thought that a philosophical view of Judaism was not the "right road to the sanctuary," endeavored to combine philosophy with Cabala. "He laid more stress than his predecessors on the close connection between the spiritual and the material world—between God and his creation. For the Godhead is in all, and all is in it. In soul-inspiring prayers the human spirit is raised to the world-spirit (*sechel ha-poel*), to which it is united 'in a kiss,' and, so influencing the Deity, it draws down blessings on the sublunar world. But not every mortal is capable of such spiritual and efficacious prayer; therefore the prophets, the most perfect men, were obliged to pray for the people, for they alone knew the power of prayer." The unfolding and revelation of the Deity in the world of spirits, spheres and bodies Allatif explained by mathematical forms. The mutual relation thereof is the same as "that of the point extending and thickening into a line, the line into the plane, the plane into the expanded body."

An enthusiastic contemporary of Allatif was Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia<sup>10</sup> (born at Saragossa, 1240; died 1291). He was an eccentric personage, full of whims, and fond of adventures. Not satisfied with philosophy, he gave himself to the mysteries of the Cabala in their most fantastic extremes, as the ordinary doctrine of the Sephiroth did not satisfy him. He sought after something higher, for prophetic inspiration. Through it he discovered a higher Cabala, which offered the means of coming into spiritual communion with the Godhead, and of obtaining prophetic insight. To analyze the words of Holy Writ, especially those of the divine name, to use the letters as independent notions (*Notaricon*), or to transpose the component parts of a word in all possible permutations, so as to form words from them (*Tsiruf*), or finally to employ the letters as numbers (*Gematria*), are indeed means of securing communion with the spirit-world; but this alone is not sufficient. To be worthy of a prophetic revelation, one must lead an ascetic life, retire into a quiet closet, banish all earthly cares, clothe himself in white garments, wrap himself up with *Talith* (i. e., the fringed garment) and Phylacteries, and devoutly prepare his soul, as if for an interview with the Deity. He must pronounce the letters of God's name at

<sup>10</sup> See my article s. v. "Abulafia" (*loc. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 18); comp. also Günzburg, *Der Pseudo-Messias Abraham Abulafia, sein Leben und sein Wirken*, Cracow, 1904.

intervals, with modulations of the voice, or write them down in a certain order under divers energetic movements, turnings and bendings of the body, till the mind becomes dazed and the heart is filled with a glow. When one has gone through these practices and is in such a condition, the fulness of the Godhead is shed abroad in the human soul: the soul then unites itself with the divine soul in a kiss, and prophetic revelation follows quite naturally. In this way he laid down his Cabala, in antithesis to the superficial or baser Cabala, which occupies itself with the Sephiroth, and, as he glibly said, erects a sort of "ten unity" instead of the Christian Trinity.

Abulafia went to Italy, and in Urbino he published (1279) prophetic writings, in which he records his conversations with God. In 1281 he undertook to convert the Pope, Martin IV, to Judaism. In Messina he imagined that it was revealed to him that he was the Messiah, and announced that the restoration of Israel would take place in 1296. Many believed in him and prepared themselves for returning to the holy land. Others, however, raised such a storm of opposition that Abulafia had to escape to the island of Comino, near Malta (about 1288), where he remained for some time, and wrote sundry Cabalistic works. Of his many works Jellinek<sup>20</sup> published his Rejoinder to Solomon ben Adereth, who attacked his doctrines and pretensions as Messiah and prophet.

A disciple of Abulafia was *Joseph Gikatilla* of Medina-Celi, who died in Penjafiel after 1305. He, too, occupied himself with the mysticism of letters and numbers, and with the transposition of letters. His writings are in reality only an echo of Abulafia's fancies; the same delusion is apparent in both. Gikatilla's system is laid down in his *Ginnath egos*, i. e., "Garden of Nuts," published at Hanau, 1615; and *Shaare ora*, i. e., "the Gate of Light," first published at Mantua, 1561, in Cracow, 1600, and translated into Latin by Knorr von Rosenroth in the first part of his *Kabbala Denudata*, Sulzbach, 1677-78.

But far more influential and more pernicious than Allatif, Abulafia and Gikatilla was Moses de Leon (born in Leon about 1250, died in Arevalo, 1305), the author of a book which gave the Cabala a firm foundation and wide circulation,—in brief, raised it to the zenith of its power. This book is known by the name of *Zohar* or *Splendor*. At first he published his productions under his own name (about 1285). But as his writings were not sufficiently noticed, and brought him but little fame and money, he hit upon a much more effective means and commenced the composition of,

<sup>20</sup> *Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystic*, Part I, pp. 20-25 (German part).

books under feigned but honored names. If he put the doctrines of the Cabala into the mouth of an older, highly venerated authority, he was sure to be successful in every respect. And he selected for this purpose the Tanaite Simon ben Jochaï,<sup>21</sup> who according to tradition spent thirteen years in a cave, solitary and buried in profound reflection, and whom ancient mysticism represented as receiving revelations from the prophet Elijah. Simon ben Jochaï was assuredly the right authority for the Cabala. But he must not write or speak Hebrew, but Chaldee, a language peculiarly fit for secrets, and sounding as if from another world. And thus there came into the world a book, the "Zohar," which for many centuries was held by the Jews as a heavenly revelation, and was studied even by Christians.

<sup>21</sup> See my article *s. v.* in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclop.*, Vol. IX, p. 757.

## THE CITY OF JESUS AND THE VIA DOLOROSA.

BY THE EDITOR.

JERUSALEM has truly been called the city of David,<sup>1</sup> for David made it his capital and the center of his kingdom, but Jerusalem has become more to the world,—it has become the city of Jesus, who in popular tradition is called the son of David.



JERUSALEM FROM MT. SCOPUS.

By David Roberts.

Jesus himself, in a well-known passage (Mark xii. 35-37) refuted the claim that the Messiah had to be the son of David; nevertheless, the common people, the blind, the lame, and the lepers who came to be healed, addressed him, "Jesus, thou son of David"; and

<sup>1</sup> This article should be read in connection with a former one entitled "The City of David" which appeared in *The Open Court* for October, 1909, p. 610. Compare also "The Birthplace of Jesus," *Open Court*, Dec., 1909.



whether or not he was the son of David according to the flesh, Jesus has retained this name in the history of the Christian Church; it has become a title which denotes his claim to Messiahship.

If we accept the records of the three synoptic Gospels, we must assume that Jesus spent most of his life in Galilee, and when he came to Jerusalem to take part in the Passover, he was greeted as the



THE HEREFORD "MAPPA MUNDI" OF 1280.  
Showing Jerusalem in the center of the world.

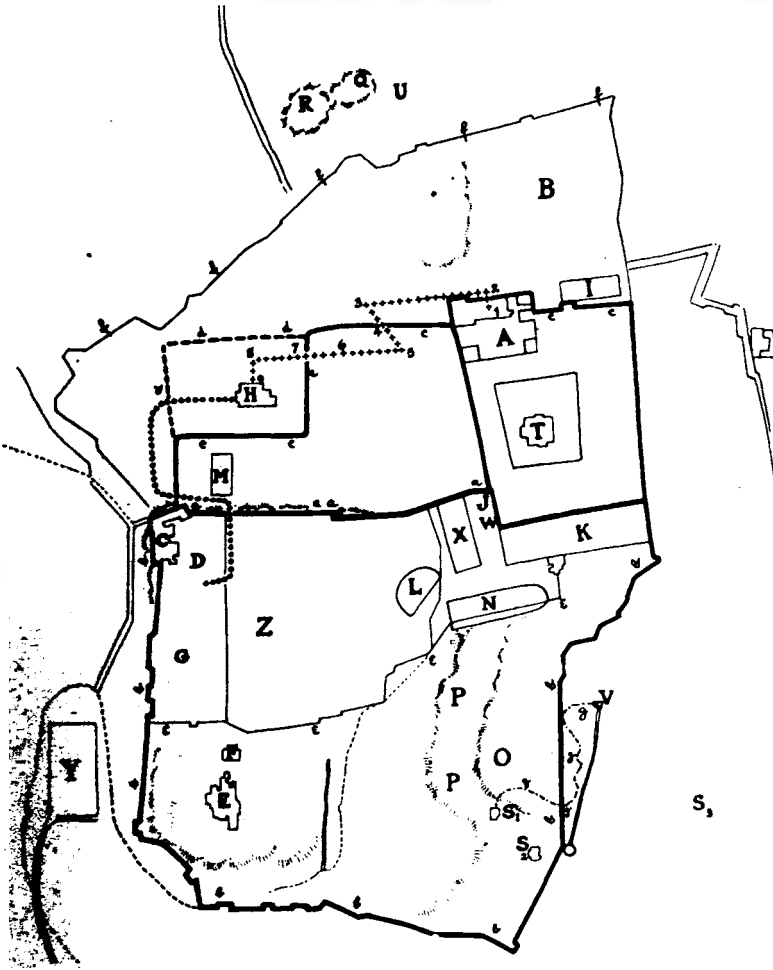
Messiah by his friends, presumably the Nazarenes, and thereby he offended both parties, the orthodox Jews and the Romans. The result was his tragic death on the cross. Thus properly speaking Jerusalem was not the city of Jesus, not the place where he lived, but the place of his death, the scene of his martyrdom. Nevertheless, Jeru-

salem has become the city of Jesus and we need not wonder that in the Middle Ages Christians regarded it as the center of the world.



OLD WALLS ON THE SITE OF FORT ANTONIA.

Ever since Christianity became the dominant religion of the Roman Empire, Christian pilgrims have tried to identify the places



SKETCH OF JERUSALEM.

A. Fort Antonia.—B. Bezetha.—C. Citadel.—D. Site of Herod's Palace.—E. Coenaculum (David's Tomb).—F. House of Caiaphas.—G. Herod's Gardens.—H. Holy Sepulcher.—I. Pool of Isra'in.—J. Hall of Justice, *Mehkemeh*.—K. Basilica of Herod, now the Mosque of Aksa.—L. Theater.—M. Amygdalon, pool of the towers.—N. Hippodrome.—O. Mount Ophel, the site of ancient Zion.—P. Tyropoeon valley.—Q. Gordon's Golgotha.—R. Gordon's Tomb of Christ.—S<sub>1</sub>. Upper Pool of Siloam.—S<sub>2</sub>. Lower Pool of Siloam.—S<sub>3</sub>. Village of Siloam.—T. Site of the Temple on Mt. Moriah, the present Dome of the Rock.—U. Grotto of Jeremiah.—V. Spring of the Virgin, the ancient Gihon.—W. The Jews' Wailing Place.—X. Xystos, a Colonnade.—Y. Birket es-Sultan, probably the ancient Serpent's Pool.—Z. Akra or upper city, erroneously identified with Zion.

aaa. Northern part of first wall.—bbb. The remainder of the first wall.—ccc. Second wall at the time of Christ.—ddd. Alternative course of the second wall.—eee. The present southern wall, not existing in the time of Christ.—f. The present northern wall, probable course of the third wall built under Herod Agrippa after the time of Christ.—ggg. The Siloam tunnel.—†††. The line of crosses starting from A (Fort Antonia) and ending in H, the site of the traditional Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher, is the course of the Via Dolorosa, according to tradition. The stations are marked on it in figures.

The dotted line from D (the palace of Herod, where the Roman governor used to reside) to H (the Holy Sepulcher), is an alternative course which for many reasons is more probable.

The present *Mehkemeh* or Hall of Justice (J), is presumably the place of the Jewish Sanhedrin at the time of Christ.

where Jesus walked with his disciples, where he stood before Pontius Pilate, where he carried the cross, where he was crucified, where he lay buried and rose from the dead, and finally where he ascended into heaven. No one could answer the many inquiries of the Christian pilgrims, but gradually their pious zeal found satisfaction when with the aid of native guides, the possible spots of all the several events of the great drama of the life of Jesus were pointed out. Possibilities were reported as probabilities, and in the course of time, probabilities hardened into definite assertions. Thus it came to pass that to-day every place where any detail of the tragedy of the cross was enacted



THE ALTAR IN THE CHURCH OF THE FLAGELLATION.

has been localized and the Via Dolorosa marks the path which Jesus traveled from the court of Pilate in the Prætorium where the Roman garrison was quartered, to Golgotha, the place of crucifixion.

It is indicative of the uncritical zeal of this primitive archeology that every event has its own separate place assigned to it, even those which happened in one and the same place, and even those which did not happen at all, as for instance the legend of St. Veronica.

The place of Pilate's court of justice has been identified with the site of the old fort Antonia, now occupied by a medieval building



which serves as a casern for Turkish infantry. From here the Via Dolorosa passes through narrow streets in the direction toward the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Here the visitor of Jerusalem must



THE ARCH OF ECCE HOMO.

be warned not to expect even a remote resemblance between the past and the present, for we must bear in mind that Jerusalem has been destroyed and rebuilt several times since the days of Christ,

and the very surface of the topography has been considerably changed. This is especially true of the present Via Dolorosa which lies more than 12 meters above the pavement of the old road built in the days of Herod.



SCALA SANTA.

Think of the difference! The rubbish of centuries, the debris of the old city walls and of houses lie piled up here almost forty feet high, filling up the lower ground before the first and older city wall of the narrower enclosure. All this is now forgotten and the pil-



grims feel blessed in the thought of walking on the road sanctified by the passion of their Saviour, and it seems cruel to disturb the naive belief of these simple people.

The Gospels tell us how Pilate, anxious to have Jesus set free, endeavored to appease the excited multitude and so ordered the prisoner scourged and had him exhibited in his pitiable plight, crowned with thorns and dressed in purple. A church marks the



WHERE THE VIA DOLOROSA STARTS.

spot of flagellation, and a little toward the west, in an arch over-bridging the street, Pilate is supposed to have presented Jesus to the Jews saying, "Behold the Man," (John xix. 5). It is called the Arch of Ecce Homo. The place now belongs to the Zion sisters and is used as the choir for their church.

Tradition enumerates fourteen stations which have been localized on the Via Dolorosa. They are as follows:

- Station I. Jesus Is Condemned to Death.  
Station II. Jesus Is Made to Bear His Cross.  
Station III. Jesus Falls the First Time Under His Cross.  
Station IV. Jesus Meets His Afflicted Mother.  
Station V. Simon the Cyrenian Helps Jesus to Carry His Cross.  
Station VI. Veronica Wipes the Face of Jesus.  
Station VII. Jesus Falls the Second Time.  
Station VIII. Jesus Speaks to the Women of Jerusalem.  
Station IX. Jesus Falls the Third Time.



STATION III: WHERE JESUS FELL, FOR THE FIRST TIME UNDER THE CROSS.

- Station X. Jesus is Stripped of His Garments.  
Station XI. Jesus Is Nailed to the Cross.  
Station XII. Jesus Dies on the Cross.  
Station XIII. Jesus Is Taken Down from the Cross.  
Station XIV. Jesus is Placed in the Sepulcher.

The first station has been fixed on the stairs of the old Fort Antonia and is situated in the present infantry casern. The staircase has been removed to the Church of St. John Lateran at Rome where it is known as the Scala Santa.

The second station is at the foot of the stairs and here the Via Dolorosa starts, running westward. It passes underneath the arch of Ecce Homo and further down at the corner Christ is said to have broken down for the first time under the cross, before a little building with blind doors. This is the third station marked by a broken column, set up before the Austrian hospice. Here the Via Dolorosa



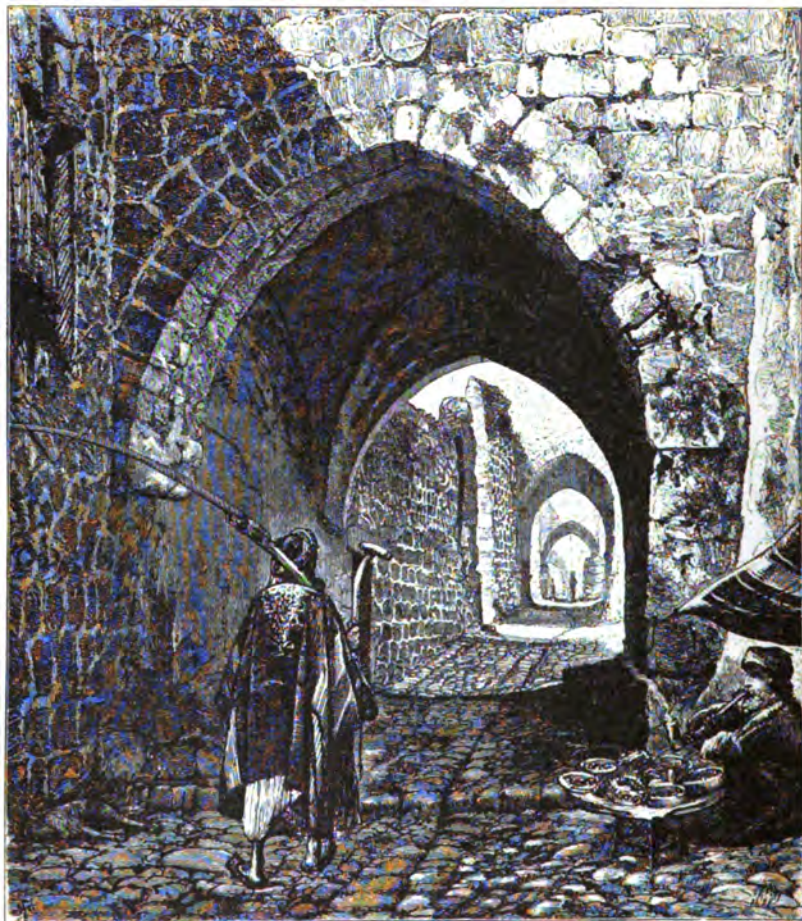
THE HOUSE OF DIVES.

takes a sharp turn toward the southeast and we pass the fourth station where Jesus met his mother.

On the next corner we turn to the right again westward, but before we follow the Via Dolorosa we will cast a glance at the humble dwelling of poor Lazarus of the parable and at the more

pretentious building of Dives, the rich man at whose gate Lazarus sat to receive alms.

The further course of the Via Dolorosa leads straight west through a street of arches, one of which belongs to the house of Veronica, and close by is the place of the sixth station, where accord-



THE ARCH OF VERONICA'S HOUSE.

ing to the legend the pious matron wiped the sweat from the forehead of Jesus. There are three more stations on the Via Dolorosa: Jesus falls a second time (VII), then he speaks to the women of Jerusalem (VIII), and near Golgotha he falls the third time (IX).

The last five stations, X-XIV, are within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

The Church of the Holy Sepulcher is full of reminiscences of



STATION VI: WHERE VERONICA WIPED THE SAVIOUR'S FACE.

the details of the passion of Jesus. We enter the church from the south. Opposite the entrance lies the Stone of Uncion, to the left a staircase leads up to the chapel of Golgotha or Calvary, the place



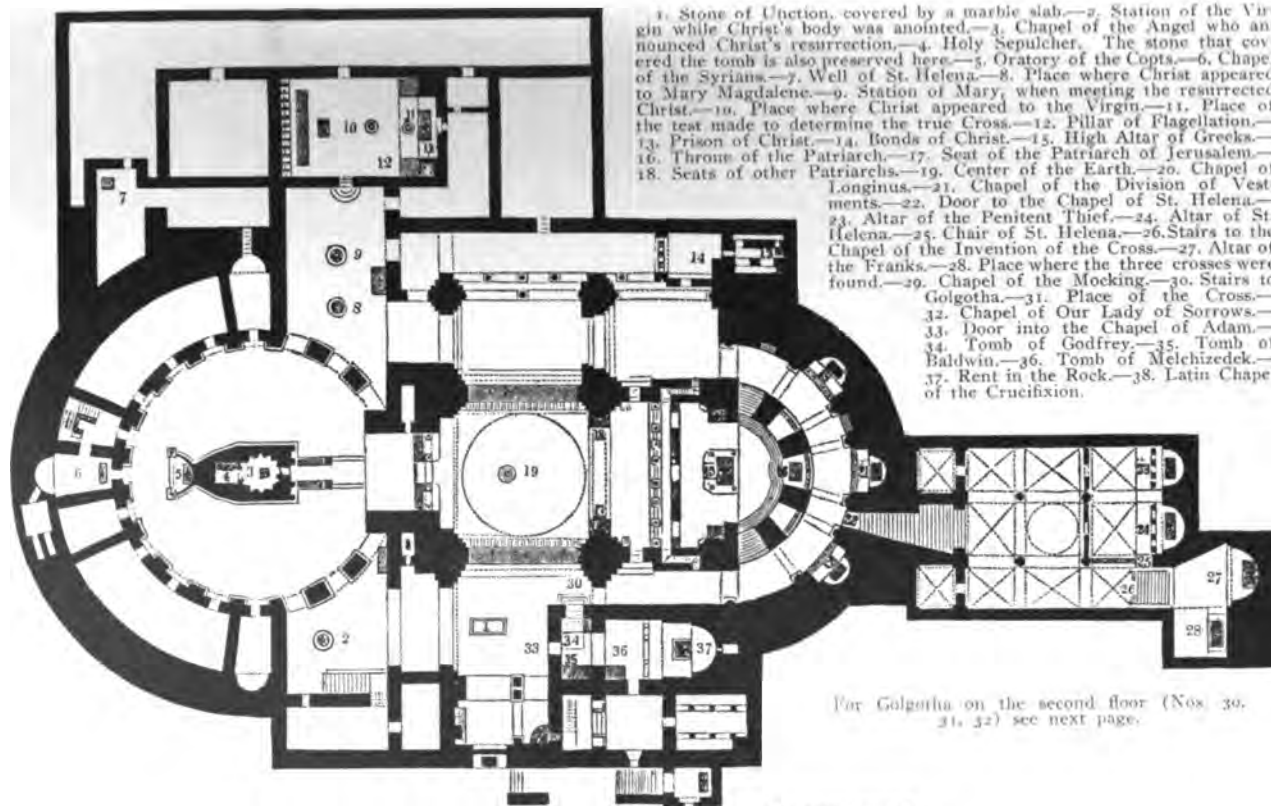
of Crucifixion. It is now about fourteen feet above the natural rock, because the soil of this hill, as we are told, has been removed to Rome. Nevertheless in the chapel below the three holes are still



ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER.

visible in which the crosses of Jesus and of the two thieves stood, and there may also be seen the rent in the rock caused by the earthquake that shook the world at the moment of Christ's death.



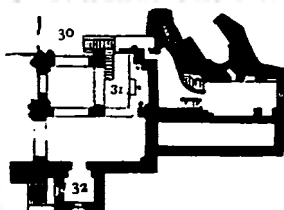


1. Stone of Unction, covered by a marble slab.—2. Station of the Virgin while Christ's body was anointed.—3. Chapel of the Angel who announced Christ's resurrection.—4. Holy Sepulcher. The stone that covered the tomb is also preserved here.—5. Oratory of the Copts.—6. Chapel of the Syrians.—7. Well of St. Helena.—8. Place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene.—9. Station of Mary, when meeting the resurrected Christ.—10. Place where Christ appeared to the Virgin.—11. Place of the test made to determine the true Cross.—12. Pillar of Flagellation.—13. Prison of Christ.—14. Bonds of Christ.—15. High Altar of Greeks.—16. Throne of the Patriarch.—17. Seat of the Patriarch of Jerusalem.—18. Seats of other Patriarchs.—19. Center of the Earth.—20. Chapel of Longinus.—21. Chapel of the Division of Vestments.—22. Door to the Chapel of St. Helena.—23. Altar of the Penitent Thief.—24. Altar of St. Helena.—25. Chair of St. Helena.—26. Stairs to the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross.—27. Altar of the Franks.—28. Place where the three crosses were found.—29. Chapel of the Mocking.—30. Stairs to Golgotha.—31. Place of the Cross.—32. Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows.—33. Door into the Chapel of Adam.—34. Tomb of Godfrey.—35. Tomb of Baldwin.—36. Tomb of Melchizedek.—37. Rent in the Rock.—38. Latin Chapel of the Crucifixion.

For Golgotha on the second floor (Nos. 30, 31, 32) see next page.

PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER.

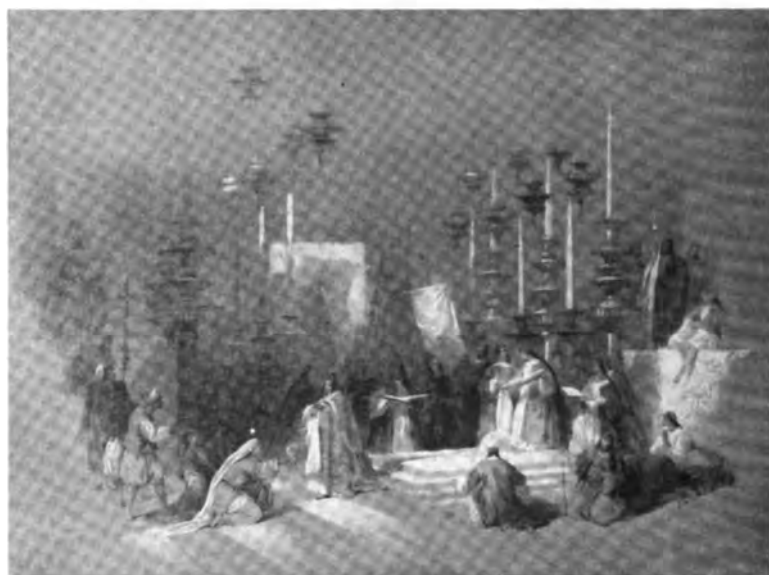
There are three chapels here on the second floor of this spot identified with Golgotha. The first room from the north where we enter is the Chapel of the Erection of the Cross.



THREE CHAPELS ON THE SPOT OF GOLGOTHA.

On the second floor of the Holy Sepulcher to the right of the entrance.

The second one is a chapel commemorating the nailing on the cross, and a little vestibule on the southern wall leads to the place



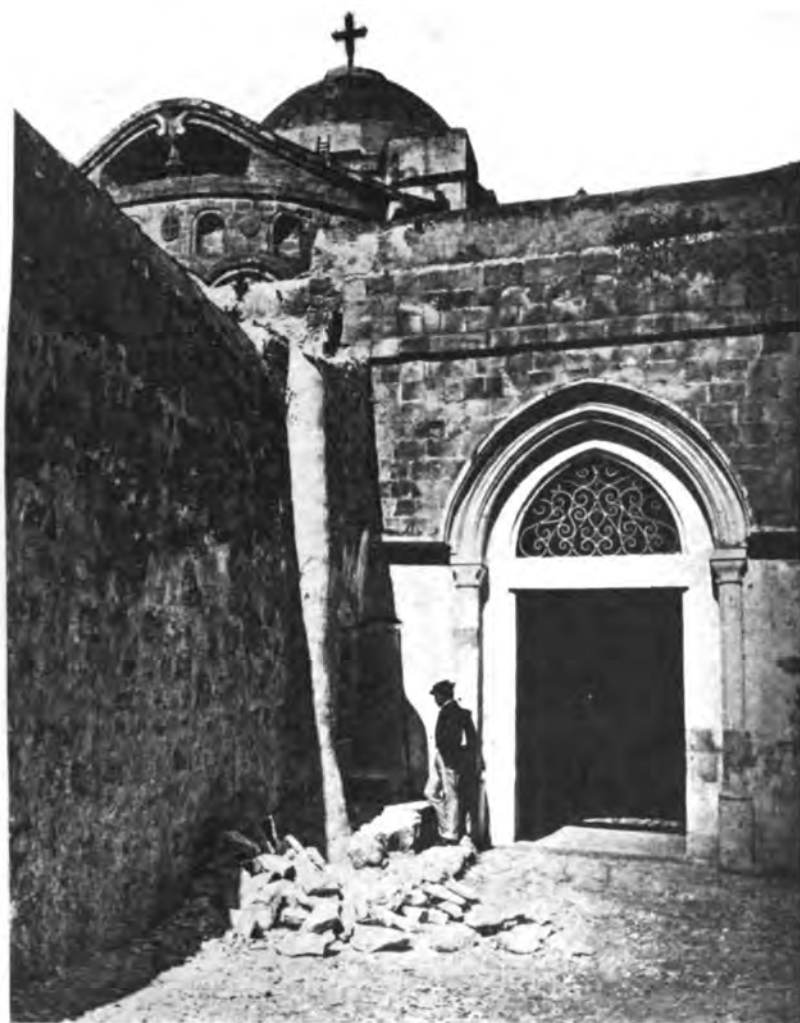
CELEBRATION OF MASS AT THE STONE OF UNCTION.

By David Roberts.\* The stone in sight is a marble slab which protects the "stone of unction."

before the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and this vestibule is said to mark the spot where the mother of Jesus stood in agony witnessing

\* The illustrations of David Roberts are published in a large *edition de luxe* under the title, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumæa, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia*. Illustrations by David Roberts, R. A., Historical Description by Rev. George Croly, LL. D.

the crucifixion. It is called the Chapel of Agony, and is sacred to Our Lady of Sorrows.



STATION IX: WHERE JESUS FELL THE THIRD TIME.

Now we must remember that these rooms marking the place of Golgotha or Calvary, the Chapel of the Erection of the Cross,

the Chapel of Crucifixion, and the Chapel of Agony, are on the second floor. Underneath we find in the north the Chapel of Adam, for tradition claims that Adam lies buried here, and the same place is considered as the tomb of Melchizedek. During the Crusades Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin were buried here, but the tombs were destroyed by the Mohammedans, and we have only the places of their monuments marked.

Underneath the Chapel of Agony there is a small shrine dedicated to Mary of Egypt, which is not accessible from the inside of the church but only from the court south of the Holy Sepulcher. The legend goes that when Mary of Egypt tried to enter the church,



STATIONS XII AND XIII. THE CHAPEL OF MT. CALVARY.

By David Roberts.

she was repelled by a mysterious power, but the Virgin Mary protected her and this chapel was dedicated to her memory.

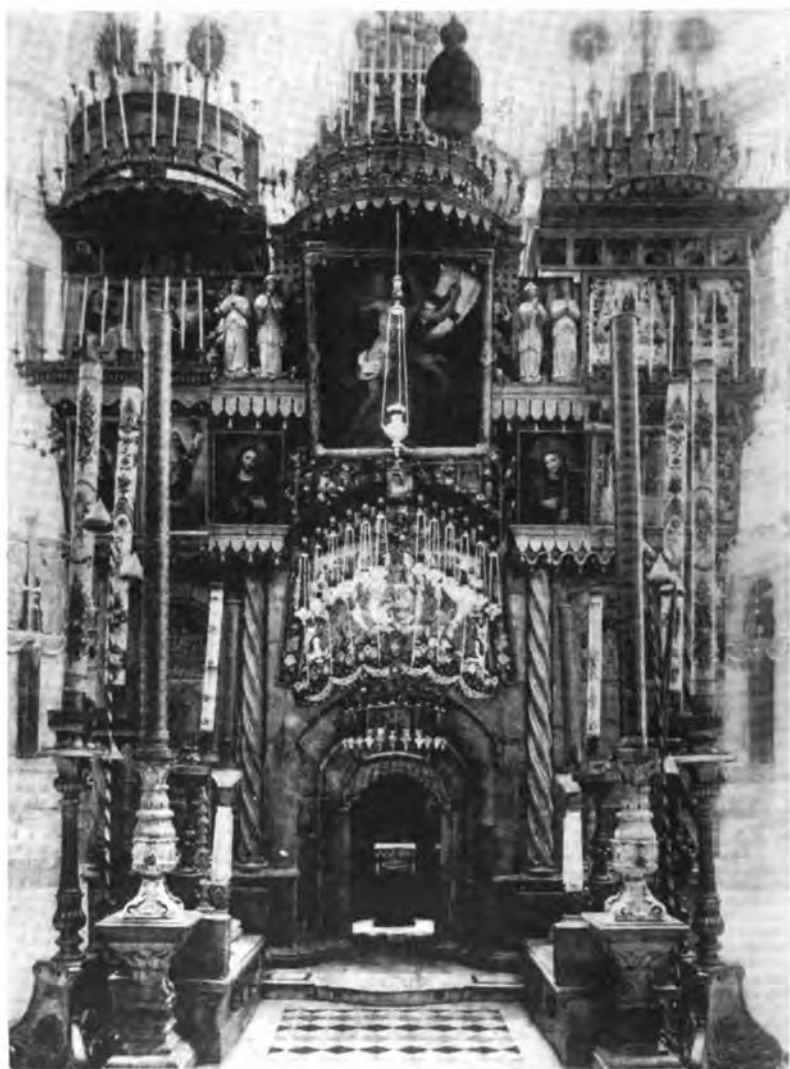
We now leave the place of Calvary and seek the Holy Sepulcher proper, a shrine situated in the center of the rotunda in the western part of the church. It covers a rock cut tomb which is believed to be the grave in which the body of Jesus was laid.

The entrance to this shrine is from the east. The tomb is situated in the interior, and the stone which served as a cover is placed in the center of it. Before we reach the tomb we pass through a small round chapel, which is called the Chapel of the Angel, being the



STATION XIV: INTERIOR OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER.

place where sat the angel who announced the resurrection of Christ to those who visited the tomb.



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER.

On the eastern part of the tomb there is an altar called the Oratory of the Copts. Opposite this oratory lies the Chapel of the Syrians, through which we must pass in order to reach the rock cut



tombs of Joseph of Arimathea and of Nicodemus. Archeologists consider them as of unquestionably old Jewish origin.

In the northeastern part of the rotunda the place is shown where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene, and still further north there is a spot where he appeared to his mother the Virgin Mary.

Empress Helena, the wife of Constantine, visited Jerusalem, and guided by dreams she discovered with the clever assistance of Cyril, then bishop of the holy city, the three crosses which lay hidden in a cave west of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. This event is known in Church history as the story of the Invention of the Cross, and we are told that the Cross of Jesus manifested itself by a mir-

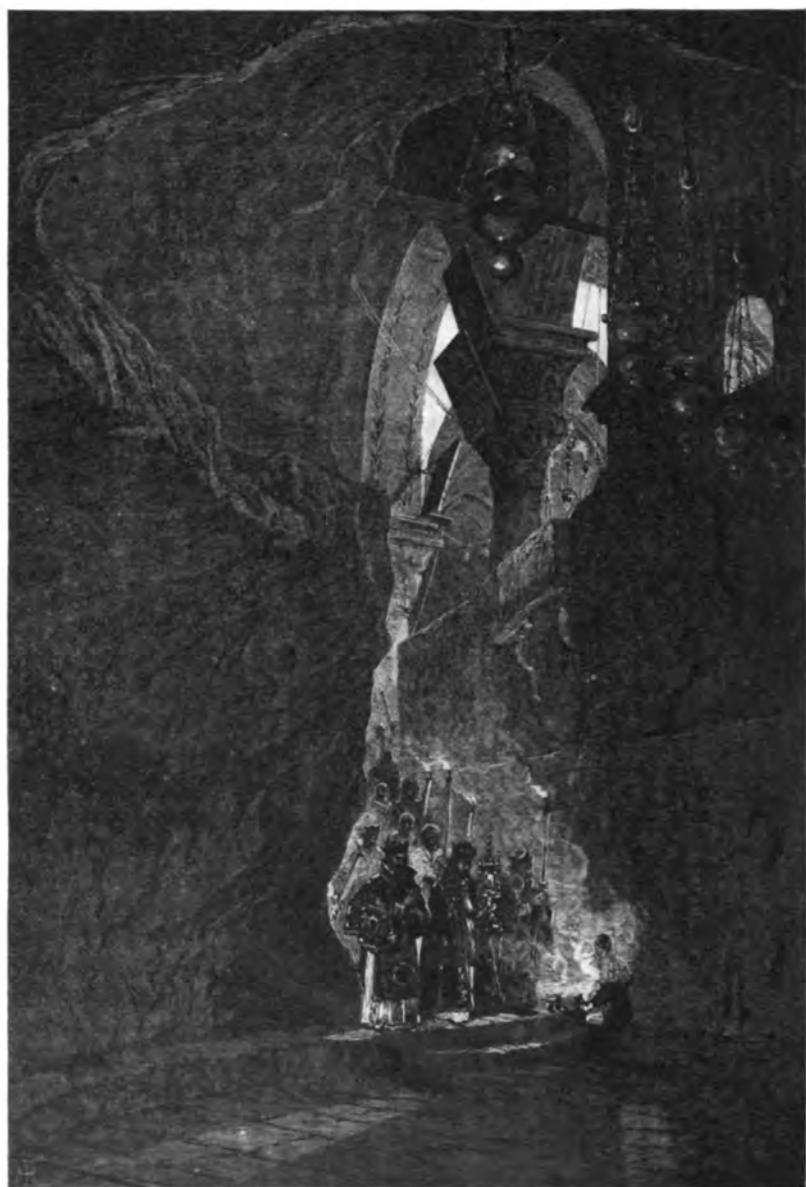


THE CHAPEL OF ST. HELENA.

By David Roberts.

acle. In the presence of the Empress a sick person was requested to touch the three crosses successively. Two of them proved of no avail, but the touch of the third one cured the palsy-stricken patient and he stood up at once and walked.

The place where Empress Helena sat when the test was made to decide which of the three crosses was genuine, is shown to this day in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher while the wood of the cross has been sold all over Christendom. In the same room the Pillar of Flagellation is preserved. Passing now into the center of the church we find in the middle of the nave the stump of a column



CHAPEL OF THE INVENTION OF THE CROSS.

which was called the center of the earth. When looking toward the east where the high altar stands we have before us in the center the shrine of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, on the pillar toward the right the seat of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and toward the left the seat which was occupied by the next highest dignitary on festive occasions. In the northeastern part of the church there is a gloomy room called the prison of Christ, and in the vestibule which leads to it we can see the bonds of Christ.

In the semicircular eastern wall of the church we find several little chapels. In the center there is the Chapel of the Division of Vestments, toward the north the Chapel of Longinus, the Roman captain who pierced Christ's side with a lance, and toward the south is an altar called the Chapel of the Mocking. It contains a wreath made of the same kind of thorns with which Christ was crowned when the soldiers mockingly called him king.

Between the Chapel of the Division of Vestments and the Chapel of the Mocking a door leads down into a crypt called the Chapel of St. Helena, in the eastern wall of which we have toward the north the Chapel of the Penitent Thief, in the center the Altar of Helena and toward the south the visitor descends still further down into a place which seems to have been an old cistern. This is the place of the Invention of the Cross. It is divided into two parts, a little chapel called the Altar of the Franks and the interior of the grotto, the place of the Invention of the Cross. The spot where Christ's cross lay was on the eastern side. The place where the crosses were tested has been mentioned above, and it is known as the Chapel of Apparition where Christ appeared to his mother.

\* \* \* \*

When we now ask how far we can know that this place is the ancient Calvary we find no definite evidence in its favor, but on the other hand we must confess that it would be very difficult to disprove it. Some archeologists claim that the place of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher lies within the second wall of Jerusalem, which would compel us to seek Golgotha further north, and people who accept this conclusion have discovered a knoll not far north of the present city wall, which with some imagination may be regarded as having a remote resemblance to a skull. A tomb west of it has been claimed to be the tomb of Christ, but when we consider that this place must have been quite distant from the old city walls we hesitate to accept the new theory and the traditional spot appears more acceptable if we bear in mind that we are confronted with an

early belief which is not based upon any learned or archeological theory and yet may be upheld on the basis of recent investigations.

Golgotha lies now within the city limits, and with the present extent of the city which is approximately the same as at the time of its destruction under Titus in 70 A. D., it must have appeared very improbable that the place where the Church of the Holy Sepulcher stands was the site of the crucifixion. We may assume therefore that the spot was not selected by guess, but that in the times of Constantine its identification was based on old and perhaps reliable traditions. It is quite probable that the place of execution



THE POOL OF HEZEKIAH, i. e., AMYGDALON.

where more than one patriot died for his country was well remembered by the people.

\* \* \*

The decision of the question where Golgotha has to be located depends largely on the course of the second wall, and we will insert here a brief sketch of the gradual development of Jerusalem.

We know that the old Jerusalem of David must have stood on Ophel in the southeast, now outside of the city walls, and this accordingly is the site of the ancient Mount Zion, not the hill in the



southwest of the present Jerusalem which is now called Zion. Here on Ophel too we would have to seek for the site of the true tomb of David which (according to Acts ii. 29) was still standing in the time of the apostles.

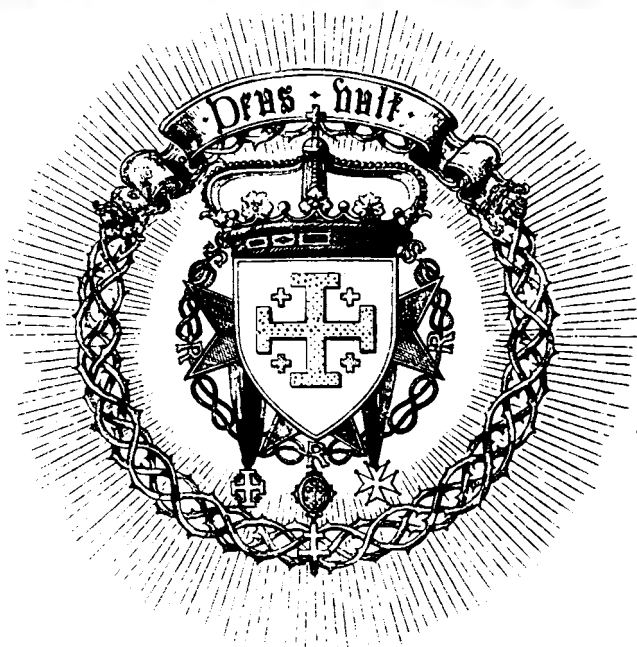


PLAN OF JERUSALEM, ABOUT 1600. (Amico, *Trattato della Terra Santa*.)  
 1, Jewish Quarter. 2, Bethlehem. 3, Pool of Siloam. 4, Tomb of Rachel. 5, Tomb of the Kings. 6, Palace of Herod. 7, Mosque of Omar. 8, Tomb of Absalom.

Solomon built his palace on the southern ridge of Mount Moriah and north of it on the place of the Dome of the Rock he erected the temple. There is no question about the identity of this spot. In the meantime the city grew toward the west and extended into the

Tyropœon valley and to the present Armenian quarter, viz., the hill which is now wrongly called Mount Zion.

On the northern end of this new quarter the Maccabees built their castle, the foundations of which lie under the present citadel and the tower of David so called. Here Herod resided and his gardens extended further down into the place now occupied by Turkish barracks, and a little beyond into the Armenian gardens. Here too the Roman governors took up their headquarters while staying in Jerusalem, and Josephus informs us (*De Bello Jud.* II,



COAT OF ARMS OF JERUSALEM.

14, 8) that Florus, a predecessor of Pontius Pilate, had set up his tribunal before the palace of Herod.

Herod's rule was a time of prosperity, and he beautified the city with many buildings. He began in 20 B. C. in a magnificent style the restoration of the temple which was not completed until about 63 A. D. He surrounded the temple with cloisters and fortified it. He built a theater and a town hall (presumably on or near the present *mehkemeh*, the Turkish court of justice), and strengthened the citadel by adding to it four strong towers called Psephinus, Hippicus, Phasaël and Marianne. He rebuilt the fort Baris erected



by John Hyrcanus north of the temple area, and named it "Antonia" in honor of his Roman protector, Mark Antony.

The so-called first wall of Jerusalem ran from the palace of Herod, the present citadel, in an easterly direction toward the temple area, and enclosed in the south a large tract that lies now outside of the city walls.

The further growth of the city was toward the north, and in the days of Jesus the suburb, called Akra by Josephus, had been enclosed by a second wall, the course of which has been only partially determined. It seems to have enclosed the pool Amygdalon,<sup>2</sup> identified by tradition with the pool of Hezekiah, and at the citadel must have joined the old wall coming from Fort Antonia.

North of the second wall in the present Mohammedan quarter even in the days of Herod a suburb of villas had grown up, called Bezetha, which according to Josephus<sup>3</sup> means "new city," but is probably the Hebrew Bethzitha,<sup>4</sup> i. e., "house of olives." We are told that it was separated from Fort Antonia by a deep trench, but we do not know how far the village extended toward the west. Almost two decades after Christ's death Herod Agrippa the First undertook to protect Bezetha by a third wall which appears to have followed the same line as does the northern wall of the present Jerusalem.

In order to determine the site of Golgotha, the question is only whether the second wall did or did not enclose the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Schlick favors the latter view, Mitchell<sup>5</sup> the former; but a final decision will not be reached until

<sup>2</sup> Presumably a transcription of the Hebrew מְגִדָּלֵי הַמִּצְדָּה, i. e., "the pool of the towers." The name Magdala is probably also derived from מְגִדָּל.

<sup>3</sup> If Josephus is right the original name of the suburb would be in Palestinian Syriac *Beth Khasda* (בֵּית חַסְדָּא) or in Aramaic *Beth Khadta*. See Grätz, *Gesch.*, III, Note ii.

<sup>4</sup> The name *beth zitha* (בֵּית זֵיתָא "olive house") would be nearer to the Greek transcription "Bezetha." The author of the first Book of Maccabees calls the place "Bezeth."

It is not impossible that "Bethzatha," mentioned in John v. 2, also written "Bezatha" and Bethsaida, is the same name.

The rendering adopted in the authorized version which is "Bethesda" follows the reading of Jerome. It gives good sense, for it means "house of mercy" (בֵּית חֶסֶד), but not being supported by the best codices it must be regarded as a late version. If Bethesda (or Bethzatha) is the same as Bezetha, the pool of Bethesda would most likely be the present Birket Isra'in. This contains very little water to-day and is a conflux from the neighboring houses. Two arches still standing are supposed to be the only ones left of the five "porches" mentioned in John v. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See *Journ. for Bibl. Lit.*, XXIII, p. 142.

excavations can be made which would trace with some definiteness the second wall.

Professor Dahman believes that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is most likely the spot where Golgotha must be sought, but he rejects the traditional Via Dolorosa by denying that Pilate sat in judgment in Fort Antonia. The probable place of the Roman procurator's court must be sought either in the town hall, the present *mehkemeh*, or, what is most probable, in the palace of King Herod, the present citadel.

For practical purposes it is quite indifferent whether or not the Church of the Holy Sepulcher stands on the site of Golgotha. Even if tradition were mistaken the place has become historical through the Crusades. Here is the place where Christian zeal founded a kingdom intended to commemorate the life, death, and resurrection of Christ. Here the first rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem lay buried and here Western courage has struggled against odds with Orientals who were native to the soil and possessed all the advantages of climate, of a control of the base of supplies and familiarity with the theater of the war.

The kingdom of Jerusalem was a dream temporarily realized. The city itself was not the place which could for any length of time withstand Mohammedan assault. The lack of water supply and the unwholesome conditions resulting therefrom, as well as the heat to which Europeans are not accustomed rendered it impossible to maintain the city and with it the surrounding country.

Jerusalem as a Christian possession in Mohammedan territory has been lost and could be regained only on the condition that the whole Orient would be Westernized, a proposition not likely to be realized for centuries.

Now and then the Jews have thought of again taking possession of Palestine and making Jerusalem the headquarters of Judaism. Of late this movement has been supported by a strong party called the Zionists, but so far nothing has been accomplished, and it would be difficult to harmonize their interests with Mohammedan prerogatives. At present on the most sacred spot of the Jewish faith stands a Mohammedan mosque the rights to which no Mohammedan would willingly surrender.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### NAZARETH.

BY DR. EBERHARD NESTLE.

*The Open Court* for December 1909 contains on its last pages (766 f.) a note by A. Kampmeier which calls the attention of Dr. Deinard to the fact that the rendering of the Semitic letter נ, which stands in the middle of *en-Natsira*, the present Arabic name of the place and also, according to common supposition, in its original name, wavers in the Septuagint between Ζ and Σ. But the two passages to which he refers, where, according to his belief נ is rendered Ζ, fall to the ground. In the first (Gen. xxii. 21) the correct reading is not Οἱς but Νῆ—see the new edition of Brooke-Maclean—and Ζογῶρ in the second (Jer. xxxi. 34) is influenced by the Aramaic form of נצ, which begins with נ, i. e., with the very same letter found in the name of the "Nazirites." The same remark applies to the quotation of Ζόγῶρ from Gen. xiii. 10, adduced by A. S. Geden (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, II, 237). A real parallel would be if the sibilant in the names Nebuchadnezzar or Shalmaneser were to be found anywhere written in Greek with Ζ; but this does not seem to be the case. The difference of these two sibilants, pointed out by the Editor of *The Open Court*, p. 714, forms a serious obstacle to the traditional explanation of the name. This must be openly avowed by any one who is not convinced before he investigates and who does not wish to accept a most irrelevant suggestion as irrefutable proof (p. 720), a practice used not only by devotees but also by many who call themselves critics.

\* \* \*

In the editorial article "The Birthplace of Jesus" in the same number the statement is made (p. 716 f.): "We read in Mark vi. 1 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."

By reasons which I can not quite approve (that Nazareth in the time of Christ as a small village or settlement at a spring cannot have possessed a synagogue) you are led to believe "that the name Nazareth has been inserted where the original 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.'"

It will interest you and your readers that the same view seems to have been taken more than 1500 years ago by the learned Eusebius. He divided the gospels in small sections and arranged these sections into ten classes according to the contents of the sections, whether it was found in all gospels

(first class), in three gospels (2d to 4th class), in two (5th to 9th class), or in one only (10th class). Now the passages quoted by you (Matt. xiii. 54; Mark vi. 1; Luke iv. 16) he placed in the first class, finding the parallel to them in John vi. 41, i. e., in a passage of which it is expressly stated (v. 59) that Christ said these things "*in the synagogue, as he taught in Capernaum.*"

I am not convinced that this is correct, but at all events this anticipation of your view will interest you and your readers; therefore I take the liberty of calling your attention to it.

### BOOK REVIEWS.

BILDER UND SYMBOLE BABYLONISCH-ASSYRISCHER GÖTTER. Von Karl Frank. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Pp. 44.

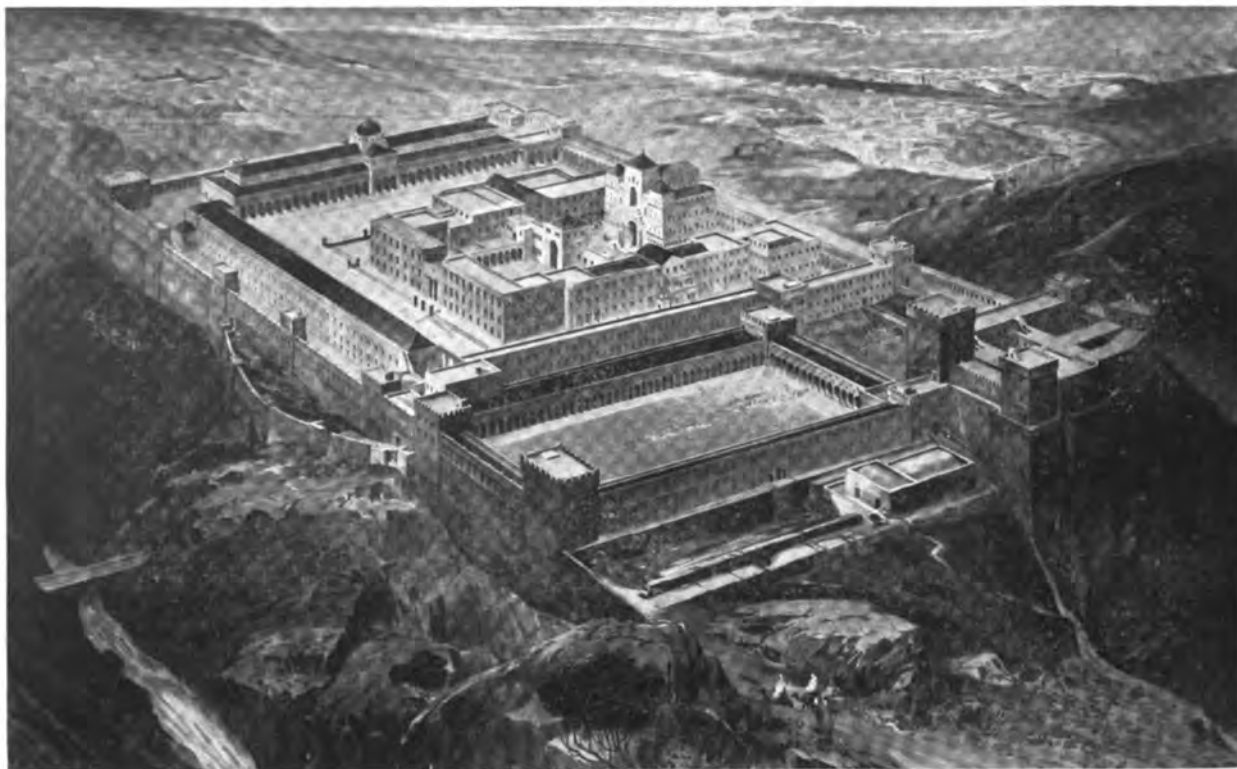
Karl Frank, whose little book on the "Babylonian Conjunction Reliefs" has been freely quoted in this periodical (see the editorial article "Healing by Conjunction in Ancient Babylon," *Open Court* for Feb. 1909), is the author of another pamphlet entitled "Pictures and Symbols of the Babylonish-Assyrian Gods," in which he explains the significance of the several emblems that appear on the kudurrus and other monuments of ancient Mesopotamia. Some of them are identified with inscriptions and have been known to Assyriologists, but others are of a doubtful nature. Frank's interpretations seem to be an improvement on former ones, especially that of the two waving lines which was thought to be the symbol of an ear of corn representing Istar, and is regarded by Frank as a bolt of lightning representing the thunder-god Adad. It is to be regretted that some of the symbols still remain unexplained.

In the same series, entitled *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, Dr. Johannes Helm publishes an interesting contribution on "The Number Seven and the Sabbath," with occasional comments on the sacredness of the number three. According to him the underlying idea of the Hebrew and Assyrian words for seven, *shebath* and *shabatu*, is, "to be perfect," "to be complete." This throws an instructive light upon the passage in Gen. ii-iii, where the primary meaning of *shebath*, "to be completed," can still be felt in the original text.

BUDDHISM AS A RELIGION. By H. Hackmann. From the German, revised and enlarged. Probsthain & Co., 1910. Pp. 315.

The literature on Buddhism is very extensive, but so far a book has been wanting which describes the history of Buddhism as a whole, and this task Mr. H. Hackmann, a German theologian, has undertaken. His book appeared in German in 1905, but it now lies before us in an English version which incorporates many improvements and enlargements of the original. Being the first attempt in this line, we welcome the book as a valuable acquisition. That it has been written for the general public and not for scholars may be considered an advantage, for scholarly work belongs to details, not to a general summary. The standpoint from which Mr. Hackmann views Buddhism is that of a Christian theologian, and is upon the whole pretty fair. The author has lived and traveled for nearly ten years in Buddhist countries, and has been in personal contact with Buddhists of China, Japan, Korea, Tibet, Burma and Ceylon, and his purpose is not only to trace the line of historical development which Buddha's religion took in these different countries, but also to paint a vivid picture of its present conditions and organizations.





THE SECOND TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

Schick's Reconstruction.

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 4.)

APRIL, 1910.

NO. 647.

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## ROME AND THE ORIENT.\*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

WE are fond of regarding ourselves as the heirs of Rome and we like to think that the Latin genius, after having absorbed the genius of Greece, held an intellectual and moral supremacy in the ancient world similar to the one Europe now maintains, and that the culture of the peoples that lived under the authority of the Cæsars was stamped forever by their strong touch. It is difficult to forget the present entirely and to renounce aristocratic pretensions. We find it hard to believe that the Orient has not always lived, to some extent, in the state of humiliation from which it is now slowly emerging, and we are inclined to ascribe to the ancient inhabitants of Smyrna, Beirut or Alexandria the faults with which the Levantines of to-day are being reproached. The growing influence of the Orientals that accompanied the decline of the empire has frequently been considered a morbid phenomenon and a symptom of the slow decomposition of the ancient world. Even Renan does not seem to have been sufficiently free from an old prejudice when he wrote on this subject:<sup>1</sup> "That the oldest and most worn out civilization should by its corruption subjugate the younger was inevitable."

But if we calmly consider the real facts, avoiding the optical illusion that makes things in our immediate vicinity look larger, we shall form a quite different opinion. It is beyond all dispute that Rome found the point of support of its military power in the Occident. The legions from the Danube and the Rhine were always braver, stronger and better disciplined than those from the Euphrates and the Nile. But it is in the Orient, especially in these countries of "old civilization," that we must look for industry and riches, for technical ability and artistic productions, as well as for

\* The first of a series of lectures on "Oriental Religions in Pagan Rome."  
Translated from the French by A. M. Thielen.

<sup>1</sup> Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, p. 130.

intelligence and science, even before Constantine made it the center of political power.

While Greece merely vegetated in a state of poverty, humiliation and exhaustion; while Italy suffered depopulation and became unable to provide for her own support; while the other countries of Europe were hardly out of barbarism; Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria gathered the rich harvests Roman peace made possible. Their industrial centers cultivated and renewed all the traditions that had caused their former celebrity. A more intense intellectual life corresponded with the economic activity of these great manufacturing and exporting countries. They excelled in every profession except that of arms, and even the prejudiced Romans admitted their superiority. The menace of an Oriental empire haunted the imaginations of the first masters of the world. Such an empire seems to have been the main thought of the dictator Cæsar, and the triumvir Antony almost realized it. Even Nero thought of making Alexandria his capital. Although Rome, supported by her army and the right of might, retained the political authority for a long time, she bowed to the fatal moral ascendancy of more advanced peoples. Viewed from this standpoint the history of the empire during the first three centuries may be summarized as a "peaceful infiltration" of the Orient into the Occident.<sup>2</sup> This truth has become evident since the various aspects of Roman civilization are being studied in greater detail; and before broaching the special subject of these studies we wish to review a few phases of the slow metamorphosis of which the propagation of the Oriental religions was one phenomenon.

In the first place the imitation of the Orient showed itself plainly in political institutions.<sup>3</sup> To be convinced of this fact it is sufficient to compare the government of the empire in the time of Augustus with what it had become under Diocletian. At the beginning of the imperial regime Rome ruled the world but did not govern it. She kept the number of her functionaries down to a minimum, her provinces were mere unorganized aggregates of cities where she only exercised police power, protectorates rather than annexed countries.<sup>4</sup> As long as law and order were maintained and her citizens, functionaries and merchants could transact their business, Rome was satisfied. She saved herself the trouble of looking after

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Krumbacher, *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, 1907, p. 710.

<sup>3</sup> Kornemann, "Ägyptische Einflüsse im römischen Kaiserreich" (*Neue Jahrb. für des klass. Altertum*, II, 1898, p. 118 f.); and Otto Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserl. Verwaltungsbeamten*, 2d ed., p. 469.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero, *De Officiis*, II, 8.

the public service by leaving a broad authority to the cities that had existed before her domination, or had been modeled after her. The taxes were levied by syndicates of bankers and the public lands rented out. Before the reforms instituted by Augustus, even the army was not an organic and permanent force, but consisted theoretically of troops levied before a war and discharged after victory.

Rome's institutions remained those of a city. It was difficult to apply them to the vast territory she attempted to govern with their aid. They were a clumsy apparatus that worked only by sudden starts, a rudimentary system that could and did not last.

What do we find three centuries later? A strongly centralized state in which an absolute ruler, worshiped like a god and surrounded by a large court, commanded a whole hierarchy of functionaries; cities divested of their local liberties and ruled by an omnipotent bureaucracy, the old capital herself the first to be dispossessed of her autonomy and subjected to prefects. Outside of the cities the monarch, whose private fortune was identical with the state-finance, possessed immense domains managed by intendants and supporting a population of serf-colonists. The army was composed largely of foreign mercenaries, professional soldiers whose pay or bounty consisted of lands on which they settled. All these features and many others caused the Roman empire to assume the likeness of ancient Oriental monarchies.

It would be impossible to admit that like causes produce like results, and then maintain that a similarity is not sufficient proof of an influence in history. Wherever we can closely follow the successive transformations of a particular institution, we notice the action of the Orient and especially of Egypt. When Rome had become a great cosmopolitan metropolis like Alexandria, Augustus reorganized it in imitation of the capital of the Ptolemies. The fiscal reforms of the Cæsars like the taxes on sales and inheritances, the register of land surveys and the direct collection of taxes, were suggested by the very perfect financial system of the Lagides,<sup>6</sup> and it can be maintained that their government was the first source from which those of modern Europe were derived, through the medium of the Romans. The imperial *saltus*, superintended by a procurator and cultivated by metayers reduced to the state of serfs, was an imitation of the ones that the Asiatic potentates formerly cultivated through their agents.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> O. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 91, 93 etc. Cf. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 9, n. 2 etc.

<sup>7</sup> Rostovtzev, "Der Ursprung des Kolonats" in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, I, 1901, p. 295; and Haussoullier, *Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, 1902, p. 106.

It would be easy to increase this list of examples. The absolute monarchy, theocratic and bureaucratic at the same time, that was the form of government of Egypt, Syria and even Asia-Minor during the Alexandrine period was the ideal on which the deified Cæsars gradually fashioned the Roman empire.

One cannot however deny Rome the glory of having elaborated a system of private law that was logically deduced from clearly formulated principles and was destined to become the fundamental law of all civilized communities. But even in connection with this private law, where the originality of Rome is uncontested and her preeminence absolute, recent researches have shown with how much tenacity the Hellenized Orient maintained its old legal codes, and how much resistance local customs, the woof of the life of nations, offered to unification. In truth, unification never was realized except in theory.<sup>7</sup> More than that, these researches have proved that the fertile principles of that provincial law, which was sometimes on a higher moral plane than the Roman law, reacted on the progressive transformation of the old *ius civile*. And how could it be otherwise? Were not a great number of famous jurists like Ulpian of Tyre and Papinian of Hemesa natives of Syria? And did not the law-school of Beirut constantly grow in importance after the third century, until during the fifth century it became the most brilliant center of legal education? Thus Levantines cultivated even the patrimonial field cleared by Scaevola and Labeo.<sup>8</sup>

In the austere temple of law the Orient held as yet only a minor position; everywhere else its authority was predominant. The practical mind of the Romans, which made them excellent lawyers, prevented them from becoming great scholars. They esteemed pure science but little, having small talent for it, and one notices that it ceased to be earnestly cultivated wherever their direct domination was established. The great astronomers, mathematicians, and physicians, like the originators or defenders of the great metaphysical systems, were mostly Orientals. Ptolemy and Plotinus were Egyptians, Porphyrius and Iamblichus, Syrians, Dioscorides and Galen, Asiatics. All branches of learning were affected by the spirit of the Orient. The clearest minds accepted the chimeras of astrology and magic. Philosophy claimed more and more to derive its inspiration from the fabulous wisdom of Chaldea and Egypt. Tired of seeking truth, reason abdicated and hoped to find it in a revelation preserved

<sup>7</sup> Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen*, 1891, p. 8 f.

<sup>8</sup> Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 1905, p. 366.

in the mysteries of the barbarians. Greek logic strove to coordinate into an harmonious whole the confused traditions of the Asiatic religions.

Letters, as well as science, were cultivated chiefly by the Orientals. Attention has often been called to the fact that those men of letters that were considered the purest representatives of the Greek spirit under the empire belonged almost without exception to Asia Minor, Syria or Egypt. The rhetorician Dion Chrysostom came from Prusa in Bithynia, the satirist Lucian from Samosata in Commagene on the borders of the Euphrates. A number of other names could be cited. From Tacitus and Suetonius down to Ammianus, there was not one author of talent to preserve in Latin the memory of the events that stirred the world of that period, but it was a Bithynian again, Dion Cassius of Nicea, who, under the Severi, narrated the history of the Roman people.

It is a characteristic fact that, besides this literature whose language was Greek, others were born, revived and developed. The Syriac, derived from the Aramaic which was the international language of earlier Asia, became again the language of a cultured race with Bardesanes of Edessa. The Copts remembered that they had spoken several dialects derived from the ancient Egyptian and endeavored to revive them. North of the Taurus even the Armenians began to write and polish their barbarian speech. Christian preaching, addressed to the people, took hold of the popular idioms and roused them from their long lethargy. Along the Nile as well as on the plains of Mesopotamia or in the valleys of Anatolia it proclaimed its new ideas in dialects that had been despised hitherto, and wherever the old Orient had not been entirely denationalized by Hellenism, it successfully reclaimed its intellectual autonomy.

A revival of native art went hand in hand with this linguistic awakening. In no field of intellect has the illusion mentioned above been so complete and lasting as in this one. Until a few years ago the opinion prevailed that an "imperial" art had come into existence in the Rome of Augustus and that thence its predominance had slowly spread to the periphery of the ancient world. If it had undergone some special modifications in Asia these were due to exotic influences, undoubtedly Assyrian or Persian. Not even the important discoveries of M. de Vogüé in Hauran<sup>9</sup> were sufficient to prove the emptiness of a theory that was supported by our lofty conviction of European leadership.

<sup>9</sup> De Vogüé et Duthoit, *L'Architecture civile et religieuse de la Syrie centrale*, Paris, 1866-77.



To-day it is fully proven not only that Rome has given nothing or almost nothing to the Orientals but also that she has received quite a little from them. Impregnated with Hellenism, Asia produced an astonishing number of original works of art in the kingdoms of the Diadochs. The old processes, the discovery of which dates back to the Chaldeans, the Hittites or the subjects of the Pharaohs, were first utilized by the conquerors of Alexander's empire who conceived a rich variety of new types, and created an original style. But if during the three centuries preceding our era, sovereign Greece played the part of the demiurge who creates living beings out of preexisting matter, during the three following centuries her productive power became exhausted, her faculty of invention weakened, the ancient local traditions revolted against her empire and with the help of Christianity overcame it. Transferred to Byzantium they expanded in a new efflorescence and spread over Europe where they paved the way for the formation of the Romanesque art of the early Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup>

Rome, then, far from having established her suzerainty, was tributary to the Orient in this respect. The Orient was her superior in the extent and precision of its technical knowledge as well as in the inventive genius and the ability of its workmen. The Cæsars were great builders but frequently employed foreign help. Trajan's principal architect, a magnificent builder, was a Syrian, Apollodorus of Damascus.<sup>11</sup>

Her Levantine subjects not only taught Italy the artistic solution of architectonic problems like the erection of a cupola on a rectangular or octagonal edifice, but also compelled her to accept their taste, and they saturated her with their genius. They imparted to her their love of luxuriant decoration and of violent polychromy, and they gave religious sculpture and painting the complicated symbolism that pleased their abstruse and subtle minds.

In those times art was closely connected with industry, which was entirely manual and individual. They learned from each other, they improved and declined together, in short they were inseparable. Shall we call the painters that decorated the architecturally fantastic and airy walls of Pompeii in Alexandrian or perhaps Syrian taste artisans or artists? And how shall we classify the goldsmiths, Alexandrians also, who carved those delicate leaves, those picturesque animals, those harmoniously elegant or cunningly animated groups that cover the phials and goblets of Bosco Reale? And

<sup>10</sup> This fact has been established by the researches of M. Strzygowski.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also Pliny, *Epist. Traian.*, 40.



descending from the productions of the industrial arts to those of industry itself, one might also trace the growing influence of the Orient; one might show how the action of the great manufacturing centers of the East gradually transformed the material civilization of Europe; one might point out how the introduction into Gaul<sup>12</sup> of exotic patterns and processes changed the old native industry and gave its products a perfection and a popularity hitherto unknown. But I dislike to insist overmuch on a point apparently so foreign to the one now before us. It was important however to mention this subject at the beginning because in whatever direction scholars of to-day pursue their investigations they always notice Asiatic culture slowly supplanting that of Italy. The latter developed only by absorbing elements taken from the inexhaustible reserves of the "old civilizations" of which we spoke at the beginning. The Hellenized Orient imposed itself everywhere through its men and its works; it subjected its Latin conquerors to its ascendancy in the same manner as it dominated its Arabian conquerors later when it became the civilizer of Islam. But in no field of thought was its influence, under the empire, so decisive as in religion, because it finally brought about the complete destruction of the Greco-Latin paganism.<sup>13</sup>

The invasion of the barbarian religions was so open, so noisy and so triumphant that it could not remain unnoticed. It attracted the anxious or sympathetic attention of the ancient authors, and since the Renaissance modern scholars have frequently taken interest in it. Possibly however they did not sufficiently understand that this religious evolution was not an isolated and extraordinary phenomenon, but that it accompanied and aided a more general evolution, just as that aided it in turn. The transformation of beliefs was intimately connected with the establishment of the monarchy by divine right, the development of art, the prevailing philosophic tendencies, in fact with all manifestations of thought, sentiment and taste.

We shall attempt to sketch this religious movement with its numerous and far-reaching ramifications. First we shall try to show what caused the diffusion of the Oriental religions. In the second place we shall examine those in particular that originated in Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria and Persia, and we shall endeavor to distinguish their individual characteristics and estimate their value. We shall see, finally, how the ancient idolatry was transformed

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Courajod, *Leçons du Louvre*, I, 1899, pp. 115, 327 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, II, p. 283, n. 1.

and what form it assumed in its last struggle against Christianity, whose victory was furthered by the Asiatic mysteries, although they opposed its doctrine.

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But before broaching this subject a preliminary question must be answered. Is the study which we have just outlined possible? What items will be of assistance to us in this undertaking? From what sources are we to derive our knowledge of the Oriental religions in the Roman empire?

It must be admitted that the sources are inadequate and have not as yet been sufficiently investigated.

Perhaps no loss caused by the general wreck of ancient literature has been more disastrous than that of the liturgic books of paganism. A few mystic formulas quoted incidentally by pagan or Christian authors and a few fragments of hymns in honor of the gods<sup>14</sup> are practically all that escaped destruction. In order to obtain an idea of what those lost rituals may have been one must turn to their imitations contained in the chorus of tragedies, and to the parodies comic authors sometimes made; or look up in books of magic the plagiarisms that writers of incantations may have committed.<sup>15</sup> But all this gives us only a dim reflection of the religious ceremonies. Shut out from the sanctuary like profane outsiders, we hear only the indistinct echo of the sacred songs and not even in imagination can we attend the celebration of the mysteries.

We do not know how the ancients prayed, we cannot penetrate into the intimacy of their religious life, and certain depths of the soul of antiquity we must leave unsounded. If a fortunate wind-fall could give us possession of some sacred book of the later paganism its revelations would surprise the world. We could witness the performance of those mysterious dramas whose symbolic acts commemorated the passion of the gods; in company with the believers we could sympathize with their sufferings, lament their death and share in the joy of their return to life. In those vast collections of archaic rites that hazily perpetuated the memory of abolished creeds we would find traditional formulas couched in obsolete language that was scarcely understood, naive prayers conceived by the faith of the earliest ages, sanctified by the devotion of past centuries, and almost ennobled by the joys and sufferings

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, p. 313, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Adami, *De poetis scen. Graecis hymnorum sacrorum imitatoribus*, 1901.

of past generations. We would also read those hymns in which philosophic thought found expression in sumptuous allegories<sup>16</sup> or humbled itself before the omnipotence of the infinite, poems of which only a few stoic effusions celebrating the creative or destructive fire, or expressing a complete surrender to divine fate can give us some idea.<sup>17</sup>

But everything is gone, and thus we lose the possibility of studying from the original documents the internal development of the pagan religions.

We would feel this loss less keenly if we possessed at least the works of Greek and Latin mythographers on the subject of foreign divinities like the voluminous books published during the second century by Eusebius and Pallas on the Mysteries of Mithra. But those works were thought devoid of interest or even dangerous by the devout Middle Ages, and they are not likely to have survived the fall of paganism. The treatises on mythology that have been preserved deal almost entirely with the ancient Hellenic fables made famous by the classic writers, to the neglect of the Oriental religions.<sup>18</sup>

As a rule, all we find in literature on this subject are a few incidental remarks and passing allusions. History is incredibly poor in that respect. This poverty of information was caused in the first place by a narrowness of view characteristic of the rhetoric cultivated by historians of the classical period and especially of the empire. Politics and the wars of the rulers, the dramas, the intrigues and even the gossip of the courts and of the official world were of much higher interest to them than the great economic or religious transformations. Moreover, there is no period of the Roman empire concerning which we are so little informed as the third century, precisely the one during which the Oriental religions reached the apogee of their power. From Herodianus and Dion Cassius to the Byzantines, and from Suetonius to Ammianus Marcellinus, all narratives of any importance have been lost, and this deplorable blank in historic tradition is particularly fatal to the study of paganism.

It is a strange fact that light literature concerned itself more with these grave questions. The rites of the exotic religions stimulated the imagination of the satirists, and the pomp of the festivities

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, p. 298; II, p. 60.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Reitzenstein, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VII, 1904, p. 395.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*.

furnished the novelists with brilliant descriptive matter. Juvenal laughs at the mortifications of the devotees of Isis; in his *Necyomancy* Lucian parodies the interminable purifications of the magi, and in the *Metamorphoses* Apuleius relates the various scenes of an initiation into the mysteries of Isis with the fervor of a neophyte and the studied refinement of a rhetorician. But as a rule we find only incidental remarks and superficial observations in the authors. Not even the precious treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*, in which Lucian tells of a visit to the temple of Hierapolis and repeats his conversation with the priests, has any depth. What he relates is the impression of an intelligent, curious and above all an ironical traveler.<sup>19</sup>

In order to obtain a more perfect initiation and a less fragmentary insight into the doctrines taught by the Oriental religions, we are compelled to turn to two kinds of testimony, inspired by contrary tendencies, but equally suspicious: the testimony of the philosophers, and that of the fathers of the church. The Stoics and the Platonists frequently took an interest in the religious beliefs of the barbarians, and it is to them that we are indebted for the possession of highly valuable data on this subject. Plutarch's treatise *Isis and Osiris* is a source whose importance is appreciated even by Egyptologists, whom it aids in reconstructing the legends of those divinities.<sup>20</sup> But the philosophers very seldom expounded foreign doctrines objectively and for their own sake. They embodied them in their systems as a means of proof or illustration; they surrounded them with personal exegesis or drowned them in transcendental commentaries; in short, they claimed to discover their own ideas in them. It is always difficult and sometimes impossible to distinguish the dogmas from the self-confident interpretations which are usually as incorrect as possible.

The writings of the ecclesiastical authors, although prejudiced, are very fertile sources of information, but in perusing them one must guard against another kind of error. By a peculiar irony of fate those controversialists are to-day in many instances our only aid in reviving the idolatry they attempted to destroy. Although the Oriental religions were the most dangerous and most persistent adversaries of Christianity, the works of the Christian writers do not supply as abundant information as one might suppose. The reason for this is that the fathers of the church often show a certain reserve in speaking of idolatry, and affect to recall its monstrosities

<sup>19</sup> On its authenticity cf. Croiset, *Essay sur Lucien*, 1882, pp. 63 and 204.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Neustadt, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1907, p. 1117.

only in guarded terms. Moreover, as we shall see later on,<sup>21</sup> the apologists of the fourth century were frequently behind the times as to the evolution of doctrines, and drawing on literary tradition, from epicureans and skeptics, they fought especially the beliefs of the ancient Grecian and Italian religions that had been abolished or were dying out, while they neglected the living beliefs of the contemporary world.

Some of these polemicists nevertheless directed their attacks against the divinities of the Orient and their Latin votaries. Either they derived their information from converts or they had been pagans themselves during their youth. This was the case with Firmicus Maternus who has written a bad treatise on astrology and finally fought the *Error of the Profane Religions*. However, the question always arises as to how much they can have known of the esoteric doctrines and the ritual ceremonies, the secret of which was jealously guarded. They boast so loudly of their power to disclose these abominations, that they incur the suspicion that the discretion of the initiates baffled their curiosity. In addition they were too ready to believe all the calumnies that were circulated against the pagan mysteries, calumnies directed against occult sects of all times and against the Christians themselves.

In short, the literary tradition is not very rich and frequently little worthy of belief. While it is comparatively considerable for the Egyptian religions because they were received by the Greek world as early as the period of the Ptolemies, and because letters and science were always cultivated at Alexandria, it is even less important for Phrygia, although Cybele was Hellenized and Latinized very early, and excepting the tract by Lucian on the goddess of Hierapolis it is almost nothing for the Syrian, Cappadocian and Persian religions.

The insufficiency of the data supplied by writers increases the value of information furnished by epigraphic and archeological documents, whose number is steadily growing. The inscriptions possess a certainty and precision that is frequently absent in the phrases of the writers. They enable one to draw important conclusions as to the dates of propagation and disappearance of the various religions, their extent, the quality and social rank of their votaries, the sacred hierarchy and sacerdotal personnel, the constitution of the religious communities, the offerings made to the gods, and the ceremonies performed in their honor; in short, conclusions

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 1st ed., ch. VIII, p. 244.



as to the secular and profane history of these religions, and in a certain measure their ritual. But the conciseness of the lapidary style and the constant repetition of stereotyped formulas naturally render that kind of text hardly explicit and sometimes enigmatical. There are dedications like the *Nama Sebesio* engraved upon the great Mithra bas-relief preserved in the Louvre, that caused a number of dissertations to be written without any one's explaining it. And besides, in a general way, epigraphy gives us but little information about the liturgy and almost nothing regarding the doctrines.

Archeology must endeavor to fill the enormous blanks left by the written tradition; the monuments, especially the artistic ones, have not as yet been collected with sufficient care nor interpreted with sufficient method. By studying the arrangement of the temples and the religious furniture that adorned them, one can at the same time determine part of the liturgic ceremonies which took place there. On the other hand, the critical interpretation of statuary relics enables us to reconstruct with sufficient correctness certain sacred legends and to recover part of the theology of the mysteries. Unlike Greek art, the religious art at the close of paganism did not seek, or sought only incidentally, to elevate the soul through the contemplation of an ideal of divine beauty. True to the traditions of the ancient Orient, it tried to edify and to instruct at the same time.<sup>22</sup> It told the history of gods and the world in cycles of pictures, or it expressed through symbols the subtle conceptions of theology and even certain doctrines of profane science, like the struggle of the four elements; just as during the Middle Ages, so the artist of the empire interpreted the ideas of the clergy, teaching the believers by means of pictures and rendering the highest religious conceptions intelligible to the humblest minds. But to read this mystic book whose pages are scattered in our museums we must laboriously look for its key, and we cannot take for a guide and exegetist some Vincent de Beauvais of Diocletian's period<sup>23</sup> as when looking over the marvelous sculptured encyclopedias in our Gothic cathedrals. Our position is frequently similar to that of a scholar of the year 4000 who would undertake to write the history of the Passion from the pictures of the fourteen stations, or to study the veneration of the saints from the statues found in the ruins of our churches.

But, as far as the Oriental religions are concerned, the results of all the laborious investigations now being made in the classical

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, pp. 75 and 219.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Mâle, *L'Art du XIIIe siècle en France*.



countries can be indirectly controlled, and this is a great advantage. To-day we are tolerably well acquainted with the old religions of Egypt, Babylonia and Persia. We read and translate correctly the hieroglyphics of the Nile, the cuneiform tablets of Mesopotamia and the sacred books, Zend or Pahlavi, of Parseeism. Religious history has profited more by their deciphering than the history of politics or of civilization. In Syria also, the discovery of Aramaic and Phœnician inscriptions and the excavations made in temples have in a certain measure covered the deficiency of information in the Bible or in the Greek writers on Semitic paganism. Even Asia Minor, that is to say the uplands of Anatolia, is beginning to reveal herself to explorers although almost all the great sanctuaries, Pessinus, the two Comanas, Castabala, are as yet buried underground. We can, therefore, even now form a fairly exact idea of the beliefs of some of the countries that sent the Oriental mysteries to Rome. To tell the truth, these researches have not been pushed far enough to enable us to state precisely what form religion had assumed in those regions at the time they came into contact with Italy, and we would be likely to commit very strange errors, if we brought together practices that may have been separated by thousands of years. It is a task reserved for the future to establish a rigorous chronology in this matter to determine the ultimate phase that the evolution of creeds in all regions of the Levant had reached at the beginning of our era, and to connect them without interruption of continuity to the mysteries practiced in the Latin world, the secrets of which archeological researches are slowly bringing to light.

We are still far from welding all the links of this long chain firmly together; the orientalists and the classical philologists cannot, as yet, shake hands across the Mediterranean. We raise only one corner of Isis's veil, and scarcely guess a part of the revelations that were, even formerly, reserved for a pious and chosen few. Nevertheless we have reached, on the road of certainty, a summit from which we can overlook the field that our successors will clear. In the course of these lectures I shall attempt to give a summary of the essential results achieved by the erudition of the nineteenth century and to draw from them a few conclusions that will, possibly, be provisional. The invasion of the Oriental religions that destroyed the ancient religions and national ideals of the Romans also radically transformed the society and government of the empire, and in view of this fact it would deserve the historian's attention even if it had not foreshadowed and prepared the final victory of Christianity.

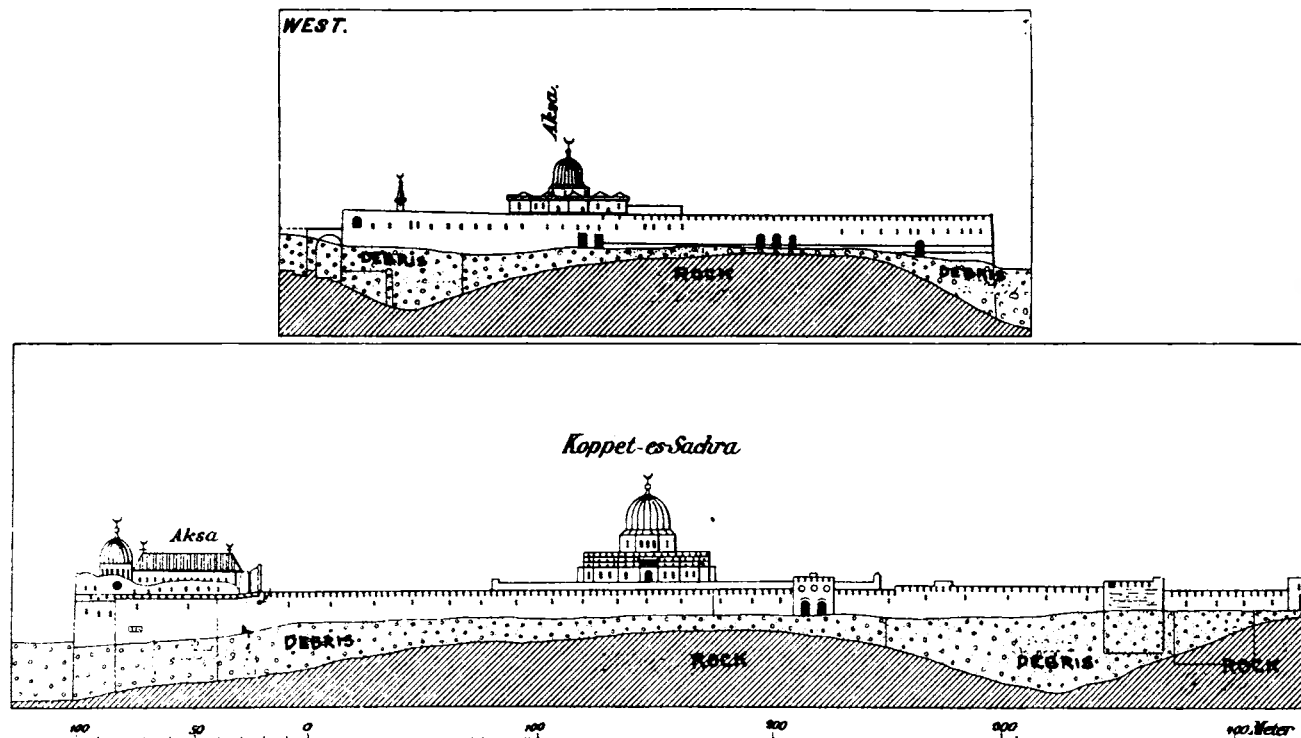
## THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHATEVER doubts there may be concerning the topography of Jerusalem, and they are almost unlimited, one thing is certain, that the site of Moriah, the sacred hill where Solomon's temple stood, is the high ground known as the Haram, or Enclosure. Its full name is Haram esh-Sherif, which literally translated means the "enclosure of distinction," for the pious Moslems deemed it the most sacred place in the world next to the Caaba at Mecca.

The southern portion of the Haram has been raised to the level of the temple area since about the fourth century of the Christian era, and on the west it is covered by a building which stands high above the natural rock, resting partly on a thick layer of debris and partly on arches. It is now called the Mosque-el-Aksa, which means the "distant mosque," so called by the Mohammedan conquerors on account of its great distance from Mecca. There is scarcely any doubt that this was the place where, on lower ground than the temple, Solomon built his palace, and in the times of Herod it was covered by a monumental basilica. Here Emperor Justinian built a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary which was afterwards called Anastasis, the Church of the Resurrection. When Calif Omar took Jerusalem he changed it into a mosque which, however, for unknown reasons fell into decay, and was rebuilt by Calif el-Mahdi. When the crusaders took Jerusalem it again became a Christian church called sometimes the Temple of Solomon, sometimes the Palace, because it served occasionally as the residence of the kings of Jerusalem. Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, assigned it to a new order of knights who took from it the name "Templars." The Templars changed part of it and in front of their temple built a large granary; but Saladin restored the old building and this is the shape in which it is still standing.

The vaults underneath the Mosque-el-Aksa are now called the

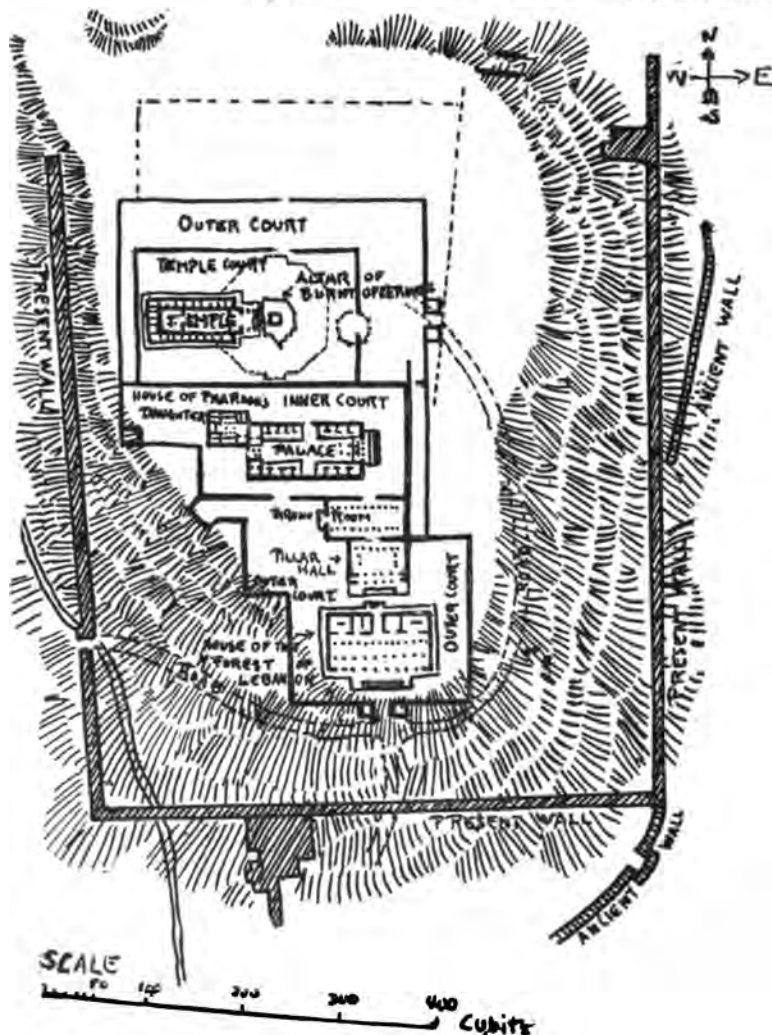


WEST-EAST AND SOUTH-NORTH ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE AREA.

According to C. Schick.

Stables of Solomon, which name has of course no foundation in fact, but it is quite probable that the Templars kept their horses there.

Here on the south side of Moriah was in ancient times the main ascent to the temple. Solomon visited the holy place from



MT. MORIAH WITH PALACE AND TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

According to P. E. Osgood.

his palace and still in Herod's time this way was open to worshippers. Even in Christian times access could be had to the temple area from the south. There are three gates still standing, but all

of them are now walled up. The one on the east is single, the middle one is triple, and the western gate is double. The triple gate, however, appears to have been the main entrance, and the German architect Conrad Schick claims that it was a triple entrance from the start. The pillar between the double door, according to the same authority, is very ancient, presumably Jewish. Other parts of the masonry are of later construction, for we find in one place a Roman inscription<sup>1</sup> built into the wall upside down, which shows that the Crusaders used the material of Hadrian's temple for various restorations, and so the construction, or rather reconstruction, dates back to the time of the Crusaders. These gates were all walled up by the Mohammedans.

In the southeast corner the wall of the Haram is steeper than in any other place. It is very high above the natural rock and contains a room of considerable interest which lies below the temple area and is accessible from above by a winding staircase of thirty-two steps.

Upon the ground in this room lies an ancient Roman niche cut in a block of white marble 1.60 meters long and one meter broad. It may have been part of the temple of Hadrian and must have contained a statue. It is scalloped at the head end and though it looks more like a trough is now called the cradle of Jesus. The legend informs us that when Joseph and Mary came from Bethlehem to have the babe circumcised, they dwelt in this room and used the hollow stone as a cradle. The Mohammedans who look upon Jesus as one of their prophets have built above it a cupola, and had the room walled up until 1871, when the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg visited Jerusalem and expressed the wish to enter it.

The stone called the cradle of Christ is quite old, for it is mentioned in the travels of the Pilgrim of Bordeaux who visited the place in 333, but it is scarcely possible that it antedates the temple of Hadrian.

The room of the cradle of Jesus stands in the place which according to Schick must have formed the southeast tower of the temple fortifications, and we may assume that the lower stones date back to Jewish times. In the corner there is an unusually large

<sup>1</sup> The inscription reads:

TITO AEL HADRIANO  
ANTONINO AUG PIO  
PP PONTIF AUGUR  
D. D.

The translation is: "To Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his Country, Pontiff Augur; by Decree of the Decurions."

stone, 1.83 meters high and 6.70 meters long, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Schick believes that this stone furnished to Jesus the occasion of referring to the stone rejected by the builders which has become the head of the corner. This stone, he insists, was probably intended for the temple, but was discarded because one corner of it is visibly injured, and when the walls were built it furnished the best possible material for "the head of the corner." Claiming that Jesus always fell back upon impressions from real life for his parables, and considering the fact that this stone on the south-east corner of the temple area had lain there in the times of Jesus and must then have been as conspicuous as now, Mr. Schick<sup>2</sup> confidently insists on the probability of his suggestion.

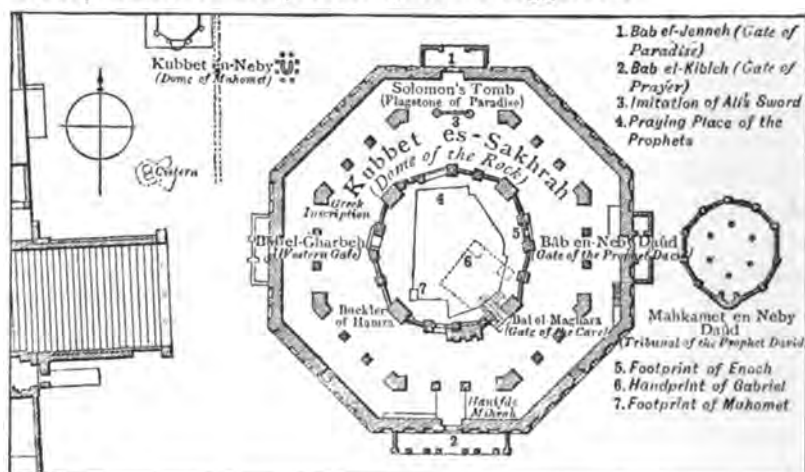


DIAGRAM OF TEMPLE AREA.

After Murray's Guide Book.

The Turkish government guards with special jealousy the so-called Golden Gate in the northern portion of the eastern wall, and could not be prevailed upon to open the old entrance, for a tradition, still living in the minds of the people, has it that the time will come when Jerusalem shall again be taken by the Christians, and the conqueror of Palestine will then enter the Holy City through this Golden Gate.

The most sacred spot on the Haram-esh-Sherif is the rock which for good reasons is assumed to be the Holy of Holies of the ancient Hebrew temple. From this piece of natural rock the building takes its name and is called Kubbet-es-Sakhrah, the Dome of the Rock.

<sup>2</sup> Conrad Schick, *Die Stiftshütte, der Tempel in Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz der Jetztzeit*, pp. 306-307.



The Dome of the Rock stands upon an almost rectangular platform (called the *chel*) rising six cubits above the level of the surrounding area of the Haram and is surrounded by an artistic balustrade with thirteen entrances to which we ascend by twelve, and in one place fourteen, steps.

The Romans knowing the fanaticism of the Jews, granted them the privilege of prohibiting Gentiles from entering their holy place. An inscription written in somewhat faulty Greek in large letters and easily readable, was inserted in this enclosure, and declares that any one bold enough to venture into this place should only have himself



WARNING TO GENTILES.  
Inscription in the Temple Enclosure.

to blame if he were slain by the Jews. It is one of the oldest inscriptions discovered in Jerusalem and reads thus:

ΜΗΘΕΝΑ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ ΕΙΣΠΟ  
ΡΕΤΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΗΕ  
ΡΙ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥ ΟΣΔ'ΑΝ ΛΗ  
ΦΘΗ ΕΑΥΤΩΙ ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΣ  
ΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ  
ΘΕΙΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

The translation is as follows: "No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the temple and enclosure. Whoever is caught will himself be responsible for his death which will ensue."

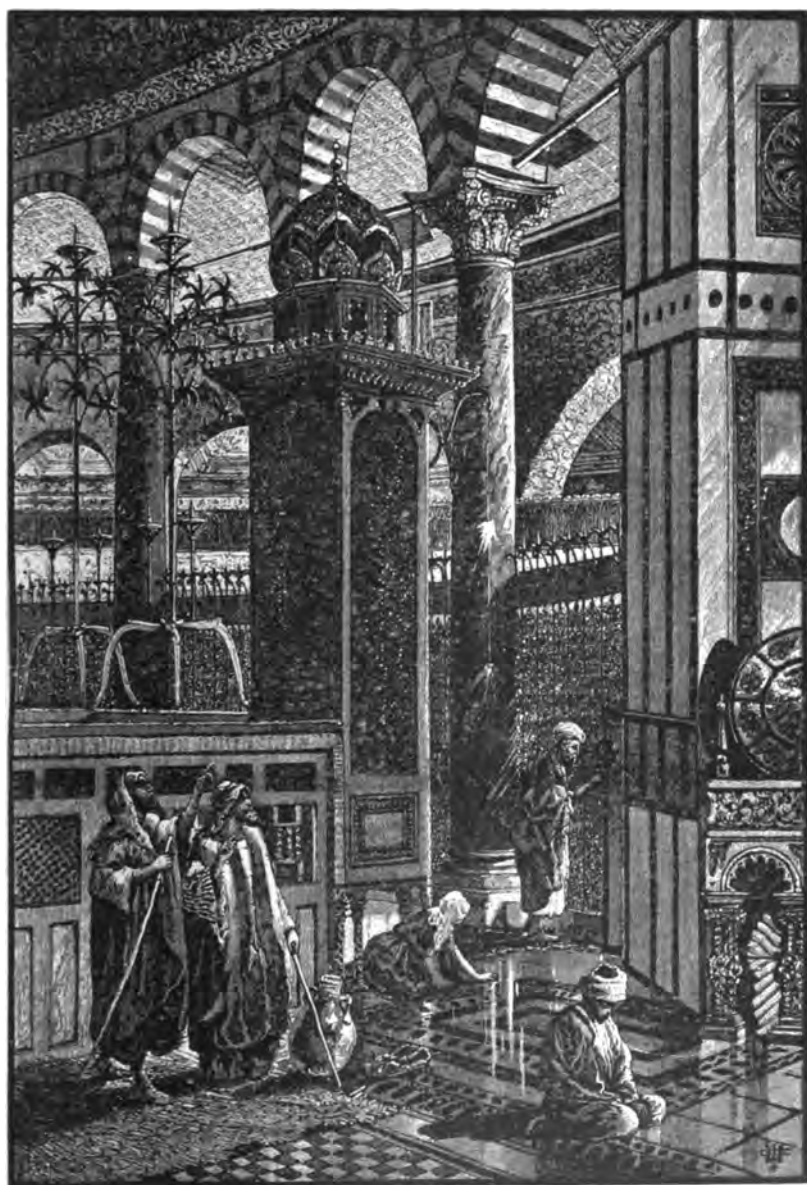
Before we turn to the main building, the Dome of the Rock, we will take note of a little cupola standing on two columns in the northwest corner of the Chel, which is called the Demon's Cupola. It covers a cave in which tradition knows that Solomon who is believed to have been a great magician, kept his demons sealed up.



THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

Title-page vignette of Ebers's *Palästina*.

The Dome of the Rock is a most elegant octagonal building, one of the noblest instances of Moslem art, and reminds us partly of the Byzantine style and partly of Moorish remains in Spain. On entering we find a rotunda of two concentric rows of columns, the inner circle of which supports a drum whereon rests the dome surmounted by a crescent. The proportions are perfect and the details



INTERIOR OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

of the decorations show an exquisite workmanship and good taste. The stained glass windows are of rare beauty, and one of them bears the name of Solyman and the date 935 of the Hejira (1528 A. D.).

The purpose of the building is not to serve as a mosque, but to cover the holy rock sacred to Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This is the place where the Jews offered innumerable sacrifices to the God of Israel; here is seen the footprint of Enoch and likewise the footprint of Mohammed, covered by a little shrine containing also a hair from the prophet's head. From this rock Mohammed ascended to heaven on his marvelous mare el-Burak and the rock tried to

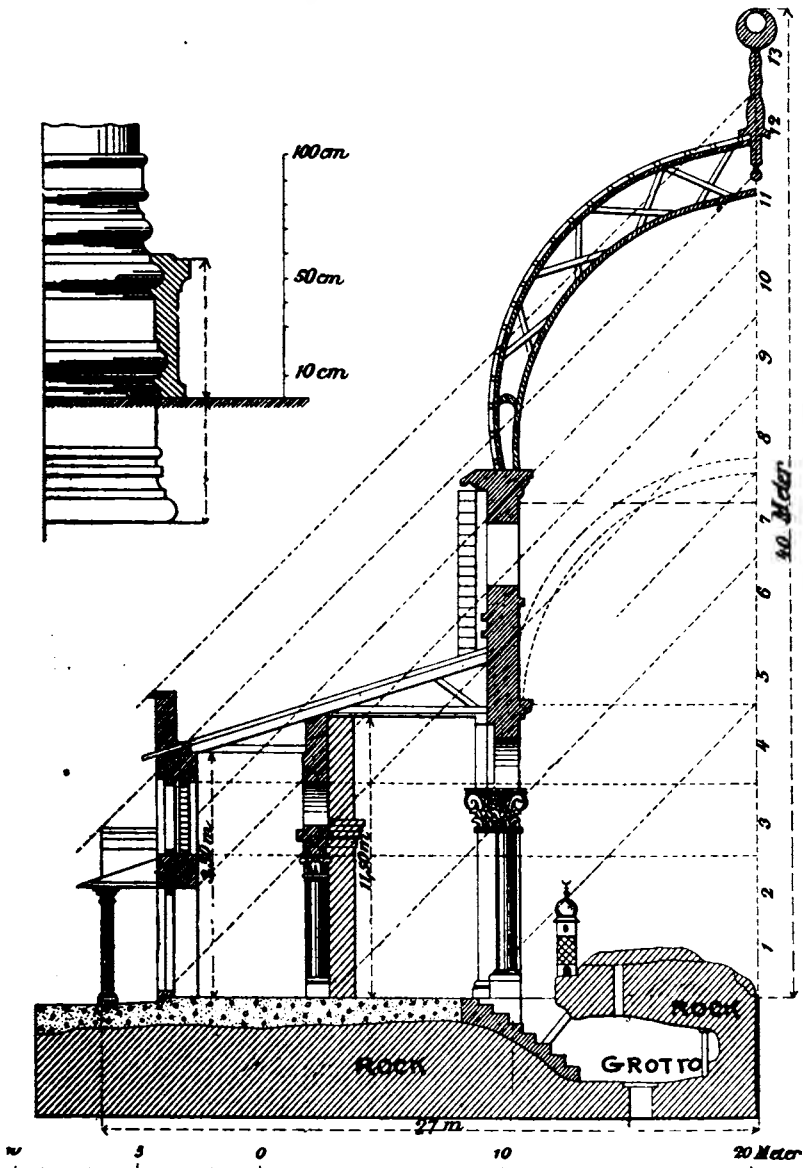


GROTTO UNDER THE SACRED ROCK.

follow him, but was kept back by the restraining hand of the angel Gabriel, the imprint of which is shown on the upper surface of the rock almost in the center.

Underneath the rock is a grotto, the entrance to which lies in the southeastern part and leads under the holiest portion of the rock.

The grotto has an opening in the rock above, through which light is admitted. Its walls are plastered with gypsum, and the floor is covered with marble slabs. In the center the floor sounds hollow which indicates that below this grotto there is another cavity. This



KEY TO THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.  
According to C. Schick.

the Moslems call Bir Aruah, i. e., the Well of Souls, and they believe that it is the entrance to Sheol, the nether world. Even the walls of the little grotto have a hollow sound when tapped, and this fact fortifies the popular belief that the holy rock hovers free in space.

We here reproduce a section of the Dome of the Rock, according to Schick which shows the graceful proportions of this beautiful building.



THE TRIBUNAL OF DAVID.

Passing out at the east entrance the visitor is confronted with another structure of the same shape and type as the Dome of the Rock itself, but smaller. It is called Mahkamet en-nabi Daud, the Tribunal of the Prophet David, or simply David's chair.

This elegant little building goes under different names because several legends cluster around it. Tradition claims that David sat here in judgment, and here on the last day the balance of justice will be suspended when the quick and the dead shall appear before the throne of judgment. For this reason it is also called the Dome of Judgment.



One legend relates that at this place a chain hung down from heaven which served as a test of truth. Witnesses were requested by the judge to take hold of the chain and if a man bore false testimony the last link would break off. The story goes that a Jew was accused by a Mohammedan of withholding a debt, and the Jew handed a staff which contained the exact sum of his debt to his creditor to hold while he went to lay his hand on the chain, whereupon he swore that he had returned the money. The chain held because the testimony was literally true, but having been misused it forthwith disappeared. In remembrance of this heavenly chain, David's Chair is also called the Cupola of the Chain (*Kubbet-es-Silsilah*). Its walls are decorated with quotations from the Koran.

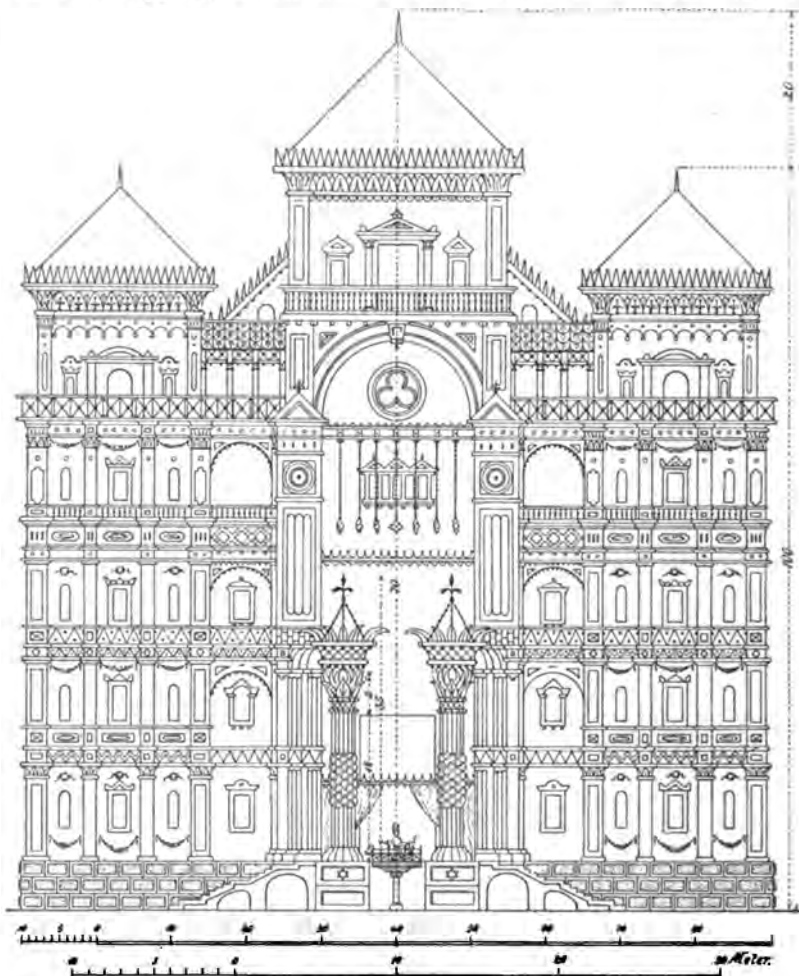
The Dome of the Rock is surrounded by an octagonal wall which architects deem to be a later addition, and if it were removed, it would show at a glance that the building is an exact likeness of the Cupola of the Chain, except that it is three times as large. This makes probable the statement of Arabian historians that the Cupola of the Chain served as a model for the Dome of the Rock.

The people of Jerusalem commonly call the Dome of the Rock the Mosque of Omar although it is neither a mosque nor is it probable that it was built by Caliph Omar. When he conquered the city he ordered the sacred place to be restored and an inscription on the wall informs us that Caliph Abd-el-melech, one of Omar's successors, completed the building in 686.

The question whether the Dome of the Rock was originally Byzantine (i. e., Christian) or a noble instance of old Arabic art has been the object of a discussion between Dr. J. N. Sepp of Munich and Professor Adler of Berlin. The former looks upon the Dome of the Rock as the building of Emperor Justinian, while Adler credits the Caliph Omar and his successors with this achievement. Whichever side may be right, we must grant that the ornamentation of the Dome of the Rock and also of the Cupola of the Chain is the work of Mohammedans, but it is not impossible that the original design is Christian. Schick and Ebers incline to accept the Christian origin. Fergusson even goes so far as to date the building back to the days of Constantine, which, however, is absolutely excluded. He was not sufficiently posted on the archeology of the place, which appears from the fact that he assumed this to be the site of the Holy Sepulcher and looked upon the cave under the rock as the new tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, a belief that at some time was erroneously held by the Christian Crusaders. A middle ground is taken by De Vogüé and Dehio who believe that the Dome of the Rock was

built by Byzantine architects on the order of Caliph Abd-el-Melech (688-691).

We cannot doubt that here Hadrian had his temple of Jupiter erected. According to Schick this was a rectangle and was called the Dodecapylon, which means the sanctum with twelve doors.



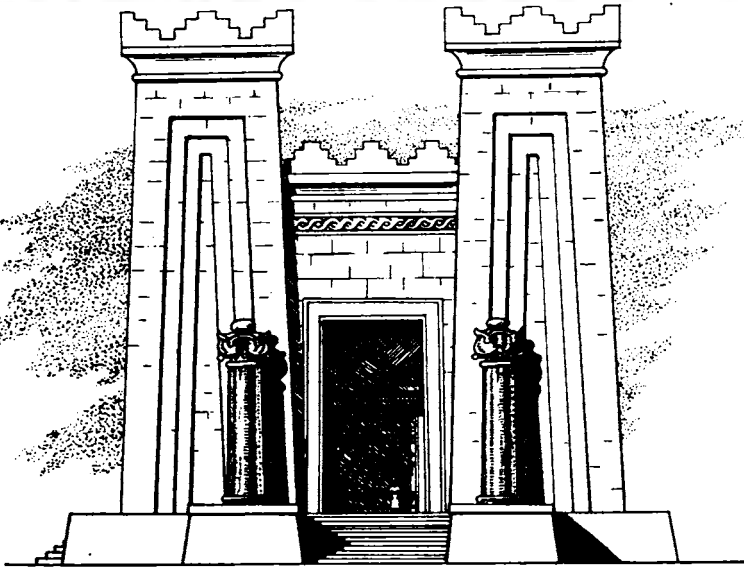
FRONT ELEVATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

According to C. Schick.

During this period pagan sacrifices were offered on the rock and the statue of Jupiter must have stood right on the place of the Holy of Holies. According to contemporary records the rock was surrounded by twelve columns which supported a cupola while the sur-

rounding area remained under the open sky. The twelve doors may have been twelve gates in the balustrade of the platform which is still standing. This temple of Jupiter was allowed to fall into decay when Christianity spread, and for some time the Christians did not deem it proper to have the place cleaned and consecrated to religious service so as to fulfil the prophecy of Jesus (Matt. xxiii. 38), "Behold your house is left to you desolate."

The Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 A. D.) still saw here the statue of the emperor but speaks of the ruins of the temple of Jupiter. Julian the Apostate gave permission to the Jews to rebuild their temple, but after his death the preparations were stopped.



FRONT ELEVATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

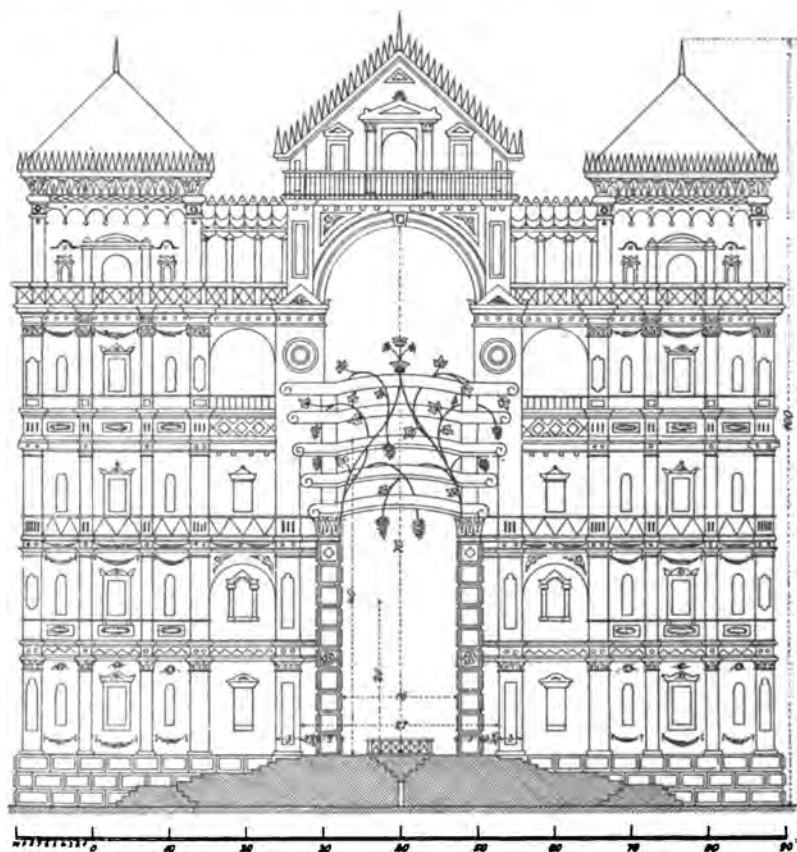
According to P. E. Osgood.

The Haram is covered by a great many cisterns, some of which hold an enormous amount of water and are apparently intended to serve as reservoirs in times of siege.

At the northwestern corner of the Haram the Maccabees had built a fort commanding the temple, the tower of which is called Buris by Josephus. On the same spot was built the Roman fort Antonia which played an important part in the final struggle between the Romans under Titus and the Jews in the year 70, as related by Josephus.

Christians as well as Jews have shown great interest in the

Solomonic and Herodian temples which stood on this ground and have since been utterly wiped off from the face of the earth. The very careful investigations of Schick have been accepted for a long time and there is no question that he has furnished most important data, especially as to the successive changes in the topography of the place; but his reconstruction of the temple suffers from a serious



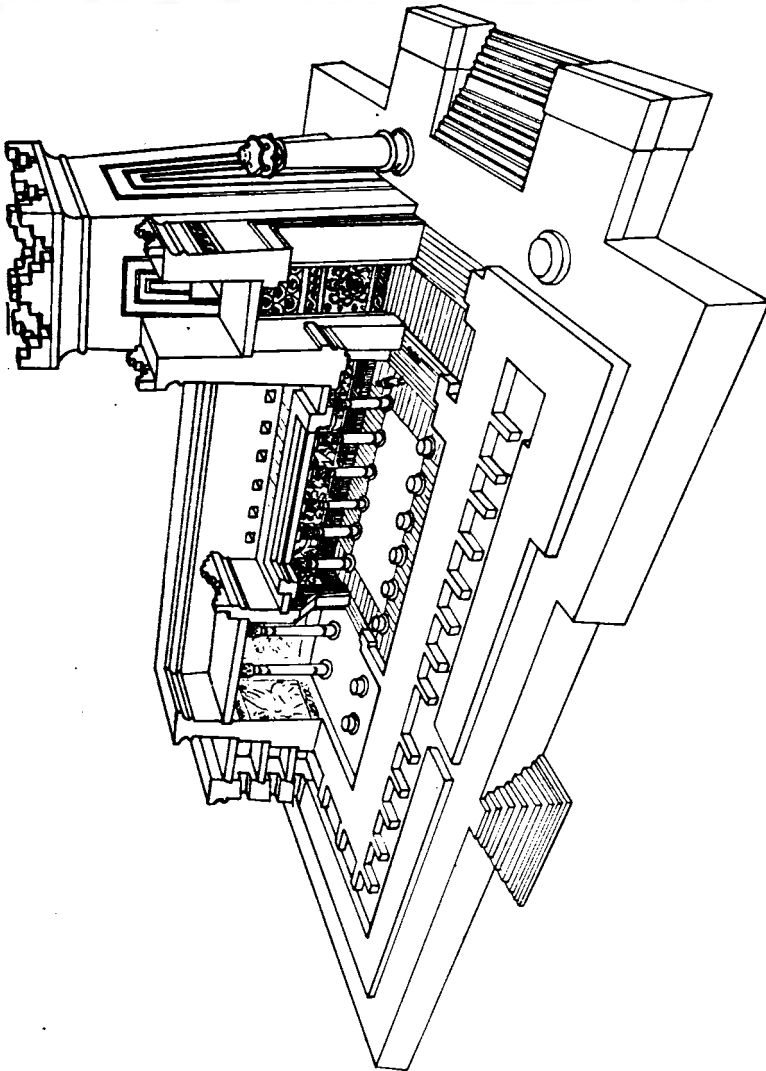
FRONT ELEVATION OF HEROD'S TEMPLE.

According to C. Schick.

drawback. Accepting the traditional statements of Josephus as well as the Bible, he shows us an enormous building, to erect which would tax the skill of a modern architect.

The impossibility of a building of that kind at the time of Solomon and King Herod has induced later investigators to revise

the results of Schick and so Mr. Phillips E. Osgood,<sup>a</sup> taking the Biblical measures, arrives at a more plausible solution by assuming that the court was not, as Schick supposed, covered by a roof, but was open to the sky. According to Osgood the Solomonian temple was



THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.  
Reconstruction by Phillip E. Osgood.

more modest in its proportions, but we can be assured that his reconstruction is the only plausible solution of the problem.

<sup>a</sup> See "The Temple of Solomon," *Open Court*, XXIII, p. 449; also published in pamphlet form (Open Court Publishing Company, 1910).

## THE OLD TESTAMENT AS A TEXT-BOOK.

BY RABBI A. P. DRUCKER.

WE have now reached a stage of religious development analogous to that attained by ancient Greece in the days of Plato. It was during the lifetime of this philosopher that the discovery was made that the old myths and stories about the gods were unsuited to the people's advanced philosophical and religious conceptions. It was Plato who declaimed against the old teachings of the priests and the poets, with their immoral stories about Jupiter and the other gods. "How can we," cried the venerable old sage, "how can we expect our present generation, our youth, to be virtuous, when the old myths they hear recounted tell of the immoral deeds of the gods, the unmentionable escapades of Jupiter! They not only corrupt the virtues of the people, but set for them a low standard, an immoral example to follow." We to-day are confronted with the same difficulty in regard to the Bible. The old religious books that were our inspiration, the standard of our conduct, have become antiquated. We have outgrown their teachings; we have developed while they have remained stationary. Unconsciously, we have not only surpassed the teachings of the Bible, but have outgrown its very conception of God. And yet our religious leaders, our educators, insist upon the sanctity and preservation of the Bible as a book from which we should draw sustenance of spirit and inspiration of faith. This Bible is read in our schools, it is the textbook of our Sunday-schools, it is perused in our homes by old and young. In times of trouble we turn to it for advice and guidance; in days of sorrow we seek in it comfort and hope; in moments of perplexity we look into the pages of this vademecum for wisdom and understanding.

But though the Bible has lofty and noble thoughts, it is also full of unethical, immoral, and corrupt ideas, and hence its influence is not always for the best. Its conception of God as a cruel and



unjust despot; its stories, often lewd and unwholesome; and finally its very teachings and laws harsh and unethical in the extreme: what stimulus can these offer toward the realization of the high ideals we would hold out before our children? That Satan has a chance to quote the Bible shows that the Holy Book is not without Satanic passages. Indeed this should not surprise us when we review the history of the Book, and recall that it was written in an age when humanity was savage, ignorant, and licentious; at a time when the moral standard was very low. In order to understand how completely we have outgrown the Biblical ideas, let us enter upon a detailed examination of the Old Testament, its ethical teachings, its moral laws, and its God-idea.

A study of the Old-Testament God-idea will show how far this is beneath our present-day standard. From the beginning of the Old Testament to its end, God is represented as a jealous,<sup>1</sup> revengeful,<sup>2</sup> and severe tyrant, who punishes his enemies with a fury unbecoming a supreme being. He covets honor and praise, he objects to the other gods' depriving him of one jot of the glory due to himself. He is even cruel and barbarous, for he commands the Children of Israel to slay every one of the Canaanites, men, women, and children,—not a soul must be allowed to live.<sup>3</sup> He is wroth with them for having spared some of the Midianite women. "You should have killed them all," is the cry of his prophet, Moses.<sup>4</sup> King Saul is denounced as an enemy of Yahawe,<sup>5</sup> because he had pity on the Amalekites, and suffered their king to live.<sup>6</sup> God slew Uzzah, we are told, because that luckless man, in his anxiety to prevent the Ark from falling, stretched forth his hand to support it.<sup>7</sup> King Ahab, too, is censured by Yahawe's prophet for allowing the King of Aram to escape.<sup>8</sup>

God is truth, we hold. And yet we read unblinkingly how he bids Moses tell Pharaoh that the Children of Israel are to leave Egypt for a three days' journey only, when in reality he is planning their entire freedom,—they should never return.<sup>9</sup> He likewise commands Moses to order the Israelites to borrow gold and silver vessels, ornaments and jewelry, from the Egyptians under false pretences,

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xx, 5: "I am a jealous god, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children."

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xciv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xx, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxxi, 14-16.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling "Yahawe" indicates the pronunciation used at the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. xv, 9, 11.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Sam. vi, 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Kings xx, 42.

<sup>9</sup> Ex. iii, 18.

promising to return them later, although the intention was otherwise.<sup>10</sup> In this connection he shows himself hardly less vainglorious than untruthful, for he says to Moses: Tell Pharaoh to send the People of Israel out of Egypt, but (as I am anxious to become known in the world as a powerful god) I will harden his heart, so that he will not suffer them to depart. This will give me the opportunity to show my arm and my strength to the Children of Israel.<sup>11</sup> Thus, for a mere whim, to prove his strength, to show off, as it were,—God is willing to pervert Pharaoh's heart not to do his bidding.

Again, Yahawe is depicted in the Old Testament as ignorant of the future, for we read how God repented in his heart of having made man, after he found out that man was iniquitous. He seems to have learned his mistake too late; and therefore, because man was not so docile as his Maker expected him to be, God sent a flood to exterminate him from the face of the earth.<sup>12</sup> In like manner, on learning that King Saul was not so amenable to his harsh commands as he had anticipated, he repented of having anointed him as ruler over Israel.<sup>13</sup> As for his dread of man's acquiring wisdom, it is almost pusillanimous. Thus he first places a temptation before the innocent Adam and Eve, forbidding them to eat of the tree of knowledge for no cause whatever, and then punishes them harshly for disobeying, as if he had not known the result beforehand.<sup>14</sup> The reason given for this prohibition is: lest man become as wise as God, knowing good from evil.<sup>15</sup> Are we to infer then that God objects to man's endeavors to acquire knowledge; that he wishes his creatures to remain ignorant and stupid? The same fear of man's ingenuity is apparent in the story of the Tower of Babel. When the people gathered in the valley of Shinar and determined to build a tower whose head should reach heaven, Yahawe was terrified. "Let us go down," he cried, "and confuse their tongue, lest they carry out their intentions."<sup>16</sup>

Leaving these illustrations of the Biblical God-idea and turning to the examples set by the heroes of the Bible for our guidance and emulation, we are again disillusioned. We find the heroes, too, ignoble and anything but ideal. We find Abraham deceiving Pharaoh in regard to his wife, for instance. Because he fears the ruler of Egypt will kill him in order to possess himself of his wife,

<sup>10</sup> Ex. iii. 21, 22; also xii. 35-36.

<sup>11</sup> Ex. vii. 3-5; and x. 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> Gen. vi. 5-7.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Gen. iii. 16-19.

<sup>15</sup> Gen. ii. 16.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. xi. 1-9.

he proclaims Sarah to be his sister, and thus saves his own life at the expense of her honor.<sup>17</sup> (Later he plays the same trick on Abimelech, King of the Philistines.<sup>18</sup>) Indeed it would seem that, with the example of Yahawe before him, Abraham does not hesitate to falsify whenever occasion presents itself; for again, when about to sacrifice his son, notwithstanding he believes Isaac will never return he says to the two servants who accompany him, "Stay ye here with the ass, while I and my lad shall go up there, bow, *and return to you here.*"<sup>19</sup> Nor has Sarah, with the example of her husband before her, any scruples against contradicting God and telling an untruth to Abraham.<sup>20</sup> Or, what effect if not a pernicious one, are the deceptions of Jacob bound to have upon the young child who is taught to look upon the Bible as an inspired book,—Jacob, who when his brother Esau is at the point of starvation, forces him to sell his birthright.<sup>21</sup> Desirous of securing for himself the blessing of his aged father, he disguises himself and changes his voice so that the blind old man does not recognize him and, mistaking him for the eldest-born, blesses him.<sup>22</sup> Later, in his dealings with Laban, he stoops to tricks which would be held criminal in our modern commercial world.<sup>23</sup> Yet all these men are extolled as heroes, men of God, from whom our youth should gain inspiration!

Even Moses, the great lawgiver, what acts does he not perpetrate in the name of his sovereign Yahawe! To quell a righteous revolt and maintain his power and that of his brother Aaron, he orders the death of hundreds of people.<sup>24</sup> Because the Israelites ignorantly made a calf of gold to represent the old god Elohim, many thousand men were slain by the command of Moses.<sup>25</sup> Samson's dealings with the Philistines, too, when he *devised* pretences for slaying them,<sup>26</sup> would be considered heinous at this day; nor is Samuel's treatment of the unfortunate Saul less outrageous from our modern point of view, for the latter had been kind and humane. In spite of this fact, or rather because of it, the Prophet deemed him unfit to be king of Israel "after the heart of Yahawe."<sup>27</sup> King David above all others is held up to us as an inspired, noble hero, whose psalms we sing, whose example we should follow; but what cruelties and bloodshed were committed by him! His deceitful prac-

<sup>17</sup> Gen. xii. 11-16.<sup>18</sup> Gen. xx. 2.<sup>19</sup> Gen. xxii. 5.<sup>20</sup> Gen. xviii. 15.<sup>21</sup> Gen. vi. 29-34.<sup>22</sup> Gen. xxvii. 2-29.<sup>23</sup> Gen. xxx. 37-42.<sup>24</sup> Num. xvi. 1-35.<sup>25</sup> Num. xxxii. 27-29.<sup>26</sup> Judg. xiv. 4.<sup>27</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 26-28.

tices toward his generous host Achish, King of Gath, are absolutely beneath contempt.<sup>28</sup> In cold blood he murdered the people of Moab by throwing them down on the ground, measuring two lines to put to death and one to keep alive.<sup>29</sup> The descendants of Saul he delivered over to the cruel Gibeonites, to pander to their craving for vengeance,<sup>30</sup> and at the same time disgrace the name of his predecessor. He lusted after the wife of one of his soldiers, committed rape, and then, to conceal his crime, coolly sent her rightful husband to his death.<sup>31</sup> As for the licentiousness of King Solomon's conduct,<sup>32</sup> so gross is it, that it almost defies the most decadent example of modern literature for a parallel.

Elijah's unmerciful murders do not mark him for us as a prophet of God. When the priests of Baal were outwitted by him, he ordered their massacre as a matter of course,<sup>33</sup> and when King Jehoram bade the captain and his fifty men summon Elijah before him, the same prophet unhesitatingly cursed: "If I am a man of Elohim, let a fire come down and consume you and your fifty men." The fire came and consumed them; and he repeated this imprecation when the second summons came from the king.<sup>34</sup> With equal cruelty, Elisha, when he was provoked because innocent little children called him names, called bears from the forest to devour them; and thus caused them to perish for a trivial, childish offense.<sup>35</sup>

The Biblical stories in their whole conception are positively immoral, and therefore unfit reading for our children. The lurid story of Cain and Abel with its picture of hatred terminating in fratricide<sup>36</sup> is strange juvenile literature. The episode of Lot and his daughters is obnoxious.<sup>37</sup> The account of Sarah's cruelty toward Hagar,<sup>38</sup> and the selling into slavery of Joseph by his brethren,<sup>39</sup> are hardly elevating. And the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife,<sup>40</sup> were it the topic of a modern novel, would not fail to elicit the sharpest condemnation of the preacher and the moralist. No less unwholesome is the account of the rape of the Benjaminites, with all its cruelties and consequent bloodshed.<sup>41</sup> Even the narrative of Ruth, so poetic and idyllic on the surface, is not devoid of objectionable features, in its realistic description of her entrance to the

<sup>28</sup> 1 Sam. xxvii. 8-11.

<sup>29</sup> 2 Sam. xxi. 1-10.

<sup>30</sup> 1 Kings xi. 1-3.

<sup>31</sup> 2 Kings i. 9-13.

<sup>32</sup> Gen. iv. 4-8.

<sup>33</sup> Gen. xxi. 9-14.

<sup>34</sup> Gen. xxxix. 7-12.

<sup>35</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 2.

<sup>36</sup> 2 Sam. xi. 2-17.

<sup>37</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 40.

<sup>38</sup> 2 Kings ii. 23-24.

<sup>39</sup> Gen. xix. 31-38.

<sup>40</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 3-8.

<sup>41</sup> Judg. xix, xx.

threshing floor at night, where Boaz slept.<sup>42</sup> The disgraceful act of Amnon, David's son, toward his sister,<sup>43</sup> and the incest of his other son, Absalom, who thus flaunted publicly his undying hatred toward his father,<sup>44</sup>—all these incidents are baldly narrated in the book we are taught to describe as the Word of God, *Holy Writ*! We see then, how far we have advanced from the Biblical standard of morality and good taste, since there is scarcely a page of this book that will altogether escape the censor's pen. These stories were not held to be immoral at the time they were written, but to-day no mother would countenance their perusal by her children had they not the sanction of the Bible.

Perhaps some one will suggest the Psalms and songs of ancient Israel as an exception to this stricture on the moral tone of the Bible. True, we are charmed by their melody, uplifted by their religious fervor; but even these beautiful Psalms and songs are interspersed with cursing and reviling of the enemies of God, with hatred toward the unbeliever. The Psalmist exults in the wrath of God over his foes, prays for the death of the sinner; hurls maledictions upon his opponents; revels in the contemplation of bloodshed.<sup>45</sup>

The very laws of the Old Testament are outrageous to our ethical standards. Polygamy has the sanction of God.<sup>46</sup> Slavery is recognized as a noble institution.<sup>47</sup> The hapless slave who, finding himself homeless at the expiration of his six-years' servitude, expresses a wish to remain a little longer with his master, must, according to the Law,<sup>48</sup> have his ears bored to the wall in punishment and be enslaved forever. Monarchical tyrants are exalted as executors of the divine will.<sup>49</sup> The cruel Law of "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot," is still proclaimed in the holy Book as the word of a God of love! God is still, according to the Old Testament, eager for sacrifice; he still desires lambs and rams brought upon his altars as burnt offerings; and while we have outgrown these ideas, nevertheless we revere with adulation and believe to be inspired these laws that fall woefully short of our own standards. This inconsistency of believing that every word of the Bible is inspired and yet not living up to it, proves

<sup>42</sup> Ruth iii. 3-4; 7-8.

<sup>43</sup> 2 Sam. xiii. 1-20.

<sup>44</sup> 2 Sam. xvi. 22.

<sup>45</sup> See, for instance, Psalms, xviii, xxxv, lii, lviii, lxxxiii, xciv, ci, cxxxvii. "Praise be to the one who will take and dash thy little ones against the stones."

<sup>46</sup> 1 Sam. xii. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Josh. ix. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Ex. xxi. 5-6.

<sup>49</sup> 1 Sam. viii. 9-17.



in how far, despite our professions, we have outgrown the old teachings.

The reason we still cleave to the old Bible is, first because we cannot regard it otherwise than as the word of God; and yet we cannot do to-day as did the heroes it extols. We would not in our courts of law inflict the same inhuman punishments specified in the Book. We would brook no animal sacrifices. Besides we *know* that the Bible is not the word of God, because we find from observing natural phenomena that God's work grows and develops constantly, whereas that of man remains stationary. The trees put forth branches and leafage; but the pyramids remain as they were in the days of their erection. We find no vestige of growth or development in the Bible after it was once canonized by the late editors. As it was first put together by Ezra and his school, thus is it to-day.

Secondly, our reverence for and acceptance of the Bible is invoked on the ground that it is an old book. The Church exclaims: "Give honor to the hoary head and the grey head, for age hath wisdom." But the sole reason for which age has a claim on our reverence and obedience is because it has learned from experience, has gained knowledge from the vicissitudes of an ever-changing life. If the mind of a man were stunted and its growth checked in youth through some accident, though he lived to a hoary age he would have no claim on our reverence and respect, for his knowledge and wisdom would still be those of the youth. The same is true of the Bible. Its growth and development were thwarted by its canonization; its wisdom is that of the wild ignorant people whose horizon was bounded by the Euphrates on the one side and the Mediterranean on the other. Why then, should this expression of the infancy of the human race command our respect and obedience? We call the Bible an old book, but in reality it is a young book, written when the race was young, crude, inexperienced; its God-idea is low, its code of morals primitive, its ideals are obnoxious. With all our reverence and admiration for those who outgrew their horrible paganism and made such an heroic effort to break away from their barbarous past and immoral surroundings, we must not forget that it was an absolute impossibility for them to emancipate themselves entirely from their conditions and environment. We may revere them for their efforts, but must not forget their shortcomings. Our sentiment must not darken our reason. We may feel a certain sentimental affection for the garments we wore in our infancy, yet how ridiculous it were in us,



did we keep on patching them and wearing them after we have grown up. The time has come when, just as the myths of Greece were an outgrown garment for the contemporaries of Plato, our old ideas of God must yield to newer and higher ones: the old myths must recede, and a new Bible be adopted by the rising generation, a new code of ethics evolved, that will be in keeping with our modern laws, our modern ideas of God, and our modern state of knowledge.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

Times have changed indeed! Twenty years ago who would have expected a member of the Conference of American Rabbis and the Rabbinical Association of Chicago to write on the Bible in the way that Mr. Drucker discusses it here? The statements he makes cannot be gainsaid; the remarkable feature consists in this that he boldly says what has otherwise been tacitly admitted.

It may appear to some readers that this view of the Bible seems to dispose finally of its importance and discredit it as a book to be read and studied, but this is not so. The Bible is and will after all remain the most important book not only of the past but of the present and future, though it is wrong to look upon it as dictated by the Holy Ghost. The Bible is a collection of religious documents which mark the path of progress. They contain not one but several conceptions of God which characterize successive stages, the highest of which is a product of the prophetic movement culminating in the Fourth Gospel where Jewish theology is quaintly blended with Greek philosophy as presented by neo-Platonism.

The Bible is truly sacred and it deserves careful study, but our study must be discriminating. Not all passages are of equal value and sometimes the passages expressing morally low conceptions are of greatest interest to the historian and the student of folk-psychology.

While the Bible is sacred we must not forget that there are more religious books than those of our own tradition. They are the sacred books of the Parsis, of the Brahmans, of the Buddhists, of the Chinese, and all of them possess the claim of sacredness; all of these books, each in its own way, are revelations which characterize the development of man's comprehension of the divinity that shapes our ends.

## AQUILEJA.

BY THE EDITOR.

**B**Y a lucky accident some antique mosaics and reliefs, probably dating back to the early time of imperial Rome, have been discovered in Aquileja, and we reproduce one of them which shows an Eros angling for fishes.

Aquileja is a town in the northeastern corner of the Adriatic belonging to Austrian Illyria. Philologists doubt whether the name Aquileja is to be derived from *aquila* or from *aqua*. In the former case it would have to be considered as an eyrie, and this is possible as on the rocky coast of Illyria there are many sea eagles. In the other case it might be translated by "Watertown." A third possibility, however, must be admitted, viz., that it may be a Romanized form of an ancient and now forgotten Illyrian name. The Slavs call it Voglej and during the Middle Ages it bore the name Aglar.

Aquileja was a city of no mean importance during the days of imperial Rome. Founded in the year 181 B. C. as a Roman military colony and a fortified harbor for the sake of suppressing piracy, it developed rapidly as the capital of Venetia and the residence of many Roman officers and magistrates. It naturally became the center of an extended commerce, for not only did the Via Aemilia pass through it leading from Rome to the Danube provinces, but the surrounding country itself abounded with valuable products, especially gold and wine. During the unsettled period of the invasion of the Huns when in 452 A. D. Attila came with his hordes, it was besieged and after a long resistance was finally taken and destroyed; but its inhabitants retired to the lagoons in the Adria where they built up a new city called Venice. Accordingly Venice may truly be considered the daughter of Aquileja.

Aquileja was rebuilt by Narses but never regained its former prosperity. We may say that at present Triest has to some extent

taken the place of the ancient Aquileja and of the Venice of the Middle Ages.

The bishop of Aquileja held a unique position in the Church.



MOSAIC FROM AQUILEJA.\*

\* This illustration as well as the data concerning the discovery of this and other archeological treasures we owe to the *Illustrirte Zeitung* of October 7, 1909.

Since 557 he had called himself "Patriarch" and his diocese extended beyond the provinces of Venetia and Illyria. He did not recognize the authority of Rome, even when its bishop had assumed the title of pope and was recognized by the Latin Church as the head of Christianity. The patriarchate of Aquileja formed a church by itself.

The patriarch of Aquileja maintained his independence until 698 when an agreement was reached with Pope Sergius who recognized his title and granted him certain prerogatives on the promise of joining the Church of Rome.

In the tenth century the patriarch was favored by the Ghibelline emperors and became very powerful. He extended his dominion over Friuli, and for a time even the king of Bohemia owed him allegiance.

The power of the patriarchate waned when Venice gained ascendancy. The Venetians deprived the patriarch of most of his Italian possessions in 1420, and the patriarchate was finally abolished in 1758. In 1809 Aquileja was annexed to Austria.

The city of Aquileja gradually lost its significance on account of the formation of swamps which spoiled the inner harbor and rendered the condition of the city so unwholesome as to drive out its inhabitants.

Aquileja possesses a large basilica built under the patriarch Poppe (1019-1042) and when recently the entrance to the chapel began to sag, an investigation of its foundations revealed some Roman mosaics underneath. They had lain covered with two feet of dust and broken stones, which proves that walls fell down upon them, presumably during the Hunnish invasion, and later generations did not take the trouble to remove the debris.

The combination of Eros and the fish is not accidental. In olden times the fish was the symbol of immortality, and here we find Eros as a fisher, the meaning of which will be better understood if we consider that in Christianity Christ calls the apostles "fishers of men."

## THE ZOHAR AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CABALA.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

### NAME AND CONTENTS OF THE ZOHAR.

THE titles of the Zohar vary. It is called "Midrash of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai," from its reputed author; "Midrash, Let there be light," from the words in Gen. i. 4; more commonly "*Sepher ha-Zohar*," from Dan. xii. 3, where the word *Zohar* is used for "the brightness of the firmament." The title in full is: *Sepher ha-Zohar al ha-Torah, me-ish Elohim Kodesh, hu more meod ha-tana R. Simon ben Jochai*, etc., i. e., "The Book of Splendor on the Law, by the very holy and venerable man of God, the Tanaite rabbi Simon ben-Jochai, of blessed memory."

The *editio princeps* is the one of Mantua (3 vols., 1558-1560) and has often been reprinted. The best edition of the book of Zohar is that by Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, with Jewish commentaries (Sulzbach, 1684, fol.) to which his rare *Kabbala Denudata* (1677-1684) forms an ample introduction. This edition was reprinted with an additional index (Amsterdam, 1714, 1728, 1772, 1805, 3 vols.). Recent editions of the Zohar were published at Breslau (1866, 3 vols.), Livorno (1877-78, in 7 parts), and Wilna (1882, 3 vols.; 1882-83 in 10 parts, containing many commentaries and additions).

The body of the work takes the form of a commentary of a highly mystic and allegorical character extending over the entire Pentateuch; but the Zohar is not considered complete without the addition of certain appendices attributed to the same author or to some of his personal or successional disciples.

These supplementary portions are:

1. *Siphra di Tseniutha*, i. e., "The Book of Secrets" or "Mysteries," contained in Vol. II, 176-178. It contains five chapters and

is chiefly occupied with discussing the questions involved in the creation. In the second and third chapters the prophet Elijah communicates the secret which he learned in the heavenly school, that before the creation of the world God was unknown to man, but made known his essence after the creation of the world. The history of the creation is represented under the figure of a scale, which adjusts the opposite aspects of God before and after the creation. This portion has been translated into Latin by Rosenroth in the second volume of his *Kabbala Denudata* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1684; Englished by Mathers, *loc. cit.*, pp. 43-108).

2. *Iddera Rabba*, i. e., "The Great Assembly," referring to the community or college of Simon's disciples in their conferences for cabalistic discussion. These discussions are chiefly occupied with a description of the form and various members of the Deity; a disquisition on the revelation of the Deity, in his two aspects of the "Aged" and the "Young," to the creation and the universe; as well as on the diverse gigantic members of the Deity, such as the head, the beard, the eyes, the nose, etc., etc.; a dissertation on pneumatology, demonology, etc., etc. This part is generally found in Vol. III, pp. 127b-145a, and has been translated into Latin by Rosenroth, *loc. cit.*, and Englished by Mathers, pp. 109-257.

3. *Iddera Zuta*, i. e., "The Small Assembly," referring to the few disciples who still assembled for cabalistic discussion towards the end of their master's life or after his decease. It is to a great extent a recapitulation of the *Iddera Rabba*, and concludes with recording the death of Simon ben Jochai, the Sacred Light and the medium through whom God revealed the contents of the Zohar. This part is found in Vol. III, 287b-296b, and from the Latin of Rosenroth (Vol. II of the *Kabbala Denudata*) it has been Englished by Mathers, pp. 259-341.

To these three larger appendices are added fifteen other minor fragments, viz.:

4. *Saba*, i. e., "The Aged Man," also called "*Saba demishpatim*," or "The Discourse of the Aged in Mishpatim," given in II, 94a-114a. "The Aged" is the prophet Elijah who holds converse with Rabbi Simon about the doctrine of metempsychosis, and the discussion is attached to the Sabbatic section called "Mishpatim," i. e., Exod. xxi. 1-xxiv. 18.

5. Midrash Ruth, a fragment.

6. *Sepher hab-bahir*, i. e., "The Book of Clear Light."

7 and 8. *Tosephta* and *Mattanitan*, i. e., "Small Additional Pieces," which are found in the three volumes.



9. *Raia mehemna*, i. e., "The Faithful Shepherd," found in the second and third volumes. The faithful shepherd is Moses who holds a dialogue with Rabbi Simon, at which not only the prophet Elijah is present, but Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, David, Solomon, and even God himself make their appearance.

10. *Hekaloth*, i. e., "The palaces," found in the first and second volumes, treats of the topographical structure of paradise and hell.

11. *Sithre Torah*, i. e., "The Secrets of the Law."

12. *Midrash han-neclam*, i. e., "The Concealed Treatise," in which passages of Scripture are explained mystically. Thus Lot's two daughters are the two proclivities in man, good and evil (I. 110). It also discourses on the properties and destiny of the soul.

13. *Raze de Razin*, i. e., "Mysteries of Mysteries," contained in II, 70a-75a, is especially devoted to the physiognomy of the Cabala, and the connection of the soul with the body.

14. *Midrash Chazith*, on the Song of Songs.

15. *Maamar to Chazi*, a discourse, so entitled from the first words, "Come and see."

16. *Yanuka*, i. e., "The Youth," given in III, 186a-192a, records the discourses delivered by a young man who according to R. Simon was of superhuman origin.

17. *Pekuda*, i. e., "Illustrations of the Law."

18. *Chibbura Kadmaah*, i. e., "The Early Work."

The body of the work is sometimes called *Zohar Gadol*, "The Great Zohar."

#### QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP.

Who is the author of this remarkable book, which has continued to be a text-book up to the present day, for all those who have espoused the doctrines of the Cabala? We have anticipated the answer, but let us see which reasons were adduced by modern scholarship to prove that the Zohar is a forgery of the thirteenth century.

Now the Zohar pretends to be a revelation from God communicated through Rabbi Simon ben Jochai to his select disciples, according to the *Iddera Zuta* (Zohar III, 287b). This declaration and the repeated representation of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai, as speaking and teaching throughout the production, fixed the authorship upon Rabbi Simon, an opinion maintained not only by Jews for centuries, but even by distinguished Christian scholars. On the other hand it has been clearly demonstrated by such Jewish scholars as Zunz, Geiger, Jellinek, Graetz, Steinschneider, and a

host of others, that the Zohar is not the production of Rabbi Simon, but of the thirteenth century, by Moses de Leon (1250-1305).<sup>1</sup> Simon ben Jochaï was a pupil of Rabbi Akiba; but the earliest mention of the book's existence occurs in the year 1290, and the anachronisms of its style and in the facts referred to, together with the circumstance that it speaks of the vowel-points and other Masoretic inventions which are clearly posterior to the Talmud, justify J. Morinus (although too often extravagant in his wilful attempts to depreciate the antiquity of the later Jewish writings) in asserting that the author could not have lived much before the year 1000 of the Christian era (*Exercitationes Biblicae*, pp. 358-369). This later view of the authorship is sustained by the following reasons:

1. The Zohar most fulsomely praises its own author, calls him the Sacred Light, and exalts him above Moses, "the faithful Shepherd" (Zohar III, 132b; 144 a), while the disciples deify Rabbi Simon, before whom all men must appear (II, 38a).

2. The Zohar quotes and mystically explains the Hebrew vowel-points (I, 16b, 24b; II, 116a; III, 65a), which were introduced later.<sup>2</sup>

3. The Zohar (II, 32a) mentions the Crusades, the temporary taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders from the Infidels, and the re-taking of it by the Saracens.

4. The Zohar (III, 212b) records events which transpired A. D. 1264.

5. The doctrine of *En-Soph* and the *Sephiroth*, as well as the metempsychosian retribution, were not known before the thirteenth century.

6. The very existence of the Zohar, according to the stanch Cabalist Jehudah Chayoth (about 1500), was unknown to such distinguished Cabalists as Nachmanides and Ben-Adereth (1235-1310); the first who mentions it is Todros Abulafia (1234-1306).

7. Isaac of Akko (about 1290) affirms that "The Zohar was put into the world from the head of a Spaniard."

8. The Zohar contains passages which Moses de Leon translated into Aramaic from his works, e. g., the *Sepher ha-Rimmon*, as

<sup>1</sup> See my article *s. v.* in McClintock and Strong. Professor Strack, who is entitled to a hearing in matters of Rabbinic literature, says: "He [Rabbi Simon] has long been regarded as the author of the Zohar; but this main work of the Cabala was in reality composed in Spain by Moses ben Shem Tob de Leon in the second half of the thirteenth century, as has been proved especially by Jacob Emden, in *Mitpahath Sepharim*, Altona, 1768."—*Einleitung in den Talmud*, 4th ed., Leipsic, 1908, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> See my article "Vowel-Points" in McClintock and Strong.

Jellinek has demonstrated in his *Moses de Leon und sein Verhältniss zum Sohar*, Leipzig, 1851, p. 21-36; (see also Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, VII, 498; 2d ed., 1873, p. 477 et seq.).

These are some of the reasons why the Zohar is now regarded as a pseudograph of the thirteenth century, and that Moses de Leon should have palmed the Zohar upon Simon ben Jochai was nothing remarkable, since this rabbi is regarded by tradition as the embodiment of mysticism. There was also a financial reason, for from the Book *Juchasin* (pp. 88, 89, 95, ed. Filipowski, London, 1857) we learn that when his wife asked him why he published the production of his own intellect under another man's name, Moses de Leon replied "that if he were to publish it under his own name nobody would buy it, whereas under the name of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai it yielded him a large revenue."

With the appearance of the Zohar we find also a Zohar School, which is a combination and absorption of the different features and doctrines of all the former methods, without any plan or method; and we must not be surprised at the wild speculations which we so often find in the writings of the post-Zohar period. In Spain especially the study of the Zohar took deep root, and found its way to Italy, Palestine and Poland.

#### HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABALA IN THE POST-ZOHAR PERIOD.

The new text-book of religion which was introduced into Judaism by stealth, "placed the Kabbala, which a century before had been unknown, on the same level as the Bible and the Talmud, and to a certain extent on a still higher level. The Zohar undoubtedly produced good, in so far as it opposed enthusiasm to the legal dry-as-dust manner of the study of the Talmud, stimulated the imagination and the feelings, and cultivated a disposition that restrained the reasoning faculty. But the ills which it has brought on Judaism outweigh the good by far. The Zohar confirmed and propagated a gloomy superstition, and strengthened in people's minds the belief in the Kingdom of Satan, in evil spirits and ghosts. Through its constant use of coarse expressions, often verging on the sensual, in contradistinction to the chaste, pure spirit pervading Jewish literature, the Zohar sowed the seeds of unclean desires, and later on produced a sect that laid aside all regard for decency. Finally, the Zohar blunted the sense for the simple and the true, and created a visionary world in which the souls of those who

zealously occupied themselves with it were lulled into a sort of half-sleep and lost the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong. Its quibbling interpretations of Holy Writ, adopted by the Kabbalists and others infected with this mannerism, perverted the verses and words of the Holy Book, and made the Bible the wrestling-ground of the most curious insane notions."

During the thirteenth century the Cabala was represented in Italy by Menahem di Recanati who wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch which is little else than a commentary on the Zohar. This work was translated into Latin by Pico della Mirandola.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Joseph ben Abraham ibn Wakkar (1290-1340) endeavored to reconcile the Cabala with philosophy, and to this end wrote a treatise on the cardinal doctrines of the Cabala. An analysis of this treatise, which is still in manuscript in the Bodleian library (cod. Laud. 119; described by Uri No. 384) is given by Steinschneider in Ersch und Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, Part II, Vol. XXXI, p. 100 f.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Cabala was especially cultivated in Spain. In unmeasured terms the Zoharites denounced their co-religionists who could not see the advantages of the Cabala. Prominent among the Zoharites was Abraham of Granada, who composed (between 1391 and 1409) a cabalistic work *Berith menuchat*, "The Covenant of Peace," (Amsterdam, 1648), a farrago of strange names of the Deity and the angels, of transposed letters, and jugglery with vowels and accents. "He had the hardihood," says Graetz, "to teach that those who could not apprehend God by Cabalistic methods belonged to the weak in faith, were ignorant sinners, and like the depraved and the apostate were overlooked by God, and not found worthy of His special providence. He thought that the relinquishment of their religion by cultured Jews was explained by their fatal application to scientific study, and their contempt for the Cabala. On the other hand he professed to see in the persecutions of 1391, and in the conversion of so many prominent Jews to Christianity, the tokens of the Messianic age, the suffering that must precede it, and the approach of the redemption." Another such writer was Shem Tob ben Joseph ibn Shem Tob (died 1430), author of *Emunoth*, i. e., "Faithfulness" (Ferrara, 1557), in which he attacks Jewish thinkers and philosophers as heretics, and maintains that the salvation of Israel depends upon the Cabala. The third writer was Moses Botarel (or Botarelo), also a Spaniard, who claimed to be a thaumaturge and prophet, and even announced himself as the Messiah. He prophesied that in the spring of 1393 the

Messianic age would be ushered in. As the Cabala penetrated all branches of life and literature, voices were also raised against the Zohar. The first among the Jews who opposed its authority was Elias del Medigo, who in his *Bechinath ha-daath* (i. e., "Examination of the Law," written in December 1491) openly expressed his opinion that the Zohar was the production of a forger, and that the Cabala was made up of the rags and tatters of the neo-Platonic school. But his voice and that of others had no power to check the rapid progress of the Cabala, which had now found its way from Spain and Italy into Palestine and Poland.

Passing over some minor advocates and teachers of the Cabala, we must mention two scholars in Palestine, who distinguished themselves as masters of the Cabala, Moses Cordovero<sup>3</sup> and Isaac Luria. The former (1522-1570) was a pupil of Solomon Alkabez<sup>4</sup> and wrote many works on the Cabala. His principal work is the *Pardes Rim-monim*, i. e., "The Garden of Pomegranates," (Cracow, 1591), excerpts of which have been translated into Latin by Bartolucci in *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, Vol. IV, p. 231 f., and by Knorr von Rosenroth, "*Tractatus de Anima ex libro Pardes Rimmonim*" in his *Kabbala Denudata*, Sulzbach, 1677. Cordovero is chiefly occupied with the scientific speculations of the Cabala, or the speculative Cabala, in contradistinction to the wonder-working Cabala, which was represented by Isaac Luria (born in Jerusalem in 1534, and died 1572). \* He claimed to have constant interviews with the prophet Elijah, who communicated to him sublime doctrines. He visited the sepulchers of ancient teachers, and there, by prostrations and prayers, obtained from their spirits all manner of revelations. He was convinced that he was the Messiah, the son of Joseph, and that he was able to perform all sorts of miracles. He imagined a complete system of transmigration and combination of souls. He saw spirits everywhere; he saw how the souls were set free from the body at death, how they hovered in the air, or rose out of their graves. On the Sabbath he dressed in white, and wore a fourfold garment to symbolize the four letters of the name of God. His sentiments he delivered orally and his disciples treasured up his marvelous sayings, whereby they performed miracles and converted thousands to the doctrines of this theosophy.

His disciples were divided into two classes, the "initiated" and

<sup>3</sup> See my article *s. v.* "Moses Cordovero," *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> He is the author of a hymn "*Lecha dodi*," i. e., "Come my beloved," which is found in all Jewish prayer-books, and used in the service for Sabbath eve.



the "novices," and boastfully called themselves "*guré ari*," i. e., "the lion's whelps." They systematically circulated the most absurd stories about Luria's miracles, and thus it came about that his cabalistic doctrines caused inexpressible harm in Jewish circles. Through Luria's influence a Judaism of the Zohar and the Cabala was formed side by side with the Judaism of the Talmud and the rabbis; for it was due to him that the spurious Zohar was placed upon a level with, indeed higher than, the Holy Scriptures and the Talmud.

The real exponent of Luria's cabalistic system was Chayim Vital Calabrese<sup>5</sup> (1543-1620). After his master's death he diligently collected all the manuscript notes of the lectures delivered by Luria, which together with his own jottings Vital published under the title of *Es chayim*, i. e., "The Tree of Life,"<sup>6</sup> having spent over thirty years upon their preparation. The work consists of six parts; that portion which treats of the doctrine of metempsychosis (*Hagilgulim*), is found in a Latin translation in Knorr von Rosenroth's work.

The Luria-Vital system found many adherents everywhere. Abraham de Herera (died 1639) wrote in Spanish two cabalistic works, the "House of God" (*beth Elohim*) and the "Gate of Heaven" (*shaar ha-shemayim*), which the Amsterdam preacher Isaac Aboab translated into Hebrew. Both are given in a Latin translation in Knorr von Rosenroth's work, together with a translation of "The Valley of the King" (*emek ha-melech*) by Naphtali Frankfurter. Besides these we may mention Isaiah Horwitz (died at Tiberias in 1629), author of *Sh'ne luchoth haberith* (abbreviated *Shela*), i. e., "The Two Tables of the Covenant," a kind of Real-Encyclopedia of Judaism on a cabalistic basis. This work has been often reprinted and enjoys a great reputation among the Jews. Abridgments of it were frequently published (Amsterdam, 1683; Venice, 1705; Warsaw, 1879).

There were not wanting those who opposed the Cabala. Of the numerous opponents which the Zohar and Luria-Vital's works called forth, none was so daring, so outspoken and powerful as Leon de Modena of Venice (1571-1648). He is best known as the author of *Historia dei Riti Hebraici ed osservanza degli Hebrei di questi tempi*, or the "History of the Rites, Customs and Manner of Life of the Jews" (Padua, 1640), and translated into Latin,

<sup>5</sup> See my article *s. v.* "Vital" in McClintock and Strong.

<sup>6</sup> For a description of the component parts of this work, see Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, III, pp. 479-481.



French, Dutch, English.<sup>7</sup> But besides this and other works, he also wrote a polemical treatise against the Cabalists, whom he despised and derided, entitled *Ari noham*, i. e., "Roaring Lion," published by Julius Fürst, Leipsic, 1840. In this treatise he shows that the cabalistic works, "which are palmed upon ancient authorities, are pseudonymous; that the doctrines themselves are mischievous; and that the followers of this system are inflated with proud notions, pretending to know the nature of God better than any one else, and to possess the nearest and best way of approaching the Deity." He even went so far as to question whether God will ever forgive those who printed the cabalistic works (comp. Fürst, p. 7), and this no doubt, because so many Cabalists joined the Church.

But no opposition could stem the tide of the Cabala. Its wonder-working branch had now largely laid hold on the minds and fancies of the Jews, and was producing among them the most mournful and calamitous effects. The chief actor in this tragedy was the cabalist Sabbatai Zebi,<sup>8</sup> born at Smyrna, July, 1641. When fifteen years of age he rapidly mastered the mysteries of the Cabala, which he expounded before crowded audiences at the age of eighteen. When twenty-four years of age, he revealed to his disciples that he was the Messiah, the son of David, the true Redeemer, and that he was to redeem and deliver Israel from their captivity. At the same time he publicly pronounced the Tetragrammaton,<sup>9</sup> which the high priest was only permitted to do on the day of atonement. As he would not desist, he was excommunicated by the Jewish sages at Smyrna. He went to Salonica, Athens, Morea and Jerusalem, teaching his doctrines, proclaiming himself the Messiah, anointing prophets and converting thousands upon thousands. As his followers prepared to be led back by him to Jerusalem, they wound up their affairs, and in many places trade was entirely stopped. By the order of the Sultan, Mohammed IV, Sabbathai Zevi was arrested and taken before him at Adrianople. The Sultan said to him: "I am going to test thy Messiahship. Three poisoned arrows shall be shot into thee, and if they do not kill thee, I too will believe that thou art the Messiah." He saved himself by em-

<sup>7</sup> The English translation is found in Picard's *Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World*, Vol. I, London, 1733.

<sup>8</sup> See my article *s. v.* "Sabbatai Zebi" in McClintock and Strong; see also *Geschichte des Sabbatai-Zebi, sein Leben und Treiben*, Warsaw, 1883; and *Der Erzbetrüger Sabbatai Sevi, der letzte falsche Messias der Juden*, etc., Halle, 1760; Berlin, 1908.

<sup>9</sup> Called by the Jews *shem-hammephorash*, on which see my article *s. v.* in McClintock and Strong.

bracing Islamism in the presence of the Sultan, who gave him the name Effendi, and appointed him Kapidji-Bashi. Sabbathai died Sept. 10, 1676, after having ruined thousands upon thousands of Jewish families. In spite of this fiasco the number of Sabbathai's followers was not diminished.

Famous as a champion of orthodoxy was Jacob Israel Emden (1696-1776) rabbi of Altona. During his rabbinate there, the famous Jonathan Eybenschütz<sup>10</sup> (born in Cracow in 1690) was called to Altona in 1750, since the German and Polish Jews were divided in that place. As every rabbi was regarded as a sort of magician, the new-comer was expected to stop the epidemic raging at that time in the city. Eybenschütz prepared amulets, which he distributed among the people. For curiosity's sake one was opened, and lo! in it was written: "O thou God of Israel, who dwellest in the beauty of thy power, send down salvation to this person through the merit of thy servant Sabbathai Zevi, in order that thy name, and the name of the Messiah Sabbathai Zevi, may be hallowed in the world." This amulet came into the hands of Emden. Eybenschütz denied all connection with the adherents of Sabbathai, and as he had already gained a great influence, he was believed; at least, almost everybody kept quiet. But Emden was not quiet, and finally the ban was pronounced against Eybenschütz. Even the King Frederic V of Denmark sided with Emden, and Eybenschütz lost his position. Being forsaken by his friends, Eybenschütz went to his former pupil, Moses Gerson Kohen, who after baptism took the name of Karl Anton. Anton wrote an apology in behalf of his teacher, which he dedicated to the King of Denmark. This and other influences had the effect that the whole affair was dropped and Eybenschütz was elected anew as rabbi of the congregation. Eybenschütz died in 1764 and was followed twelve years later by his opponent Emden. Both are buried in the Jewish cemetery of Altona.

Another Zoharite was Jacob Frank<sup>11</sup> (Jankiew Lebowicz), the founder of the Jewish sect of the Frankists, born in Poland in 1712. He acquired a great reputation as a Cabalist, and settled in Podolia, where he preached a new doctrine, the fundamental principles of which he had borrowed from the teachings of Sabbathai Zevi. He was arrested through the influence of the rabbis, but was liberated through the intervention of the Roman Catholic clergy, and authorized by the King to profess freely his tenets. His followers then,

<sup>10</sup> See my article *s. v.* "Eybenschütz" in *loc. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 367.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Graetz, *Frank und die Frankisten*, Berlin, 1868.

under the name of Zoharites and Anti-Talmudists oppressed their former adversaries in turn. As the papal nuncio at Warsaw declared against them, Frank and most of his adherents embraced Christianity. Frank continued to make proselytes and his sect increased in Poland and Bohemia. He lived in princely style on means furnished him by his followers, and died at Offenbach, in Hesse, December 10, 1791.

The Cabalists of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Moses Chayim Luzzatto (born 1707, died 1747), are of little importance. Modern influences gradually put a stop to the authority of the Cabala, and modern Judaism sees in the Cabala in general only a historical curiosity or an object of literary historical disquisitions.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND BALLOT REFORM.

BY THE EDITOR.

WOMEN are now clamoring more than ever, especially in England, for the rights of suffrage, and there is not the slightest reason why they should be refused. Women are in public business just as much as men and no one can deny that there are women more intelligent than many men. Then, too, there is a goodly number who have practical interests at stake which are decided at the polls. It seems an outrage that a woman who has property in her own right and who is perhaps in command of a large household should not be permitted to make her opinion felt in the elections, while her butler or colored servant takes an active part in political life.

Many people feel that the alterations implied by woman suffrage would upset political life. It is still an unknown factor, and we do not yet know how it will work. Accordingly the special interests which pander to man's private comfort such as the liquor and tobacco trades, fight shy of the issue, and the manufacturers of silks, of gloves, stockings, and similar goods fear that women will have import duties cut down. At the same time the political bosses so far have not universally provided the voters with polling places fit for ladies to enter.

In comment on these difficulties we would say that they can be overcome and in many cases will force upon us some much needed reforms. It would be a blessing for men if the entire premises around the polls would be so decently arranged that no lady would have cause to feel ashamed to enter and cast her ballot. As they are at present, they are certainly a poor recommendation for the constitution of a government of the people, by the people and for the people. They are a palpable demonstration that the vulgar element is permitted to have the upper hand. I purposely do not say the poor, but the vulgar. A poor man is often enough a gentleman at heart. Whether rich or poor, a gentleman seems out of

place at the polls, while the "boss" has a good chance there to bulldoze and control. Why do we not use churches for polling stations? Church property is free of duty and here is a chance for the Church to offer a service in return. It is but right that the polls should stand in a place of sanctity, for the casting of the ballot is a sacred act in which we should be guided by conscience. The government by the people, of the people and for the people is a problem which has not yet been solved.

Universal suffrage as it now prevails, is apparently not the right thing, for here a large class of irresponsible voters have the same right as those who pay the bills. Yet it would be a mistake to take the ballot away from even those who are in the habit of recklessly disposing of public funds, of sacrificing the public weal either for a bribe of some kind or through a mistaken party loyalty or clannishness. The right cure for these evils would be to extend the ballot to those who have deeper interests in the commonwealth and in the preservation of its financial moral health. Under these conditions I would advocate that the married men should have a second vote, perhaps even a third if they have children. The man of family looks beyond the short span of the present hour and has at heart the future of the country for the sake of his children even after he himself is gone. This would be an important reform and the measure would be just. There can be no doubt that the large class of voters who have neither property nor any family ties care less for the establishment of wholesome conditions than the men who rear children and wish to leave to them the inheritance of a well-governed country.

It might be advisable to give an extra ballot to the educated men, say to every one who has graduated from High School, for this would tend to encourage education. Further it might be suggested to give an extra vote to the man who pays taxes though this might appear as if permitting the rich to exercise too great a share in the government of the country and our national traditions have always been opposed to it. In extenuation of this idea, I would say that if both the small tax payer and multimillionaire were treated alike, we would have as a result only the conservative spirit of the man who helps to pay the bill, however small his share may be, and this could not lead to any oppression of the poor by the rich. That the tax-payer who finally pays the public expenses should be heard and that his vote should have more weight than the numerous voters of the irresponsible class is but just.

The United States government started as a revolution based on

the principle of "no taxation without representation." The result is that we have representation without taxation. Bosses of those classes who do not pay the taxes of the town run the municipality and seldom dispose of the public funds in the interests of the taxpayers. This is an evil that should be remedied.

The democratic form of government has so far proved a failure, at least in municipal affairs, and reactionary thinkers, especially in Europe, point to the conditions in American cities as the best proof of this contention.

There is an inveterate error, often proclaimed, at the bottom of the common conception of a government by the people, namely, that democratic government means majority rule. This is untrue, for it would sooner or later lead to mob rule. A democratic government means a government by law. It is true that law must be made by majorities, but a safeguard against wrong laws is the principle that every law should be of universal application. There ought to be no class legislation, no law should ever apply to a special set of people, and no law should ever make exemptions. We repeat that the government by, of, and for the people has as yet only been imperfectly worked out, but we do not deem its realization for that reason impossible.

Ballot reform is not a burning question at present, but we offer these suggestions in the hope that they may be borne in mind by those who are interested in the subject, and we hope that the time will come when these seeds will bear fruit.



## MISCELLANEOUS.

### BOOK REVIEWS.

ODES ON THE GENERATIONS OF MAN. By *Hartley Burr Alexander*. New York: Baker & Taylor Company, 1910. Pp. 110. Price \$1.00 net.

The author of this philosophical poem is Mr. Hartley Burr Alexander, professor of philosophy at the University of Nebraska, who has contributed to recent numbers of *The Open Court* an article on "The Religious Spirit of the American Indian." The publishers announce the little volume as "a book of poems marked by dignity of theme, splendor of imagery and varied music of rhythm and phrase."

Mr. Alexander compares his poem to a musical composition and characterizes the several odes of his cycle by musical inscriptions after the fashion of a sonata. He begins with the *Largo* as a prelude, addressed to "Earth! Twixt sky and sky wide spun," etc. He passes over to an *Andante fiorito*, celebrating in song the first man emerging from brute life and his first man-like cry. An *Adagio pugnente* follows beginning, "Strange prayers ascending up to God." It is written in a mood in which the poet has perhaps found the happiest expression of his cosmic song. An *Allegretto misterioso* follows, which is called an "Antiphonal Interlude," and consists of a responsory between two voices. An *Andante maestoso* unrolls before our eyes a picture of history. It begins with the words, "Of blood and dreams are built the towns of men." A *Grave* then touches upon the topics of suffering, "I had a vision of the King of Pain in awful crucifixion high enthroned," and a livelier poem follows with a Dithyrambic Interlude as an *Allegro appassionato*, and the last ode is written in an *Adagio elegaico*, "There comes a kind of quieting with years." The postlude finally returns to the first movement and is conceived again as *Largo*, dedicated to the earth, the mother of man. To give a taste of Mr. Alexander's poem we select from his third movement the following lines:

*Adagio pugnente.*

"Strange prayers ascending up to God  
Through all the aching aeons, year on year;  
Strange tongues uplifting from the sod  
The old antiphony of hope and fear:  
Strange if He should not hear!

"There was the primal hunter, where he stood  
Manlike, not man, lone in the darkening wood  
When fell the storm:  
From hill to hill it leaped, snuffed light and form,

Licked up the wild,  
 And him—lost hunter!—him left isled  
 Mid desolation. Bogey-wise  
 Down the tempestuous trail  
 Gaunt Terrors sprang with shrill wolfish wail  
 And windy Deaths flew by with peering eyes...  
 Then in the dread and dark  
 To the dumb trembler staring stark,  
 Just for the moment, beaconlike there came  
 The Ineffable, the Name!...  
 Oh, wildered was the dull brain's grope  
 With anguish of a desperate dear hope  
 Escaping!... 'Twas a Name  
 Not his to frame  
 Whose clouded eye, tongue inarticulate,  
 Thought's measure and thought's music yet await:  
 Not his the Name...but such the hunter's cry  
 As souls do utter, that must die!"

"There was the savage mother: she who gave  
 Her child, her first-born, wailing into the hand  
 Of the black priest, upright at the prow...  
 The glistening bodies rhythmically did bow,  
 And from the rushy strand  
 Broad paddles drave  
 The sacrificial craft with gauds bedecked.  
 He held it high—  
 With mummerly and mow  
 The fetish priest held high  
 The offering,—then stilled its cry  
 Beneath the torpid wave...  
 Sudden the pool was flecked  
 With scaly muzzle, yellow saurian eye,  
 And here a fount of crimson bubbling nigh!...  
 Shout came answering shout  
 From all the horde  
 That round about  
 Waited the sign of fetish god adored,  
 Waited the sign with lust of blood implored!...  
 But she—the mother,—in her eyes there shone  
 A dazzle of calm waters, and her heart's flood  
 Was dried, and bone of her bone  
 Burned in her, and she stood  
 Like to an image terrible in stone.

"Aye, men have prayed  
 Strangely to God:  
 Through thousand ages, under thousand skies,  
 Unto His thousand strange theophanies,  
 Men have prayed...  
 With rite fantastic and with sacrifice

Of human treasure, scourged with heavy rod  
 Of their own souls' torment, men have prayed  
 Strangely to God...  
 East, North, South, West,  
 The quartered Globe,  
 Like a prone and naked suppliant whose breast  
 A myriad stinging memories improbe—  
 Hurt of old faiths,  
 And the living scars  
 Of dead men's anguish, slow-dissolvent wraiths  
 Of long-gone yearnings, and delirious dream  
 Of sacrificial pomp and pageant stream:  
 Gods of the nations and their atavars!—  
 East, North, South, West,  
 The suppliant Globe  
 Abides the judgment of the changeless stars,—  
 Abides the judgment and the answering aid  
 Of Heaven to the prayers that men have prayed  
 Strangely to God...

"Out of the living Past,  
 Children of the dragon's teeth, they spring  
 Full-panoplied—the idols vast  
 That man has wrought of man's imagining  
 For man's salvation...  
 Isle and continent, continent and isle,  
 Lifting grim forms unto his adoration  
 In tireless variation  
 Of style uncouth with style,  
 Until the bulky girth  
 Of the round zonéd Earth  
 Is blazoned o'er  
 As with a zodiac of monsters, each dread lore  
 In turn begetting dreadful lore."

"From the dark burials of the nations  
 Mid echoing supplications  
 They arise...  
 Mid echoing supplications:  
 Prayers and cries  
 Of men in strait of battle, ecstasies  
 Of saints, and the deep-toned call  
 Of prophets prophesying over all  
 The devastation of a kingdom's fall...  
 The ruins of the temple still resound  
 With women weeping Tammuz' yearly wound;  
 And still from out the vale  
 Do ghostly voices lift the ancient wail  
 Of those who gashed their bodies, crying 'Baal! Baal!'  
 When Baal was gone ahunting. Still Mahound  
 Leads desert hordes to battle:

'Allah! Ya Allah! Ya Allah ilah Allah!'  
 And Paradise is found  
 In arch of flashing cimatars. Still go  
 In nightly revelry through field and town  
 Curete, Bacchant and wild Corybant,  
 Rapt Maenad by the god intoxicant,  
 And the swift-dancing rout  
 Of frenzied Galli raising olden shout  
 To Attis and to Cybele:  
 'To Hymenace Hymen Io!  
 'To Hymen Hymenace!'...  
 While adown  
 The vanished centuries endure  
 The chanting of dead Incas: 'Make me pure,  
 'O Vira Cocha, make me ever pure!'...

"—There, in the blackness of Gethseman's grove,  
 One anguished night *He* strove  
 Mightily with God...  
 Hour by hour there passed  
 Athwart the gloom  
 A huge ensanguined image, like a shadow cast  
 By outstretched arms, and overspread  
 The living and the dead  
 Throughout the wide world's room...  
 And so His prayer was said,  
 And answered.

"Oh, up to God  
 Through all the aching acons, year on year,  
 Men's prayers ascend,  
 In hope and fear  
 Striving to bend  
 His pity and His wrath forefend...  
 Strange if He should not hear!"

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS: Psalms of the Sisters. By *Mrs. Rhys Davids*. London: Frowde, 1909. Pp. 200.

This collection is a very interesting addition to the publications of the Pali Text Society, and Mrs. Rhys Davids has entered most sympathetically into the spirit of these early Buddhist nuns who in refinement and intellectuality compare favorably with the Christian orders in days when Western learning was mostly bound by convent walls. In many respects the songs of the Buddhist Bhikkuni resemble the attitude and meditation of their Christian sisters, and as Mrs. Rhys Davids says are "profoundly and perennially interesting as expressions of the religious mind universal and unconquerable." Still in some instances the spirit here shown is different from the Christian type as might easily be suspected from the difference in emphasis of the two faiths.

To many the vows of the order came as a blessed release, as liberty. The twenty-first psalm ascribed to a certain unknown sister called "Sumangala's Mother" expresses this feeling of freedom:

"O woman well set free! how free am I,  
 How thoroughly free from kitchen drudgery!  
 Me stained and squalid 'mong my cooking-pots  
 My brutal husband ranked as even less  
 Than the sunshades he sits and weaves away.

"Purged now of all my former lust and hate,  
 I dwell, musing at ease beneath the shade  
 Of spreading boughs—O, but 't is well with me!"

Mettika, who the commentator says was a contemporary of the Buddha, expresses a similar feeling of exaltation:

"Though I be suffering and weak, and all  
 My youthful spring be gone, yet have I come,  
 Leaning upon my staff, and clomb aloft  
 The mountain peak.

"My cloak thrown off,  
 My little bowl o'erturned: so sit I here  
 Upon the rock. And o'er my spirit sweeps  
 The breath of Liberty! I win, I win  
 The Triple Lore! The Buddha's will is done!"

Then, too, if freedom allured some to renounce the world, others were driven by grief to the step for consolation:

"Woeful is woman's lot! hath He declared—  
 Tamer and Driver of the hearts of men!"

The bereaved mother learned from the unwritten psychology of the Buddhists that she could not say her own sorrow was all important, but realized that she

"...had better live no longer than one Day,  
 So she behold, within That Day, That Path!"

Whereas Christian monasticism held out to its followers a future state of bliss where she who renounced the joys of this world would be the bride of a heavenly Lord, the Buddhist sister was bidden "Come to thyself," and confessed herself victor over pain and sorrow,

"In that I now can grasp and understand  
 The base on which my miseries were built."

In other guise, however, a future reward was promised, the attainment of Nirvana (in Pali, Nibbana):

"Come, O Dhira, reach up and touch the goal  
 Where all distractions cease, where sense is stilled,  
 Where dwelleth bliss; win thou Nibbana, win  
 That sure Salvation which hath no beyond."

Acceptance of a supreme will above one's own desires belongs to all ages and times:

"The Buddha's will be done! See that ye do  
His will. And ye have done it, never more  
Need ye repent the deed. Wash, then, in haste  
Your feet and sit ye down aloof, alone."

No one believes these verses are the actual words of the recluses to whom they are ascribed, but they are attributed to certain eminent sisters and form the second part of the canonical work entitled *Thera-theri-gatha*, "Verses of the Elders, Brothers and Sisters." Some beautiful and appropriate photographs of Indian scenes illustrate Mrs. Rhys-Davids's book, and to these she adds a reproduction of Bouguereau's *Vierge Consolatrice* as illustrative of the spirit of one psalm of comfort, which if read unthinkingly and unsympathetically might seem but cold comfort to the Western mind.

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THE MESSAGE OF THE EAST. By *Ananda K. Coomarasawmy, D. Sc.* Madras: Ganesh & Co. Pp. 50. Price 4 annas.

The author of this little book is well fitted for the task of being an interpreter of the East to the West, since he is himself a mixture of both races, and though Indian in residence and sympathies, is married to an English lady, who was one of the striking personalities at the Religious Congress held at Oxford in 1908. We have perused this book with great interest and consider that its main value consists in the recognition of the needs of the East, and that it would be highly desirable if our author's views were listened to by his Hindu countrymen, although apparently he mainly addresses the West. He points out that the good old Indian spirit has faded away from the memory of modern India and has made room for an insipid imitation of the productions of European commerce. He says on pages 44-45:

"This loss of beauty in our lives is a proof that we do not love India; for India, above all nations, was beautiful not long ago. It is the weakness of our national movement that we do not love India; we love suburban England, we love the comfortable bourgeois prosperity that is to be some day established when we have learned enough science and forgotten enough art to successfully compete with Europe in a commercial war conducted on its present lines. It is not thus that nations are made. And so, like Mr. Havell, I would say to you, 'Leave off asking the Government to revive your art and industries; all that is worth having you must and can do for yourselves; and when you have achieved all that you can do, no Government would refuse to grant you the political rights you desire, for the development of your faculties will give back to India the creative force her people have lost. It will infuse into all your undertakings the practical sense and power of organisation which are now so often wanting.'"

We believe that Dr. Coomarasawmy goes too far when he criticizes the West for its scientific materialism, and he also exaggerates what he calls the "subtle Indianization of the West." He says:

"The 'new Theology' is little else than Hinduism. The Theosophical movement is directly due to the stimulus of Indian thought. The socialist finds that he is striving for very much that for two or three millenniums has been part and parcel of the fundamentally democratic structure of Indian society. Exhibitions of Indian art are organized in London for the education of the people. The profound influence which Indian philosophy is destined to



exert on Western thought and life is already evident. Indian science had a far-reaching effect on the development of certain aspects of mathematics earlier in the nineteenth century, and is now exerting its influence in other ways."

The influence of ancient India in Western countries can not be denied and has been very favorable, but we do not go all the way with Dr. Coomarasawmy when he says that science has corrupted art and also that England is so very much backward in culture in comparison to India as is stated in these words:

"England with a blindness characteristic of a youthful and materially successful country has conceived that it has been her mission not merely to awaken and unite, but to civilize India. Only very gradually is England realizing the truth of Sir Thomas Munro's declaration, that if civilization were to be made an article of commerce between the two countries, she would soon be heavily in debt."

There is a truth in Dr. Coomarasawmy's claims but we must take them with a grain of salt.

P. C.

THE POET OF GALILEE. By *William Ellery Leonard, Ph. D.* New York: Huebsch, 1909. Pp. 159. Price \$1.00 net.

Dr. William Ellery Leonard here points out a new view of Jesus, which reflects a sympathetic conception of Christ, avoiding the dogmatic issues without antagonizing them. It is introduced by a poem in praise of all religious aspirations, but above all of Christ, bearing the refrain:

"Praise be to all! but to thee,  
Praise above praise, Galilean!  
Even from me."

The contents treat of Jesus as The Observer, The Lover, The Seer, The Inspired, The Man of Sorrows, The Scourger, The Humorist, The Alert, The Story-Teller, The Sayer, and as a Hero of Folk-Lore.

As poet appeals to poet, so Dr. Leonard has been able to interpret the Synoptic stories of the life of Jesus in a very lifelike way. The humanity of Jesus is emphasized and he is made the most charming and lovable of characters. The author thinks that the intellectuality of Jesus is often underrated, and emphasizes his quickness at repartee and readiness to take advantage of the strong points of a situation. He adduces the many puns and picturesque exaggeration of his figures as instances of his alert sense of humor, and in order to bring the value and applicability of his parables clearly to the fore compares him to Lincoln as a relator of stories. Nothing is wanting in sympathetic treatment to make the intense humanity of Jesus realizable. The miracles are treated either as probable ("It is quite likely that his gentle and commanding personality quieted the epileptic and the mentally deranged, who in these cruelly ignorant times roamed at large in such numbers; and it is quite likely that this contributed to the legends of his cures") or as a mystical statement which is the very natural outgrowth of folklore accretions around the figure of the beloved hero. To those who wish to become intimately acquainted with the Man of Galilee as the great Elder Brother of the race, no better interpretive introduction to the Synoptic Gospels can be offered than Dr. Leonard's *Poet of Galilee*.

COSMIC CONSCIOUSNESS; or the Vedantic Idea of Realization or Mukti in the Light of Modern Psychology. By M. C. Nanjunda Row. Madras: Natesan, 1909. Pp. 237. Price 2s.

This is a revision of a paper read at the seventy-sixth birthday anniversary of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. The author believes that the Vedantic idea of Mukti, or liberation, is the same as the Western idea of cosmic consciousness as expounded for instance in Doctor Richard M. Buck's book on the subject. He also believes that this is the basic truth of the teachings of all great religions and that in this conception lies the opportunity for an eventual harmony between the composite nationalities of India. Mr. Row's conception of this principle was that of an unsolvable mystery, until he came in contact with the life and teachings of a simple unlettered Brahman lady whose one claim to greatness was that she was supremely happy. He feels sure that she possessed preeminently all the characteristic signs of Mukti (later described in the chapter on "Effects of Liberation"). A vision came to her in her thirtieth year from which she gained an insight which led her to exclaim:

"O Light, Holy Light, that art the very essence of my life! Thou existed for all eternity, Thou wert with me while I was an infant, when I grew into girlhood, and then into a woman, and in fact always. Is it to realize Thee that I had to struggle so hard these ten years and undergo all this tribulation and mental suffering? Thou wert never without me, and I never without thee.

"Thou art mine own, mine equal and my Spouse,  
My complement, without whom I were naught;  
So in mine eyes thou art more fair than I,  
For in thee only is my life fulfilled."

Oh! now that I have realized thee birth and death are at an end. I see I am unchangeable; I am all bliss; I am ever existent; I am all pervading; naught else exists but me. How happy I am."

As soon as Mr. Row read Dr. Buck's *Cosmic Consciousness* and Professor James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* he realized how greatly this illiterate woman exemplified the cosmic consciousness. He quotes her as saying, "I never read any book, I do not know your Gita, nor your Upanishads; but when Pandits versed in these works came and told me all about the attributes of the Atman, it struck me as if they were exposing my very inner being and describing my own experiences. In fact, it is I who confirmed the truth of the Gita and the Upanishads and they in their turn confirmed my experiences." This account of a poor Hindu woman is certainly of great psychological interest and it is under the inspiration of this Vedantic saint that Mr. Row gives his exposition of Mukti under the headings "Stages of Mental Evolution," "Stages of Evolution in Man," "Effects of Liberation," "Methods of Attainment," and "Cosmic Consciousness as it Affects our Present Condition."

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THE DIMENSIONAL IDEA AS AN AID TO RELIGION. By W. F. Tyler. New York: Fenno. Pp. 75. Price 50 cents.

Here is an attempt of a man to work out his own religion on the basis of his education and environment. Judging from the preface the author dis-

claims a philosophical education and says that he is a "hard-working individual" following his "introspective gropings stimulated by his desultory reading." This is all true and appears from the book. As the most interesting feature of the author's explanations we may point out that he is apparently thoughtful and a man of wide experience. To characterize his common sense we quote these sentences from the preface: "Many dissatisfied with and distrustful of the beliefs in which they were brought up, search about for some new belief appealing to some facet of their nature. In many cases they will discard a belief because one-tenth of it does not appeal to them, and accept in its stead another, of which only one-tenth does appeal. Such are those who take to the so-called Christian Science, to Spiritualism, and to the New Theology. They throw away an old established mystic idea because it is mystic, and adopt in its place merely a new mysticism no easier to understand than the old one." Incidentally it crops out that the author lives in China and visits England frequently. He aspires to become clear about the mystery of mysteries, the inwardness of man's life and to make it plausible that there is something more than this material and tridimensional world, but he is unfortunate in selecting what he calls the dimensional idea to be the corner stone of his religious hope. He sees many possibilities in the fourth dimension, and its incomprehensibility is discarded on the ground "that infinity and eternity exist and yet these ideas are incomprehensible to us." We will not criticize the details of this book. We will only say that eternity and infinitude are aspects of time and space. They are not realities or actualities but unlimited functions of our thought, and if viewed as such they are by no means incomprehensible. On the contrary it would be incomprehensible if we were obliged to think of time and space as limited. What is impossible is only to represent or, as it were, to visualize an infinity or an eternity as a completed real thing, but such a demand is not made and should not be made. Yet on such a notion hinges the widely spread claim that infinity and eternity are incomprehensible. We do not believe that the fourth dimension can yield what Mr. Tyler expects of it, but we believe that his aim of securing the higher ground of what might be popularly called religion, is obtainable by comprehending that the fleeting forms of existence are actualizations of eternalities. The life of every individual passes, but the significance of his aspirations, his aims and highest ideals are the expressions of an eternal world-order which in the Christian religion is called God.

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ST. GEORGE OF CAPPADOCIA IN LEGEND AND HISTORY. - By *Cornelia Steketee Hulst*. London: David Nutt, 1909. Pp. 156.

This attractive book with its many exquisite illustrations is a collection of the literature and art which have clustered about the personality of St. George. In 494 the learned Pope Gelasius said of him that his "virtues and names are rightly adored among men but his actions are known only to God," thus warning the people against believing in what he called "forged false acts of St. George." The claims of St. George were reconsidered at the time of the Reformation, and Calvin classed him as a mythical saint, in which judgment Protestants have generally agreed. The illustrations are of historic and artistic value; the frontispiece is a reproduction in colors of a section of the Bayeux Tapestry, and the text is interspersed with full-page half-tone repro-

ductions of paintings by Raphael, Veronese, Guido Reni, Giorgione, Tintoretto and many others.

After discussing with great thoroughness the history and legend of St. George, the allegory of St. George and the Dragon, the spread of the Veneration of this saint before the first crusade, the various orders of St. George and institutions and incidents which show his influence, and the romantic developments of the St. George legend, Mrs. Hulst enumerates nearly three hundred artistic representations of the saint and his story, together with the present location of their originals. This is followed by a bibliography of one hundred and twenty titles.

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THE OLD TESTAMENT in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia. By *Theophilus G. Pinches*. London: S. P. C. K., 1908. 3d ed., pp. 597.

This work by the famous Assyriologist of University College, London, now appears in its third edition which has been revised in the light of the latest works of inquiry by King, Sayce, Winckler and others. Its original intent was not so much to relate new facts and discoveries as to bring together as many of the old ones as possible in a new form more easily comprehended and more attractive to the general reader than the customary lucubrations of specialists. The author has especially given living interest to his account by breaking the monotony of the narrative with frequent quotations from the original records themselves, thus letting them tell their own story.

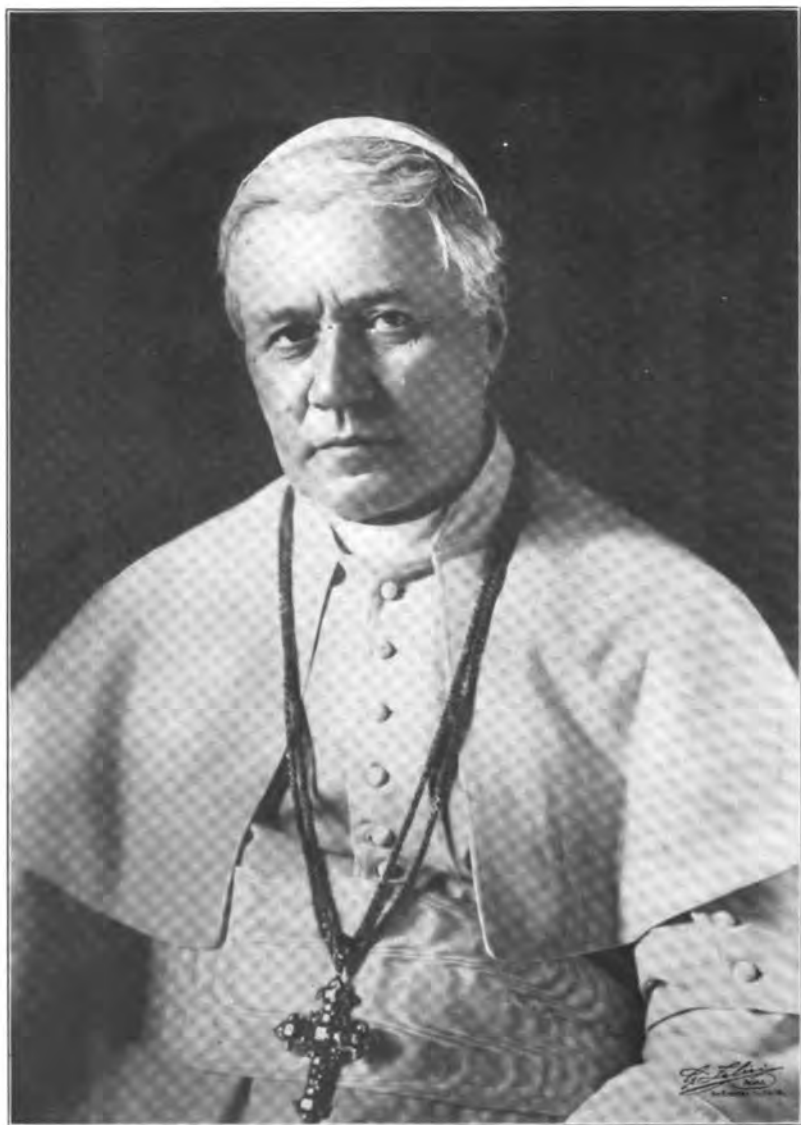
Professor Pinches is one of the prominent assyriologists represented in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* recently issued in honor of the great Assyriologist of the University of Pennsylvania, and his contribution is a brief note on "Some Mathematical Tables of the British Museum," which are analogous to a series of tables found among the temple library at Nippur and published by Professor Hilprecht in his report of the Pennsylvania Babylonian expedition.

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JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, A FORERUNNER OF PRAGMATISM. By *Albert Schinz*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. 39. Price 50c.

This is an interesting comparison between Rousseau and William James in their development and opinions by the author of *Anti-Pragmatism*. Professor Schinz divides the activity of these thinkers into three periods. He discusses first the definition of pragmatism, and then takes up in detail the scientific phase, the physio-psychological phase and the pragmatic phase of Rousseau's thought always with reference to the corresponding element in James. These he follows with "Three Characteristic Applications of Pragmatic Principles." The main essay is followed by three appendices which give additional details with regard to Rousseau's relations with Condillac and Madame de Genlis, and conclude by calling attention to the fact that Rousseau seems to be in favor of pragmatic ignorance for the masses, while holding that for the select few, science is desirable and desirable in the interest of all.





HIS HOLINESS—POPE PIUS X.

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 5.)

MAY, 1910.

NO. 648.

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## MODERNISM IN AMERICA.

BY AN AMERICANIST.

FATHER Tyrrell, less than a year before his too early death, said, speaking of Modernism in America: "I cannot understand America. With its freedom and intelligence, its representatives ought to be in the forefront of the Modernist movement. Yet Modernism has produced there hardly an echo. The Church in America is asleep; and I can conceive nothing that will awaken it, but the production of some book native to the soil, which will raise so loud a cry of reform that all who have ears must hear."

The disappointment expressed in these words has been felt and uttered by practically all the leading Modernists of Europe. On his visit here two years ago, Houtin said that Roman Catholicism in this country was in almost primeval darkness, and all but blind to what shall probably be considered one of the most momentous agitations of Christian history. Loisy in his mild way has wondered at the lack of intellectual activity among American Catholics, and Ehrhardt has expressed himself on the subject in terms of summary contempt, declaring in substance that the Church in America has yet to show the first sign of the possession of scholarship in the face of modern problems.

The astonishment and regret of these men are perfectly natural. They are engaged in a movement for a religious life which shall be intelligent and free. They are seeking to prove that religion is greater than the formulas which once were thought adequate to express it; that the life of the spirit is not of so contemptible a value as to be menaced because a text is shown to be spurious, or a devout legend unmasked; and that in seeking religious truth the intelligence of mankind ought not to be submitted to the coercion of any external authority, save the sovereign authority of critical and scientific evidence. What was more to be expected then, than that

they should look for support to America, and to their co-religionists in America? Whence could a more zealous advocacy of Modernism have rightly been anticipated? To what other country could a movement for emancipation, intellectual and spiritual, turn with more confident assurance? The assurance was all the greater, as from among us had appeared Modernism's precursor, Americanism. The late Pope condemned tendencies, which he said existed here, toward an undue independence, a restiveness under venerable restraints, and a general attitude of novelty, of experiment, and of modernizing. And it cannot be doubted that these admonitions of January, 1899, were received here with considerably more coolness than was to the fancy of the Papal court.

For one thing the Italian theologians were thoroughly unfortunate in the name they chose to affix to our domestic shortcomings. Americanism is a word that connotes patriotism. It seems to embrace all that is indigenous to this republic and is typical of it; and whatever becomes of Biblical criticism, or the philosophy of dogmatic conformity, the mass of Catholics in this country will not be un-American. So the *Testis benevolentiae*, which laid Rome's solemn disapproval upon Americanism, was not received with enthusiasm, and raised indeed in some quarters a levity not far removed from disdain which fitted ill with the letter's august source. It assuredly loosened rather than tied more firmly the bonds uniting America to Rome. Accordingly, when Modernism arose—again a word of singularly unhappy invention for its authors—the world felt sure that those who had been Americanists would make the easy transition and become Modernists. But we have produced no Modernists of eminence, though there are American names in the martyrology of the movement, and to this day this apparent inconsistency, this lack of response to the message of the greater prophets, in a country which prepared the way by its minor prophets, are a puzzle and a pain to the men who are so valiantly fighting the battle oversea.

It is worth while to look into the reasons for this condition of things, which undoubtedly is to the disadvantage of religious progress, and to venture a forecast as to the probable fortunes of Modernist Catholicism in the years to come.

But before going to the heart of the matter, a word must be said concerning the magnitude of this question of Modernism. It is not a squabble *intra parietes*, one of the petty ecclesiastical quarrels which the student of large problems can afford to despise. It is fundamentally a great question of spiritual liberty, attended, as

advancing liberty nearly always is, with the tragic element of suffering, as men strive to reach forward to the new light of the intellect while not relinquishing the ancient loyalties of the heart. It has brought a crisis perhaps of life and death to the mightiest religious organization that has ever existed among men. It aims at a restatement of the creed, a revolutionary change in the external polity, and a regeneration of the inner spirit of the mother-church of Christendom. Upon the issue of it depends, to an extent which those who know the movement best are most inclined to magnify, the future place of Roman Catholicism in the history of civilization.

Will the Church, which was once the arbiter of Europe, turn aside from traditions of secular ambition and authority? Will the great tribunal which retains its Index, still a power, and its Inquisition, now a shadow, say to the scholar: "I will not interfere with you; be free!" and to the heretic: "I will not anathematize you; be sincere!"? Will the institution which, claiming absolute infallibility, has moulded the minds of its devout adherents to total submissiveness, modify its claim, and relax the obedience in which it holds half the civilized world? These are the questions raised by Modernism. This is the crisis which has wrung a cry of terror from the present Pope. And the crisis is of so impressive a magnitude, extending indeed to other orthodoxies over and beyond the Roman; it is so full of possibilities for the religious history of the future that the interest in it must appeal not only to the Roman Catholic, but to every man reflective enough to read history in the events that happen before his eyes.

Why then has the Church in the United States taken so small a part in the agitation? Principally for two reasons: "First, Modernism, while not wholly, is predominantly, an intellectual movement. It began in Biblical criticism with Loisy, Lagrange, and Minocchi, all under the influence of German scholarship. It pushed its researches into the history of dogma and comparative religion, with Cumont, Turmel, and Batiffol. And it ended in philosophy, with an attempt at reconstruction and reconciliation, under the leadership of Blondel, Laberthonnière, Le Roy, and Tyrrell. Now any movement of distinctively academic parentage will be slow in penetrating either the clergy or the laity of the Roman Catholic Church in America. It is a simple fact that among them critical studies are in a state of infancy. The Catholic University at Washington, the best institution of that Church for furnishing an introduction to the methods of criticism, has only a handful of students, and the professors have repeatedly deplored the lack of

interest in their school. And, to come to the most conspicuous as well as to an absolutely decisive proof that the Church in this country is intellectually backward, in all the voluminous literature of Biblical criticism, the history of dogmas and religions, and the philosophy of religious phenomena, not a single work of competence and authority has yet been produced by an American Catholic, and the books that reach even the second class are hardly more than half a dozen.

There are, of course, mitigating circumstances. The clergy here are busy with the rough work of building up a rapidly growing Church; and—a fact not less important—the Church in this young nation has no traditions of scholarship, no generations of illustrious thinkers and teachers, as Europe has, and in consequence it lacks one of the most powerful inspirations to a life of study and research.

There is another less creditable reason which cannot be ignored. A few years ago at a meeting of Catholic educators in Milwaukee, two papers were read, written by priests who had had long experience in the direction of seminaries, which declared with a frankness that quite stunned the college officials present, especially the Jesuits among them, that the men sent up to the seminaries by Catholic colleges are in a condition of almost scandalous unfitness for prosecuting the higher studies of an ecclesiastical course. The indictment—for it was nothing less—stated that not only were these candidates deficient in positive erudition, but that they were mentally untrained, unable to grasp a problem, incapable of thinking for themselves, and formulating an independent personal conclusion on a matter of scholarship. The complaint was new only in the daring method of announcing it. It had been made years before in a less public manner, and is made still, by the professors of the Catholic University. Obviously a condition thus criticised must change before a fundamentally critical movement like Modernism can get a fair start.

The other reason why American Catholics have not investigated Modernism, even after the word and the thing became famous, is that we have had here neither a noteworthy book on the subject from a native pen, nor a *cause célèbre*. In Europe, not only is Modernist literature extensive, but Catholics have seen one review after another suppressed by Rome, eminent professors driven from their chairs, scholarly priests suspended with startling frequency, and condemnations of divers degrees of ecclesiastical severity striking down the best-known representatives of Catholic scholarship. Inevitably these agitations set intelligent persons thinking and investi-

gating. The air was and is full of the subject; and for an educated European Catholic not to know something about Modernism, has become almost as much out of the question as it would have been for an American of Civil War times not to follow the fortunes of Grant and Lee. With us the case is entirely different. No book has appeared here; no magazine has been founded; no anathema hurled; no scholar publicly silenced. We have made a solitude and we call it peace. The excitement reaches us only as it dies away in echo. Modernism has not been brought home to America.

Shall it ever be brought home? We think so; and believe it will be in the manner suggested in the keen remark of Father Tyrrell quoted at the head of this article. The very air and soil of America are favorable to Modernism, as to all other movements that make for intelligence, strength, sincerity and independence. We know what the American spirit is in the political and social order. Translate it into the religious order, and you have Modernism at its best and purest.

The Church in the United States simply needs to know Modernism; then we may be sure, before long it will embrace it. The question is how best to teach it? How acquaint a clergy and laity, more or less indifferent to critical studies, with the problems which Modernism raises?

In the opinion of the writer of this article, a beginning should be made with Americanism. That is to say, the man who sets himself to that sore need of progress—the teaching of Modernism to Roman orthodoxy in this country—should put in the forefront of his work the contrasting attitudes of America and Rome toward the three fundamental ideas of personal liberty, especially liberty of conscience, separation of church and state, and freedom of opinion and research. These three principles constitute an Americanism which all who are true Americans indorse, Catholics as well as non-Catholics. Yet all three are condemned in the most explicit manner by the official theology of the Vatican. The American Catholic who sees this, who has it driven home to him by documents the most formal, and facts the most sure, will get his first awakening to the existence in the infallible church of elements which are out of harmony with progress and modernity. He will perceive that there is need for reform, and that his help should be given to the men who are fighting for reform. Above all, his mind shall have been thus prepared for the discussion of the graver questions of historical criticism which form the central fortress of Modernism. To have

seen the need of change in the lesser, is but one step short of acknowledging the necessity of improvement in the greater.

A few carefully selected examples of critical processes, as these pertain to the Bible and to the evolution of dogma, will open the eyes to the crisis which scholarship and truth have brought upon the creeds. It will appear that the catechism and the manual of dogmatic theology are not the last words of wisdom; that the old-fashioned cast-iron literalism in interpreting Scriptural texts and doctrinal formulas, must give way to a saner, freer, and more spiritual manner of approaching these things; and that, as the Church once assimilated Platonism, and later Aristotelianism, to the extent of expressing her dogmas in the terminology of these systems, so is there to-day a call for new formulations in conformity with the assured results of modern criticisms and religious philosophy. To put the case in a few words, such a work of awakening as Father Tyrrell looked for, should be, not a treatise on one or other specialized aspect of criticism, but a sort of prolegomena to the study of Roman Catholicism as confronted by modern civilization and scholarship. Only a book of this description, covering the ground from reforms that are roughly practical and disciplinary, to those that are dogmatic and radical, will do the required work of education, and give any notable assistance to the formation in the United States, of an intelligent and earnest sympathy for the men who are striving to save all that is best in the most stringent of orthodoxies from the wreck that threatens the entire establishment.





## LETTERS TO HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X.

BY A MODERNIST.

### EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

THE author of these letters to his Holiness Pope Pius X is not known to me personally, but I have heard enough about him to form a vivid picture of his character and attitude. My source of information is not limited to Catholics; in fact, my acquaintance with him is due to a widely known Protestant theologian, who lives in one of our Eastern metropolitan cities.

Judging from what I know, the author is a devout Christian and also a good Catholic in the broad sense of the word. He has been an active priest for many years, and is devoted to his pastoral work. But his piety has suffered severe shocks and he is fretting under the conflict between the ideal he cherishes and the realization with which, to his deep regret, he finds so much fault. The result is a state of mind which can be imagined from these letters to the highest ecclesiastical authority. They are written in the hope that His Holiness will hear the voice crying in the wilderness. If we are not mistaken in the signs of the time, this voice is not isolated. It finds a strong resonance in the minds of many pious Catholics, who realize that it would not be wise to speak out boldly because

of the subtle methods of the organized hierarchy, which have hitherto proved very efficient in meeting any attempt at reform. It is easy enough to force the discontented out of the church, but the church would scarcely be benefited thereby.

These letters are not intended to create a sensation, but to prepare for a future which, in moments of enthusiasm, seems near at hand. They have a twofold purpose. On the one hand our author wants to make the Curia feel its enormous responsibility, and on the other hand to educate both priest and layman for the work of reconstruction.

The author himself expresses the purpose which he has in mind in his recent correspondence as follows:

"Nothing can be truer than your declaration that one who would work for reform needs to examine his conscience as to his motives. I can say in very solemn truth that before setting to work on the 'Letters' I examined mine. Two years before I put pen to the final writing I made a beginning on them—and tore up what I had written because not yet satisfied that I ought to undertake so grave a responsibility. All the thought that I could bring to the decision, as well as all the counsel I could get, preceded the determination to go ahead with the work. So far as I can read the processes of mind and conscience that issued in the decision to write the book, these two considerations were foremost. First, to do a work of education among the priests of the church. I know that body of men well—their nobility, their vague aspirations, their concealed sufferings—and I am convinced to a degree of absolute certainty that the first step toward progress, and a primary need of truth, is to educate them—to undo, in part, anyhow, the results of a training in self-repression, which begins often when they are children of fourteen and fifteen—and leaves them for life with crippled personalities and perverted minds. Secondly, I desired to show—and make the effort, in the second part of the book—that dark and painful as the collapse of a cherished orthodoxy is—still, when criticism has done its worst, it leaves us a splendid Christ to revere, and an immortal spirit to purify and love. I hope that the book is both educational and constructive. I trust it attacks nothing that Truth itself and Progress are not attacking—and that it has something to offer for all that it takes away. At all events, every word of it is written in sincerity, and many words of it were written in feelings which, if possible, are deeper still."

In further comment I may add a word of my own.

I know the attraction which the Catholic church has, and at the

same time I know the shortcomings of Protestantism. Many Protestants look upon art as pagan, if not as superstitious, while Catholicism has inherited, or rather gradually acquired, the beauty of old paganism. Pope Gregory X, when rebuilding St. Peter's, crowned the cross of the aisles with the Pantheon in conscious recognition of his intention to have Christians imbued with the spirit of classical antiquity. This Pope, who was incapable of understanding the zeal of Luther and who is often denounced by Protestants as an infidel and a pagan, was, in his way, a reformer of the church. His love of art, quite in contradiction to the tendencies of early Christianity, has become an inheritance of the Roman church, while Protestants, in contrast to Catholics, have retained to a great extent a hostile attitude to art. This is especially true of the Puritans.

Both Confessions, Romanism and Protestantism, have pursued their ideals in their own ways. By concentrating their fervor on truth irrespective of consequences, Protestant savants have worked out philosophy, science, and Biblical criticism, and have made science the basis of a new and higher civilization. The inheritance of Catholics has been limited to art and mystical devotion, and whatever may be wrong in it, Protestantism is now ready to broaden and to accept of art what is good and noble. Superstitions, at least so far as belief in legend and liberalism is concerned, have in Protestant countries entirely lost their hold on the human mind and there is no danger of a relapse. It is time that the two hostile brothers should share their inheritance, and while Protestants would welcome art, Catholics might give the right of free inquiry and confidence in admitting to scientific truth a recognized place in their theology.

Should the Roman Catholic church not conform to the demands of the time, should the Curia continue to prevent a reformation so much needed, it is quite probable that many pious souls will break away from Rome and originate a genuine Catholic church. There are not a few who cling devoutly to the traditional form of worship, but who are dissatisfied with the narrowness of the old ecclesiastical institutions.

The present Catholic church is not Catholic but is Italian, and even Roman. Its first principle is that only an Italian can become Pope, and among the Cardinals few non-Italians are tolerated in order to keep the balance of power in Italy. Will the time ever come when the Roman Catholic church will drop the epithet "Roman" and will be simply a Catholic church in which Romans, Americans, English and Germans are on a parity?

In case Rome should be impervious to the kindly advice of

her sons, would not the natural outcome be a Catholic church independent of Rome?

The situation reminds us of Christ's lamentation over Jerusalem in Luke xix. 41-42: "And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, 'If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.'" Let the men who have the ear of Pius X read the handwriting on the wall.

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# I

## *The Need for These Letters*

YOUR HOLINESS:

It has become unfortunately very rare, it is considered indeed to be not only improper but irreligious, for a simple Christian to offer counsel or remonstrance to his ecclesiastical superiors. However tyrannical and unchristian the acts of Pope or prelate may be, however cruel the suffering he may inflict, the common faithful must raise no voice of protest. When recently the most illustrious laymen of France, among whom were such men as Brunetière, Thureau-Dangin, de Vogüé and d'Haussonville, earnestly recommended that your Holiness give a loyal trial to the Briand separation-law, and pointed out how uncalled for and disastrous would be the course which it pleased you to adopt, they were roundly scored for the impertinent presumption of giving advice to a Pope. When also the loyal Catholics of Italy, wearied unto very sickness with the Papacy's puerile attitude toward the Italian government, founded their League of National Democracy for the promoting both of patriotism to their country and devotion to their church, they were condemned and silenced, and their noble project put under ban of anathema. Even should it be that a bishop himself speak out in conscientious opposition, though in the most respectful terms, to this or that Papal policy, he is considered by the regnant autocracy at Rome as having transgressed the limits of the servitude which the Curia has imposed upon mankind. Witness the late bishop of La Rochelle, stricken in his very death-hour by Roman censure, because of his solicitude to mitigate the severity of your Holiness's condemnation of the Separation law. Witness certain of our own American bishops who informed Leo XIII ten years ago that his fancied Americanism did not exist here, and thereby came under the high displeasure of the Roman camarilla. Witness the three German bishops who only yesterday, as it were, supported the

project of erecting a monument to the pure-minded Christian scholar, Hermann Schell, and received from your Holiness summary disapproval and crushing rebuke. Schell's stainless name is hated at the Vatican; therefore no Catholic must venerate it. When the Pope speaks let every tongue be still; when the Pope acts let every head be bowed. If we feel righteous indignation at Roman folly, we must not utter it. Should even our very conscience revolt, we must repress it. Blind, stupid, slavish submission—this alone is left us.

So strongly is Roman coercion riveted upon prelates, priests and people, that the old Catholic independence is lost, the old episcopal dignity sunk to serfdom. Men of candor and strong personality, men who bend the knee to God alone and follow not the tricks of fawning—can such men obtain bishoprics to-day? No, except by accident, and a rare accident. Weakness, the inevitable consequence of subservience, is the universal result. Weak men are appointed bishops; poor, docile, unintellectual instruments who see no disgrace in being liveried lackeys of Italian congregations, deem it not dishonorable to profess in their official documents that they owe their successorship to the apostles "to the mercy of the Apostolic See"—*Sanctæ sedis misericordia*—and conceive it to be the highest purpose of episcopal statesmanship to make this year's Peter's Pence more opulent than the last.

It was not always so. Catholicism and Romanism were not always one; and if to-day we must hold our peace whether Rome does well or ill, time was when the spirit of manhood could coexist with Holy Orders, and not even the might of the Sovereign Pontificate dared to assail it with impunity. To one of your predecessors an Irish monk, Columbanus, wrote the splendid defiance, *Si tollis libertatem, tollis et dignitatem*; "if you destroy liberty, you destroy honor". To Pope Eugenius, St. Bernard, another monk, dared to send a sturdy warning against the corruption surrounding the Roman See. Disgusted with the profane pomp displayed by the successors of a Galilean fisherman, the austere Cistercian reminded the head of Western Christendom: "*In his successisti, non Petro sed Constantino*": "in this you make yourself the successor not of Peter, but of Constantine". (*De Consid.* Bk. IV-c. 3).

The government of the Church, says Gregory I, in words which we of this time can scarcely believe to be the words of a Pope, ought never to crush the right of honorable protest. "*Necesse est ut cura regiminis tanta moderaminis arte temperetur, quatenus subditorum mens, cum quaedam recte sentire potuerit, sic in vocis*

libertatem prodeat, ut tamen libertas in superbiam non erumpat." (*De Cura Past.* II-8.) So Hilary of Poitiers sturdily condemned Pope Liberius; so Catherine of Sienna poured an invective of fire upon the sordid souls of the Curialists of her time; so Strossmayer told the Vatican Council that the Italianizing of the world must cease if Catholicity is to prosper; so, to conclude with the first and greatest of such instances, Paul withstood Peter for betraying the spirit and the cause of Christ.

Yes, the sorrowful history of Roman tyranny has been now and then illuminated by spokesmen of freedom. Simple priests and humble monks and weak women have dared to speak their minds to the wearers of the triple crown; and at intervals the voice of candor has flung its challenge into halls that were better acquainted with the accents of subservience, falsehood and intrigue. In the spirit of these apostles of truth-telling, the writer of these letters ventures, your Holiness, to commit the impropriety of addressing you. Who I am is of the smallest consequence. Suffice it to say that I am an American, penetrated to the heart with the love and the traditions of my country; that as an American I cannot tolerate bondage, and must detest whatever man or institution endeavors to check the ever-growing, ever-rising personality of man in its aspirations for larger freedom and more perfect truth; that furthermore, I have been drilled and disciplined in the Roman system from my youth; that for years I could see no distinction between Romanism and Catholicism; but that now after long study and reflection, in the course of which I have tried to follow the highest ideals of Truth which God has permitted me to see, I have come to the conclusion that a Papal power capable in this twentieth century of such infamies as the Syllabus of Pius IX and your own campaign against modernism, is irreconcilable with civilization and is destructive of the religion of Jesus Christ.

## II

### *The Purpose of These Letters*

YOUR HOLINESS:

In writing these letters I am deluded by no false hope, no vain expectation. Had I the genius of Pascal, I should no more hope to influence the traditional spirit of the Roman See than that illustrious man in his day hoped to destroy Jesuitism. It goes without saying, that I wish some such words as these of mine might receive impartial consideration in the court over which you preside. Nothing is dearer to my heart than that the best traditions of Catholicity



—its splendid sanctity, its divine fecundity of heroism, its priceless mysticism, should gain access to the souls of modern men, and sanctify and save them. Yes, Holy Father, I devoutly wish, that you might bear with me even when, overcome by feeling, I speak perhaps too harshly of the history of your exalted office. Would that laying every prejudice aside you might say: "Why is the modern world so hostile to Catholicism? Why have the most enlightened nations of history rejected it and set themselves against it? What is the reason? Has it any justification? Can I do anything to correct mistakes and remove antipathies which are ruinous to the cause of Christ? I will listen to what sincere men would say to me. Their speech may be at times intemperate, but it is easy to overlook that if their intention be upright and their remonstrance true. These modernist reformers, so hateful to the Curia, are very often of high intelligence and unquestioned probity, and of a truth their number is astonishingly increasing. They are neither fools nor criminals; they have a message; they wish to serve religion. Let me see—me who am beholden to Jesus Christ, how I discharge my shepherdship if there be not in these loud cries some appeal to my conscience, some summons to a duty not yet fulfilled. May I not have to incur in my judgment-hour the reproach uttered by holy Bernard to one who wore my tiara: *Quousque murmur universæ terræ, aut dissimulas aut non avertis!* 'How long have you been deaf to the outcry of the whole world!'"

Alas! there is no ground to hope that either Pope or bishop will thus heed the reformer's cry. Every earnest spirit that in our time has attacked consecrated iniquity or ecclesiastical folly has been bludgeoned. Look at the men who have spoken for pure religion and truth against Roman oppression: Gratry, Montefeltro, Gioberti, Montalembert, Lamennais, Döllinger, Schell, Murri, Tyrrell—why extend the list?—noble names, high-minded men of God, yet every one of them saw his dream dissolve, and died, or will die, forlorn, defeated, hopeless.

No, I have no expectation of succeeding where these great souls have failed. The walls of Jericho collapse no longer at the trumpet call of consecrated men. Save that the Papacy has been deprived of the power to shed blood, its grip upon its remaining adherents was hardly ever more suffocating than in this present day. Its autocracy has still a long history before it, and hundreds yet unborn are destined to be added to the lengthy list of its victims. But I do hope in these letters to your Holiness, to help the formation, especially among American Catholics, of a public opinion, which will

send across the Atlantic some ringing word, some typically American defiance, against the non-representative cabal whose only courtesy to us has been the taking of our lavish largesses of money. I do hope to open the eyes of some of our fair-minded priests to the appalling falsifications of their poor, pitiable seminary education, and to the mental and spiritual bondage in which, to the grievous injury of character and manhood, they are enslaved. I do hope to express in the name of America, which has thus far been silent, a protest against your frenzied crusade upon the rights of human intelligence. I do hope to tell you frankly why the Church is losing ground every day among civilized and enlightened peoples, and to put it before your conscience whether you, who alone can do it, will relieve the momentous situation, will turn your back upon traditions whose history reeks with blood and is foul with corruption, and take as your simple standard: Not the Curia, but Christ!

### III

#### *The Purpose of These Letters (continued)*

YOUR HOLINESS:

It is my purpose to tell you why the modern world rejects and distrusts Roman Catholicism. Until we know the answer to that question Catholics are in a fool's paradise, their apologetics are inept, their dreams of conversions only hallucinations, their wider religious activities almost ridiculous. I am aware that in the marvelous mentality of the strict Roman theologian, the question is summarily answered. The most highly enlightened nations of the world have cast off Roman Catholicism because they are under the power of Satan, and of his chief instruments, the Free-Masons. *Voilà!* the problem is solved. This solution I have no intention of refuting. It would degrade the intellect of a grown man to discuss it. Merely let me say, Your Holiness, that the educated minds of Germany, France, England, and the United States, have not set the Father of Falsehood upon the altar of the God of Truth; and that whenever the Catholic religion shall appear before them as a purely spiritual society, existing for no other purpose whatsoever than to reproduce the Christ-life upon earth, they will turn to her with overflowing hearts, will merge all their differences in a world-wide spiritual brotherhood, and will recognize with new ardor the supreme leadership of Jesus Christ.

But now, and for imperative reasons, as I soon shall point out, they do not regard Roman Catholicism as a purely religious society.

They consider it, on its official, on its Roman side, a mischievous political institution that has done its best to wreck civilization in the past, and is still a deadly menace to the civilization of to-day and of the future. They can see nothing resembling Christ in the Roman Curia, and in the Papacy as it functions now. They dread it; they abhor it. Until it radically changes, until it candidly gives the lie to its past history, they will have no dealings and no patience with it. And the solemn responsibility that rests upon you, and upon those who will come after you, is whether you will save the souls of the modern world, or prefer to save the worthless forms of a dead and rotting theocracy.

#### IV

##### *What Is Religion?*

YOUR HOLINESS:

Before coming to the reasons on which the modern world bases its rejection of Roman Catholicism, let us go back to certain primary principles of religious life and thought. Bear with me while I touch upon a definition or two which a penny catechism furnishes indeed, but in hardly adequate terms. What, after all, is the Christian religion? What is the Church of Christ? Religion is the name for our God-obeying, Godward-growing life. Religion means union with Deity, character-culture in the pursuit of infinite Truth, Justice and Love. The Christian religion signifies the type and method of these spiritual relationships as shown forth and taught by Christ. Christianity is God-worship in the Christ-manner; soul-cultivation after the Christ-model. In a word, the aim of Christianity is to reproduce and perpetuate the Christ-life. A Christian Church is a brotherhood of Christian disciples; and that Church will be the best and truest church which teaches in the most pure and perfect way the Christ-life, the Christ-character. It seems too obvious to need remarking, but there is, as we shall see, abundant reason to remark, that Christianity, or the Christ-ideal, can never stand in opposition to morality, to the ideas of goodness, charity, mercy and truth which our Creator has placed within our spirit. Christianity is rather to purify and exalt these ideals. If they are attacked, it cannot be Christ that attacks them; and if it be that someone does attack them in Christ's name, we may straightway know that such a one is consciously or unconsciously misrepresenting the Lord in whom all our ideals shine forth divinely, and is an apostate from the perfect standard which he has left us.

Furthermore, religion is not the sole activity of man. In all

other departments of the higher life, too, we must grow; we must be forever dropping the less to reach forth for the greater. Growth in Truth and in Liberty is the law of the beneficent Providence which has made us men. And just as only a falsification and travesty of Christianity can contradict morality, so only a falsification and travesty of Christianity can contradict these other species of human progress. A true Christian Church therefore must perpetuate the Christ-ideal while never obstructing the higher evolution of mankind, which is as much a part of God's Providence as Christianity itself. Accordingly, the Church must be one, inasmuch as the ideal life which it is its *raison d'être* to inculcate, is one; it must be holy, because its purpose is the sacredest possible to man; and it must be Catholic; that is to say, it must further all forms of human development by sanctifying the root and origin of all. If any Church—let us say it once more—does not fulfill this mission, if it officially degrades morality, and obstructs the pathway of the higher human evolution, to that extent it is faithless to the Christ-type, it is renegade to the Christ-teacher, it is a falsehood and an imposition; and instead of forming men to the Gospel standard, it will turn many of them away in disgust from any religion whatsoever. Can anything be plainer?

I have been using the terms Christ-spirit, Christ-life, Christ-ideal. I trust there is no need for detailed definitions here. Surely we know who and what was Jesus. He is the crown and glory of human character. Love of truth, that made Him defy a corrupt hierarchy; consecration to duty, that led Him to the cross; gentleness, that crowns him with winning loveliness beyond any other of the sons of men; mercy, that has let us see that no penitent or prodigal need despair; in these, how divinely great and glorious He is! How He rises above His nation by conceiving the Kingdom as not for the Jews alone, but for the world! How He scorns the caste-pride of the Pharisees by sitting down to eat with sinners! How He shatters the antipathies of narrow orthodoxy by putting forth as models the heretic leper who returned to give thanks, and the heretic philanthropist on the road to Jericho, who understood God better than the Levite or priest! It were sacrilege to think of Him as brutal; as striking with cruel fist any face upturned to God; as grinding any of the little ones He loved beneath the iron heel of tyranny. O Sovereign Pontiff, the standard of men and institutions is not Canon Law, but He, the Master; not ancient tradition, but the everlasting God as shining out upon us in the perfect Christ.

## V

*The Attitude of the Modern World Toward Official Catholicism*  
YOUR HOLINESS:

In due time I shall bring the subject-matter of the preceding letter to bear upon Papal history. Just now let me recall to you in detail some of the chief reasons for the modern world's refusal to embrace Roman Catholicism. You do not know them, I dare say; few in the Church over which you hold sovereign dominion appreciate them in any intelligent degree. What with all this fury over modernism, what with the puerile orthodox shuddering at Satan and Free-Masonry as the cause of the Church's troubles, the real reasons are persistently and foolishly ignored. Now then, in a candid and downright fashion, let us see what they are.

The enlightened nations of to-day, Holy Father, are decisively in opposition to Roman Catholicism, largely, yes, primarily, because as has been said, they look upon it as the irreconcilable enemy of progress and civilization. The sanctity which appears so often and so brilliantly in the Church, they acknowledge and revere. The intelligent American non-Catholic speaks as affectionately as would one of the Catholic household, of the Sisters who sacrifice their lives for the orphans, the aged, and the sick. He bows his head in veneration at heroic names like that of Damien. His Catholic neighbors he esteems according to their worth. Catholic charities he is liberal in helping to support. But over and beyond the diviner side of Catholicism he sees the sinister forms, he reads the foul history of Papacy and Curia. These he abhors. With these as they have been and still are, he cannot, while the world lasts, be reconciled. He regards the political Papacy and the autocracy of the Curia as a menace to human liberty, as destructive of enlightenment and subversive of pure religion. It is as impossible to convert Germany, England and America to the Papacy, as to Mohammedanism. The triumph of Islam itself in their judgment would be no more disastrous to mankind than the re-establishment of the sovereign of medieval Rome.

I am speaking plainly, but with literal truthfulness. The Papacy and the Curia were the chief reasons for the revolt of the sixteenth century; the Papacy and the Curia are the chief reasons why that revolt is not abated in the twentieth. Now, then, why is there such an attitude toward Papal Rome? Is it not wholly unjust? Do not our pious histories inform us that the Papacy has been the savior of civilization? that the sovereign See of Catholic Christendom is a "Holy" See? that there the world's zeal and learning are



gloriously concentrated? Is it not pure bigotry, this hostility to the Roman Pontificate?

No, it is not pure bigotry. Neither is it in modernism, nor in the classic sources, Satan and Masonry, that we must find the cause of the ineradicable aversion of the modern world for the See of Rome. That cause lies in the notorious history of that See itself. It has been judged by its fruits, and by its fruits forever and irrevocably condemned. Let us see.

Nations, like individuals, cherish as most precious the possessions that have cost them most. To-day, at the basis of every free state are certain principles of liberty which have been gained only after centuries of heroic struggle and a dreadful expenditure of heroic blood. These principles of liberty are dearer to every free-man than his life. Sooner will a free country consent to give up the last of its sons to the sword and the last of its homes to the torch, than surrender the emancipating ideas which the slow Providence that overrules history has bestowed upon us. Backward the march of man can never go. Faithless to the heritage of freedom mankind can never be unless mankind goes mad. Barbarism shall never overreach civilization; Death shall never usurp the seat of Life.

The greatest of these principles of liberty is freedom of conscience. The relations of each man's soul with his Creator are a matter solely for each man's conscience, subject to nothing else than the fundamental morality and the social peace which must govern all human activities. Freedom of conscience is the highest of all freedom; it is the life-principle of every people that deserves to be called civilized. Precious as it is, fundamental as it is, it has been most painfully won. Through blood, and flames, and exile, and all terror, the right to worship Deity as conscience dictates has fought its way. To-day we blush for shame that it should ever have been violated. To-day we look back as to the highest type of heroism upon the exile banned by tyranny, because he would not lie; to the martyr dying at the stake, because he would not bend the knee to what he believed to be falsehood and superstition.

Sovereign Pontiff, do you ask why the Papacy is despised and rejected? It is, first of all, because this priceless right of conscience is denied as impious falsehood by your Roman See; it is because the Papacy's history with regard to it is perhaps the foulest infamy recorded in the annals of the world.

*(To be continued.)*



## ASIA MINOR.

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

THE first oriental religion adopted by the Romans was that of the goddess of Phrygia, whom the people of Pessinus and Mount Ida worshiped, and who received the name of *Magna Mater deum Idea* in the Occident. Its history in Italy covers six centuries, and we can trace each phase of the transformation that changed it in the course of time from a collection of very primitive nature beliefs into a system of spiritualized mysteries used by some as a weapon against Christianity. We shall now endeavor to outline the successive phases of that slow metamorphosis.

This religion is the only one whose success in the Latin world was caused originally by a mere chance circumstance. In 205 B. C., when Hannibal, vanquished but still threatening, made his last stand in the mountains of Bruttium, repeated torrents of stones frightened the Roman people. When the books were officially consulted in regard to this prodigy they promised that the enemy would be driven from Italy if the Great Mother of Ida could be brought to Rome. Nobody but the Sibyls themselves had the power of averting the evils prophesied by them. They had come to Italy from Asia Minor, and in this critical situation their sacred poem recommended the practice of their native religion as a remedy. In token of his friendship, King Attalus presented the ambassadors of the senate with the black aerolite, supposed to be the abode of the goddess, that this ruler had shortly before transferred from Pessinus to Pergamum. According to the mandate of the oracle the stone was received at Ostia by the best citizen of the land, an honor accorded to Scipio Nasica—and carried by the most esteemed matrons to the Palatine, where, hailed by the cheers of the multitude and surrounded by fumes of incense, it was solemnly installed (Nones of April, 204). This triumphal entry was later glorified by marvelous legends, and the poets told of edifying miracles that

had occurred during Cybele's voyage. In the same year Scipio transferred the seat of war to Africa, and Hannibal, compelled to meet him there, was beaten at Zama. The prediction of the Sibyls had come true and Rome was rid of the long Punic terror. The foreign goddess was honored in recognition of the service she had rendered. A temple was erected to her on the summit of the Palatine, and every year a celebration enhanced by scenic plays, the *ludi Megalenses*, commemorated the date of dedication of the sanctuary and the arrival of the goddess (April 4th-10th).

What was this Asiatic religion that had suddenly been transferred into the heart of Rome by an extraordinary circumstance? Even then it could look back upon a long period of development. It combined beliefs of various origin. It contained primitive usages of the religion of Anatolia, some of which have survived to this day in spite of Christianity and Islam. Like the Kizil-Bash peasants of today, the ancient inhabitants of the peninsula met on the summits of mountains covered with woods no ax had desecrated, and celebrated their festal days.<sup>1</sup> They believed that Cybele resided on the high summits of Ida and Berecyntus, and the perennial pines, in conjunction with the prolific and early maturing almond tree, were the sacred trees of Attis. Besides trees, the country people worshiped stones, rocks or meteors that had fallen from the sky like the one taken from Pessinus to Pergamum and thence to Rome. They also venerated certain animals, especially the most powerful of them all, the lion, who may at one time have been the totem of savage tribes.<sup>2</sup> In mythology as well as in art the lion remained the riding or driving animal of the Great Mother. Their conception of the divinity was indistinct and impersonal. A goddess of the earth, called Mâ or Cybele, was revered as the fecund mother of all things, the "mistress of the wild beasts" <sup>3</sup> that inhabit the woods. A god Attis, or Papas, was regarded as her husband, but the first place in this divine household belonged to the woman, a reminiscence of the period of matriarchy.<sup>4</sup>

When the Phrygians at a very early period came from Thrace and inserted themselves like a wedge in the old Anatolian races, they adopted the vague deities of their new country by identifying them with their own, after the habit of pagan nations. Thus Attis became one with the Dionysus-Sabazius of the conquerors, or at least assumed some of his characteristics. This Thracian Dionysus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Aen.*, IX, 85 f.

<sup>2</sup> S. Reinach, *Mythes, cultes*, I, p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> *κύρια θηρίων*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, pp. 7; 94.

was a god of vegetation. Foucart has thus admirably pictured his savage nature: "Wooded summits, deep oak and pine forests, ivy-clad caverns were at all times his favorite haunts. Mortals who were anxious to know the powerful divinity ruling these solitudes had to observe the life of his kingdom, and to guess the god's nature from the phenomena through which he manifested his power. Seeing the creeks descend in noisy foaming cascades, or hearing the roaring of steers in the uplands and the strange sounds of the wind-beaten forests, the Thracians thought they heard the voice and the calls of the lord of that empire, and imagined a god who was fond of extravagant leaps and of wild roaming over the wooded mountains. This conception inspired their religion, for the surest way for mortals to ingratiate themselves with a divinity was to imitate it, and as far as possible to make their lives resemble his. For this reason the Thracians endeavored to attain the divine delirium that transported their Dionysus, and hoped to realize their purpose by following their invisible yet ever-present lord in his chase over the mountains."<sup>5</sup>

In the Phrygian religion we find the same beliefs and rites, scarcely modified at all, with the one difference that Attis, the god of vegetation, was united to the goddess of the earth instead of living "in sullen loneliness." When the tempest was beating the forests of the Berecynthus or Ida, it was Cybele traveling about in her car drawn by roaring lions mourning her lover's death. A crowd of worshipers followed her through woods and thickets, mingling their shouts with the shrill sound of flutes, with the dull beat of tambourines, with the rattling of castanets and the dissonance of brass cymbals. Intoxicated with shouting and with the uproar of the instruments, excited by their impetuous advance, breathless and panting, they surrendered to the raptures of a sacred enthusiasm. Catullus has left us a dramatic description of this divine ecstasy.<sup>6</sup>

The religion of Phrygia was perhaps even more violent than that of Thrace. The climate of the Anatolian upland is one of extremes. Its winters are rough, long and cold, the spring rains suddenly develop a vigorous vegetation that is scorched by the hot summer sun. The abrupt contrasts of a nature generous and sterile, radiant and bleak in turn, caused excesses of sadness and joy that were unknown in temperate and smiling regions, where the ground was never buried under snow nor scorched by the sun. The Phryg-

<sup>5</sup> Foucart, "Le culte de Dionysos en Attique," *Extr. Mém. Acad. Insor.*, XXXVII, 1904, pp. 22 f.

<sup>6</sup> Catullus, LXIII.

ians mourned the long agony and death of the vegetation, but when the verdure reappeared in March they surrendered to the excitement of a tumultuous joy. In Asia savage rites that had been unknown in Thrace or practiced in milder form expressed the vehemence of those opposing feelings. In the midst of their orgies, and after wild dances, some of the worshippers voluntarily wounded themselves and, becoming intoxicated with the view of the blood, with which they besprinkled their altars, they believed they were uniting themselves with their divinity. Or else, arriving at a paroxysm of frenzy, they sacrificed their virility to the gods as certain Russian dissenters still do today. These men became priests of Cybele and were called Galli. Violent ecstasis was always an endemic disease in Phrygia. As late as the Antonines, montanist prophets that arose in that country attempted to introduce it into Christianity.

All these excessive and degrading demonstrations of an extreme worship must not cause us to slight the power of the feeling that inspired it. The sacred ecstasy, the voluntary mutilations and the eagerly sought sufferings manifested an ardent longing for deliverance from subjection to carnal instincts, and a fervent desire to free the soul from the bonds of matter. The ascetic tendencies went so far as to create a kind of begging monachism—the *metragyrtes*. They also harmonized with some of the ideas of renunciation taught by Greek philosophy, and at an early period Hellenic theologians took an interest in this devotion that attracted and repelled them at the same time. Timotheus the Eumolpid, who was one of the founders of the Alexandrian religion of Serapis, derived the inspiration for his essays on religious reform, among other sources, from the ancient Phrygian myths. Those thinkers undoubtedly succeeded in making the priests of Pessinus themselves admit many speculations quite foreign to the old Anatolian nature worship. The votaries of Cybele began at a very remote period to practise "mysteries"<sup>1</sup> in which the initiates were made acquainted, by degrees, with a wisdom that was always considered divine, but underwent peculiar variations in the course of time.

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Such is the religion which the rough Romans of the Punic wars accepted and adopted. Hidden under theological and cosmological doctrines it contained an ancient stock of very primitive and coarse religious ideas, such as the worship of trees, stones and animals. Besides this superstitious fetichism it involved ceremonies that were both sensual and ribald, including all the wild

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 177 f.

and mystic rites of the bacchanalia which the public authorities were to prohibit a few years later.

When the senate became better acquainted with the divinity imposed upon it by the Sibyls, it must have been quite embarrassed by the present of King Attalus. The enthusiastic transports and the somber fanaticism of the Phrygian worship contrasted violently with the calm dignity and respectable reserve of the official religion, and excited the minds of the people to a dangerous degree. The emasculated Galli were the objects of contempt and disgust and what in their own eyes was a meritorious act was made a crime punishable by law, at least under the empire.<sup>8</sup> The authorities hesitated between the respect due to the powerful goddess that had delivered Rome from the Carthaginians and the reverence for the *mos maiorum*. They solved the difficulty by completely isolating the new religion in order to prevent its contagion. All citizens were forbidden to join the priesthood of the foreign goddess or to participate in her sacred orgies. The barbarous rites according to which the Great Mother was to be worshiped were performed by Phrygian priests and priestesses. The holidays celebrated in her honor by the entire nation, the *Megalensia*, contained no Oriental feature and were organized in conformity with Roman traditions.

A characteristic anecdote told by Diodorus<sup>9</sup> shows what the public feeling was towards this Asiatic worship at the end of the republic. In Pompey's time a high priest from Pessinus came to Rome, presented himself at the forum in his sacerdotal garb, a golden diadem and a long embroidered robe—and pretending that the statue of his goddess had been profaned demanded public expiation. But a tribune forbade him to wear the royal crown, and the populace rose against him in a mob and compelled him to seek refuge in his house. Although apologies were made later, this story shows how little the people of that period felt the veneration that attached to Cybele and her clergy after a century had passed.

Kept closely under control, the Phrygian worship led an obscure existence until the establishment of the empire. That closed the first period of its history at Rome. It attracted attention only on certain holidays, when its priests marched the streets in procession, dressed in motley costumes, loaded with heavy jewelry, and beating tambourines. On those days the senate granted them the right to go from house to house to collect funds for their temples. The remainder of the year they confined themselves to the sacred enclosure of the Palatine, celebrating foreign ceremonies in a for-

<sup>8</sup> Dig., XLVIII, 8, 4, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Diodorus, XXXVI, 6.



eign language. They aroused so little notice during this period that almost nothing is known of their practices or of their creed. It has even been maintained that Attis was not worshiped together with his companion, the Great Mother, during the times of the republic, but this is undoubtedly wrong, because the two persons of this divine couple must have been as inseparable in the ritual as they were in the myths.<sup>10</sup>

But the Phrygian religion kept alive in spite of police surveillance, in spite of precautions and prejudices; a breach had been made in the cracked wall of the old Roman principles, through which the entire Orient finally gained ingress.

Directly after the fall of the republic a second divinity from Asia Minor, closely related to the Great Mother, became established in the capital. During the wars against Mithridates the Roman soldiers learned to revere Mâ, the great goddess of the two Comanas, who was worshiped by a whole people of hierodules in the ravines of the Taurus and along the banks of the Iris. Like Cybele she was an ancient Anatolian divinity and personified fertile nature. Her worship, however, had not felt the influence of Thrace, but rather that of the Semites and the Persians,<sup>11</sup> like the entire religion of Cappadocia. It is certain that she was identical with the Anâhita of the Mazdeans, who was of much the same nature.

The rites of her cult were even more sanguinary and savage than those of Pessinus, and she had assumed or preserved a warlike character that gave her a resemblance to the Italian Bellona. The dictator Sulla, to whom this invincible goddess of combats had appeared in a dream, was prompted by his superstition to introduce her worship into Rome. The terrible ceremonies connected with it produced a deep impression. Clad in black robes, her "fanatics," as they were called, would turn round and round to the sound of drums and trumpets, with their long, loose hair streaming, and when vertigo seized them and a state of anæsthesia was attained, they would strike their arms and bodies great blows with swords and axes. The view of the running blood excited them, and they besprinkled the statue of the goddess and her votaries with it, or even drank it. Finally a prophetic delirium would overcome them, and they foretold the future.

This ferocious worship aroused curiosity at first, but it never gained great consideration. It appears that the Cappadocian Bellona joined the number of divinities that were subordinated to the *Magna*

<sup>10</sup> Hepding, *Attis*, p. 142.

<sup>11</sup> This point will be developed in a later article on Persia.



*Mater* and, as the texts put it, became her follower (*pedisequa*).<sup>12</sup> The brief popularity enjoyed by this exotic *Mâ* at the beginning of our era shows, nevertheless, the growing influence of the Orient, and of the religions of Asia Minor in particular.

After the establishment of the empire the apprehensive distrust in which the worship of Cybele and Attis had been held gave way to marked favor and the original restrictions were withdrawn. Thereafter Roman citizens were chosen for *archigalli*, and the holidays of the Phrygian deities were solemnly and officially celebrated in Italy with even more pomp than had been displayed at Pessinus.

According to Johannes Lydus, the Emperor Claudius was the author of this change. Doubts have been expressed as to the correctness of the statement made by this second rate compiler, and it has been claimed that the transformation in question took place under the Antonines. This is erroneous. The testimony of inscriptions corroborates that of the Byzantine writer.<sup>13</sup> In spite of his love of archaism, it was Claudius who permitted this innovation to be made, and we believe that we can divine the motives of his action.

Under his predecessor, Caligula, the worship of Isis had been authorized after a long resistance. Its stirring festivities and imposing processions gained considerable popularity. This competition must have been disastrous to the priests of the *Magna Mater*, who were secluded in their temple on the Palatine, and Caligula's successor could not but grant to the Phrygian goddess, so long established in the city, the favor accorded the Egyptian divinity who had been admitted into Rome but very recently. In this way Claudius prevented too great an ascendancy in Italy of this second stranger and supplied a distributary to the current of popular superstition. Isis must have been held under great suspicion by a ruler who clung to old national institutions.<sup>14</sup>

The emperor Claudius introduced a new cycle of holidays that were celebrated from March 15th to March 27th, the beginning of spring, at the time of the revival of vegetation, personified in Attis. The various acts of this grand mystic drama are tolerably well known. The prelude was a procession of *cannophores* or reed-bearers on the fifteenth; undoubtedly they commemorated Cybele's discovery of Attis, who, according to the legends, had been exposed while a child on the banks of the Sangarius, the largest river of Phrygia, or else this ceremony may have been the transformation of an ancient phallegory intended to guarantee the fertility of the

<sup>12</sup> Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 263 f.

<sup>13</sup> Hepding, *Attis*, p. 142.

<sup>14</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, XI, 15.

fields.<sup>15</sup> The ceremonies proper began with the equinox. A pine was felled and transferred to the temple of the Palatine by a brotherhood that owed to this function its name of "tree-bearers" (*den-drophores*). Wrapped like a corpse in woolen bands and garlands of violets, this pine represented Attis dead. This god was originally only the spirit of the plants, and the honors given to the "March-tree"<sup>16</sup> in front of the imperial palace perpetuated a very ancient agrarian rite of the Phrygian peasants. The next day was a day of sadness and abstinence on which the believers fasted and mourned the defunct god. The twenty-fourth bore the significant name of *Sanguis* in the calendars. We know that it was the celebration of the funeral of Attis, whose manes were appeased by means of libations of blood, as was done for any mortal. Mingling their piercing cries with the shrill sound of flutes, the Galli flagellated themselves and cut their flesh, and neophytes performed the supreme sacrifice with the aid of a sharp stone, being insensible to pain in their frenzy.<sup>17</sup> Then followed a mysterious vigil during which the mystic was supposed to be united as a new Attis with the great goddess.<sup>18</sup> On March 26th there was a sudden transition from the shouts of despair to a delirious jubilation, the "Hilaria." With springtime Attis awoke from his sleep of death, and the joy created by his resurrection burst out in wild merry-making, wanton masquerades, and luxurious banquets. After twenty-four hours of an indispensable rest (*Requietio*), the festivities wound up, on the twenty-seventh, with a long and gorgeous procession through the streets of Rome and surrounding country districts. Under a constant rain of flowers the silver statue of Cybele was taken to the river Almo and bathed and purified according to an ancient rite (*Lavatio*.)

The worship of the mother of the gods had penetrated into the Hellenic countries long before it was received at Rome, but in Greece it assumed a peculiar form and lost most of its barbarous character. The Greek mind felt an unconquerable aversion to the dubious nature of Attis. The *Magna Mater*, who is thoroughly different from her Hellenized sister, penetrated into all Latin provinces and imposed herself upon them with the Roman religion. This was the case in Spain, Brittany, the Danubian countries, Africa and especially in Gaul.<sup>19</sup> As late as the fourth century the car of the goddess drawn by steers was led in great state through the fields

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Showerman, *Classical Journal*, II (1906), p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, II, pp. 130 f.

<sup>17</sup> Hepding, *Attis*, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> Hepding, *Attis*, p. 193.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Drexler in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. "Meter," col. 918 f.

and vineyards of Autun in order to stimulate their fertility.<sup>20</sup> In the provinces the *dendrophores*, who carried the sacred pine in the spring festivities, formed associations recognized by the state. These associations had charge of the work of our modern fire departments, besides their religious mission. In case of necessity these woodcutters and carpenters, who knew how to fell the divine tree of Attis, were also able to cut down the timbers of burning buildings. All over the empire religion and the brotherhoods connected with it were under the high supervision of the quindecimvirs of the capital, who gave the priests their insignia. The sacerdotal hierarchy and the rights granted to the priesthood and believers were minutely defined in a series of senate decrees. These Phrygian divinities who had achieved full naturalization and had been placed on the official list of gods, were adopted by the populations of the Occident as Roman gods together with the rest. This propagation was clearly different from that of any other Oriental religion, for here the action of the government aided the tendencies that attracted the devout masses to these Asiatic divinities.

This popular zeal was the result of various causes. Ancient authors describe the impression produced upon the masses by those magnificent processions in which Cybele passed along on her car, preceded by musicians playing captivating melodies, by priests wearing gorgeous costumes covered with amulets, and by the long line of votaries and members of the fraternities, all barefoot and wearing their insignia. All this, however, created only a fleeting and exterior impression upon the neophyte, but as soon as he entered the temple a deeper sensation took hold of him. He heard the pathetic story of the goddess seeking the body of her lover cut down in the prime of his life like the grass of the fields. He saw the bloody funeral services in which the cruel death of the young man was mourned, and heard the joyful hymns of triumph, and the gay songs that greeted his return to life. By a skillfully arranged gradation of feelings the onlookers were uplifted to a state of rapturous ecstasy. Feminine devotion in particular found encouragement and enjoyment in these ceremonies, and the Great Mother, the fecund and generous goddess, was always especially worshiped by the women.

Moreover, people founded great hopes on the pious practice of this religion. Like the Thracians the Phrygians began very early to believe in the immortality of the soul. Just as Attis died and came to life again every year, these believers were to be born to a new life after their death. One of the sacred hymns said: "Take

<sup>20</sup> Gregory of Tours, *De glor. confess.*, c. 76.

courage, oh mystics, because the god is saved; and for you also will come salvation from your trials."<sup>21</sup> Even the funeral ceremonies were affected by the strength of that belief. In some cities, especially at Amphipolis in Macedonia, graves have been found adorned with earthenware statuettes representing the shepherd Attis;<sup>22</sup> and even in Germany the gravestones are frequently decorated with figures of young men in Oriental costume, leaning dejectedly upon a kotted stick (*pedum*), which represented the same Attis. We are ignorant of the conception of immortality held by the Oriental disciples of the Phrygian priests. Maybe, like the votaries of Sabazius, they believed that the blessed ones were permitted to participate with Hermes Psychopompos in a great celestial feast, for which they were prepared by the sacred repasts of the mysteries.<sup>23</sup>

\* \* \*

Another agent in favor of this imported religion was, as we have stated above, the fact of its official recognition. This placed it in a privileged position among Oriental religions, at least at the beginning of the imperial regime. It enjoyed a toleration that was neither precarious nor limited; it was not subjected to arbitrary police measures nor to coercion on the part of magistrates; its fraternities were not continually threatened with dissolution, nor its priests with expulsion. It was publicly authorized and endowed, its holidays were marked in the calendars of the pontiffs, its associations of dendrophores were organs of municipal life in Italy and in the provinces, and had a corporate entity.

Therefore it is not surprising that other foreign religions, after being transferred to Rome, sought to avert the dangers of an illicit existence by an alliance with the Great Mother. The religion of the latter frequently consented to agreements and compromises, from which it gained in reality as much as it gave up. In exchange for material advantages it acquired complete moral authority over the gods that accepted its protection. Thus Cybele and Attis absorbed a majority of the divinities from Asia Minor that had crossed the Ionian Sea. Their clergy undoubtedly intended to establish a religion complex enough to enable the emigrants from every part of the vast peninsula, slaves, merchants, soldiers, functionaries, scholars, in short, people of all classes of society, to find their national and favorite devotions in it. As a matter of fact no

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Hepding, *Attis*, p. 167.

<sup>22</sup> Perdrizet, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XIX (1905), pp. 534 f.

<sup>23</sup> Hepding, *Attis*, p. 263.

other Anatolian god could maintain his independence side by side with the deities of Pessinus.<sup>24</sup>

We do not know the internal development of the Phrygian mysteries sufficiently to give details of the addition of each individual part. But we can prove that in the course of time certain religions were added to the one that had been practised in the temple of the Palatine ever since the republic.

In the inscriptions of the fourth century, Attis bears the cognomen of *menolyrannus*. At that time this name was undoubtedly understood to mean "lord of the months," because Attis represented the sun who entered a new sign of the zodiac every month.<sup>25</sup> But that was not the original meaning of the term. "*Mèn tyrannus*" appears with quite a different meaning in many inscriptions found in Asia Minor. *Tyrannos*,\* "lord," is a word taken by the Greeks from the Lydian, and the honorable title of "tyrant" was given to Mèn, an old barbarian divinity worshiped by all Phrygia and surrounding regions.<sup>26</sup> The Anatolian tribes from Caria to the remotest mountains of Pontus worshiped a lunar god under that name who was supposed to rule not only the heavens but also the underworld, because the moon was frequently brought into connection with the somber kingdom of the dead. The growth of plants and the increase of cattle and poultry were ascribed to his celestial influence, and the villagers invoked his protection for their farms and their district. They also placed their rural burial grounds under the safeguard of this king of shadows. No god enjoyed greater popularity in the country districts.

This powerful divinity penetrated into Greece at an early period. Among the mixed populations of the Aegean seaports, in the Piræus, at Rhodes, Delos and Thasos, religious associations for his worship were founded. In Attica the presence of the cult can be traced back to the fourth century, and its monuments rival those of Cybele in number and variety. In the Latin Occident, however, no trace of it can be found, because it had been absorbed by the worship of the *Magna Mater*. In Asia itself, Attis and Mèn were sometimes considered identical, and this involved the Roman world in a complete confusion of those two persons, who in reality were very different. A marble statue discovered at Ostia represents Attis holding the lunar crescent, which was the characteristic emblem of Mèn. His assimilation to the "tyrant" of the infernal regions trans-

<sup>24</sup> Pauly—Wissowa, *Realenc.*, s. v., and *Suppl.* I, col. 258.

<sup>25</sup> *Invictus* is the characteristic epithet applied to solar divinities.

<sup>26</sup> Pendrizet, "*Mèn*," *Bull. corr. hell.*, XX, col. 2687 f.

\* *Týrannos*.



formed the shepherd of Ida into a master of the underworld, an office that he combined with his former one as author of resurrection.

A second title that was given to him reveals another influence. A certain Roman inscription is dedicated to Attis the Supreme.<sup>27</sup>† This epithet is very significant. In Asia Minor "Hypsistus" was the appellation used to designate the god of Israel.<sup>28</sup> A number of pagan thiasy had arisen who though not exactly submitting to the practice of the synagogue yet worshiped none but the Most High, the Supreme God, the Eternal God, God the Creator, to whom every mortal owed service. These must have been the attributes ascribed to Cybele's companion by the author of the inscription, because the verse continues:‡ "To thee, who containest and maintainest all things."<sup>29</sup> Must we then believe that Hebraic monotheism had some influence upon the mysteries of the Great Mother? This is not at all improbable. We know that numerous Jewish colonies were established in Phrygia by the Seleucides, and that these expatriated Jews agreed to certain compromises in order to conciliate their hereditary faith with that of the pagans in whose midst they lived. It is also possible that the clergy of Pessinus suffered the ascendancy of the Biblical theology. Under the empire Attis and Cybele became the "almighty gods" (*omnipotentes*) *par excellence*, and it is easy to see in this new conception a leaning upon Semitic or Christian doctrines, more probably upon Semitic ones.<sup>30</sup>

The question we shall take up now is a very difficult one, namely, the influence of Judaism upon the mysteries during the Alexandrian period and at the beginning of the empire. Many scholars have endeavored to define the influence exercised by the pagan beliefs on those of the Jews; it has been shown how the Israelitic monotheism became Hellenized at Alexandria and how the Jewish propaganda attracted proselytes who revered the one God, without, however, observing all the prescriptions of the Mosaic law. But no successful researches have been made to ascertain how far paganism was modified through an infiltration of Biblical ideas. Such a modification must necessarily have taken place to some extent. A great number of Jewish colonies were scattered everywhere on the Mediterranean, and these were long animated with such an

<sup>27</sup> Inscr. graec., XIV, 1018.

<sup>28</sup> Schillerer, *Sitzungsab. Akad. Berlin*, XIII (1897), pp. 200 f.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Zozimus, IV, 3, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Henri Graillot, "Les dieux Tout-puissants, Cybèle et Attis," *Revue archéol.*, I (1904), pp. 331 f.

† "Attis ὑψίστος.

‡ καὶ συνέχοντι τὸ πᾶν.



ardent spirit of proselytism that they were bound to impose some of their conceptions on the pagans that surrounded them. The magical texts which are almost the only original literary documents of paganism we possess, clearly reveal this mixture of Israelitic theology with that of other peoples. In them we frequently find names like Iao (Yahveh), Sabaoth, or the names of angels side by side with those of Egyptian or Greek divinities. Especially in Asia Minor, where the Israelites formed a considerable and influential element of the population, an intermingling of the old native traditions and the religion of the strangers from the other side of the Taurus must have occurred.

This mixture certainly took place in the mysteries of Sabazius, the Phrygian Jupiter or Dionysus.<sup>21</sup> They were very similar to those of Attis, with whom he was frequently confounded. By means of an audacious etymology that dates back to the Hellenistic period, this old Thraco-Phrygian divinity has been identified with "Yahveh Zebaoth," the Biblical "Lord of Hosts." The corresponding expression\*\* in the Septuagint has been regarded as the equivalent of the *kurios Sabazios*†† of the barbarians. The latter was worshiped as the supreme, almighty and holy Lord. In the light of a new interpretation the purifications practised in the mysteries were believed to wipe out the hereditary impurity of a guilty ancestor who had aroused the wrath of heaven against his posterity, much as the original sin with which Adam's disobedience had stained the human race was to be wiped out. The custom observed by the votaries of Sabazius of dedicating votive hands which made the liturgic sign of benediction with the first three fingers extended (the *benedictio latina* of the church) was probably taken from the ritual of the Semitic temples through the agency of the Jews. The initiates believed, again like the Jews, that after death their good angel (*angelus bonus*) would lead them to the banquet of the eternally happy, and the everlasting joys of these banquets were anticipated on earth by the liturgic repasts. This celestial feast can be seen in a fresco painting on the grave of a priest of Sabazius called Vincentius, who was buried in the Christian catacomb of Prætextatus, a strange fact for which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been furnished. Undoubtedly he belonged to a Jewish-pagan sect that admitted neophytes of every race to its mystic ceremonies. In fact, the church itself formed a kind of

<sup>21</sup> Cumont, *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.*, Feb. 9, 1906, pp. 63 f.

\*\* κύριος Σαβαώθ.

†† κύριος Σαβάζιος.

secret society sprung from the synagogue but distinct from it, in which Gentiles and children of Israel joined in a common adoration.

If it is a fact, then, that Judaism influenced the worship of Sabazius, it is very probable that it influenced the cult of Cybele also, although in this case the influence cannot be discerned with the same degree of certainty. The religion of the Great Mother did not receive rejuvenating germs from Palestine only, but it was greatly changed after the gods of more distant Persia came and joined it. In the ancient religion of the Achemenides, Mithra, the genius of light, was coupled with Anâhita, the goddess of the fertilizing waters. In Asia Minor the latter was assimilated with the fecund Great Mother, worshiped all over the peninsula,<sup>22</sup> and when at the end of the first century of our era the mysteries of Mithra spread over the Latin provinces, its votaries built their sacred crypts in the shadow of the temples of the *Magna Mater*.

Everywhere in the empire the two religions lived in intimate communion. By ingratiating themselves with the Phrygian priests, the priests of Mithra obtained the support of an official institution and shared in the protection granted by the state. Moreover, men alone could participate in the secret ceremonies of the Persian liturgy, at least in the Occident. Other mysteries, to which women could be admitted, had therefore to be added in order to complete them, and so the mysteries of Cybele received the wives and daughters of the Mithraists.

This union had even more important consequences for the old religion of Pessinus than the partial infusion of Judaic beliefs had had. Its theology gained a deeper meaning and an elevation hitherto unknown, after it had adopted some of the conceptions of Mazdaism.

The introduction of the taurobolium in the ritual of the *Magna Mater*, where it appeared after the middle of the first century, was probably connected with this transformation. We know the nature of this sacrifice, of which Prudentius gives a stirring description based on personal recollection of the proceeding. On an open platform a steer was killed, and the blood dropped down upon the mystic, who was standing in an excavation below. "Through the thousand crevices of the wood," says the poet, "the bloody dew runs down into the pit. The neophyte receives the falling drops on his head, clothes and body. He leans backward to have his cheeks, his ears, his lips and his nostrils wetted; he pours the liquid over his eyes, and does not even spare his palate, for he moistens his tongue

<sup>22</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, pp. 333 f.

with blood and drinks it eagerly." <sup>33</sup> After submitting to this repulsive sprinkling he offered himself to the veneration of the crowd. They believed that he was purified of his faults, and had become the equal of the deity through this red baptism.

Although the origin of this sacrifice that took place in the mysteries of Cybele at Rome is as yet shrouded in obscurity, recent discoveries enable us to trace back very closely the various phases of its development. In accordance with a custom prevalent in the entire Orient at the beginning of history, the Anatolian lords were fond of pursuing and lassoing wild buffalos, which they afterwards sacrificed to the gods. Beasts caught during a hunt were immolated, and frequently also prisoners of war. Gradually the savagery of this primitive rite was modified until finally nothing but a circus play was left. During the Alexandrian period people were satisfied with organizing a *corrida* in the arena, in the course of which the victim intended for immolation was seized. This is the proper meaning of the terms *taurobolium* and *criobolium*, <sup>††</sup> which had long been enigmas, <sup>34</sup> and which denoted the act of catching a steer or a ram by means of a hurled weapon, probably the thong of a lasso. Without doubt even this act was finally reduced to a mere sham under the Roman empire, but the weapon with which the animal was slain always remained a hunting weapon, a sacred boar spear. <sup>35</sup>

The ideas on which the immolation was based were originally just as barbarous as the sacrifice itself. It is a matter of general belief among savage peoples that one acquires the qualities of an enemy slain in battle or of a beast killed in the chase by drinking or washing in the blood, or by eating some of the viscera of the body. The blood especially has often been considered as the seat of vital energy. By moistening his body with the blood of the slaughtered steer, the neophyte believed that he was transfusing the strength of the formidable beast into his own limbs.

This naive and purely material conception was soon modified and refined. The Thracians brought into Phrygia, and the Persian magi into Cappadocia, the fast spreading belief in the immortality of mankind. Under their influence, especially under that of Mazdaism, which made the mythical steer the author of creation and of resurrection, the old savage practice assumed a more spiritual and more elevated meaning. By complying with it, people no longer thought they were acquiring the buffalo's strength: the blood, as

<sup>33</sup> Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, X, 1011 f.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Schröder, *Athen. Mitt.*, 1904, pp. 152 f.

<sup>35</sup> Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, 1027.

†† *ταυροβόλιον, κριοβόλιον*.

the principle of life, was no longer supposed to renew physical energy, but to cause a temporary or even an eternal rebirth of the soul. The descent into the pit was regarded as burial, a melancholy dirge accompanied the burial of the old man who had died. When he emerged purified of all his crimes by the sprinkling of blood and raised to a new life, he was regarded as the equal of a god, and the crowd worshiped him from a respectful distance.<sup>26</sup>

The vogue obtained in the Roman empire by the practice of this repugnant rite can only be explained by the extraordinary power ascribed to it. He who submitted to it was *in æternum renatus*,<sup>27</sup> according to the inscriptions.

We could also outline the transformation of other Phrygian ceremonies, of which the spirit and sometimes the letter slowly changed under the influence of more advanced moral ideas. This is true of the sacred feasts attended by the initiates. One of the few liturgic formulas antiquity has left us refers to these Phrygian banquets. One hymn says: "I have eaten from the tambourine, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have become a mystic of Attis." The banquet, which is found in several Oriental religions, was sometimes simply the external sign indicating that the votaries of the same divinity formed one large family. Admitted to the sacred table, the neophyte was received as the guest of the community and became a brother among brothers. The religious bond of the *thiasus* or *sodalitium* took the place of the natural relationship of the family, the *gens* or the clan, just as the foreign religion replaced the worship of the domestic hearth.

Sometimes other effects were expected of the food eaten in common. When the flesh of some animal supposed to be of a divine nature was eaten, the votary believed that he became identified with the god and that he shared in his substance and qualities. In the beginning the Phrygian priests probably attributed the first of these two meanings to their barbarous communions.<sup>28</sup> Towards the end of the empire, moral ideas were particularly connected with the assimilation of sacred liquor and meats taken from the tambourine and cymbal of Attis. They became the staff of the spiritual life and were to sustain the votary in his trials; at that period he considered the gods as especially "the guardians of his soul and thoughts."<sup>29</sup>

As we see, every modification of the conception of the world and of man in the society of the empire had its reflection in the doc-

<sup>26</sup> Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 196 f.

<sup>27</sup> Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 186 f.

<sup>28</sup> Dessau, *Inscrip. sel.*, 4152.

<sup>29</sup> CII, VI, 499.

trine of the mysteries. Even the conception of the old deities of Pessinus was constantly changing. When astrology and the Semitic religions caused the establishment of a solar henotheism as the leading religion at Rome, Attis was considered as the sun, "the shepherd of the twinkling stars." He was identified with Adonis, Bacchus, Pan, Osiris and Mithra; he was made a "polymorphous"<sup>40</sup> being in which all celestial powers manifested themselves in turn; a *pantheos* who wore the crown of rays and the lunar crescent at the same time, and whose various emblems expressed an infinite multiplicity of functions.

When neoplatonism was triumphing, the Phrygian fable became the traditional mould into which subtle exegetists boldly poured their philosophic speculations on the creative and stimulating forces that were the principles of all material forms, and on the deliverance of the divine soul that was submerged in the corruption of this earthly world. In his hazy oration on the Mother of the Gods, Julian lost all notion of reality on account of his excessive use of allegory and was swept away by an extravagant symbolism.<sup>41</sup>

Any religion as susceptible to outside influences as this one was bound to yield to the ascendancy of Christianity. From the explicit testimony of ecclesiastical writers we know that attempts were made to oppose the Phrygian mysteries to those of the church. It was maintained that the sanguinary purification imparted by the taurobolium was more efficacious than baptism. The food that was taken during the mystic feasts was likened to the bread and wine of the communion; the Mother of the gods was undoubtedly placed above the Mother of God, whose son also had risen again. A Christian author, writing at Rome about the year 375, furnishes some remarkable information on this subject. As we have seen, a mournful ceremony was celebrated on March 24th, the *dies sanguinis*, in the course of which the Galli shed their blood and sometimes mutilated themselves in commemoration of the wound that had caused Attis's death, ascribing an expiatory and atoning power to the blood thus shed. The pagans claimed that the church had copied their most sacred rites by placing her Holy Week at the vernal equinox in commemoration of the sacrifice of the cross on which the divine Lamb, according to the church, had redeemed the human race. Indignant at these blasphemous pretensions, St. Augustine tells of having known a priest of Cybele who kept saying: *Et ipse Pileatus chris-*

<sup>40</sup> Hippolytus, *Refut. haeres.*, V, 9.

<sup>41</sup> Julianus, *Or.*, V.



*tianus est*—"and even the god with the Phrygian cap [i. e., Attis] is a Christian."<sup>42</sup>

But all efforts to maintain a barbarian religion stricken with moral decadence were in vain. On the very spot on which the last taurobolia took place at the end of the fourth century, in the *Phrygianum*, stands today the basilica of the Vatican.

\* \* \*

There is no Oriental religion whose progressive evolution we could follow at Rome so closely as the cult of Cybele and Attis, none that shows so plainly one of the reasons that caused their common decay and disappearance. They all dated back to a remote period of barbarism, and from that savage past they inherited a number of myths the odium of which could be masked but not eradicated by philosophical symbolism, and practices whose fundamental coarseness had survived from a period of rude nature worship, and could never be completely disguised by means of mystic interpretations. Never was the lack of harmony greater between the moralizing tendencies of theologians and the cruel shamelessness of tradition. A god held up as the august lord of the universe was the pitiful and abject hero of an obscene love affair; the taurobolium, performed to satisfy man's most exalted aspirations for spiritual purification and immortality, looked like a shower bath of blood and recalled cannibalistic orgies. The men of letters and senators attending those mysteries saw them performed by painted eunuchs, ill reputed for their infamous morals, who went through dizzy dances similar to those of the dancing dervishes and the Aissaouas. We can imagine the repugnance these ceremonies caused in everybody whose judgment had not been destroyed by a fanatical devotion. Of no other pagan superstition do the Christian polemicists speak with such profound contempt, and there is undoubtedly a reason for their attitude. But they were in a more fortunate position than their pagan antagonists; their doctrine was not burdened with barbarous traditions dating back to times of savagery; and all the ignominies that stained the old Phrygian religion must not prejudice us against it nor cause us to slight the long continued efforts that were made to refine it gradually and to mould it into a form that would fulfil the new demands of morality and enable it to follow the laborious march of Roman society on the road of religious progress.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Osiris, Attis, Adonis*, 1907, pp. 256 f.



## THE SHAKESPEARE MONUMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

SOME time ago the Shakespeare problem was treated in an editorial (*Open Court* XVIII. 65), which collected all the best known contemporary documents positively or possibly referring to Shakespeare, the poet. In summing up the evidence the editor of the *Open Court* came to the conclusion that there was no proof for the identity of William Shaksper, the owner of New Place at Stratford, and the playwright who always spelled his name "Shake-spere," or even hyphenated it as if with the purpose of showing the new spelling of the name "Shake-spere." The proposition was made that the connecting link between the two has been established by the Shakespeare monument, erected in Stratford soon after the death of the poet. There are reasons to doubt the identity of the two persons, although there is no evidence to show that the famous dramas were written by either Bacon or any other person except one called William Shakespere, for the poet William Shakespeare was known to Ben Jonson, Robert Greene, Chettle, and others.

We are now in receipt of a book entitled *The Life of William Shakespear Expurgated* (Boston: W. A. Butterfield) by William Leavitt Stoddard, a graduate of Harvard. He informs us that for some time he doubted whether he should call his book "Expurgated" or "Unexpurgated," and as a matter of fact neither title wholly expresses the author's intention. He means to state the facts, nothing more, nothing less, and his book consists of an enumeration of data referring to William Shakespeare, whoever that may be, and he comes to the conclusion that there is no evidence as to the identity of the poet with any Shakespeare mentioned in the documents or in allusions by contemporaries. He finds the connecting link in the first folio, which refers to the Stratford monument, and then he adds that "the first folio did not supply absolutely the first link," for the first link was actually the monument built into

the wall of the Stratford church in memory of William Shakespeare.

Mr. Stoddard is apparently unacquainted with the *Open Court* article on the subject, otherwise he might have utilized it and added some of the materials to his collection of documents, which are pretty well arranged but not quite complete.



THE ORIGINAL MONUMENT AT STRATFORD.

From Sir Wm. Dugdale's *History of the Antiquities of Warwickshire*.

There is one point of great interest in this book which is new to us and has not yet been noticed by Shakespeare scholars. It is the fact that the Stratford monument now standing is not the

original one, for there exists an engraving of the original Shakespeare monument which was made for a certain Sir William Dugdale, presumably in the year 1636. This engraving "represents quite a different looking Shakespeare from the familiar portrait, picturing as it does a man with a thin face, full beard, melancholy down drooping mustache. The design of the monument also is unlike the present one". With the author's permission we here reproduce the Dugdale engraving of the Shakespeare monument in evidence of the difference between the two. The inscription is not legible on the reproduction, except the first two words, "*Judicio Pylium*," but these are sufficient for Mr. Stoddard to accept the conclusion that the present inscription is the same as that on the original monument.

Mr. Stoddard also adds a reproduction of a fly-leaf from a book in handwriting, called the "Northumberland Manuscript". According to the table of contents this must have contained some essays by Francis Bacon, speeches written by him and spoken in a "Device" played before Queen Elizabeth, and also two dramas entitled "Richard II" and "Richard III". That the latter are Shakespeare's plays appears from the fly-leaf reproduced by Mr. Stoddard, which contains much senseless scribbling and shows that the author's imagination was engaged with both Bacon and Shakespeare. William Shakespeare's name appears repeatedly, as does also that of Francis Bacon. In addition there are misquotations from Shakespeare's "Rape of Lucrece", a few scraps of Latin poetry and the mysterious word combination "honorificabiletudine".

Mr. Stoddard's book is interesting in so far as it is a collection of facts. It proposes a problem but does not solve it. Unfortunately the author deemed the spelling of names irrelevant, and so he proposed to spell the names of Shakespeare always in the same way as the poet spelled his name. We would also add that instead of simply referring to such documents as church entries, it would have been better to reproduce literally the entry itself. A few omitted references, especially some by Ben Jonson, might easily be added and would not have greatly swelled the contents of the book. Owing to the scarcity of positive material it is not so voluminous as many lives of Shakespeare in which our deficient information is supplied by the fertile imagination of their authors.

## THE WORK OF LUTHER BURBANK.

BY CHARLES J. WOODBURY.

I KNOW nothing in nature more depressing than a Sequoia grove. The absence of water causes an undisturbed lifelessness. No living thing is perceptible. Not even an insect's hum can be heard; the earth is covered with a pale vegetation which the sun never finds; the sky is unseen; the silence oppresses; and the immense unnatural trees here and there open their huge, diseased interiors and breathe out their decaying breath.

It was from these monuments of a dead and historic past that I first saw Luther Burbank's home, and the very approach to it was like a resurrection from a tomb. The avenue is lined with a magnificent row of strange majestic trees, probably the greatest achievement in silviculture known. They are Mr. Burbank's hybrid of the California walnut (*Juslans Californica*) with the black walnut (*J. nigra*). A survival of the latter parent is seen across the highway, a diminutive shrub-like tree; but old when these were planted sixteen years ago. One will rarely see shade trees that will compare with them; trunk over 3 feet through, height 75 feet, limb-spread 80 feet. The bark is smooth, grayish with white marblings not unlike the eastern sugar-maple, the foliage is luxuriant. A faint odor exhales from the leaves resembling that of June apples. It is rude to speak of commercial value in the presence of such things of beauty, but the wood has all the valuable qualities of the eastern walnut so rapidly disappearing—compact, hard, with a lustrous, satiny grain, easy of polish. The trees are children yet. They are increasing  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and from 3 to 8 feet in height every year. What will be their size and timber-value when they have attained their growth? Like all of Mr. Burbank's products, they are not provincial. They are growing well over the Pacific coast states and territories, and throughout the Southwest. The Gulf and Southern Atlantic states know them; and only the



LUTHER BURBANK.

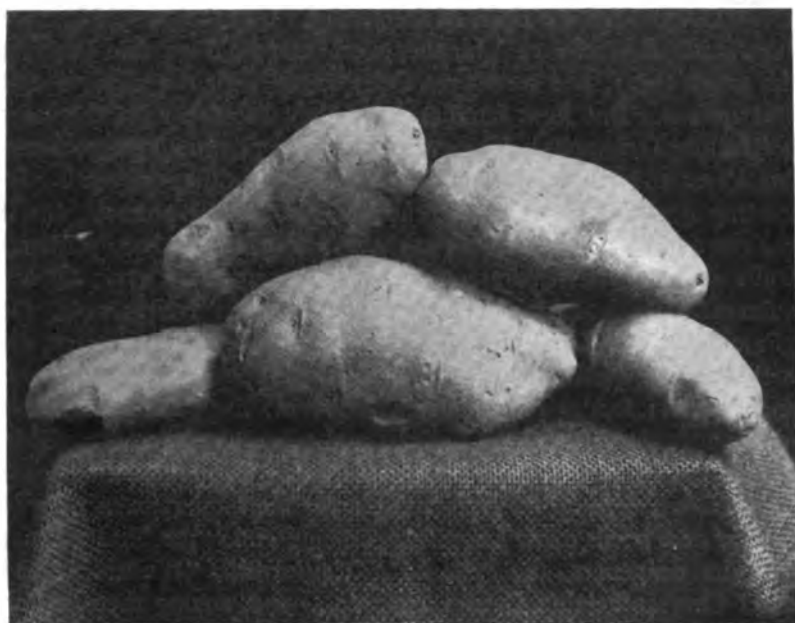
former habitat of the black walnut determines their geographical limit on the north. Altogether, they present an inviting greeting to the visitor, intimating the other things that count behind the gate.

The home grounds at Santa Rosa are limited—only about nine acres—the main experimental farms are at Sebastopol, eight miles distant on one of the old channels of Russian River. All of these have been called “wonder gardens”. But they are not homes of beauty; they are rather places where beautiful things are *made*. They are scenes of activity; on an average, 26 laborers are constantly at work among long rows of fruit trees and strange flaring blooms from Japan, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Europe and our own land and their unrecognizable cross-bred progenies. Tons of hybrid plants, some of them ideals for ordinary nurserymen, are heaped one side to be burned. Here and there are reserves bearing the little white-rag streamers of approval. The scentless snow of the great daisies meets the dark green masses of forage-plants; and, scattered about with no eye to conventional arrangement, are fields of flowers, an indeterminate profusion; every combination of hues, every color revealed by the spectroscope, hardly two without distinctive promise of difference.

These several rooms of his labor represent the results of 36 years. Mr. Burbank is now 61 years old (born March 7, 1849). When 25, he completed his habit of taking the premiums at the county fairs held in the vicinity of Lunenburg (Mass.), where he was born, by answering the demand for a good potato which would yield 200 bushels to the acre with his famous seedling from the “Early Rose”, which at once gave a yield of 435 bushels and has since attained a yield of 525 bushels. It is now known all over the agricultural world; one of the few potatoes that have successfully resisted the blight in Ireland. As the “Salinas Burbank” it to-day commands the highest price in the western market, and an approximate estimate of its value to the commonwealth made by high authority is \$20,000,000. This was the beginning of his career, but its conception was long before. Even as a babe, his aged mother has told me his cries could at anytime be stilled with a flower. He would rearrange the flower-pots in the window before he could hardly reach them. His first pet (like his last success) was a cactus. He sold his potato for eastern introduction to Mr. J. H. Gregory of Marblehead for \$150, and October 1, 1875, he arrived in Santa Rosa, California, with \$125 and ten visiting cards (his precious potatoes) in his satchel. They were not received. No one would believe in him. His resources gradually were ex-



hausted. For three years he suffered poverty's shame and, in his exposures, cutting shingles, trimming hedges, sleeping in chicken-coops, he contracted disease which well-nigh proved fatal. But the story of those years need not be told, nor of his success; his establishment of the best nursery west of the Mississippi, his dis-



NEW SILENUS BURBANKS.

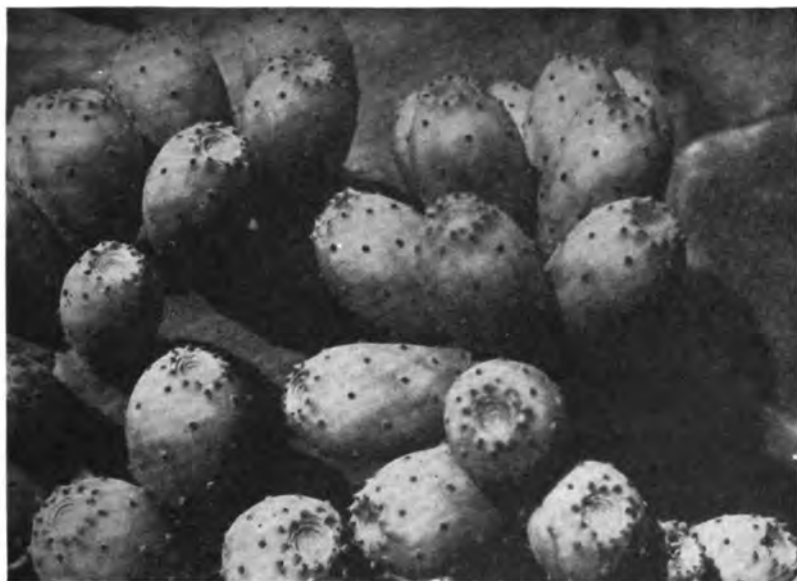
posing of it (in 1889) when it was yielding a profit of \$10,000 per annum, to address himself to the one thing on which he had all along been focused, plant-amelioration.

In June, 1893, appeared, not for public distribution, a remarkable pamphlet of some 50 pages, "New Creations in Fruits and Flowers." The epithet was criticised. It is justified in Professor Bailey's noble sentence: "Intelligent selection having in mind ideal form is man's nearest approach to the Creator in his dealings with the organic world." Combination should have been conjoined with selection; for, in practical field-work, it is necessary to combine before selections can be of any value. The catalogue and its after-issued supplements (1901 and 1903) have long been out of print. Like the strange, new fruits and flowers they describe, they are themselves a hybrid of history and sales catalogue; and, in their

way, classics. They were appreciated by the husbandmen throughout the country, sought for as text-books by Cornell University and half a dozen agricultural colleges. Prince Anatole Gagazine, of the Russian Imperial Pomological Society, sent a request for 20 of them to be used in the Siberian College of Agriculture at St. Petersburg. In 1902, the plants they described and named had more than justified the claim of the producer that they would become "standards of excellence"; for they were household words. Turning the pages today, one seems yet Orientalized with the pictures and descriptions. But how familiar have they become with the later horticultural triumphs! The evolution of the plum and prune; various forms and fruits, one for one variety and utility, one with contrasting qualities for another; the plum-apricot or plumcot (as it has come to be called); the plum-cherry; the peach; other deciduous fruits such as the persimmon, medlar, pomegranate, etc.; apples, quinces, pears and similar orchard and garden fruits; nuts, the "Paradox" and "Royal" for shade and nuts, timber and forestry, the early-bearing chestnut, etc.; berries; the civilizing of the cactus; and grasses; fodder plants; grains; clovers; the garden vegetable evolutions; the flowers, the bulbous and tuberous plants brought to perfection; roses and allied plants; the poppy family; miscellaneous productions; ornamental trees and plants; the kindergarten of wild flowers and weeds made beautiful; climbing vines; the Shasta Daisy with its congeners, the "Alaska", "California", "Westralia" and other *Chrysanthemum* Daisies, etc., etc.;—and, among them all, no oddities that are not utilities; no achievements that cannot be reproduced in all zones clement to vegetable life. Enumeration is not possible here. Their evolution is notable. These distinct new races have come, many of them, from such sources as the little, hard, acid, indigestible coast-plum; the diminutive and noxious wild peach; and worthless, tasteless dingy yellow berries from Japan. Here are lily-fields, masses of scarlet and gold from native plants hidden in the ravines and foot-hills of our coast land from British America to Southern California.

Indeed, like the taming of the cactus, much of Mr. Burbank's work has been among the wild things, the vagrants and vagabonds. "They are weeds," he says, "only because of struggle." He frees them from the limitations of their environment. He gives one species the advantage of another from which it is geographically too far separated to benefit without human help. And so his collectors from all over the world are instructed to send in not garden plants but wild ones. And these shy plants are exposed to new and

friendly latitudes. They come in, obscure bulbs, the Wake Robin, Lady-Slippers, Trythenus from the swamps; and lower forms, the Stickle-Pod and Rag-Weed, Dog-Fennel and thistles and Devil's Claws; and he unites and crosses them; frees them from offensive odors; joins the hardiness of one to the brilliance of another; with cultivation and selection gives them strength so they will not wilt; and refined perfume. So these large, coarse, rank-smelling, sometimes poisonous plants, are redeemed. One of these prostrate weeds was a progenitor of the great Shasta Daisy. Ten years ago when it first appeared in the window of a San Francisco florist, it was stared at by crowds as a floral mystery. Since then it has become



FRUIT OF THE SPINELESS CACTUS—BURBANK.

famous wherever flowers are scientifically recognized. Of its great white and gold blooms one British collector writes: "It has four times as much blossom as any other variety"; and another says: "It takes the Premier honors." Think of this immense chrysanthemum, more than a foot in circumference, fluted, frilled, crested, lanced and with varying tints of color, grown in Cape Town and Sydney, in the United States and Canada, wherever an oak tree will grow, alike in the tropical South and where the snows of heaven mingle with its own, having for one of its parents the rowdy, wayside weeds, with their big yellow centers and inch of petal with

which as boys we weighted the tails of our kites! The wonder-garden burns with color; hyacinths, dahlias, carnations, gladioli, and dozens of others double and treble the ordinary size. The lily-field is lustrous with its new types of Amaryllis, among them the Jacobean Martinique; and hundreds of callas, "Giant," "Fragrance," "Lemon". It is impossible to suggest the commingled bloods. The town of Santa Rosa itself is full and fragrant of the new rose with the bloods of the Hermosa and the Bon Silene in its veins. But these are patrician. More characteristic of the master are the marshalled rows of honest little poppies in the rear grounds, carrying the new and unusual shades of color he has given them. In the same manner of work is his ennobling of the beach plum. All along the bleak coast-lands from South Carolina to Maine are scattered dwarf, scrubby, bush-like trees that produce stems of a small, dull-colored, bitter berry-like fruit, named the beach plum (*Prunus maritima*). Using this savage but hardy pioneer for a base, he has produced a fruit eighty times the size of the *maritima* with delicious flesh. One likes these calls from the wild. So he takes a tree, impoverished on account of a defective and inadequate root system, or with foliage so scanty that the sun blackens its blooms the day they ripen; or, again, sensitive to blight and drought, and, rescuing it from these infirmities, giving it the advantages of agencies it has long asked for in vain, makes it valuable. All his vacations are little excursions among the ravines and chaparral of our low mountain sides, whence he returns home loaded with wild seeds and material. From their native fields, ravaged by wind and storm and preyed upon by insect life, the plants go to the Burbank college for a liberal education. He makes fruit trees hardier and more prolific with better fruit. He has prolonged the California fruit season a month or more by producing early and late-bearing varieties. His achievements with such refractory problems as the rhubarbs, the grasses and the prunes are stories by themselves, but of his specific productions and creations volumes could be written. He has placed California foremost of any state horticulturally; transforming arid districts; making half-barren lands more valuable. The extent of his work has not been understood. *He has pioneered horticulture into the dignity of a science.* He has destroyed the frontiers of species, creating by hand species apparently as fixed as those which date back to the beginnings of vegetable life. He has broken down the arbitrary definitions of genera and species. His discoveries have been adopted as the laws of new botanies. This change of view is amusing. Before him the botanists believed and taught in

their text-books that species were complete and absolute. Then they lapsed into considering species as merely convenient classifications for differentiated types. Now they are taught as interchangeable, even as non-existent. It is not a revolution perhaps; but, cer-

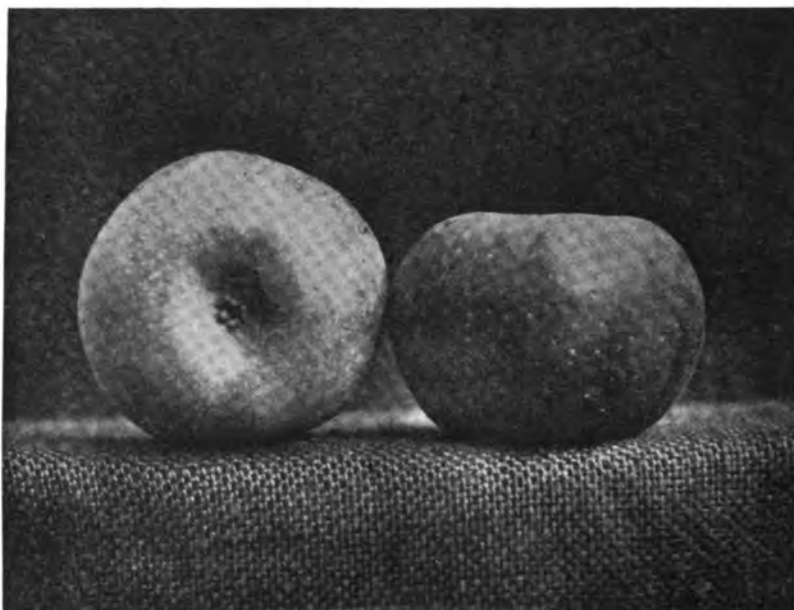


THE WONDER BERRY—BURBANK.

tainly, a revelation. We now know that the characters of plants must be distinguished in a different way. By his exposure of intermediate links, he has demonstrated a wider interval between varieties than was heretofore taught to exist between species. The *muraille* between varieties and species had to be abandoned; also the theory of a special creative act for different species. He is the original entryman of a new class-book. Observing the canon that varieties are the production of law, never of chance, his endeavor has been to search out the laws and employ the forces which create *increments of change* that create and transmit variations.. In their natural habitat, the energy of plants is expended merely to live as they are. New species are only produced when variations have been forced under pressure of contiguous dangerous competition, causing natural crosses and hybrids. When the same plants are domesticated and cultivated, the struggle for life is removed, and unforeseen variations become immediately possible. Thus the external resemblances and the declared tendencies which had been taken to

determine the classifications into species instead of being permanent, he has shown to be fragile.

As to the processes, the methods of combination, crossing and selection which Mr. Burbank employs, but little has been given to the world; this not from any intention of concealment on his part, but simply because he is a doer rather than sayer or writer. He has published few papers, given few addresses. His lecture before



THE NEWTON PIPPIN—BURBANK.

the American Pomological Society, some years ago, was instructive. His most valuable published work (if it may be so termed) is his "Fundamental Principles of Plant Breeding," now out of print. He is a thorough disciple of Darwin, substituting in his method for Darwin's natural selection his own theory of special selection. By modifying the inner nutritive and evolutive mediums, his practice is to change the organic expression. To use his own words, "There is no barrier to obtaining fruits of any size, form or flavor desired, and none to producing plants and flowers of any form, color or fragrance: all that is needed is a knowledge to guide our efforts in the right direction, undeviating patience and cultivated eyes to detect variations of value."

Practically, however, artificial plant evolution is a long ordeal.



The experimenter is continually escorted by difficulties, uncertainties, even tragedies, from the first ingathering of material and pollenizing to the last seed-selection. There is a constant confronting of ancestral dynamics in the bringing of other forces to bear against the enormous force that has caused the present form;—to disturb its cohesion and unite foreign matter. The inspection of the multitude sent in from remote explorations for the few growths that offer promise; the delicate pollenizing; the constant watchfulness to detect the controlling force in the confusion and collision of influences; the arousal of divergent impulses in the plant; the recognition of any proneness to new forms and guiding from wayward or outlaw tendencies; persuading into the right direction; removing obstacles, thwarting or encouraging congenialities, freeing from the tyrannies of habit induced by old competition; often, the opening out of the plant into disappointing avenues—these experiences are taxing. Then, when once the persistent type is ruptured, unforeseen latent tendencies are liberated; reverberating echoes of varieties long since passed away, the blood of atavism still in the plant. These echoes or revivals, "sports" as they are technically termed, may be themselves sources of combinations offering unexpected values or disappointments. Of the mass which give no definite or hopeful perturbations, there is a massacre. Perhaps half a score are chosen for farther attention. The field is cleared of all the rest, and, at seed time, pollenizing again; and the seeds are culled until the result sought for is obtained. All this goes on and on through generations of plant life. As for the results? There is no adequate law protecting the producer. For instance, the Shasta Daisy cost 8 years of cultivation on a large scale, \$200 spent for advertising. The entire amount realized did not pay for publication and postage. And now in England the new flower is sent out as if organized and owned there! One of the great plums that have revolutionized home and foreign markets cost in cash without reckoning time \$4,500. The receipts were \$5,000. The nurseryman should be relied on for propagation and distribution; the savants, to study these fruits and flowers, some of which will be historic, as an entity, determine their relation to others, their characteristics, and scientific position; and their author left to continue to secure as he has secured in the past for himself, maintenance of way. "All I have, all I am," he said to me once after refusing another of the many public financial endowments offered him, "I will give and give freely, but can receive nothing that will impair my power to give." He instinctively avoids what he calls "the incubus of institutional-

ism." He declined the Carnegie fund five years ago, and, finally, after being relieved of some of the conditions with which the grant was accompanied, he accepted it with misgivings. Now the connection is dissolved. The Carnegie Foundation retires in the possession of a great store of valuable facts, well tabulated, constituting a systematizing in exact record of data that have been heretofore indi-



THE AUSTRALIAN STAR FLOWER—BURBANK.

vidual and incommunicable. The ventilation of these should be more beneficial to the public than the ulcerated reports of traveling correspondents. But sometime a nature-book will be printed, presenting all the creations and introductions with pictures in color, the author telling the story in his own way. It will be interesting to learn from his own speech how this solitary genius in a new land contrasts the achievements of all the horticulturists in the older, highly-specialized civilizations.

For this is what he is, a genius of horticulture. I hesitate to use the word because it has been conferred so indiscriminately. So many wear its favor who never received the accolade. It has to do with the way of working, rather than with results. Audacity, adventure, a new trail blazed, abandonment of landmarks, short cuts, the diameter across the circle—these are some of its characteristics. Add to them an extraordinary impulsion, an obsession which compels, from the first, movement in only one way; initiative, the power to reach results by unprecedented paths; emancipation from dogma and tradition—these are among the singularities that individualize the great Californian. His life is a series of renunciations, of fortunes attained and dissipated in the furtherance of a self-chosen mission, to which wife, home, friends, everything is subordinate or subsidiary. For it, the making of money, even the getting of a

living, have been repeatedly sacrificed without hesitation. His career illustrates all the traits of genius except its vices. And then there has always been something bewildering about his exploits, which have often been written about as if there were sorcery in the gardens. As one beholder said to me: "There is something uncanny here. The flowers are unreal, *etherial*." And for how many years has he been called "wizard," "mystic," "necromancer"; and the mystery of his work been compared to that of the *genii* in Oriental tales! But his only resemblance to the slave of the lamp is his reserve and his work without respite.

In his basic distinctions between Religion and Science, the editor of *The Open Court* says (Feb., 1910): "Evolution not long ago was considered an impious heresy, and is now becoming an integral part of our world-conception." The sentence recalls the earlier days in the wisteria-hidden cottage at Santa Rosa. Darwin had exhibited creation by evolution, natural selections. The religious organizations found the formula hard to accept. They yielded reluctantly. Then here came one who dared to interfere in processes peculiar provinces of the Creator; to override the barriers created by the Almighty, and who even called his irreverent works "new creations." It was the unpardonable sin. Outraged religion assailed the audacious Californian in its periodicals. Letters by the hundred and even visitors sometimes voiced their disapproval. Who now does not love fruit and flower better because of the new wealth he has given them?

## A NEW DELUGE FRAGMENT.

### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

**A**MONG other results of interest Professor H. V. Hilprecht has brought to light from Tablet Hill in Nippur a small fragment of the earliest version of the deluge story, and this discovery is the more important as it agrees much closer with the Biblical report than the other versions of a later date. It proves that the Jews did not become acquainted with the deluge in Babylon during the exile, but that their acquaintance with this tradition must date back to the times of Abraham, constituting part of their earliest literature. The fragment discovered at Nippur reads in Professor Hilprecht's translation as follows:

1. . . . . "thee,
2. . . . . "[the confines of heaven and earth] I will loosen,
3. . . . . "[a deluge I will make, and] it shall sweep away all men together;
4. . . . . "[but thou seek l]ife before the deluge cometh forth;
5. . . . . "[For over all living beings], as many as there are, I will bring overthrow, destruction, annihilation.
6. . . . . "Build a great ship and
7. . . . . "total height shall be its structure.
8. . . . . "it shall be a house-boat carrying what has been saved of life.
9. . . . . "with a strong deck cover it.
10. . . . . "[The ship] which thou shalt make,
11. . . . . "[into it br]ing the beasts of the field, the birds of heaven,
12. . . . . "[and the creeping things, two of everything] instead of a number,
13. . . . . "and the family . . .
14. . . . . "and" . . .

The fragment can be pretty accurately dated. It was written under the first dynasty of Isin about 2000 B. C., and is about 1500 years earlier than the two Nineveh versions. It is perhaps the oldest version of the deluge story in a Semitic translation, and there is no doubt that the original was much older, for the translation was made from a Sumerian original.

For every line of this new deluge fragment, with the exception of the first and last lines, Professor Hilprecht adds a passage of the Biblical version in Gen. vii. 11 and vi. 13-20, as follows:<sup>1</sup>

2. "all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."
3. . . . "behold, I will destroy them with the earth."
4. . . . "but with thee I will establish my covenant."
5. "and behold I do bring the deluge upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; everything that is on earth shall perish."
6. "make thee an ark . . ."
7. "and thus thou shalt make it . . . and thirty cubits its height."
8. "A roof shalt thou make to the ark, in its entire length thou shalt cover it; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; (with) lower, second and third stories shalt thou make it."
10. "And from every living thing, from all flesh, two from everything shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female,
11. "(two) from the birds instead of a number thereof; (two) from the beasts instead of a number thereof; (two) from everything creeping on the ground instead of a number thereof;
13. "and thou shalt come into the ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee."

This new fragment throws light also upon the deluge report current in Hierapolis, the center of Istar worship in Syria described by Lucian in his interesting article "On the Syrian Goddess." There he speaks of Deucalion, the pious man who on account of his goodness had been saved from the deluge in a great ark. "He had packed therein the women and children of his family, and when he was ready to board, the animals came two by two, pigs and horses and all kinds of wild creatures and creeping things, in a word all the animals which live upon earth. He took them in, and Jupiter

<sup>1</sup> The figures in front of the Biblical quotation refer to the lines of the Nippur version.

endowed them with such peaceful sentiments that they did no harm one to another, but lived in the greatest harmony."

We will further mention that there is a coin of a non-Jewish



city, Kibotos, where the story goes that Deucalion's ark had landed for the name of the city means "ark" in Greek, and here the man who is saved from the Deluge is called by the Biblical name "Noe."



## A CREDO MOSAIC.

BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER.

I BELIEVE in God, the First Cause,<sup>1</sup> "the Eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousness,"<sup>2</sup> whose body is the universe,<sup>3</sup> whose habits are the laws of nature<sup>4</sup> and whose rule is the reign of law.<sup>5</sup> I believe that "through the ages one increasing purpose runs,"<sup>6</sup> that Evolution is God in action,<sup>7</sup> that the REVELATION of God is found in the world's Bibles<sup>8</sup> or literatures, and "in Nature's infinite book of secrecy"<sup>9</sup> where I may find "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything."<sup>10</sup> I believe in SALVATION through enlightenment and effort, in moral amelioration within reach of the lowest, in "the steady gain of man"<sup>11</sup> and the ultimate triumph of right over wrong. And I believe in human brotherhood, in the supremacy of the law of love and in the IMMORTALITY of worthy deeds<sup>12</sup> and noble lives.

### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

Judge Charles Sumner Lobingier, of Manila, sends us his confession of faith, which we publish because it is the expression of a large number of people. As he himself says, it is a "credo mosaic," for it contains all the ideas which have impressed themselves upon the present generation. In its form it imitates the traditional Christian

1. Spencer.
2. Matthew Arnold.
3. F. W. Robertson.
4. Harriet Martineau.
5. "I trust in Nature for the stable laws  
Of beauty and utility. Spring shall plant  
And Autumn garner till the end of time."
6. Tennyson.
7. "A fire-mist and a planet,  
A crystal and a cell;

—*Browning.*

Credo, even beginning with the very same words as the Apostles' Creed, but it also incorporates philosophical terms and verses of poets, including such notions as have become typical of the average Anglo Saxon mind.

We do not intend to criticize, but publish it as representing the average sentiment of today. We would object to such a term as "First Cause," the contradictoriness of which we have repeatedly discussed.<sup>1</sup> Further, though we grant that God makes for righteousness, we would not limit God to that which is not ourselves. We ourselves are the main medium through which God makes for righteousness, and so we should not be ignored in the definition, much less positively excluded. I would further object to the idea that the universe is the body of God and that the laws of nature are his habits. The laws of the universe are more than his habits, they are the eternal thoughts of God, they are God Himself. While I believe that right is always right, and that being such it is always triumphant, even if it succumbs, I would hesitate to say that I believe throughout in the ultimate triumph of right in any external sense. Upon the whole, however, I find that Judge Lobingier has certainly expressed the opinion of the present generation.

A jelly-fish and a saurian,  
And caves where the cave-men dwell;  
Then a sense of law and beauty,  
And a face turned from the clod—  
Some call it Evolution  
And others call it God."

—Corruth.

8. "Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,  
And not on paper leaves, nor slabs of stone;  
Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,  
Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan.  
While swings the sea, while mists the mountain shroud,  
While thunderous surges beat on cliffs of cloud,  
Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit."
9. Shakespere.
10. Id.
11. Whittier.
12. "I count this thing to be grandly true  
That a noble deed is a step toward God,  
Lifting the soul from the common sod,  
To purer air and a broader view."

—Holland.

<sup>1</sup> See *Fundamental Problems*, pp. 88ff.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

#### SOME SIKH HYMNS.

The Sikhs of India, although best known in the west for their fierce invasion of British territory in the middle of the nineteenth century, are members of a religious community founded on the principles of monotheism and human brotherhood. Their regulations enjoin upon every Sikh to arise at four in the morning and bathe; they are to sing hymns both morning and evening and the following is an exact translation of some of their hymns for daily worship:

“Oh Almighty!

Thou art my Father, Thou art my Mother,  
Thou art my dearest relation and Thou art my brother;  
Why should I be afraid or feel anxious, when  
Thou art my Protector wherever I go.”

---

“Through Thy kindness alone Thou canst be realized,  
Thou art my relief and upon Thee alone I pride myself;  
Nothing exists without Thee and all this world is but a tournament-ground  
of Thine.”

---

“Animate and inanimate have all been created by Thee,  
Thou art Thyself urging them in whichever direction it pleaseth Thee  
the most;  
Everything is Thy doing and nothing is from us.”

---

“The greatest bliss is attained by repeating Thy Name,  
My mind has been refreshed by singing Thy praises,  
The Perfect Guru congratulates you, Oh Nanak!  
So you have won the tournament.”

---

“Why, *yogi*, do you wander in woods after Him,  
Who is Omnipresent, ever Guileless and always by your side?  
Just as odour exists in flowers and shadow in a mirror,  
So does All-light and the Dispenser of all sins exist in you.  
Seek Him out from within you, therefore, Oh brother!  
Within and without He permeates everywhere, the Guru has granted me  
this Knowledge.

Oh Nanak! Doubts and dangers are never dispelled without the conquest of mind."

"Oh Almighty,

We are unclean but Thou art Purity,

We are without any virtue but Thou art the Bestower (of all things),

We are fools but Thou art perfectly wise; Thou art the Knower of all the powers that be

Oh Master such are we and such art Thou,

We are sinners whilst Thou art the Dispenser of Sins; the Master's abode is very blessed.

Thou hast created all and honored all by giving them soul, body and breath I have no virtue, I am without goodness, grant me this charity, Oh Thou who art kind and benevolent!

Thou dost good for us at all times, though we know it not

Thou art always, always Kind.

Thou art the finger of all the comforts, Oh Father

Save Thy children.

Thou art the source of all the goodness and the Perpetual Ruler

All Thy creation longs intensely for Thee, saith Nanak,

Oh Timeless Being! Save us in the name of Thy saints. As this is our only pleasure to earn Thy blessing (i. e., otherwise, we are without virtues and not worthy of Thy acceptance)."

#### THE VENERABLE SRI SUMANGALA.

In January was celebrated the eighty-fourth birthday of the Venerable Sri Sumangala of Hikkaduwa, M. C. B. R. A. S., M. R. A. S., the chief High Priest of Ceylon and the principal of the Vidyodaya Oriental College. He is not only largely esteemed by his own people but also recognized as a scholar of note by European men of culture, and is in correspondence with prominent professors of Oriental languages in the West. He has been elected "Fellow" of three great Societies in Europe. In 1887 he was elected Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Italy, and the honorary degree "Diploma Dicosio Onorario" was conferred upon him. Five years later he was elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

In extending the invitation to membership in the latter, Professor Rhys Davids wrote, "I hope your lordship will accept the title conferred on you by the above named Society. Its memberships are conferred very rarely. Of the greatest men elected from the whole world only one from all India is taken, and your lordship is the only member from Ceylon."

More recently the Societa Internationale of Austria-Hungary elected him as an honorary Fellow. In the letter acknowledging his acceptance of the great honor thus conferred on him Professor Ladles Torte writes: "The European scientists have the greatest pleasure in your lordship's accepting the honor they confer on you. The members of this Society are the greatest men of science of Europe."

The venerable High Priest whom the greatest of Europe thus honor is an expert of Pali, Sanskrit, Elu and Buddhistic doctrines of ethics and metaphysics; moreover he has a wide command over the English, Tamil, and German languages. The life of ascetic severity which is followed by the High Priest is thus described in the *Maha-Bodhi* of February, 1910:

"The rules of the Bhikkhu Order do not allow a monk to touch gold and silver, and he has to be satisfied with the food that the pious laymen give him, which he takes once in twenty-four hours. With this diet he has to sustain life, and with one robe he has to cover his body. The room that he occupies does not belong to him, and there is nothing valuable that he can call his. It is a life of complete selflessness, the life of the Bhikkhu, and living such a self-sacrificing life he gives all his time for the welfare of the Bhikkhus and laics. \* \* \* It is such a life of complete self-sacrifice that the illustrious elder, the most worshipful Pradhāna Nāyaka Sumangala, has lived since he received the Upasampada ordination in his twenty-first year. The whole Buddhist world pays him homage and we believe there is no other man in the world who has all the higher qualities with which he is endowed. In his eighty-fourth year he is as active as a young man of twenty-five, and younger scholars who go to receive instruction at his hands testify that the High Priest is the enemy of indolence."

#### THE SHORT BALLOT.

It is a well-known truth recognized by all who have considered the difficulties of republican institutions, that the origin of many abuses is due to the custom of holding too many elections. The American citizen has to fill innumerable positions directly by his vote, and it is a matter of experience that in most cases a better choice is made by appointment. What can we know about candidates for state treasurer, for supreme court judges, for a clerk of the court, etc., etc., and the result is that even the most intelligent voter votes blindly, following the party ticket or the advice of some friend in whom he has confidence. It is absolutely impossible to be well posted on all the personalities in question, and the mass of voters are quite helpless. What the voter can not do the politician does for him, and so the political boss originates as the man who does the thinking for the voter. In smaller districts the shortcomings of our political system are not so much felt as in large cities where elections are decided by the great majority of irresponsible voters. In order to make a reform possible a movement has been set on foot with the outspoken purpose of simplifying politics by a short ballot. This timely enterprise has its headquarters at 127 Duane Street, New York City, under the title "Short Ballot Organization" and people interested in their plans are solicited to write for propaganda literature on the subject.

#### OUR NATIONAL HYMN.

Our national hymn contains a weak line in the first stanza which ought to be modified. The words "Land where my fathers died" is not only trivial but it is a pointless imitation of European patriotism. The hymn to the Prussian flag declares:

"Dass für die Freiheit meine Väter starben  
Das deuten, merkt es, meine Farben an."

Literally translated this means:

"That for freedom my fathers died,  
That is the meaning, mark ye, of my colors."

Note the difference: In the Prussian hymn we are informed that the liberty and greatness of the country have been bought dearly by former genera-

tions, who shed their blood on the battle field, fighting gloriously for the freedom of their land.

The same is true of the foundation of this country. Its liberty has been gained with sword in hand and many of its heroes lost their lives for it. While this idea must have been in the poet's mind, he missed the essential point which he replaced with the prosaic line that the fathers of the present American citizens, at least some of them, died and lie buried in American cemeteries. Most of them died a peaceful death in their comfortable beds. That some of them died the death of heroes is not even hinted at. Yet it is to these that we owe the freedom of this country. They were instrumental in securing the independence of the nation, and they are the founders of the nation, the predecessors of the American later-born patriots, and they are the spiritual ancestors of all good citizens of today, even of those who have come here to adopt this country as their own. We propose therefore another reading, which is easily introduced by a transposition of two lines and a slight change. The first stanza would then read as follows:

"Our country, 'tis of thee  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee we sing.  
Land of the Pilgrims' pride,  
For thee our fathers\* died,  
From every mountain side  
Let freedom ring."

\* Or "For thee our heroes died."

Patriotic citizens will do well to consider this suggestion for a revised version of our national hymn.

#### SIMPLIFIED SPELLING IN CHINA.

Chinese civilization is very old and even the common people have a great respect for learnedness. Nevertheless, we are very much mistaken if we think that the average education in China is of the same standing as that in Europe or the United States. Though there are few absolutely illiterate people among the Chinese, the knowledge of reading and writing is limited among the large masses to practical business affairs. We must remember that Chinese characters are very complicated, and communications referring to modern innovations, among them to political questions, are not easily intelligible to the common people.

We learn from the *Daily Press*, Hong Kong, that it has, therefore, been proposed by some native reformers to introduce phonetic script which will replace the cumbersome method of ideographic Chinese characters and the proposition has been favorably received by the government. The next step will be the publication of newspapers written in both the old and the new script, which will facilitate the communication of thought and act as a powerful leaven toward the education of the people all over China.

#### AN AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR THE CONVERSION OF NON-CATHOLICS.

Every church, be it Protestant or Catholic, Greek or Roman, Anglican or Independent, has a right to missionarize; yea, we naturally expect it of all religions and say that a religion which does not make a propaganda for spreading the truth as its devotees see it, lacks vitality, and so we ought not



to forbid others, not even non-Christians, to make converts wherever by proper and lawful means they can do so. A propaganda must be opposed only when coercion, threats or other foul methods are employed.

We notice that the Roman Catholic Church has of late made renewed efforts to carry on an active missionary propaganda through "the League of the Good Shepherd." The *Ecclesiastical Review*, of April, 1910, p. 485, comments upon the subject as follows:

"The League has for its motto, 'I know mine and mine know me, and other sheep I have that are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd.' These words of the Good Shepherd indicate the chief object of the League, which is the conversion of our country, first by making Catholics better acquainted with their religion and more faithful in the observance of its laws and practices; secondly, by urging Catholics to labor for the conversion of their relatives and friends; thirdly, by diffusing everywhere the spirit which will bring our countrymen to the right knowledge and appreciation of Christ's teaching."

The Pontifical Brief reads thus in the authorized English translation quoted from the same source, p. 486:

"*Be it forever remembered:*

"Our beloved son, the pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Washington, Archdiocese of Baltimore, has made known to Us that in accordance with the expressed desire of the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, he has established in his parish church the pious *sodality* of the League of the Good Shepherd which seeks as its special object, to obtain from God by prayer and good works the preservation of the faith among the parishioners and the conversion of their friends and relatives to the true religion. Since this League, canonically organized by the Ordinary of the Diocese and enriched with indulgences by the Holy See, has already borne abundant fruit and is rapidly spreading with the support of the Bishops into other dioceses, our beloved son as aforesaid, has earnestly besought Us to the effect that the heavenly treasures of the Church, which we have opened to this League, should likewise be made available for other associations which take the League as their pattern.

"We therefore gladly favor this pious petition, and, relying on the mercy of Almighty God and the authority of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, We grant to every association established or hereafter to be established in the United States of America with the consent of the respective Bishop and with the same name and scope as the said League, each and all of the indulgences, plenary and partial, which were granted to the League by the Holy See on the twenty-seventh day of May in the current year: To wit, a plenary indulgence to all the faithful of either sex who shall join one of the aforesaid associations, to be gained on the day of their admission; likewise, to the present and future members a plenary indulgence on the festivals of Easter, Christmas and Corpus Christi, including the first vespers of each festival; also the same indulgence, available from sunrise to sunset, on one day in each month to be selected by the director of each League; with the condition in all cases that the members truly repent of and confess their sins, receive Holy Communion, make a visit to any church or public oratory and there pray for peace among Christian Rulers, for the extirpation of heresy, the conversion of sinners, and the exaltation of holy mother Church. And We further grant,

in the usual form, an indulgence of three hundred days to the members who, at least with contrite heart, shall attend the weekly devotions of the League; and one hundred days to be gained by each devout recitation, in any language, of the prayer: "O Jesus, Good Shepherd, I offer Thee all my actions of this day for the conversion of my country, and in particular for the conversion of N——." Finally, We permit all these indulgences, remissions of sins, and relaxations of penance to be applied by way of suffrage to the souls in Purgatory. Anything whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding, the present concessions are to hold good in perpetuity.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the Fisherman's Ring, the thirtieth day of December, nineteen hundred and nine, the seventh year of Our Pontificate.

"R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL,

"Secretary of State."

**PROTEUS: A Rhapsody on Man.** By *Edwin Miller Wheelock*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. Pp. viii, 58. Price, cloth, blue and gold, 50c (2a).

"Man as the microcosm" is the keynote of this small book. The author sees in the continuous effort of creation "to put forth the human form," a cosmic unity in evolution which he calls the God in Man. All things are possible by, through, and for man. It would seem as though he supplements Paul's declaration, by changing "God in whom we live, and move, and have our being," into, "Man, in whom God lives, and moves, and has His being." The two sayings are not contradictory but mere variations of one and the same truth.

Mr. Wheelock's mysticism is no doubt one source of his poetic vision, but in some points it is carried to excess when his opinions become fantastic; yet they are stated in serious naïveté that can hardly be deemed commendable before the tribunal of sober reason.

However, we gladly recognize the power of his poetry and recommend the book as an opportunity to become acquainted with this singular personality. His very eccentricities are noteworthy, in that they characterize certain aspirations and hopes of man whose very fulfilment runs contrary to the well assured verdicts of rational argument.

The brief fantastic passages have been removed from the text of the book, but for completeness' sake as well as in justice to the author are added in an appendix. As it now stands, this "Rhapsody on Man" is a truly poetic psalm of the glory of humanity, and passages of it may be compared to the best that has been produced in English literature.

**HILPRECHT ANNIVERSARY VOLUME; Studies in Assyriology and Archaeology,**  
Dedicated to Hermann V. Hilprecht by his Colleagues, Friends and Admirers. Open Court Pub. Co. Pp. 450. Cloth, \$5.00.

Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, at present the incumbent of the Clark Research Professorship in Assyriology, Professor of Semitic Philology and Archaeology, Curator of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, is acknowledged the world over to be a leading authority in Sumeriology, Assyriology, and Archaeology. He is the editor of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, a scientific publication

containing the results of the several expeditions that were sent to Babylonia by the University of Pennsylvania. This publication is the standard work in Assyriology and Sumeriology and is issued by the Archæological Department of the University.

Prof. Hilprecht is the publisher of Assyriological, Sumeriological and Archæological works, the excellency of which is unassailed and unassailable.

He is the reorganizer of the Imperial Ottoman Museums in Constantinople, and in appreciation of his distinguished services in connection with those Museums, which extended during the last twenty years, the Sultan Abdul Hamid presented Prof. Hilprecht with the finest and oldest collection of Babylonian tablets ever excavated. These tablets were excavated by Prof. Hilprecht during the fourth expedition of the University of Pennsylvania and constitute the now famous temple library of Nippur, of which Hilprecht is the discoverer. On account of Hilprecht's great labors, far-reaching investigations and epoch-making discoveries, thirty-one of the foremost scholars united in honoring him by dedicating to him a book on his fiftieth birthday and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his doctorate.

Only recently Hilprecht discovered the oldest *Deluge Tablet*, the account of which resembles that of the Bible to such a degree as to make the late date of the Priestly narrative quite old (instead of "late" as the higher critics want it).

The contributions in the book embrace subjects on Chronology, Archæology, Assyriology, Sumeriology, Mythology, Religion, and Old Testament subjects. The book should therefore be in the hands of every theologian. The contributors are Roman Catholic priests, monks, Episcopal, Lutheran and other Protestant clergymen, the first and foremost Professors of all leading Universities in Europe, and the Curators of the most famous Museums have contributed, so the British Museum, the Louvre (Paris), the Imperial Ottoman Museums at Constantinople.

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CLAVIS UNIVERSALIS. *Arthur Collier*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by *Ethel Bowman*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. Pages xxv, 140. Cloth \$1.50. Paper \$.50.

All students of the history of philosophy have reason to be grateful to the editor of this volume, to Professor Mary Calkins, who appears to have inspired the preparation of it, and the *Open Court Publishing Company*, which has brought out the book in a dignified but inexpensive form. Collier's *Clavis*, a document of all but the highest interest and consequence in the history of English philosophy, has hitherto been virtually unprocurable. The original edition was already a rarity before the end of the eighteenth century and Dr. Parr's collection of metaphysical tracts, 1837, which includes a reprint of the book, is long since out of print and is accessible, in America, in very few libraries. The present volume gives the text complete, following the edition of Parr, together with a short biographical and historical introduction, and a few pages of notes. The editorial work has been carefully and competently done.

It is not likely that teachers of philosophy will make use of parts of *The Clavis* as a means of first introducing undergraduates to idealism in one of its typical historic forms. Collier's English has none of the charm of Berkeley's style, but if his book is inferior as literature, it is in some respects superior as argumentation, and especially as pedagogy. Compared with the *Principles of Human Knowledge*, *The Clavis* has more of the virtues of a good text-book. It begins with explicit definitions, and explicit warnings against possible misunderstandings. Its arguments are classified, catalogued and correlated. For these reasons, the best historical introduction to idealism would seem to me to consist in selections from *The Clavis* followed by parallel and supplementary passages from Berkeley's *Dialogues*.

It is to be hoped that the present welcome volume is the harbinger of a series of new editions of the more important writings of the English Platonists. Until the literature is made available, one of the most distinctive, most influential and most interesting movements in English reflection remains not only virtually unstudied, but also scarcely accessible to study.

A. O. LOVEJOY,  
 Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.





GETHSEMANE AND THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 6.)

JUNE, 1910.

NO. 649.

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## THE AVESTA AND THE VEDA.

WAS PHILO'S LOGOS THE SOURCE OF VOHUMANAH?

BY LAWRENCE H. MILLS.

*A Light Question Upon Avesta, which May Introduce Our Theme.*<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the most ill-timed devices by which a group of parasites ever tried to wreck a subject was a suggestion of a decade past (for a moment also repeated by a man of reputation,—eating his own recent words). It was this, that the Avesta, even in its oldest parts, was no earlier than the Advent, and that one of its Amshaspendas was Philo's Logos. This is not the place to waste words on those who do not know that the purpose and "motive" of the Philonian Greek logos was radically the opposite to the "motive" of the origin of Vohumanah,<sup>2</sup> nor that the seven (literally six) cities of refuge mentioned in Philo Judæus had nothing to do with the seven spirits of Tobit, Ezekiel, and the Avesta, the *dynamis basilike* of Philo having been taken from the *Kurios* of the Septuagint, which the gifted Alexandrian in his (accidental) ignorance of Hebrew, supposed to translate *Elohim*.<sup>3</sup> But it happens that the clear facts which these hasty observers have so singularly overlooked in claiming Greek origin to *vohumanah*, possess in themselves exceeding interest (quite apart); and this comes out most fully in the obvious

<sup>1</sup> These points occurred in a public lecture delivered at the Indian Institute at Oxford some few years ago, and were made use of in instructional lectures lately. They also appeared in the course of an article in *East and West* in 1902, at the invitation of its distinguished editor. The items are here revised and enlarged.

<sup>2</sup> For the Greek logos was invented as an intermediary between God and all matter, an idea which presupposes an original antagonism between the two, utterly repugnant to Zoroastrianism.

<sup>3</sup> This latter slip, however, does not really affect the point.

answer which we have to give to a view now held, as I believe, by no expert of authority; for the one simple, but at the same time impressive, circumstance which proves, once for all,—and as one would say, without a returning question—that Philo could not have inspired the Gathas, is the forgotten point (or, perhaps, the as yet too little known one) that the Avesta, as all experts must acknowledge, is almost Veda. If the gifted Jew inspired the one, he could not well have missed the honor of being father to the other also.

*Veda and the Post-Vedic Indian.*

The incalculably rich and varied Indian literature opened to us, indeed, an incomparably interesting world of old-time civilization,—and that so closely subtle and compacted as to be at times almost *blasé*. We have delighted in the grand and richly colored Rik where gods, heroes and demons struggle in a maze of close particulars, so dim as to specific points, in fact, as to be in places almost a tangle, but all combined in a moving mesh-work out of which life's passions glint at every turn. We have enjoyed the calm Brahmanas with their placid puerilities, set here and there with the invaluable lines of early myth and deeper thought; and we have been often pleased with the melodious epic, till at last the "Friendly Counsel" with its inimitable fables has fairly won our hearts; and we have stood throughout in respect at what may well have been the earliest sources of speculative conjecture. But who ever dreamt that there was a Veda, in some respects equal to it all, and superior to much, far up in the misty north, a thousand miles from Ganga, and as old<sup>4</sup> perhaps as the oldest Rik?

Yet so it was, and it began to be suspected not so very long ago, for the tracing of the particulars still goes freely on. It is this which, strange to say, brings in the full evidence even of the Indian documents upon some of our own (Occidental) religious dogmas,—of which let the Philonians here take notice; not that there existed any closer historical connection between them and our religious views than that through the Avesta.<sup>5</sup> No one who can read, as we may say, can well deny the identity of many thoughts in Avesta and in our Exilic or post-Exilic sacred Semitic books, even if we did not have the Gathic demon Asmodeus in the Book of Tobit where

<sup>4</sup> At least as old as the Brahmanas.

<sup>5</sup> See an article by the present writer on "Zoroaster and the Bible" in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of Jan., 1894. Re-edited in *The Open Court* of July, 1909, as also in translation into Gujarati, Bombay, by D. N. Cōrlāwallā, an accomplished Parsi; also in 1909 by an Italian barrister into Italian, and lately into French by Mlle. C. Michellet, of Lyons, France.

he was opposed, as in the Avesta, by the "seven spirits," not forgetting also the mention of the Persian Avesta city<sup>6</sup> *Ragha Rayes, Rai*, all in a single piece, though not in a single chapter; but how much we are startled when we recollect that the Rig Veda itself is here related. It is indeed as we may say a far cry from the Ganges to Jerusalem, as even from the Indus by way of a Persian Babylon,—but longer stages have been "laid behind." Of course we have the additional item of attraction that the stories of these lores are the tales of our kinsmen,—and why not, of our very ancestors? May they not positively preserve the very myths of the ancient tree from which we actually descended? They certainly concern a bough of it.

Was Avesta then concocted in our A. D. One (sic) when the Persians' language had been Pahlavi for centuries? Did some ancient Chatterton of Teheran at the time of Christ, or just before it, weave such a cunning tale as even the Gathas tell us all unconsciously indeed, and as if in passing<sup>7</sup> and wholly without effort to convince us, and even without one single attempt to state any one so-called historic fact in the historical manner? If he did, he must have been at work for India as well. But the age for such miracles in letters had ceased, or never was, in Old Iran, with all like hidden influences, long before it ceased in late Jerusalem.

From this let us proceed a little further.

*The First Home of the Aryans and Their Migration; the Tribes Divide, Their Identities Persist.*

To trace out, then, our analogies more fully, let us take first of all the familiar name "Aryan," which, while used as an adjective completing the familiar name of the Great Indo-Germanic race in general, is also much applied to the present Indians and Iranians. The term occurs frequently enough in the Rik, but strange (or, yet again, not so strange) to say, it is only marked as the "generic" in the Avesta, but it appears as might be expected enormously wide spread, and over all Europe as well as in South and mid-Asia. See it even in the Celtic *Iran* and in the Irish *Erin*.<sup>8</sup> So I need not have

<sup>6</sup> Recall also the statement that it was "also in the cities of the Medes" where some Jewish tribes were deported.

<sup>7</sup> The only evidence which, in my opinion, is worth reading, is internal evidence. As I have said elsewhere, if any passage in the Gathas asserted that they were composed at any particular given period, I should treat such a statement as a mere curiosity. It is what the Gathas disclose in passing and with no intention to make a statement, which convinces us that they were contemporaneous with the actual events to which they allude.

<sup>8</sup> So it is supposed.

paused to allude, if only with a few syllables, to distances. For no one anywhere, as we may now well presume, supposes that the Indians, as we have now so long named them, were indigenous to India, or that what influence they may have exerted issued originally and altogether from the land of the Seven Rivers.<sup>9</sup> The present so-called Indians were invaders of course, coming down as a ruling mass into the lands now known by us as India from the north and the northwest, and by that same Khyber Pass which has seen the ingress of so many differing peoples at memorable epochs. We can easily trace their very movements southward and southeast. The old Rik of the Veda mentions the rivers on whose shores they dwelt at successive intervals as they slowly spread. The first Rishis sang of Indus with its tributaries, then the later ones at last of the Ganges. The men of the Brahmanas or commentaries had reached still more distant points in the same ever-persisting direction. But, what is still more decisive, we can also trace the sources of their movements, so to say, backwards to the North, till we find them as far up as Afghanistan, then leaving Vedic lore entirely, we actually discover their presence in feeble remnants among the Iranian tribes; that is to say, we have in Avesta, old and late, the presence of people, who oppose the Iranian party, and who correspond, at least as to the chief name of their deity, with the Indians rather than with the Iranians, for they were termed D(a)eva-worshippers in reprobation. First they are seen in the Gathic Avesta as deadly foes of the Zoroastrians, then later as a beaten fragment left behind by their disappearing fellow-countrymen as a servile class. So, backward and northward, we trace the scattered throngs of tribes named Aryan, till we come upon what may have been a quasi-description of the primeval home itself (for all of them, as of all the other Aryans).

It would be, indeed, a point of peculiar, if not of solemn, interest if we could believe that we can fix the very spot which was once the early scene where the Indo-Germans acquired those dominant characteristics which distinguish them from the hardy Mongol and the brilliant Semite. But beyond all doubt we have really an attempt at least to allude to the "starting point" of all Aryan, Indo-Iranian migration. The account, as it has reached us, is contained only in a few sentences amidst much of a later type which could not fail to encrust itself upon it, helping however by its very presence to preserve the ancient hints.

We find this depiction in the celebrated first and second *fargard*, or chapters, of the Vendidad (first in the order of printed

<sup>9</sup> Or "of the five"; *panj-ab* is the "five waters."

texts in some editions, but by no means first in the order of genuine priority—this of course). Here we have a sort of rough Genesis with a series of Edens, and with successive expulsions. It is one of the most striking fragments of early fable (enclosing history) which has been left to either Aryans or to Semites.

*The Exact Determining of Localities Is, of Course, Not Feasible.*

Where the old place precisely was we can, indeed, never know, but the Iranians of the two (the future Indians and Iranians) alone report it, curiously enough. No place called "*Arya*" is prominent in the Veda, though the word is frequent, but at the very outset of the Avesta document we have the "fatherland." It was *Airyana V(a)ejah*, the races' "start." The *Aryan*<sup>10</sup> seems to have been the "tiller" first rallied to his work, and we have in the scant narratives one of the first records of an attempt to rise above the level of the otherwise universal savage life.

*The March of the Aryans.*

Wherever the land in fact really was, it cannot fail to impress us as the momentous scene of the first movement of the present dominant races of the world, to subdue predestined subjects.

*The Stirring Cause.*

It would seem to have been somewhere up in the frozen north, for the first resolution to move on came from the constraining force of weather; that is to say, from cold: "Ten months winter, two months summer, cold on the land, cold on the water, cold on the plants, cold on all, winter demon-made." From this began that mighty march of the Aryans, if not of all the Indo-Germans, whose subjugating footstep presses everywhere as beneficent, let us hope, as it is irresistible. It received its first impulse from that universal and imperative cause of many similar advances—I need hardly name it—discontent. It was, however, no unreasonable nor sudden restlessness, nor was it brought on by a change which was rapid in its effects. Its cause was one of the most unbearable of those powers which afflict us, and also one of the most prohibitive, if not destructive, to the prospects of an early civilization. Climate, that sovereign power under which the "mode of motion"<sup>11</sup> appears to be modified or diverted (for it cannot be destroyed), was—as so often—the impelling force. Not perhaps for the first time;—that can

<sup>10</sup> I trace the word to the root *ar*, "to plough," as in *aratrum*.

<sup>11</sup> Heat.

be hardly possible, but for a first time, in an energetic primeval line, it gave the push of fate, and stirred in the virile breasts of our forefathers or fore-kinsmen<sup>12</sup> their first fixed thought of tribal, not to say of national, prospective, pioneer adventure, as a unity. It was, indeed, no foolish curiosity which led them on, for these Aryans were as little fanciful, if we may judge from their practical points in literature, as also in polity, as any of the other main divisions of mankind. Their reasons were indeed less trivial than those which induce most similar decisions. They moved out, as we gather from the venerable tale, before the temperature as it chilled, one of the most convincing of all motives for a migration—receding step by step.

### *Whence Came This Climate's Fall?*

What sort of a fall in temperature was this particular one recorded? We know that in lands now ice-bound throughout the year, the bamboo once grew in torrid heat quite half-a-foot in thickness and rising to a dozen yards. So the elephant, as we know from fossil ivory, once stalked in the dense fens of *hot* Siberia. Can it be possible that these strange words of the book *Vendidad* actually report a similar change from a similar cause? And was that cause conceivably the original decline of caloric upon the earth's crust, or was it induced by a sun's periodicity,—colossal inference,—or by what? If it were the former, what an obtrusive item, or rather what a dominant occurrence, do we possess in this remote event of which we have so clear a trace,—a change from the cooling of a region upon the surface of the globe in the course of the original refrigeration, and within human times,—not in human history, of course, but in human myth, reflecting earlier tales, that grew from fact.

And why should this be so stoutly doubted,<sup>13</sup> as, doubt it, of course, we must? That its main idea was mere guess-work of the story-tellers lighting upon frost as a chance of theme, does not seem to be so likely. The simple seers of the villages would not so naturally have chosen such a fancy as cold for the conceived-of motive, or moment, in driving a whole people out. Some actual past event of the kind, in immemorial times, had evidently sunk deep in the hereditary traditions and memories of the infantile but sturdy generations.

And why, indeed, should a climatic crisis be regarded as so in-

<sup>12</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>13</sup> Not that any one has suggested such doubts, the idea is now first mooted.



credible?<sup>14</sup> For, as a civic mass, they would have left no home for merely a few bad seasons. Generation after generation in prehistoric times must have felt the gradual closing in of a polar world, and the forebears of these myth-weavers of Avesta may have been among their number.<sup>15</sup> Crop after crop must have become impossible, as we see them indeed now failing in our Middle Europe. The herbs, the fruits, the cereals, shrank and grew tasteless under the freezing chills; and the "tiller," *Aryan*, was obliged to turn southward seeking the summer zephyrs, coming down and ever further down from his more northern home. That region, which, from its moderation was once the only habitable territory for a man, actually once around the poles, became no longer possible, and the moving tribes marched ever southward as the seasons cooled, led on, and it may be "lured" on, by vegetation. At last they reached the land soon called as they were, Iran, in memory perhaps of their more ancient birthplace, a name which they have retained, and which has survived among us until now. The plains and vales of Iran stretched far and wide before their view, southeast of the Caspian, southwest of it, and south of it. A part of them found support enough, as we observe, in the nearly middle Aryan territories; and a part broke off in huge banks, or strolled away in dribblets still further south, down through the Afghan passes ever south and southeast, till they reached the Five Waters, the Punjab, and became the *Sindhus*<sup>16</sup> or *Hindus*, the river-men, and with a singular destiny before them. But the old name still held; the Aryans were *aryans* still.

*The South-Going Aryans Lingered for a Time in the North, Almost as Iranians.*

For a long time the territories of the two kinsfolk touched, or almost touched.

The Gadharvas of the Veda, who recall the Avesta name *Ga(n)dar(e)va*, were with *Apsaras*, as far north as the vales of Kubha, or Kabul. Not far distant was the *Krumu* which was the *Kurum*, and the *Gomati* which was *Gumti* (*Gomal*), and the *Çutudri* which was the *Sutlej*, and even the half-mystic *Rasa* which was the

<sup>14</sup> So let me say, anticipating hesitation.

<sup>15</sup> See Dr. Warren's most valuable work upon *Paradise Found* (at the Pole).

<sup>16</sup> The Greek form of their present name, the Indians, rather than the Sindians (sic) came through the Avesta, or at least the Persian; Hindu is Iranian as against the Indian *Sindhu* (the same word with phonetic change). Hardly my own original view; yet see the *Century Dictionary of Names*, as if there were hesitation here.

*Rangha.* As the common native home is named in the Avesta, so their primeval history is disclosed, not told, in both the ancient documents. It is a history repeating its predecessors, as history seems ever destined to repeat itself, working forward with pathetic effort in its spiral, returning, but not always, to the self-same center in a vicious circle, on a beaten track. When they had reached the plains of Iran where we left them still undivided, the same deserts again stretched before them ever south, arid and hopeless as they are to-day. But not arid, as we may believe, from the salts of evaporated seas alone; parts of them were waste as well, no doubt, from other causes, and from the reverse of that which first impelled the Aryans to break up their early borders. The summer's drought became at one point, desolating, for it was not sufficiently relieved. Their first struggle was for water.

#### *The Azhi.*

Why did the rivers fall, and the rain hold off? Some power was at work against them in the distant upland from which the rivers rolled, or in the distant heavens from which the rain-streams poured. They thought this influence was personal and preternatural. What else could they think? Some accursed being in the sky was busy and active, toiling to accomplish their defeat. Sometimes they thought the clouds themselves were outside walls,<sup>17</sup> sometimes the limbs of some huge animal they feared, shut in the clouds as nutriment. The dread dragon-monster of their early tales and terrors gave the first outline to the eye of their imagination, as the boa constrictor of the south helped on the image there.

Some snake devil up above, both near and far, was winding his fell coils about the cloud-cow dripping to be milked. In the Veda he was called the *Vritra*, the "imprisoner," and so *Verethra* in Avesta. His other name was *Ahi* in the one lore book, and still more originally *Azhi* in the other. He is six-eyed and triple-headed in the one, six-eyed and triple-headed in the other. He has his title *Dasa*, "scorcher," in the Veda, and he is *Daha(ka)* (the same) in the Avesta.

His bellowing strikes terror in the one, we only hear his cursed petitions in the other. His object in the one is destruction simply, and in the other he would "empty the seven Karshvars<sup>18</sup> of the earth of men." *Apaosha*, the withering drought fiend, becomes his servant. The cloud-war becomes a god-war.

<sup>17</sup> See Bergoigne (?).

<sup>18</sup> Main divisions of the earth.

The same thing is taking place to-day. Drought is the murderer in large tracts of India; and in Iran it has, with other influences, in places literally swept the signs of human life away. So of old: blighted harvests brought on famine; dried-up rivers exhaled their poison, the virus of the reptile; the cattle drooped, the flocks grew small; the hardy camel pined; and the Indian and Iranian called on the same gods, and in hymns which have long been silent, for their help. Strange, and yet not so strange, to say, they used the very meters in those vanished hymns which are still sacred now;<sup>19</sup> and the same great deities took up the contest. The creator of all was *Ahura* in the Avesta, and *Asura* (the same) in Veda.<sup>20</sup> There was *Mithra* among the one set of tribes, and *Mitra* among the others. The old god *Athar*, whose form half perished from the Rik (though re-appearing later) was strong and resistless in the sister-creed, while *Agni* took his place in Indian chants.<sup>21</sup> But the very name of the chief combatant of *Azhi* is *Verethraghna*, the fiend-smiter in the Avesta, and *Vritrahan* (the same) in Veda. There was *Gau*, the kine, the prize of the warfare, in both. There was *Vayu*; and there was *Soma* who set on valor on the one side, and *Haoma* (the same) on the other, till we come upon the glorious abstracts which become later the Archangels of Avesta (the *Ameshaspentas*). We have *Rita* (the law) on the one side, and *Asha* (was it *arsha*? the same), the law, on the other; there was *Manyu* (spirit) on the one side, who was *Mainyu* (spirit) on the other;<sup>22</sup> there was *Vasumanas*, "who had the good mind" (in the Rik), and *Vohumanah*, "good mind," in Avesta. There was *Kshatra*, the kingly power, who was *Khshathra*, kingly power; there was *Aramati*, the devoted mind, who was *Ar(a)maiti*, the devoted mind; there was *Sarvatati*, healthful weal, who was *Haurvatat* (the same); and there was *Amritatva*, who was immortality, and *amretatat*, the deathless long life, here and hereafter. Outside of these there was *Çraushti*, "willing hearing," and *Sraosha*, "heedful listening."

#### *The Demons.*

And the same demons too often fought against the saints on either side (indifferently). There was *Ahi-Manyu*, "dragon fury,"

<sup>19</sup> We judge so from the meters of the Gathas and of the Rik and from those in other and later songs which have been left to us.

<sup>20</sup> Or an *Asura*; *Varuna* is also constructively *Asura*. The Rishis themselves hardly know when to speak of an *Asura* as a separate person, or as designating the great class.

<sup>21</sup> He has been in his turn half-forgotten in Avesta.

<sup>22</sup> Not, however, an *Amesha*, more another name for *Ahura*.

on the one side, and *Angra (Azhi) Mainyu* on the other. There was the *Druh*, a harmful lie-god, and the *Druj*, she-devil, on the other. There was *Drogha* and *Draogha*; there were the *Yatus*, who were *Yatus*; there were *Rakshas*, demons on the one side, and *raksha-doers*<sup>23</sup> on the other; there was the *Danu* and the *Danu*. *The same human, or half-human helpers took up the cause. Yima*, in his heroic character is *Yama*. *Trita*, the mysterious "third one" in the Veda, is *Thrita* in Avesta; *Traitana* is *Thr(a)etaona*; *Kavya Uçana* was *Kavan (Kavi) Usan*. The features of the encounters are alike; the god-war became a "faith-war." *Trita* drinks the *soma* to stir his courage, while *Kavya Uçana* forges his iron bludgeon: so *Thrita* of the Avesta prepares the *Haoma*, and *Kavan (Kavi) Usan* is on his side. *Traitana* smites the *Dasa*<sup>24</sup> with his brass-pointed mace. His tribe name was *Aptya*,<sup>25</sup> and so in the Avesta it was *Thr(a)et(a)ona Athwya*<sup>26</sup> who smote the same dragon three-jawed and with thousand jointings,<sup>27</sup> and of mighty strength which *Angra Mainyu*, the torture-god-wrath,<sup>27</sup> made against the corporeal world. In India the old form faded and the Hercules of the South appeared: *Indra*, the Samson of the Veda, took up his bolts. He sometimes takes on the vanished title,<sup>28</sup> yet his own name, strange to say, is once uttered in the Avesta.<sup>29</sup>

#### *Man Side-by-side with Gods.*

Man not only took part, but helped on the gods with equal energy. *Keresaspa* (in Avesta) is almost an *Indra*, and so men help on throughout in Veda. *Sacrifice*, itself, as if half-deified, did much in the struggle too. So also in Avesta: "*O Ardivi Sura Anahita*,<sup>30</sup> with what offering shall I serve thee, that thou may'st run down, that the serpent slay thee not, damming up thy streams?" The *Yasna* answers, "with offering and libations"; these are the powers and the weapons which arm both defence and attack throughout.

The almighty force was fire, and in both communities it never

<sup>23</sup> *Rakhshaiti*, my suggestion in *SBE*, XXXI.

<sup>24</sup> See above.

<sup>25</sup> Water-clansmen.

<sup>26</sup> I would now suggest *Athwya* as of course, and a corresponding change in the analogous Vedic form, as in the texts.

<sup>27</sup> So I suggest an alternative.

<sup>28</sup> *Trita*.

<sup>29</sup> It was perhaps after all a re-growth from a twig beyond the mountains rather than indigenous.

<sup>30</sup> "Heroic one of spotless (waters)."

faltered,<sup>31</sup> as the battle raged. The grass was spread, the seat was made, (*barhis* in the Veda, *baresman*<sup>32</sup> in Avesta), the hymn was raised, the ear was gained, the sticks twirled furiously and the sparks appeared, the fire came, the god lit on his throne. His word went forth, the cloud-flame fell, the lightning struck, and the monster quailed; his folds were burst, and the showers loosed, with all the blessings which they brought or symbolized.

### *The Same Heroic Deeds.*

Different heroes, both Indian and Iranian, bring on the same salvation by the same deeds, and sometimes they even take the self-same names.

The half-god *Keresaspa*, as above, does the same work as *Trita*, and for the matter of that, as implied, he does *Indra's* too. This was to be expected in the successive developments of myth, and it has analogies in every ancient record of the kind; gods and devils, demons and angels, borrow everywhere each other's deeds, as do heroes and their opposites, as if by merest chance (in all such lores).

### *The Reason Why.*

Yet there remains always the reason why successive champions should meet successively the selfsame foe. The *Demon's work was nature's course*, and so ever fresh as it recurred. Decade after decade,—if not year after year,—the same serpentine power wrapt his encircling length about the rain-clouds, and brought the famine on. How could it be possible that similar deeds done by successive heroes could remain unsung? The identity of the results would stereotype ideas.

### *The Gods of Peace.*

And when the war ceased for an interval, the same *gods of peace* ruled in the happier time. There was *Airyaman* of Avesta, "friend true to *Airya*," who was *Aryaman* of Veda, and *Nairyosangha*, "blest of man," who was *Naracansa*. There was *Bagha*, god of good-luck, who was *Bhaga* in the sister book; there was *Parendhi*, god of riches, who was *Puramdhi* in the *Rik* (though not personified), until we come upon a summing-up of favorites (favored for good reasons, if only for the moment); and they are

<sup>31</sup> Though its name shifted back and forth; see above.

<sup>32</sup> But if this form be original the etymology must be irregular. In all such cases the word should be rationally restored; no ancient document has been handed down intact. *Man* is mere suffix.

curiously enough counted up to the same figures (thirty-three) in both Veda and Avesta, in each division of the tribes.<sup>33</sup>

*And the same Human Princes of the Peace are in part common to both sides.*

*Vivasvant* is *Yama's* father, and *Vivanghvant* (the same) is *Yima's*. *Yama* is a king of the blest, and so is *Yima Khsh(a)eta* (in Avesta). Some of those who were erstwhile warriors were later renowned in calmer days. So our *Thrīta*, no longer spreading slaughter (see above), is now occupied in precisely the opposed direction; he is the first physician,<sup>34</sup> and so in the Atharvaveda<sup>35</sup> (he extinguishes disease). He even gives elsewhere to the gods the boon of slumber (XIX, 56, 1); in yet another place he gives long life to men; in yet another, any evil thing is to be brought to him to be appeased.<sup>36</sup> In another<sup>37</sup> he appears as poet.<sup>38</sup> *Kavan* (*Kavi*) *Usan* backed up the *Thrīta* in his duel, as we saw,<sup>39</sup>—but he is also engaged in kindlier work, and reinstitutes great *Agni* as high-priest, leading the heavenly cows themselves to pasture.<sup>40</sup> Again it is another person, if *Vafra Narāza* be a person, who in Avesta takes up the task of *Kavan* (*Kavi*) *Usan* (in the later books) and anticipates air-navigation,<sup>41</sup> for he tries to fly to heaven.

Such are some few of the parallels. Well indeed are these Iranian texts called three parts Veda, so far at least as the tales they tell may tally. The word itself too, *Veda*, is near *Avesta*, which however may be a *Vista*<sup>42</sup> with a prefixed *a*, *a-Veda* and *a-v(a)edha*<sup>43</sup> touch everywhere. While of the meters which I mentioned<sup>44</sup> one of the oldest, and not least beautiful, Vedic Trishtup, survives in some of the choicest of Avesta hymns. And these analogies tell irresistibly toward the argument for the earlier age of even the later Avesta where, for the Iranian side, the analogies for the most part abound.

<sup>33</sup> In the Atharva Veda we have it on Sanskrit side; and so, sure enough, in Yasna (I, 33); not perhaps that the same gods were actually meant at all times when the figures were used, but the number was once emphatically solemn, and the old impression lingered with the relic of a forgotten reckoning.

<sup>34</sup> Vend XX. See also XXII for other healing.

<sup>35</sup> VI, 113.

<sup>36</sup> Taittiriya Sanhita, Black Yayur, Veda, I, 8, 10, 2. <sup>37</sup> R. V. VIII, 47, 13.

<sup>38</sup> R. V. I, 105, 17.

<sup>39</sup> Or Rishi.

<sup>40</sup> See above.

<sup>41</sup> I can however find no exact parallel in the Veda. In a later book (Bhagavita-gita X, 37), he is the first of poets. He has four sons in the Mahabharata, who sacrifice to the Asuras, as he does to Iranian Ahura.

<sup>42</sup> The same as *A-vitta*, *t* before *t* goes over to *s* (*st*).

<sup>43</sup> *V(a)edha* occurs in the Avesta, but more in the kindred sense of "possession." According to all analogies an Iranian *V(a)edha* might, however, precisely equal *Veda*.

<sup>44</sup> See above.



## THE VICINITY OF JERUSALEM.

BY THE EDITOR.

AMONG the places of interest in Jerusalem and its immediate neighborhood we must mention first of all the upper and lower pools of Siloam situated on the southern slope of Ophel at the lower part of the Tyropæon Valley. These are two artificial ponds which



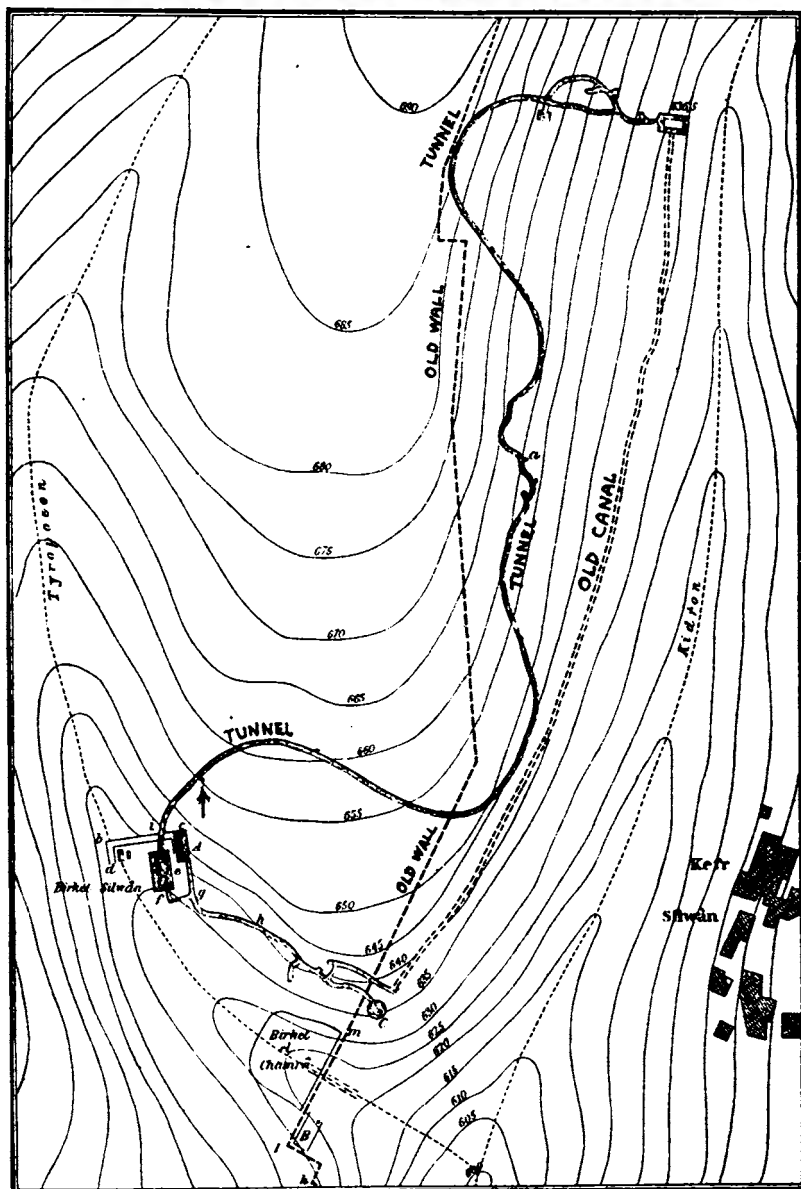
JERUSALEM VIEWED FROM THE NORTHERN RIDGE OF THE MOUNT  
OF OLIVES.

By David Roberts.

are fed by an ancient tunnel from the Virgin's Spring, formerly called Gihon. We must remember that here on Mount Ophel, now deserted and outside of the present city walls, we must seek the city of David, the ancient Mount Zion, and the Pool of Siloam which

in the time of the kings of Judah was the main water supply of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

Excavations prove that various efforts were made to lead water



MAP OF THE SILOAM TUNNEL.

The figures of the contour lines are given in meters.

to the Tyropæon valley. Remnants of an old canal outside the old city wall have been discovered by the German architect Schick. It is obvious that this canal could easily fall under the control of a besieging army, and so we may assume that the tunnel was dug to obviate the danger. The workmen began from either end and met



SILOAM INSCRIPTION ; THE ORIGINAL STONE.



SILOAM INSCRIPTION ; A SQUEEZE FROM THE ORIGINAL.

at *a* in our map, and the place of the famous inscription,<sup>1</sup> recording this event, is indicated by an arrow.

The tunnel empties (at *i*) in the upper Pool of Siloam. North-east of the upper Pool of Siloam there existed another basin, presumably the Pool Asuja<sup>2</sup> (mentioned in Nehemiah iii. 16) which

<sup>1</sup> This inscription in which the workmen celebrate the completion of the tunnel has been reproduced and translated in *The Open Court*, XVII, pp. 662-665.

<sup>2</sup> *בְּקִרְיָה הַעֲשׂוּיָה* means "artificial pool" and is translated in the authorized version, "the pool that was made."

served for the collection of water, and was connected toward the west with a canal (*c b d*), and had an overflow toward the south (from *A* toward *g*). From *d* the water may have been distributed for irrigation purposes over the king's gardens here situated.



THE UPPER POOL OF SILOAM.

The upper pool of Siloam (*e*) and the Pool Asuja (*A*) were drained by a canal (marked by the letters *f g h*) which passed under the old city wall (*k l m*) and ended in a basin *C*. This may have been the King's Pool mentioned in Nehemiah ii. 14, but it is possible that the King's Pool was situated on the southern bluff of the Tyropœon Valley (near *B*)<sup>3</sup> or in the place of the Birket el-Cham-rah.

Owing to an unfounded notion that the Pool of Siloam was the Pool of Bethesda (mentioned in John v. 2), the water here collected in the Tyropœon Valley was believed to be possessed of miraculous powers and many patients came to seek a cure for their ailments. In consequence baths were built here, the ruins of which are still visible.

The pools of Siloam were apparently of great importance to the ancient inhabitants of Jerusalem, for here was "the house of the mighty" (i. e., of the heroes of Israel), here was Zion, the city of David, and here was his sepulcher mentioned by Nehemiah (iii. 16) and still standing in the days of the Apostles (Acts ii. 29).

Siloam, or Hebrew *Shiloah*,<sup>4</sup> means "sent" or "dispatched," which is to be understood in the sense of "discharge" (viz., the discharge of water) or "aqueduct."

The waters of Siloam have always been regarded as something mysterious. Isaiah speaks of the waters of Siloam that "go softly" and compares them to "the waters of the river strong and many," but the meaning of the comparison is not clear.

Josephus speaks of its waters as sweet and abundant,<sup>5</sup> and Jesus sends a blind man down to wash his eyes in the Pool of Siloam<sup>6</sup> to be cured; he also refers to an accident which happened at Siloam in which eighteen persons were killed by the collapse of a tower.<sup>7</sup>

While upon the whole archeologists are now agreed to identify the upper and lower Pools of Siloam with the water basins supplied by the Spring of the Virgin (Gihon) some have assumed that the upper and lower Pools of Gihon ought to be sought in

<sup>3</sup> The dot near *B* indicates the site of the tree of Isaiah.

<sup>4</sup> שִׁלּוֹחַ, Is. viii. 6, and נִשְׁלַח, Neh. iii. 15. In Greek it is called Σειλωάμ, Σιλωάμ and Σιλωά; Vulgate, *Siloë*.

<sup>5</sup> *Bell. Jud.*, V, 4, 1, § 140. Compare also *ibid.* 9, § 416.

<sup>6</sup> See John ix. 6-7. The idea that spittle was possessed of magic power is very old and common to many nations all over the world.

<sup>7</sup> Luke xiii. 4. It is possible that a tower of the city wall near Siloam was undermined by the water and its foundations gave way suddenly.

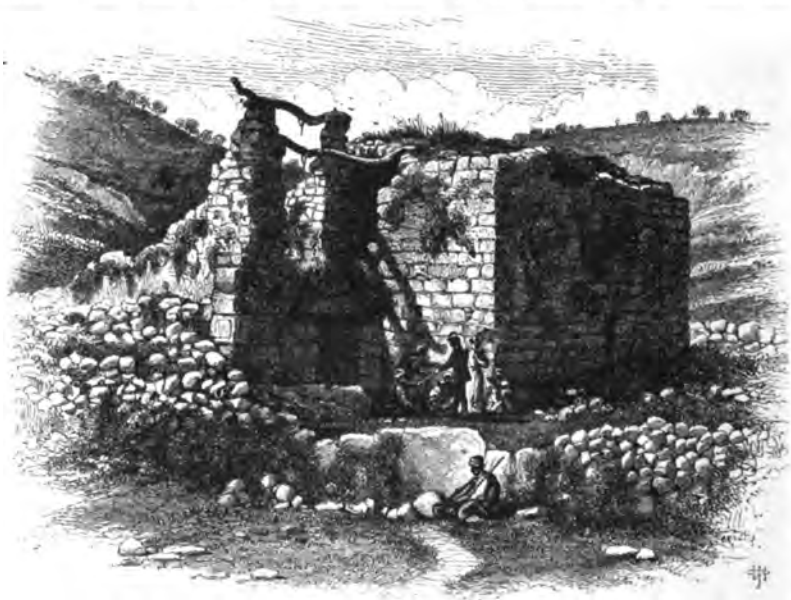


the Hinnon valley, in which case they would be the same as the Birket Mamilla and Birket es-Sultan.

One of the best and presumably the oldest wells of Jerusalem is the Bir Eijub, i. e., the Well of Job which is situated south of Jerusalem where the Kedron and Hinnon Valleys meet. The villagers of Siloam make it a business to carry water from the well, which is superior to the pools of Jerusalem, into town and charge anywhere from two to fifteen cents for what they can carry in their goat-skin bags.

\* \* \*

The immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem is covered with tombs, and many of them date back to the times of the kingdom



JOB'S WELL.

of Judah, but none of them can be positively said to be what tradition makes of it.

One of the graves, attributed to the mother of Jesus, has been covered with a shrine in honor of the Virgin Mary, built in the Middle Ages by Melisendis, a daughter of Fulko, the fourth king of Jerusalem.

There is also the tomb of James, the brother of Jesus, and close by we see the sepulcher of the prophet Zechariah. A few steps further north we find a monolith which tradition assigns to



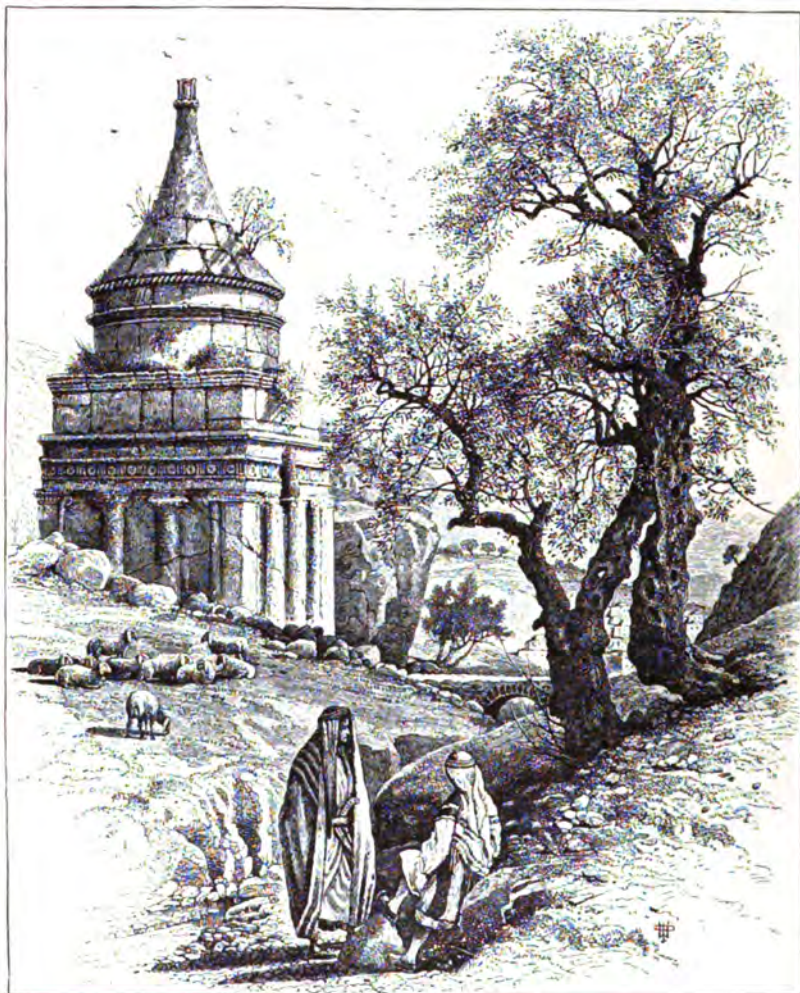


SHRINE ABOVE THE TOMB OF THE VIRGIN IN THE KEDRON VALLEY.



TOMBS OF THE JUDGES.

Absalom, the favorite but rebellious son of David. It is covered with a pointed roof surmounted by a flower and is one of the most ornamental tombs, but we may be sure that it does not date back to David's time.



ABSALOM'S TOMB.

Opposite the Pool of Siloam, on the slope of the Mount of Offense (a hill situated south of Olivet) lies a Mohammedan village of picturesque appearance, the houses of which are to a great extent old sepulchers where the dead have made room for

the living. The place is nowhere mentioned in the Bible or other ancient records, and as a village it appears to have originated not earlier than the Middle Ages.

The most magnificent burial places are the so-called tombs of the Judges, and the tombs of the Kings. A statement of Josephus makes it almost certain that the latter were made by Queen Helena of Adiabene for herself and for her son Izates with his large family.



THE VILLAGE OF SILOAM.

Adiabene was a small vassal state of Parthia on the upper Tigris, and its king, Monobazus, bequeathed the kingdom to his favorite son Izates who, together with his mother the queen, was converted to Judaism in the year 18 A. D. In his *Antiquities* (XX, 2-4) Josephus tells the story of their fate, how the queen for a time moved to Jerusalem and how both bestowed gifts upon the Jews during a famine.\* They died about 48 A. D., King Izates first and soon afterwards his mother. He was succeeded by his brother, named like their father Monobazus, who had their bodies

\* Mentioned in Acts xi. 28.

removed to Palestine and buried in the pyramids<sup>9</sup> which Queen Helena had erected. Says Josephus, "They were three in number and distant no more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem."



TOMBS OF THE KINGS.

Izates had twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters, which accounts for the large extent of these catacombs. The richness of

<sup>9</sup> Eusebius mentions these monuments in his Church History (II, 12).

ornamentation gave rise to the notion that they must have been the tombs of the kings of Judah.

Jerusalem is surrounded by ancient quarries, of which one in the northeast of the road to Damascus near the Moslem cemetery is called the Grotto of Jeremiah. We search in vain for a



A MAID OF OLIVET.

By C. W. Allers.

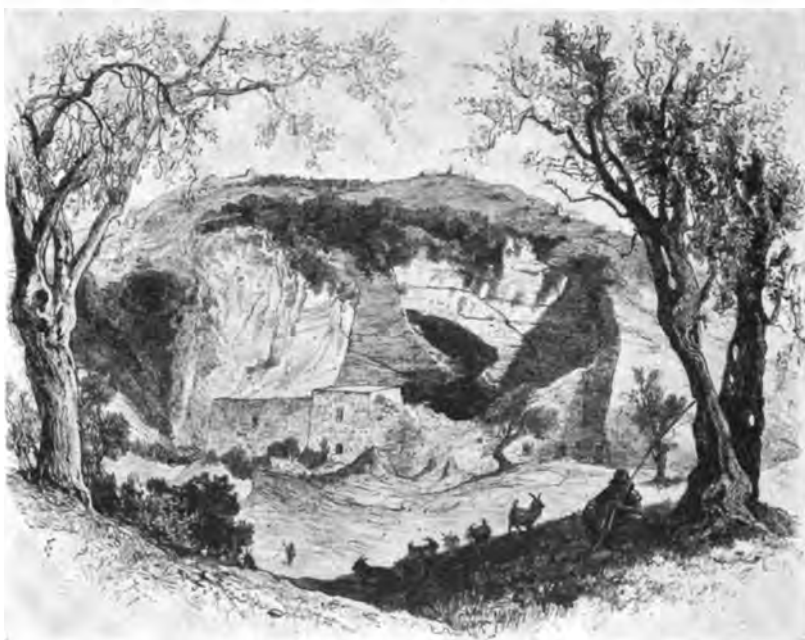
reason to connect the prophet's name with this spot, but, nevertheless, tradition asserts that here he wrote his Lamentations.

East of Jerusalem rises the Mount of Olives, also called Olivet, which is mentioned several times in the New Testament. At the foot of the hill lies a garden identified with Gethsemane



where the traveler is shown a cave called the Grotto of Agony. This is said to be the place where Jesus prayed, "Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt," before he was made a prisoner by the servants of the High Priest and the Romans.

On the top of the mountain is the place where we are told that Jesus ascended into heaven. Here the Empress Helena founded a chapel which fell into ruins and was rebuilt by Modestus. When the Crusaders took Jerusalem the chapel had disappeared and they built another in its place in 1130, which stood there until the



GROTTO OF JEREMIAH.

sixteenth century. The present building, or rather group of buildings, was erected in 1834 and is connected with a mosque in charge of a dervish. The Christian chapel exhibits the native rock with a natural depression which tradition explains to have originated by the footprint of the ascending Christ, although it bears not the slightest resemblance to the shape of a human footprint. In localizing the place of the ascension of Jesus, tradition follows apocryphal sources and differs boldly from the canonical statement, for we read in the Gospel according to Luke (xxiv. 50-51):

"And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands



and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven."

Bethany is a little village and the name means "the house of the poor." It is the home of Lazarus, Mary and Martha, where

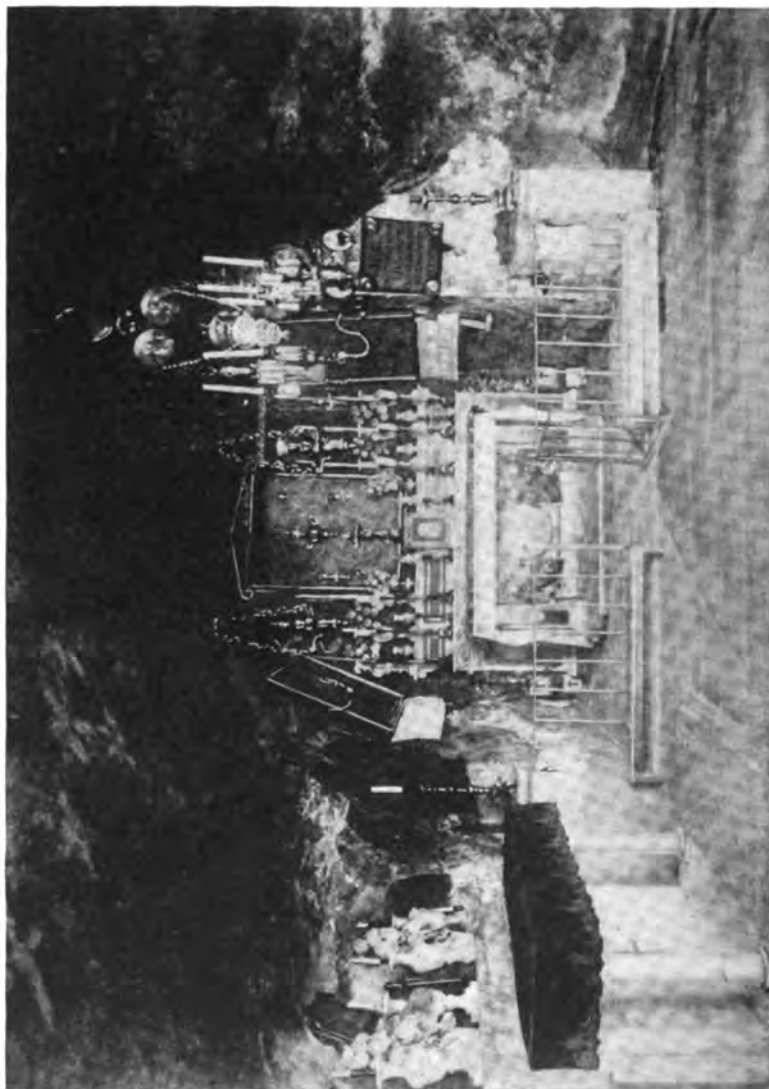


THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE.

Jesus stayed before he entered Jerusalem on the first Palm Sunday. For the house of Lazarus a ruined medieval castle, probably built by Queen Melisendis, is shown which stands on the top of the mountain; and there is also a tomb which has been selected to

represent the grave from which Lazarus, after having lain buried three days, rose to life again.

The Mount of Olives, however, played an important part in apocryphal literature especially in the traditions of the gnostics.



THE GROTTA OF AGONY.

According to the revelations told in the gnostic book *Pistis Sophia* Jesus tarried among his disciples on Olivet after his resurrection, and instructed them in the esoteric meaning of his doctrines.



THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION AND MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE.



CHURCH AND MOSQUE ON THE SITE OF CHRIST'S ASCENSION.

Popular tradition proved stronger than even the canonical authority of the New Testament, and disregarding Luke's report, localized the place of Christ's ascension on this hallowed mountain. Eusebius (about 300 A. D.) mentions the multitudes of pilgrims who visited the spot, and Empress Helena erected here a basilica in commemoration of Christ's ascension. The spot is also held sacred by the Mohammedans who have built a mosque in the immediate vicinity of the Christian church.

Our frontispiece of the Mount of Olives shows the Garden of



BETHANY.

Gethsemane where three roads divide. One of them leads to Jericho, the other two to Bethany.

\* \* \*

Near Jericho on the Jordan we find the spot where Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist. The place is frequented by travelers many of whom are in the habit of filling their bottles with sacred water from the Jordan to use at home for baptism. C. W. Allers, the famous German artist, followed this custom and sketched the scene from life, but when he came home and found



THE JORDAN RIVER.



THE JORDAN PUMP.  
 By C. W. Allers.

some of the bottles broken, and that the rest contained water no better than could be obtained at home, perhaps even somewhat muddier, he decided that if he had the same opportunity he would take his Jordan water from the pump in his own back yard, an idea which he illustrated with his native humor.<sup>10</sup>

\* \* \*

Another place of interest in this city has been acquired by the German empire, and this is the prison of St. Peter, from which



THE JORDAN WHERE CHRIST WAS BAPTIZED.

according to Acts xii. 7-9, the apostle was liberated by an angel. The dilapidated gateway presents a romantic appearance and is now decorated with the German imperial eagle.

\* \* \*

Before we take leave of Jerusalem we will mention the Jews' place of wailing, a small quadrangular area near the southern end of the western wall of the temple enclosure. According to a law of the Turkish government the Jews of Jerusalem are prohibited

<sup>10</sup> The German comments under the Allers sketches read as follows: "8 Buddel Jordanwasser werden wohl für die nächste Zeit genügen, um den Bedarf an Taufwasser in der Familie zu decken; in Wochen kommt man wohl wieder in diese Gegend."—"In den Orient gehe ich bald mal wieder; aber mit Jordanwasser schleppe ich mich nicht wieder ab; das hat man zu Hause ja viel bequemer."



visiting the temple area, the Haram, itself, but they are permitted on this steep wall to approach the place and hold conventions. Murray<sup>11</sup> describes the place as follows:

"There is here a small quadrangular paved area between low houses and the Haram. The approach to it leads through narrow, dirty and crooked lanes; but on a Friday afternoon the place is well deserving of a visit. Here a strange and touching spectacle is presented. The mighty stones of the Sanctuary wall rise up to the domes and cypresses without door or window, as though to shut



ST. PETER'S PRISON.

the worshipers off effectually from the sacred area over which they lament. Jews of all ages, both sexes, and from every quarter of the earth: Ashkenazim Pharisees from Russia, Poland, Roumania and Germany; Sephardim Hebrews from Spain; Mughâribeh Jews from Africa; Karaites; rabbis, aged men with flowing white locks, young dandies with long curls, little red-haired children, old women and maidens, all clad in their characteristic garments—raise their voices of wailing over the desolated and dishonored sanctuary, as

<sup>11</sup> *Handbook for Travelers in Syria and Jerusalem*, ed. by Mary Brodrick, Ph. D., p. 91.

they have done continuously every week, century after century. Many of them appear to go through the ceremony as a mere idle matter of form, but the genuine emotion of a few is pathetic and soul-moving in the extreme."



THE JEWS' PLACE OF WAILING.

Prof. Georg Ebers witnessed such a service of lamentation when he visited Jerusalem. He saw these mourning Jews kiss the holy stones and he heard the responsaries which they sang. The

cantor began the lamentation and the people responded in a refrain which constantly repeated itself, as follows:

The Cantor sang: "On account of the palace which lies waste," and the people responded: "We sit here lonely and weep."

In the same style they continued:

*Cantor*: "On account of the temple which lies waste,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of our majesty which is gone,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of its walls which were destroyed,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of our majesty which is gone."

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of the great men who are laid low,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of the precious stones which have been burned,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

*Cantor*: "On account of the priests which have sinned,"

*People*: "We sit here lonely and weep."

The responsary changes into an invocation where the cantor begins, "May the kingdom of Zion reappear," and the people answer, "Comfort those who mourn over Jerusalem."

The psalm which is repeated here every Friday is the 79th, which, according to Wellhausen, was written by a Hebrew poet in the second century B. C. when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Syrians (196 B. C.). We quote from it verses 1-8:

"Heathens, O God, have pressed into Thine inheritance,  
Thy holy Temple have they defiled,  
They have laid Jerusalem in ruins.  
They have given the dead bodies of Thy Servants  
As food to the birds of the air,  
The flesh of Thy pious ones to the wild beasts of the field;  
They have poured out their blood like water,  
Round about Jerusalem, and there is none to bury them.  
We are become a scoff to our neighbors,  
The derision and scorn of those round about us.

"How long, O JHVH? wilt Thou be angry for ever?  
Shall Thy jealousy burn like fire?  
Pour Thine anger over heathen, who do not acknowledge Thee!  
Over kingdoms that do not invoke Thy Name!  
For they have consumed Jacob,  
And made desolate his dwelling.

Remember not against us the sins of our forefathers,  
May Thy compassion soon come to meet us,  
For deep is our misery."

Whereas the Jews at Jerusalem pray thus at the wailing place, an ancient Hebrew poet of the Babylonian Exile gave expression to his love of the Holy City in Psalm cxxxvii, 5-6 as follows:

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

"If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

## WHY THE ORIENTAL RELIGIONS SPREAD.\*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

WHEN, during the fourth century, the weakened empire split asunder like an overburdened scale whose beam is broken, this political divorce only perpetuated a moral separation that had existed for a long time. The opposition between the Greco-Oriental and the Latin worlds manifests itself especially in religion and in the attitude taken by the central power toward it.

Occidental paganism was almost exclusively Latin under the empire. After the annexation of Spain, Gaul and Brittany the old Iberian, Celtic and other religions were unable to keep up the unequal struggle against the more advanced religion of the conquerors. The marvelous rapidity with which the literature of the civilizing Romans was accepted by the subject peoples has frequently been pointed out. Its influence was felt in the temples as well as in the forum; it transformed the prayers to the gods as well as the conversation between men. Besides, it was part of the political program of the Cæsars to make the adoption of the Roman divinities general, and the government imposed the rules of its sacerdotal law as well as the principles of its public and civil law upon its new subjects. The municipal laws prescribed the election of pontiffs and augurs in common with the judicial duumvirs. In Gaul druidism, with its oral traditions embodied in long poems, perished and disappeared less on account of the police measures directed against it than in consequence of its voluntary relinquishment by the Celts, as soon as they came under the ascendancy of Latin culture. In Spain it is difficult to find any traces of the aboriginal religions. Even in Africa, where the Punic religion was far more developed, it maintained itself only by assuming an entirely Roman appearance. Baal became Saturn and Eshmoun Æsculapius. It is doubtful if there was one temple in all the provinces of Italy and Gaul where,

\* Translated by A. M. Thielen.

at the time of the disappearance of idolatry, the ceremonies were celebrated according to native rites and in the local idiom. To this exclusive predominance of Latin is due the fact that it remained the only liturgic language of the Occidental Church, which here as in many other cases perpetuated a pre-existing condition and maintained a unity previously established. By imposing her speech upon the inhabitants of Ireland and Germany, Christian Rome simply continued the work of assimilation in the barbarian provinces subject to her influence that she had begun while pagan.<sup>1</sup>

In the Orient, however, the churches that are separate from the Greek orthodoxy use, even to-day, a variety of dialects calling to mind the great diversity of races formerly subject to Rome. In those times twenty varieties of speech translated the religious thought of the peoples joined under the domination of the Cæsars. At the beginning of our era Hellenism had not yet conquered the uplands of Anatolia,<sup>2</sup> nor central Syria, nor the divisions of Egypt. Annexation to the empire might retard and in certain regions weaken the power of expansion of Greek civilization, but it could not substitute Latin culture for it<sup>3</sup> except around the camps of the legions guarding the frontier and in a very few colonies. It especially benefitted the individuality of each region. The native religions retained all their prestige and independence. In their ancient sanctuaries that took rank with the richest and most famous of the world, a powerful clergy continued to practise ancestral devotions according to barbarian rites, and frequently in a barbarian tongue. The traditional liturgy, everywhere performed with scrupulous respect, remained Egyptian or Semitic, Phrygian or Persian, according to the locality.

Neither pontifical law nor augural science ever obtained credit outside of the Latin world. It is a characteristic fact that the worship of the deified emperors, the only official worship required of every one by the government as a proof of loyalty, should have originated of its own accord in Asia, received its inspiration from the purest monarchic traditions, and revived in form and spirit the veneration accorded to the Diadochi by their subjects.

Not only were the gods of Egypt and Asia never supplanted like those of Gaul or Spain, but they soon crossed the seas and gained worshipers in every Latin province. Isis and Serapis, Cybele and Attis, the Syrian Baals, Sabazius and Mithra were honored by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lejay, *Rev. d'hist. et litt. relig.*, XI, 1906, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Holl, *Volkssprache in Kleinasien*, 1908, pp. 250 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten bis auf die Zeit Hadrians*. Leipzig, 1906.



brotherhoods of believers as far as the remotest limits of Germany. The Oriental reaction that we perceive from the beginning of our era, in studying the history of art, literature, and philosophy, manifested itself with incomparably greater power in the religious sphere. First, there was a slow infiltration of despised exotic religions, then, toward the end of the first century, the Orontes, the Nile and the Halys, to use the words of Juvenal, flowed into the Tiber, to the great indignation of the old Romans. Finally, a hundred years later, an influx of Egyptian, Semitic and Persian beliefs and conceptions took place that threatened to submerge all that the Greek and Roman genius had laboriously built up. What called forth and permitted this spiritual commotion, of which the triumph of Christianity was the outcome? Why was the influence of the Orient strongest in the religious field? These questions claim our attention. Like all great phenomena of history, this particular one was determined by a number of influences that concurred in producing it. In the mass of half-known particulars that brought it about, certain factors or leading causes, of which every one has in turn been considered the most important, may be distinguished.

If we yielded to the tendency of many excellent minds of to-day and regarded history as the resultant of economic and social forces, it would be easy to show their influence in that great religious movement. The industrial and commercial preponderance of the Orient was manifest, for there were situated the principal centers of production and export. The ever increasing traffic with the Levant induced merchants to establish themselves in Italy, in Gaul, in the Danubian countries, in Africa and in Spain; in some cities they formed real colonies. The Syrian emigrants were especially numerous. Compliant, quick and diligent, they went wherever they expected profit, and their colonies, scattered as far as the north of Gaul, were centers for the religious propaganda of paganism just as the Jewish communities of the Diaspora were for Christian preaching. Italy not only bought her grain from Egypt, she imported men also; she ordered slaves from Phrygia, Cappadocia, Syria and Alexandria to cultivate her depopulated fields and perform the domestic duties in her palaces. Who can tell what influence chambermaids from Antioch or Memphis gained over the minds of their mistresses? At the same time the necessities of war removed officers and men from the Euphrates to the Rhine or to the outskirts of the Sahara, and everywhere they remained faithful to the gods of their faraway country. The requirements of the government transferred functionaries and their clerks, the latter frequently of

servile birth, into the most distant provinces. Finally, the ease of communication, due to the good roads, increased the frequency and extent of travel.

Thus the exchange of products, men and ideas necessarily increased, and it might be maintained that theocracy was a necessary consequence of the mingling of the races, that the gods of the Orient followed the great commercial and social currents, and that their establishment in the Occident was a natural result of the movement that drew the excess population of the Asiatic cities and rural districts into the less thickly inhabited countries.

These reflections, which could be developed at some length, surely show the way in which the Oriental religions spread. It is certain that the merchants acted as missionaries in the seaports and places of commerce, the soldiers on the frontiers and in the capital, the slaves in the city homes,<sup>4</sup> in the rural districts and in public affairs. But while this acquaints us with the means and the agents of the diffusion of those religions, it tells us nothing of the reasons for their adoption by the Romans. We perceive the how, but not the why, of their sudden expansion. Especially imperfect is our understanding of the reasons for the difference between the Orient and the Occident pointed out above.

An example will make my meaning clear. A Celtic divinity, Epona,<sup>5</sup> was held in particular honor as the protectress of horses, as we all know. The Gallic horsemen worshiped her wherever they were cantoned; her monuments have been found scattered from Scotland to Transylvania. And yet, although this goddess enjoyed the same conditions as, for instance, Jupiter *Dolichenus* whom the cohorts of Commagene introduced into Europe, it does not appear that she ever received the homage of many strangers; it does not appear, above all, that druidism ever assumed the shape of "mysteries of Epona" into which Greeks and Romans would have asked to be initiated. It was too deficient in the intrinsic strength of the Oriental religions, to make proselytes.

Other historians and thinkers of to-day prefer to apply the laws of natural science to religious phenomena; and the theories about the variation of species find an unforeseen application here. It is maintained that the immigration of Orientals, of Syrians in particular, was considerable enough to provoke an alteration and rapid deterioration in the robust Italic and Celtic races. In addition, a social status contrary to nature, and a bad political regime effected

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, XIV, 44.

<sup>5</sup> S. Reinach, "Epona," *Extr. Rev. archaeol.*, 1895.

the destruction of the strongest, the extermination of the best and the ascendancy of the worst elements of the population. This multitude, corrupted by deleterious cross-breeding and weakened by bad selection, became unable to oppose the invasion of the Asiatic chimeras and aberrations. A lowering of the intellectual level and the disappearance of the critical spirit accompanied the decline of morals and the weakening of character. In the evolution of beliefs the triumph of the Orient denoted a regression toward barbarism, a return to the remote origins of faith and to the worship of natural forces. This is a brief outline of some explanations recently proposed and received with some favor.<sup>6</sup>

It cannot be denied that souls and morals appear to have become coarser during the Roman decline. Society as a whole was deplorably lacking in imagination, intellect and taste. It seemed afflicted with a kind of cerebral anaemia and incurable sterility. The impaired reason accepted the coarsest superstitions, the most extreme asceticism and the most extravagant theurgy. It resembled an organism incapable of defending itself against contagion. All this is partly true; but the theories summarized proceed from an incorrect conception of things; in reality they are based on the illusion that Asia, under the empire, was inferior to Europe. While the triumph of the Oriental religions sometimes assumed the appearance of an awakening of savagery, these religions in reality represented a more advanced type in the evolution of religious forms than the ancient national devotions. They were less primitive, less simple, and, if I may use the expression, provided with more organs than the old Greco-Roman idolatry. We have indicated this on previous occasions, and hope to bring it out with perfect clearness in the course of these studies.

It is hardly necessary to state that a great religious conquest can be explained only on moral grounds. Whatever part must be ascribed to the instinct of imitation and the contagion of example, in the last analysis we are always face to face with a series of individual conversions. The mysterious affinity of minds is as much due to reflection as to the continued and almost unconscious influence of confused aspirations that produce faith. The obscure gestation of a new ideal is accomplished with pangs of anguish. Violent struggles must have disturbed the souls of the masses when they were torn away from their old ancestral religions, or more often from indifference, by those exacting gods who demanded a

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 3d ed., Munich, 1901, pp. 296 f.

surrender of the entire person, a *devotion* in the etymological meaning of the word. The consecration to Isis of the hero of Apuleius was the result of a call, of an appeal, by the goddess who wanted the neophyte to enlist in her sacred militia.<sup>7</sup>

If it is true that every conversion involves a psychological crisis, a transformation of the intimate personality of the individual, this is especially true of the propagation of the Oriental religions. Born outside of the narrow limits of the Roman city, they grew up, frequently in hostility to it, and were international, consequently individual. The bond that formerly kept devotion centered upon the city or the tribe, upon the *gens* or the family, was broken. In place of the ancient social groups communities of initiates came into existence, who considered themselves brothers no matter where they came from.<sup>8</sup> A god, conceived of as being universal, received every mortal as his child. Whenever these religions had any relation to the state they were no longer called upon to support old municipal or social institutions, but to lend their strength to the authority of a sovereign regarded as the eternal lord of the whole world jointly with God himself. In the circles of the mystics, Asiatics mingled with Romans, and slaves with high functionaries. The adoption of the same faith made the poor freedman the equal, and sometimes the superior, of the decurion and the *clarissimus*. All submitted to the same rules and participated in the same festivities, in which the distinctions of an aristocratic society and the differences of blood and country were obliterated. The distinctions of race and nationality, of magistrate and father of a family, of patrician and plebeian, of citizen and foreigner, were abolished; all were but men, and in order to recruit members, those religions worked upon man and his character.

In order to gain the masses and the cream of Roman society (as they did for a whole century) the barbarian mysteries had to possess a powerful charm, they had to satisfy the deep wants of the human soul, and their strength had to be superior to that of the ancient Greco-Roman religion. To explain the reasons for their victory we must try to reveal the nature of this superiority—I mean their superiority in the struggle, without assuming innate superiority.

I believe that we can define it by stating that those religions gave greater satisfaction first, to the senses and passions, secondly, to the intelligence, finally, and above all, to the conscience.

<sup>7</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 14 f.

<sup>8</sup> Hepding, *Attis.*, pp. 178 f.; 187.

In the first place, they appealed more strongly to the senses. This was their most obvious feature, and it has been pointed out more often than any other. Perhaps there never was a religion so cold and prosaic as the Roman. Being subordinated to politics, it sought, above all, to secure the protection of the gods for the state and to avert the effects of their malevolence by the strict execution of appropriate practices. It entered into a contract with the celestial powers from which mutual obligations arose: sacrifices on one side, favors on the other. The pontiffs, who were also magistrates, regulated the religious practices with the exact precision of jurists;<sup>9</sup> as far as we know the prayers were all couched in formulas as dry and verbose as notarial instruments. The liturgy reminds one of the ancient civil law on account of the minuteness of its prescriptions. This religion looked suspiciously at the abandonment of the soul to the ecstasies of devotion. It repressed, by force if necessary, the exuberant manifestations of too ardent faith and everything that was not in keeping with the grave dignity befitting the relations of a *civis Romanus* with a god. The Jews had the same scrupulous respect as the Romans for a religious code and formulas of the past, "but in spite of their dry and minute practices, the legalism of the Pharisees stirred the heart more strongly than did Roman formalism."<sup>10</sup>

Lacking the recognized authority of official creeds, the Oriental religions had to appeal to the passions of the individual in order to make proselytes. They attracted men first by the disturbing seductiveness of their mysteries, where terror and hope were evoked in turns, and charmed them by the pomp of their festivities and the magnificence of their processions. Men were fascinated by the languishing songs and intoxicating melodies. Above all these religions taught men how to reach that blissful state in which the soul was freed from the tyranny of the body and of suffering, and lost itself in raptures. They led to ecstasy either by means of nervous tension resulting from continued maceration and fervent contemplation or by more material means like the stimulation of vertiginous dances and dizzy music, or even by the absorption of fermented liquors after a long abstinence,<sup>11</sup> as in the case of the priests of the Great Mother. In mysticism it is easy to slide from the sublime to the vile.

Even the gods, with whom the believers thought they were

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Richard Heinze, *Archiv für lat. Lexicographie*, XV, pp. 90 f.

<sup>10</sup> Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris, 1886, p. 144.

<sup>11</sup> Rohde, *Psyche*, 2d ed., pp. 315-319.



uniting themselves in their mystic outbursts, were more human and sometimes more sensual than those of the Occident. The latter had that quietude of soul in which the philosophic morality of the Greeks saw a privilege of the sage; in the serenity of Olympus they enjoyed perpetual youth; they were Immortals. The divinities of the Orient, on the contrary, suffered and died, but only to revive again.<sup>12</sup> Osiris, Attis and Adonis were mourned like mortals by wife or mistress, Isis, Cybele or Astarte. With them the mystics moaned for their deceased god and later, after he had revived, celebrated with exultation his birth to a new life. Or else they joined in the passion of Mithra, condemned to create the world in suffering. This common grief and joy were often expressed with savage violence, by bloody mutilations, long wails of despair, and extravagant acclamations. The manifestations of the extreme fanaticism of those barbarian races that had not been touched by Greek skepticism and the very ardor of their faith enthused the souls of the multitudes attracted by the exotic gods.

The Oriental religions stirred every chord of sensibility and satisfied the thirst for religious emotion that the austere Roman creed had been unable to quench. But at the same time they satisfied the intellect more fully, and this is my second point.

In very early times Greece—later imitated by Rome—became resolutely rationalistic; her greatest originality lies here. Her philosophy was purely laical; thought was unrestrained by any sacred tradition; it even pretended to pass judgment upon these traditions and condemned or approved of them. Being sometimes hostile, sometimes indifferent and sometimes conciliatory, it always remained independent of faith. But while Greece thus freed herself from the fetters of a superannuated mythology, and openly and boldly constructed those systems of metaphysics by means of which she claimed to solve the enigmas of the universe, her religion lost its vitality and dried up because it lacked the strengthening nourishment of reflection. It became a thing devoid of sense, whose *raison d'être* was no longer understood, it embodied dead ideas and an obsolete conception of the world. In Greece as well as at Rome it was reduced to a collection of unintelligible rites, scrupulously and mechanically reproduced without addition or omission because they had been practised by the ancestors of long ago, and of formulas hallowed by the *mos maiorum*, that were no longer understood or sincerely cherished. Never did a people of advanced culture have a more infantile religion.

<sup>12</sup> Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. relig.*, c. 8.



The Oriental civilizations on the contrary were sacerdotal in character. As in medieval Europe, the scholars of Asia and Egypt were clergymen. In the temples the nature of the gods and of man were not the only subjects of discussion; mathematics, astronomy, medicine, philology and history were also studied. The successors of Berosus, a priest from Babylonia, and Manetho, a priest from Heliopolis, were considered deeply versed in all intellectual disciplines as late as the time of Strabo.<sup>13</sup>

This state of affairs proved detrimental to the progress of science. Researches were conducted according to preconceived ideas and were perverted through strange prejudices. Astrology and magic were the monstrous fruit of a hybrid union. But all this certainly gave religion a power it had never possessed either in Greece or Rome.

All results of observation, all conquests of thought were used by an erudite clergy to attain the principle object of their activities, the solution of the problem of the destiny of man and matter, and of the relations of heaven and earth. An ever enlarging conception of the universe kept transforming the modes of belief. Faith presumed to enslave both physics and metaphysics. The credit of every discovery was given to the gods. Tot in Egypt and Bel in Chaldaea were the revealers not only of theology and the ritual, but of all human knowledge.<sup>14</sup> The names of the Oriental Hipparchi and Euclids who solved the first problems of astronomy and geometry were unknown; but a confused and grotesque literature made use of the name and authority of Hermes Trismegistus. The doctrines of the planetary spheres and the opposition of the four elements were made to support systems of anthropology and of morality; the theorems of astronomy were used to establish an alleged method of divination; formulas of incantation, supposed to subject divine powers to the magician, were combined with chemical experiments and medical prescriptions.

This intimate union of erudition and faith continued in the Latin world. Theology became more and more a process of deification of the principles or agents discovered by science and a worship of time regarded as the first cause, the stars whose course determined the events of this world, the four elements whose innumerable combinations produced the natural phenomena, and especially the sun which preserved heat, fertility and life. The dogmas of the mysteries of Mithra were, to a certain extent, the religious ex-

<sup>13</sup> Strabo, XVI, 1, § 6; V n. 51; XVII 21, § 46.

<sup>14</sup> Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, pp. 91 ff.

pression of Roman physics and astronomy. In all forms of pantheism the knowledge of nature appears to be inseparable from that of God.<sup>15</sup> Art itself complied more and more with the tendency to express erudite ideas by subtle symbolism, and it represented in allegorical figures the relations of divine powers and cosmic forces, like the sky, the earth, the ocean, the planets, the constellations and the winds. The sculptors engraved on stone everything man thought and taught. In a general way the belief prevailed that redemption and salvation depended on the revelation of certain truths, on a knowledge of the gods, of the world and of our person, and piety became a gnosis.<sup>16</sup>

But, you will say, since in the classic age philosophy also claimed to lead to morality through instruction and to acquaint man with the supreme good, why did it yield to Oriental religions that were in reality neither original nor innovating? Quite right, and if a powerful rationalist school, possessed of a good critical method, had led the minds, we may believe that it would have checked the invasion of the barbarian mysteries or at least limited their field of action. However, as has frequently been pointed out, even in ancient Greece the philosophic critics had very little hold on popular religion obstinately faithful to its inherited superstitious forms. But how many second century minds shared Lucian's skepticism in regard to the dogmatic systems! The various sects were fighting each other for ever so long without convincing one another of their alleged error. The satirist of Samosata enjoyed opposing their exclusive pretensions while he himself reclined on the "soft pillow of doubt." But only intelligent minds could delight in doubt or surrender to it; the masses wanted certainties. There was nothing to revive confidence in the power of a decrepit and threadbare science. No great discovery transformed the conception of the universe. Nature no longer betrayed her secrets, the earth remained unexplored and the past inscrutable. Every branch of knowledge was forgotten. The world cursed with sterility, could but repeat itself; it had the poignant appreciation of its own decay and impotence. Tired of fruitless researches, the mind surrendered to the necessity of believing. Since the intellect was unable to formulate a consistent rule of life faith alone could supply it, and the multitudes gravitated toward the temples, where the truths taught to man in earlier days by the Oriental gods were revealed. The stanch adherence of past generations to beliefs and rites of unlimited antiquity seemed to guarantee

<sup>15</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 312.

<sup>16</sup> Iamblichus, *De myst.*, II, 11.

their truth and efficacy. This current was so strong that philosophy itself was swept toward mysticism and the neo-Platonist school became a theurgy.

The Oriental mysteries, then, could stir the soul by arousing admiration and terror, pity and enthusiasm in turn. They gave the intellect the illusion of learned depth and absolute certainty and finally—our third point—they satisfied conscience as well as passion and reason. Among the complex causes that guaranteed their domination, this was without doubt the most effective.

In every period of their history the Romans, unlike the Greeks in this respect, judged theories and institutions especially by their practical results. They always had a soldier's and business man's contempt for metaphysicians. It is a matter of frequent observation that the philosophy of the Latin world neglected metaphysical speculations and concentrated its attention on morals, just as later the Roman church left to the subtle Hellenes the interminable controversies over the essence of the divine logos and the double nature of Christ. Questions that could rouse and divide her were those having a direct application to life, like the doctrine of grace.

The old religion of the Romans had to respond to this demand of their genius. Its poverty was honest.<sup>17</sup> Its mythology did not possess the poetic charm of that of Greece, nor did its gods have the imperishable beauty of the Olympians, but they were more moral, or at least pretended to be. A large number were simply personified qualities, like chastity and piety. With the aid of the censors they imposed the practice of the national virtues, that is to say of the qualities useful to society, temperance, courage, chastity, obedience to parents and magistrates, reverence for the oath and the law, in fact, the practice of every form of patriotism. During the last century of the republic the pontiff Scaevola, one of the foremost men of his time, rejected as futile the divinities of fable and poetry, as superfluous or obnoxious those of the philosophers and the exegetists, and reserved all his favors for those of the statesmen, as the only ones fit for the people.<sup>18</sup> These were the ones protecting the old customs, traditions and frequently even the old privileges. But in the perpetual flux of things conservatism ever carries with it a germ of death. Just as the law failed to maintain the integrity of ancient principles, like the absolute power of the father of the family, principles that were no longer in keeping with the social realities, so religion witnessed the foundering of a system of ethics contrary

<sup>17</sup> Bailey, *Religion of Ancient Rome*, London, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Varro, *Antiq. rerum div.*, Aghad ed., pp. 145 ff.

to the moral code that had slowly been established. The idea of collective responsibility contained in a number of beliefs is one instance. If a vestal violated her vow of chastity the divinity sent a pest that ceased only on the day the culprit was punished. Sometimes the angry heavens granted victory to the army only on condition that a general or a soldier dedicate himself to the infernal gods as an expiatory victim. However, through the influence of the philosophers and the jurists the conviction slowly gained ground that each one was responsible for his own misdeeds and that it was not equitable to make a whole city suffer for the crime of an individual. People ceased to admit that the gods crushed the good as well as the wicked in one punishment. Often, also, the divine anger was thought to be as ridiculous in its manifestations as in its cause. The rural superstitions of the country districts of Latium continued to live in the pontifical code of the Roman people. If a lamb with two heads or a colt with five legs was born, solemn supplications were prescribed to avert the misfortunes foreboded by those terrifying prodigies.<sup>19</sup>

All these puerile and monstrous beliefs that burdened the religion of the Latins had thrown it into disrepute. Its morality no longer responded to the new conception of justice beginning to prevail. As a rule Rome remedied the poverty of her theology and ritual by taking what she needed from the Greeks. But here this resource failed her because the poetic, artistic and even intellectual religion of the Greeks was hardly moral. And the fables of a mythology jeered at by the philosophers, parodied on the stage and put to verse by libertine poets were anything but edifying.

Moreover—this was its second weakness—whatever morality it demanded of a pious man went unrewarded. People no longer believed that the gods continually intervened in the affairs of men to reveal hidden crimes and to punish triumphant vice, or that Jupiter would hurl his thunderbolt to crush the perjurer. At the time of the proscriptions and the civil wars under Nero or Commodus it was more than plain that power and possessions were for the strongest, the ablest or even the luckiest, and not for the wisest or the most pious. The idea of reward or punishment beyond the grave found little credit. The notions of future life were hazy, uncertain, doubtful and contradictory. Everybody knows Juvenal's famous lines: "That there are manes, a subterranean kingdom, a ferryman with a long pole, and black frogs in the whirlpools of the Styx; that so

<sup>19</sup> Lutherbacher, *Der Prodigien Glaube der Römer*, Burgdorf, 1904.

many thousand men could cross the waves in a single boat, to-day even children refuse to believe."<sup>20</sup>

After the fall of the republic indifference spread, the temples were abandoned and threatened to tumble into ruins, the clergy found it difficult to recruit members, the festivities, once so popular, fell into desuetude, and Varro, at the beginning of his *Antiquities*, expressed his fear lest "the gods might perish, not from the blows of foreign enemies, but from very neglect on the part of the citizens."<sup>21</sup> It is well known that Augustus, prompted by political rather than by religious reasons, attempted to revive the dying religion. His religious reforms stood in close relation to his moral legislation and the establishment of the imperial dignity. Their tendency was to bring the people back to the pious practice of ancient virtues but also to chain them to the new political order. The alliance of throne and altar in Europe dates from that time.

This attempted reform failed entirely. Making religion an auxiliary to moral policing is not a means of establishing its empire over souls. Formal reverence for the official gods is not incompatible with absolute and practical skepticism. The restoration attempted by Augustus is nevertheless very characteristic because it is so consistent with the Roman spirit which by temperament and tradition demanded that religion should support morality and the state.

The Asiatic religions fulfilled the requirements. The change of regime, although unwelcome, brought about a change of religion. The increasing tendency of Cæsarism toward absolute monarchy made it lean more and more upon the Oriental clergy. True to the traditions of the Achemenides and the Pharaohs, those priests preached doctrines tending to elevate the sovereign above humanity, and they supplied the emperors with dogmatic justification for their despotism.<sup>22</sup>

It is a noteworthy fact that the rulers who most loudly proclaimed their autocratic pretensions, like Domitian and Commodus, were also those that favored the foreign creeds most openly.

But this selfish support merely sanctioned a power already established. The propaganda of the Oriental religions was originally democratic and sometimes even revolutionary like the Isis worship. Step by step they advanced, always reaching higher social

<sup>20</sup> Juvenal, II, 149.

<sup>21</sup> Augustine, *Civit. dei*, VI, 2; Varro, *Antiq.*, Aghad ed., 141.

<sup>22</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, pp. 279 ff.



classes and appealing to popular conscience rather than to the zeal of functionaries.

As a matter of fact all these religions, except that of Mithra, seem at first sight to be far less austere than the Roman creed. We shall have occasion to note that they contained coarse and immodest fables and atrocious or vile rites. The Egyptian gods were expelled from Rome by Augustus and Tiberius on the charge of being immoral, but they were called immoral principally because they opposed a certain conception of the social order. They gave little attention to the public interest but attached considerable importance to the inner life and consequently to the value of the individual. Two new things, in particular, were brought to Italy by the Oriental priests: mysterious methods of purification, by which they claimed to wash away the impurities of the soul, and the assurance that a blessed immortality would be the reward of piety.<sup>23</sup>

These religions pretended to restore lost purity<sup>24</sup> to the soul either through the performance of ritual ceremonies or through mortification and penance. They had a series of ablutions and lustrations supposed to restore original innocence to the mystic. He had to wash himself in the sacred water according to certain prescribed forms. This was really a magic rite, because bodily purity acted sympathetically upon the soul, or else it was a real spiritual disinfection with the water driving out the evil spirits that had caused pollution. The votary, again, might drink or besprinkle himself with the blood of a slaughtered victim or of the priests themselves, in which case the prevailing idea was that the liquid circulating in the veins was a vivifying principle capable of imparting a new existence.<sup>25</sup> These and similar rites<sup>26</sup> used in the mysteries were supposed to regenerate the initiated person and to restore him to an immaculate and incorruptible life.<sup>27</sup>

Purgation of the soul was not effected solely by liturgic acts but also by self-denial and suffering.<sup>28</sup> The meaning of the term *expiatio* changed. Expiation, or atonement, was no longer accomplished by the exact performance of certain ceremonies pleasing to the gods and required by a sacred code like a penalty for damages, but by privation and personal suffering. Abstinence, which pre-

<sup>23</sup> The Greeks were familiar with mysteries.

<sup>24</sup> Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, 1905, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>25</sup> This will be treated at greater length in another article (Asia Minor).

<sup>26</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, pp. 424 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Augustine, *Civit. dei*, X, 28.



vented the introduction of deadly elements into the system, and chastity, which preserved man from pollution and debility, became means of getting rid of the domination of the evil powers and of regaining heavenly favor.<sup>29</sup> Macerations, laborious pilgrimages, public confessions, sometimes flagellations and mutilations, in fact all forms of penance and mortification uplifted the fallen man and brought him nearer to the gods. In Phrygia a sinner would write his sin and the punishment he suffered upon a stela for every one to see and would return thanks to heaven that his prayer of repentance had been heard.<sup>30</sup> The Syrian, who had offended his goddess by eating her sacred fish, dressed in sordid rags, covered himself with a sack and sat in the public highway humbly to proclaim his misdeed in order to obtain forgiveness.<sup>31</sup> "Three times, in the depths of winter," says Juvenal, "the devotee of Isis will dive into the chilly waters of the Tiber, and shivering with cold, will drag herself around the temple upon her bleeding knees; if the goddess commands, she will go to the outskirts of Egypt to take water from the Nile and empty it within the sanctuary."<sup>32</sup> This shows the introduction into Europe of Oriental asceticism.

But there were impious acts and impure passions that contaminated and defiled the soul. Since this infection could be destroyed only by expiations prescribed by the gods, the extent of the sin and the character of the necessary penance had to be estimated. It was the priest's prerogative to judge the misdeeds and to impose the penalties. This circumstance gave the clergy a very different character from the one it had at Rome. The priest was no longer simply the guardian of sacred traditions, the intermediary between man or the state and the gods, but also a spiritual guide. He taught his flock the long series of obligations and restrictions for shielding their weakness from the attacks of evil spirits. He knew how to quiet remorse and scruples, and to restore the sinner to spiritual calm. Being well versed in sacred knowledge, he had the power of reconciling the gods. Frequent sacred repasts maintained a spirit of fellowship among the mystics of Cybele, Mithra or the Baals,<sup>33</sup> and a daily service unceasingly revived the faith of the Isis worshippers. In consequence, the clergy were entirely absorbed in their holy office and lived only for and by their temples. Unlike the

<sup>29</sup> Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, pp. 154 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Ramsay, *Cities*, I, pp. 134, 152

<sup>31</sup> Tertullian, *De Paenit.*, c. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Juvenal, VI, 523 ff.; 537 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 320.

sacerdotal colleges of Rome in which the secular and religious functions were not yet clearly differentiated,<sup>34</sup> they were not an administrative commission ruling the sacred affairs of the state under the supervision of the senate; they formed what might almost be called a caste of recluses distinguished from ordinary men by their insignia, garb, habits and food, and constituting an independent body with a hierarchy, formulary and even councils of their own.<sup>35</sup> They did not return to every-day duties as private citizens or to the direction of public affairs as magistrates as the ancient pontiffs had done after the solemn festival service.

We can readily understand that these beliefs and institutions were bound to establish the Oriental religions and their priests on a strong basis. Their influence must have been especially powerful at the time of the Cæsars. The laxity of morals at the beginning of our era has been exaggerated but it was real. Many unhealthy symptoms told of a profound moral anarchy weighing on a weakened and irresolute society. The farther we go toward the end of the empire, the more its energy seems to fail and the character of men to weaken. The number of strong healthy minds incapable of a lasting aberration and without need of guidance or comfort was growing ever smaller. We note the spread of that feeling of exhaustion and debility which follows the aberrations of passion, and the same weakness that led to crime impelled men to seek absolute in the formal practices of asceticism. They applied to the Oriental priests for spiritual remedies.

People flattered themselves that by performing the rites they would attain a condition of felicity after death. All barbarian mysteries pretended to reveal to their adherents the secret of blessed immortality. Participation in the occult ceremonies of the sect was a chief means of salvation.<sup>36</sup> The vague and disheartening beliefs of ancient paganism in regard to life after death were transformed into the firm hope of a well-defined form of happiness.<sup>37</sup>

This faith in a personal survival of the soul and even of the body was based upon a strong instinct of human nature, the instinct of self-preservation. Social and moral conditions in the empire during its decline gave it greater strength than it had ever

<sup>34</sup> This process, according to Spencer, is a characteristic of religious evolution.

<sup>35</sup> Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*, 2d ed., 1902 p. 139.

<sup>36</sup> Wendland, "Σωτήρ," *Zeitschr. für neuestam. Wissensch.*, V, 1904, pp. 335 ff.

<sup>37</sup> These doctrines will be explained in other articles (Egypt and Persia).

possessed before.<sup>38</sup> The third century saw so much suffering, anguish and violence, so much unnecessary ruin and so many unpunished crimes, that the Roman world took refuge in the expectation of a better existence in which all the iniquity of this world would be retrieved. No earthly hope brightened life. The tyranny of a corrupt bureaucracy choked all disposition for political progress. Science stagnated and revealed no more unknown truths. Growing poverty discouraged the spirit of enterprise. The idea gained ground that humanity was afflicted with incurable decay, that nature was approaching her doom and that the end of the world was near.<sup>39</sup> We must remember all these causes of discouragement and despondency to understand the power of the idea, expressed so frequently, that the spirit animating man was forced by bitter necessity to imprison itself in matter and that it was delivered from its carnal captivity by death. In the heavy atmosphere of a period of oppression and impotence the dejected soul longed with incredible ardor to fly to the radiant abode of heaven.

To recapitulate, the Oriental religions acted upon the senses, the intellect and the conscience at the same time, and therefore gained a hold on the entire man. Compared with the ancient creeds, they appear to have offered greater beauty of ritual, greater truth of doctrine and a far superior morality. The imposing ceremonial of their festivities and the alternating pomp and sensuality, gloom and exaltation of their services appealed especially to the simple and the humble, while the progressive revelation of ancient wisdom, inherited from the old and distant Orient, captivated the cultured mind. The emotions excited by these religions and the consolations offered strongly attracted the women, who were the most fervent and generous followers and most passionate propagandists<sup>40</sup> of the religions of Isis and Cybele. Mithra was worshiped almost exclusively by men, whom he subjected to a rigid moral discipline. Thus souls were gained by the promise of spiritual purification and the prospect of eternal happiness.

The worship of the Roman gods was a civic duty, the worship of the foreign gods the expression of a personal belief. The latter were the objects of the thoughts, feelings and intimate aspirations of the individual, not merely of the traditional and, one might say, functional adoration of the citizen. The ancient municipal devotions were connected with a number of earthly interests that helped

<sup>38</sup> Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 1903, p. 470.

<sup>39</sup> Lucretius, II, 1170 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Boissier, *Rel. rom.*, I, p. 359.

to support each other. They were one of various forms of family spirit and patriotism and guaranteed the prosperity of the community. The Oriental mysteries, directing the will toward an ideal goal and exalting the inner spirit, were less mindful of economic utility, but they could produce that vibration of the moral being that caused emotions, stronger than any rational faculty, to gush forth from the depths of the soul. Through a sudden illumination they furnished the intuition of a spiritual life whose intensity made all material happiness appear insipid and contemptible. This stirring appeal of supernatural life made the propaganda irresistible. The same ardent enthusiasm guaranteed at the same time the uncontested domination of neo-Platonism among the philosophers. Antiquity expired and a new era was born.

## NAZARETH, NAZOREAN AND JESUS.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

SINCE Prof. W. B. Smith in the article, "The Real Question of the Ancestry of Jesus" (*Open Court*, January, 1910) says: "Neither Josephus nor the Old Testament, nor the Talmud (for nearly a thousand years after Christ) knows anything about Nazareth," I would call his attention to the fact that Nazareth is mentioned in a Jewish elegy by Eleazar ha Kalir, 900 A. D.; a notice though, which goes back to an older Midrash. According to that notice there was a "station for priests in Nazareth"<sup>1</sup> who went to Jerusalem to do service in the temple.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore no such town as Dalmanutha (Mark viii. 10) occurs in either Josephus, the Old Testament or the Talmud, nor does Josephus or the Old Testament mention the Chorazin and Magdala of the New Testament. The silence about these towns could as well be adduced as proof of their non-existence as the silence adduced against Nazareth. A point in order here is that in the catalogue of cities in Galilee (Josh. xix) only the cities are mentioned and not the villages, as is expressly stated. Galilee had more communities than only those mentioned in that list by name. Josephus also says: "Cities and villages lie thick here, everywhere full of people." (*De Bell. Jud.*, III, 3, 2).

Further the form *Nazara* "is sustained" by such important manuscripts as  $\aleph$ , B and  $\Xi$  in Luke iv. 16 and Math iv. 13.

Further if the existence of Nazareth in the first century is denied, the question must be answered why the prevailing form in *eth* or *et* is used. Why did not the writer of the First Gospel, if he wrongly brought *Nazoraios* in connection with some fictitious town, rather infer that its name was *Nazora*? The ending *eth* must be accounted for. It is a Hebrew ending occurring in Galilean

<sup>1</sup>משמרת נצרת.

<sup>2</sup>Herzog and Plitt, *Encyclopedia*, 1903.

towns as Kinnereth (Deut. iii. 17) and Dabasheth (Josh. xix. 11). The ending *ath*, the original feminine ending of nouns, generally dulled in *ah* or toneless *eth*, is also found in names of Galilean towns, and some think that Nazareth was originally pronounced *Nazarath* (that form occurring in some manuscripts). Thus there are such towns as Dabrath and Anaharāṭh and others of the same ending in the catalogue in Josh. xix. Very probably the purely Hebrew word *Nazareth* was already in the original Matthew, just as a very similar form of locality, *Arsareth*, is mentioned in the thoroughly Jewish writing of the first century, the fourth book of Ezra.

Then, too, early in the second century Nazareth was considered as the original dwelling place of the parents of Jesus and his early home. Justin Martyr (died 165) mentions Nazareth according to the account of Luke as the home of the parents of Jesus (*Dialog. c. Tryph. LXXVIII*). Is it possible that Justin, himself a native of Shechem, Samaria, would have mentioned this, if Nazareth was a fiction in his times? Again, if Professor Smith accepts Epiphanius, living in the second half of the fourth century, as authority on the *Nasaraioi* and *Nazaraioi* living in Cochara and other towns mentioned by him in Coele Syria and vicinity, why can not Julius Africanus, living in the first half of the third century and like Epiphanius in Palestine, be accepted as an authority on Nazara (as he writes it) which he mentions together with the same Cochara, mentioned by Epiphanius, as places where the relatives of Jesus had been living? The passage in question is quoted in full by Eusebius from Africanus (*Hist. Eccl. I, 1*).

Moreover, we must not confine ourselves to the First Gospel, but also see what Mark has to say about Nazareth. This Gospel (by many considered the oldest of the present Gospels), without saying anything about the derivation of *Nazoraioi* and fixing on Capernaum as the place where Jesus did most of his first work, nevertheless clearly distinguishes between this town and Nazareth. After having described in the preceding chapter the work of Jesus in Capernaum, Mark in vi. 1 says that Jesus "went out from there"<sup>3</sup> and came to his native country, just as he says in iii. 21, that "his folks<sup>4</sup> went out to lay hold of him, for they said he is out of his mind," and that his mother and brothers came (verse 31) and were standing outside and sent in to him, i. e., in a house in Capernaum. Mark likewise, when beginning with the career of Jesus, says distinctly, "And Jesus came from Nazareth etc." (i. 9).

<sup>3</sup> ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν.

<sup>4</sup> οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ.



The further fact that Nazareth was inhabited only by Jews until the reign of Constantine, as Epiphanius states, seems to be significant when considering that Jesus was thoroughly Jewish in his ideas. Though only a village, Nazareth may very well have had a synagogue, for according to the Rabbins in every place where there were ten people a house should be set aside for prayer.

May not also the words, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" (John i. 46) even though the Fourth Gospel is otherwise little credited as history, be of value in regard to our question? Was Nazareth perhaps even then at the date of the latest Gospel an insignificant town?

\* \* \*

Proceeding to the forms *Nazoraïos*, *Nazaraïos*, *Nazarenos* we may infer from them also the existence of a Nazareth in the first century.

The form *Nazarenos* in Mark must be taken into consideration in the passages quoted in my note.<sup>5</sup> As said there, they are probably formed from *Nazara* as Magdalene from *Magdala*.<sup>6</sup>

The further possibility remains, as I think I have shown in the same note, that even *Nazoraïos* is formed from *Nazara* by a change of the second *a* into *o* as frequently occurs in Hebrew.

Again, proper names, when taken into a foreign language often change considerably. They are altered so as to be easily pronounced in that tongue. The formation *Nazarethaios* was not required in Greek. Hebrews formed their *gentilicia* by adding an *i* to names of countries, cities etc., often cutting away whole syllables. Thus an inhabitant of *Thinnata* is a *Thimni* (Jud. xv. 6), and in the Talmud a follower of Jesus a *Nozri*, plural *Nozrim*.<sup>7</sup> The *a* here goes over into *o* as in the participial form of *nazar*, as we shall see later when discussing the Jesus-Nazar-yah theory of Dr. Smith.

The suspicion that there may have been a Nazareth after all is strengthened when considering the prophecy cited in Matt. ii. 23. This citation, as unwarranted as the previous one, "Out of Egypt have I called my son," referring not to Jesus but to the Israelitish people, most probably referred to Is. xi. 1, where the Messiah is called a *nezer*,<sup>8</sup> a sprout. Had the Gospel writer referred to Jesus as being a Nazirite, a devotee, he would have found a Greek form for this idea ready made in the Septuagint. In Lam. iv. 7 the Hebrew *nasir*<sup>9</sup> is translated *Nazeiraios*,<sup>10</sup> and in Jud. xiii. 5 the form

<sup>5</sup> See *Open Court*, Dec. 1909, p. 766.

<sup>6</sup> *Ναζαρεῖνος*, *Μαγδαληνή*.

<sup>7</sup> נוצרים, נוצרי.

<sup>8</sup> נצר.

<sup>9</sup> נזיר.

<sup>10</sup> *Ναζειραιος*. Ed. by H. B. Swete. 1895.

*Nazeir*<sup>11</sup> is used. The Septuagint knows the meaning of this term very well, for in other places it translates "Nazirites" by the Greek word *euxamenoi*, i. e., "devotees." But the Gospel writer in citing a prophecy does not say *Nazeiraios* or *Naziraios* but *Nazoraaios*. This must not be overlooked, for it may point to the fact that after all *Nazoraaios* may be connected with Nazareth.

It is further significant that the so-called "Christians" of John, a sect seemingly deifying John the Baptist and, though very syncretistic, standing in connection with the origins of Christianity, call themselves in their holy book, the *Ginza Nazoraje*.<sup>12</sup> We might expect a different form from a sect claiming connection with the Baptist, as the Baptist was surely more of a Nazirite than Jesus,



but very probably the name by which they call themselves dates from a time when both the followers of John and those of Jesus were indiscriminately called *Nazoraioi*. The connections between the disciples of John and those of Jesus were very close as we know from the New Testament.

\* \* \*

I think we are not necessarily obliged to assume that the believers in Jesus were generally called *Nazoraioi* in the times of Paul though it is so reported in Acts. This may be the case, but on the other hand the writer of Acts, one of the later writers of the New Testament, may have transferred this name from his times, when *Nazoraioi* had become more generally applied to Christians by their

<sup>11</sup> *Nazeir*. The Alexandrian manuscript in that passage has *Nazapaioi* and verse 7, *Nazapaioi*.

<sup>12</sup> נַאֲזֹרַאֲיָא cited in Herzog and Plitt.

Jewish opponents, to the times of Paul in his history, just as the late writer of the Fourth Gospel makes Pilate put on the cross the inscription "Jesus Nazoraïos, the King of the Jews," while the Synoptics have simply "The King of the Jews."

\* \* \*

The most difficult point in the question of the existence of Nazareth is the fact that if the Greek form *Nazareth* is a translation of the Hebrew, the Hebrew would have been written *Nasareth*<sup>13</sup> as the Septuagint throughout renders the Hebrew letter *Zade*<sup>14</sup> by the Greek letter *Sigma* (Σ) with the exception of three passages, Gen. xiii. 21 and Jer. xxxi. 4 and 34, where the Hebrew *Zoar*<sup>15</sup> is rendered by *Zogor*.<sup>16</sup> Dr. E. Nestle has shown (*Open Court*, March 1910, p. 191) that the other forms I referred to in my previous note were not correct readings according to the latest editions. On the other hand the Hebrew letter *Sain*<sup>17</sup> is always rendered in the Septuagint by the Greek letter *Zeta* (Ζ). Still there are also a few exceptions. In Gen. xxxvi. 12 and 15 the Hebrew *Eliphas*<sup>18</sup> is rendered in Greek *Eliphas*,<sup>19</sup> while in verses 11 and 16 of the same chapter the Hebrew *Kenas*<sup>20</sup> is rendered in Greek *Kenes*,<sup>21</sup> just as in the next chapter to the one in Genesis, where the Hebrew *Zoar* is rendered in Greek by *Zogor*, the same Hebrew form is rendered in Greek by *Sēgor*.<sup>22</sup> Dr. Nestle attributes the form *Zogor* to Aramaic influence, as the Aramaic *sair* (small) written with a *Sain* corresponds to the Hebrew *sair* written with a *Zade*. The two sibilants *Sain* and *Zade* are related sounds and we find Hebrew words of the same meaning sometimes written with *Zade* and sometimes with *Sain* in the Hebrew text. Thus the Hebrew words for "to cry out," "to rejoice," "gold" and "golden" all occur written both with *Sain* and *Zade*.<sup>23</sup> If this is the case may not *Nazareth* have originally also been pronounced or written in two ways? Perhaps also in this way Nazareth was arbitrarily brought in connection both with *nezor*, (sprout) and the verb *nasar*, from which the word *nasir* (devotee), also meaning "prince," is taken.

\* \* \*

Commentators have brought the form *Nazoraïos* in connection with forms derived from the verb *nasar*<sup>24</sup> (to preserve); thus *nazur* [passive participle] for Jesus as one preserved from danger when a child, or *nezurim* for the first Christians as being "the preserved of

<sup>13</sup> נזרת

<sup>14</sup> צ

<sup>15</sup> צער

<sup>16</sup> Zogor

<sup>17</sup> ז

<sup>18</sup> אליפז

<sup>19</sup> Ελιφας.

<sup>20</sup> קנז.

<sup>21</sup> Kenez.

<sup>22</sup> Σεγορ.

<sup>23</sup> צורח and זרח; צעק and עק; ערצ and ערו; צורב and זרב.

<sup>24</sup> נצר.

Israel" according to Isaiah xlix. 6 etc. Such guesses are in my opinion precarious and so also the theory of Dr. Smith based thereon. According to him *Nazoraïos* or *Nazaraïos* is nothing but a Greek form for an assumed Hebrew form *Nazar-yah*, i. e., Guardian-yah (*yah*, abbreviation from Yahveh). To the author of the theory Jesus the Nazoraïos is no historical personality, but a pure abstraction. The *Nazoraïoi*, he thinks, called themselves so from God or Yahveh, who had the attribute Guardian, Protector. The theory hinges on the report of Epiphanius that there was a sect "existing before Christ and who knew not Christ" called *Nasaraïoi*. I regret to have no copy of Epiphanius, but if I am right, this great heresy expert distinguishes between pre-Christian *Nasaraïoi*, vegetarians and rejectors of the Pentateuch, and *Nazaraïoi*, as the Jewish Christians and believers in Jesus were later called. Dr. Smith seems to assume that both are the same sect. Granted. If *Nazar-yah* is assumed to mean Guardian-yah, I would say that proper names ending in *yah* are extremely common in the Old Testament, but that they are all names of human persons expressing some act or relation of Yahveh to the person who bears such a name; they are never the names of God.

*Nazar-yah* or rather *Nezar-yah*, as we may see presently, would mean "one whom Yahveh guards," just as *Zephan-yah* and *Shemar-yah* mean "one whom Yahveh protects and guards." The Guardian-yah of Dr. Smith might as well have been called Zephan-yah or Shemar-yah.

Then, too, *Nazar-yah* is not a right formation. If a Hebrew word grows at the end and the accent moves forward, a full vowel changes into a half vowel, thus the full *a* in the beginning changes into short *e*; for instance, Zephanyah instead of *Zaphanyah*, Shemar-yah instead of *Shamaryah*, Zecaryah instead of *Zacaryah*, etc., etc.<sup>25</sup>

If the attribute of Protector, Guardian, was to be given to God, the present participle form of *nazar*, i. e., *nozer*, would have had to be used, but the participle form of *shamar* would have done as well for the sect of Dr. Smith. In fact *shamar* is used as well as *nazar* for describing God as Protector in the Old Testament.

In order to support his theory of *Nazaryah* and that there never was a carpenter Jesus, but that the carpenter is nothing but the Guardian-yah, it is very convenient for the theory that there is a Hebrew word *nasar*,<sup>26</sup> which means "to saw." Although this verb is spelled differently than *nazar* it must fit in with the theory. It is

<sup>25</sup> זָכַרְיָה: שְׁמַרְיָה: צְפַנְיָה.

<sup>26</sup> נָסַר.

lucky that *Nazoraïos* is spelled with a *z* or else we would have a *Nasaryah*, a Sawyeryah.

\* \* \*

Likewise the name "Jesus" is not to Dr. Smith the name of a human person but an attribute to God and means about the same as *nazar*, or as much as the Greek *Soter*, Saviour. But (1) Jesus was an extremely common name among the ancient Hebrews and the Jews of the first century, and (2) *Jesus* never means Saviour in spite of the pun in Matt. i. 21. *Jesus* (Hebrew *Jehoshua*, abbreviated *Jeshua*) means "one whose help is Yahveh," just as *Elishua* means "one whose help is God." The Hebrew word for Saviour is *Moshia*<sup>27</sup> and is used very often in the Old Testament as an attribute of God or Yahveh, just as the Greeks spoke of *Zeus Soter*. It is therefore also translated in the Septuagint by *Soter* or the participle *sozon*,<sup>28</sup> and the word *Soter* as an attribute of God occurs also in the very Hebraic first chapter of Luke (verse 47). *Moshia* would therefore have been the attribute the sect of Dr. Smith would have chosen for God and not a human proper name as common as "Gotthilf" in German.

After such daring assumptions in the theory of Jesus-Nazar-yah, I think it safer to fall back on the idea that there really was a carpenter Jesus after all, who was very probably also from Nazareth, especially since we cannot get around some very hard facts mentioned below.

\* \* \*

Professor Smith lays stress on the point that "the heresy of the *Nasaraioi* was before Christ and knew not Christ." If this heresy consisted in a view similar to that held by the Jewish-Christian *Nazaraioi* (this term is retained by early ecclesiastical writers for a portion of the Jewish Christians, the other being the Ebionites, after the term *Christianoi* had become more general for the Gentile Christians) who believed in a heavenly Christ, that had appeared in the human Jesus after he had already appeared in Adam and in the patriarchs, had in fact gone through different incarnations, there was not anything peculiarly astonishing in the pre-Christian *Nasaraioi*, of Dr. Smith.

The Jewish-Christian *Nazaraioi* accepted the Gospel of the Hebrews which contains no account of a miraculous birth of Jesus and makes the Holy Spirit the mother of Jesus. Perhaps those pre-Christian heretics "who knew not Christ" were such Gnostics, who believed in a heavenly Christ taking upon himself different incarna-

<sup>27</sup> מוֹשִׁיעַ.

<sup>28</sup> σώζων.

tions. But was not Paul such a pre-Christian Gnostic also, who transferred all his mystical ideas about the heavenly Christ to the person of Jesus, whose human character in his letters almost entirely disappears under the mythical speculations which he sets forth about him? Paul likewise knows nothing about a miraculous birth of Jesus; he speaks about "the last, the heavenly Adam," and as in the Gospel to the Hebrews the Holy Spirit expresses satisfaction at having found in Jesus a place for rest of her firstborn son (the Hebrew for Spirit being of feminine gender) so to Paul, Christ is essentially a "son of the Spirit," to use a peculiar Gnostic Semitic expression; yes Paul in his letters even identifies Christ with the Spirit (2 Cor. iii. 17) in the same way that a rabbinical speculation said that the Messiah was already mentioned at the time of creation since he was the Spirit of God hovering over the deep.

The more I study the ancient Jewish literature outside of the Bible, the more clearly I find the pre-Christian Christ standing out in it. But the mystical and gnostic views about him expressed in that literature were transferred by Paul, very often in exactly the same terms and phrases, and by other men like Apollos, who, to use the words of Epiphanius, "were before Christ and knew not Christ," upon the person of the historical Jesus. For I do not see how we can ever get around the fact, that in spite of all the mystical speculations of Paul upon the heavenly Christ and his work, he nevertheless speaks of the married brothers of the Lord, of his special disciples, of the last night of his life, of his death on the cross and of the visions, which many believers before Paul's conversion and Paul himself had of him after his death. Jesus was to Paul an historical reality, who in some way or another must have made such a powerful impression upon the first Christian circles that they felt justified in conveying upon his person all the attributes of the heavenly Christ existing in pre-Christian Jewish mysticism and gnosticism about this matter. These views may not have been uniform but rather chaotic, still it was for this reason of utmost importance that an historical person should furnish a point about which these views crystallized into something of a system. I think it safer to assume an historical Jesus than the pre-Christian Jesus of Professor Smith, a pure abstraction.

\* \* \*

Professor Smith has entirely misquoted 2 Cor. v. 16. Paul says: "Wherefore we henceforth know no man after the flesh. Even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet we know him no more." Paul intends to say that as a follower of Christ he



from now on entirely leaves out of account in the Jew his Jewish origin, in the Greek his Greek origin, in the slave his bondage, etc. (compare Gal. iii. 28).

Further according to the context Paul compares the view which he had of Jesus as a mere man, a common Jew, before his conversion, with the view he now has of him as the bearer of the heavenly Christ. Paul intends to say nothing whatever of the non-existence of a human Jesus as Professor Smith infers. Some commentators have rather inferred from this passage that Paul had seen Jesus while still alive.

The question is not whether there was a pre-Christian Christ, but a human Jesus. A pre-Christian Christ there existed in the ideas of many a Jew before Jesus and so also in the mind of Paul, not only the idea of a common human Messiah, but of a heavenly mystical Christ. The extra-canonical Jewish literature proves this. Without these views there would not have been a bridge for Paul and others like Apollos from Judaism to Christianity. The question whether there was a human Jesus is I think not so problematic as some insist. For as I said before, I do not see how we can ever get around what Paul says about the brothers of Jesus, (whose names are even given in the Synoptics) etc. If in the religious history of mankind in other cases men have been looked upon as special divine incarnations or have themselves believed they were such, why in the origin of Christianity should this feature alone be wanting?

It is the safest way to see in the Jesus Christ of Christianity a mixture of the mythical heavenly Christ and the historical Jesus, just as we have in the *Nibelungenlied* a mixture of the mythical goddess Brunhilde and an historical queen Brunhilde; the mixture of a mythical Gunther and an historical Burgundian king Guntram; in *Krimhilde* a mixture of a mythical Krimhilde and an historical Hildico, the last wife of Attila who defeated the Burgundian kings, etc.

P. Hermann (*Deutsche Mythologie*) says: "The presupposition of the epic is the heroic legend and that of the latter mythology. The heroic legend consists of two elements: (1) an upper, heavenly; gods come down to men yet without becoming fully man; and (2) a lower, earthly; historical persons, especially those of the times of national struggles, are raised to superhuman beings. All heroes, whose history is not probable or provable, originally were gods." These words also apply to Jesus. The historical existence of Jesus appears as well proven and provable as that of many other historical persons of whom little is known; the *Christ* is mystical and mythical.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### IN RE "LETTERS TO HIS HOLINESS."

The Roman Catholic Church is a great institution which satisfies the religious needs of many millions of people. It can scarcely be denied that there are men who stand in need of exactly such a kind of ritual, of such doctrines, of such supervision of their consciences, and the editor of this periodical is far from the intention of assuming a hostile attitude toward this most remarkable faith which commends itself in many respects. But a cry for reform came to him from the very ranks of Roman Catholic priesthood so intense and fervid that it seemed wrong not to heed it. This Modernist who has written the *Letters to His Holiness, Pius X*, only wants to warn the Church and effect a reform that would bring this venerable institution abreast with the age. He wants especially to reach the priesthood and he sums up the purpose of his book in these words:

"What is the purpose of the Christian Church? This and this alone: to extend on earth the kingdom of righteousness; to preach the Christ-life; to witness to the unseen ideals of truth, goodness and love. The Church's kingdom is of this world inasmuch as it deals with men, their motives, aspirations, character, and moral activities. It is not of this world inasmuch as it should have no direct concern with temporalities and no perverse meddling with the things that are Cæsar's. To the extent that it conflicts with human progress, antagonizes the national spirit of this people or that, clothes itself with secularity; assumes an attitude of harshness, provocation or defiance, it turns aside from its one reason for being, excites those deplorable oppositions of which we hear so much, between religion and science, religion and civilization, religion and the state, and stands in the way of winning the world to the spirit of Christ.

"Elementary as this statement is, churches are prone to forget it. The Church is composed of men after all; and men in every age from apostolic times to our own, have brought into the sanctuary the spirit of pride, domination and severity. Look into every revolt from the Church, and at the bottom of it you will find an abuse, a forgetting of purely spiritual purposes, an arousing to exasperation of the conscience, patriotism, or self-respect of mankind.

"Now abuses are corrected by either reform or revolt. If the Church herself, moved by the protest of her earnest sons, removes the abuse, it is reform. If, heedless of warning, she neglects to remove it, the result, the deadly result, is revolt. No greater question confronts the Church than this: Will she acknowledge abuses and quietly correct them; or by stubbornly ignoring them, invite revolution or decay?"

In announcing the book many circulars were sent out, and these have been acknowledged by a good many orders and sometimes by the expression of unflattering opinions with regard to the author. The following humorous message, evidently intended for his benefit, was returned to us on such a circular sent to each of the priests in a medium sized town of Massachusetts:

"Protestants had cleared the Church good enough in 16th century. Join them. Direct your letters to Luther; his adress is so: Lucifer, Manager of the Hell, for his friend Luther. If Vatherland of cleared Church or Hell is too far, go to Utah; there is Church and Religion convenient for you and your adherents. D— f—." (The spelling of these words in the original manuscript varies from the customary usage.)

We assume that the writer is a foreigner, and judge that he must be an interesting character. We would be glad to have an opportunity to make his personal acquaintance.

### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HAPPINESS. By *R. Waite Joslyn*. Elgin, Ill.: Normalist Pub. Co. Pp. 200.

This essay is described in a secondary title as "a consideration of normalism," and normalism as a principle is defined as "a philosophy of life that depends for its justification upon no particular creed or doctrine, upon no particular interpretation of the activities of nature, but upon knowledge of nature's unchanging laws, and has for its foundation the fact that in the life of each individual there is a normal way of conduct and being, and its realization in practice brings man his best and highest good.... Not closing its eyes to the mysteries of life and being, it yet holds that the conduct of life and the relations of man to man are of first importance. To live within the conditions of life as determined by those laws of life that rest eternal in the universe to the end that happiness and high developments may be attained, is the first aim of its faith."

It is clearly the intention of the author to provide a manual of ethics for the conduct of life according to the ideals of "normalism." The value of its lesson, however, is partly vitiated by too frequent use of poetical forms of common words, inverted position of phrases, and in parts by too generous sprinkling of commas, dashes, and italics, all of which tend to call attention to the writer's mode of expression to the serious disadvantage of the thought expressed.

DAS CHRISTENTUM UND DIE MONISTISCHE RELIGION. Von *Max Werner*. Berlin: Curtius, 1908. Pp. 202.

The first half of this book is devoted to a critical discussion of Christianity beginning with the pre-Copernican world-conception, the Pentateuch, revelation and the influence of Zarathushtra. It then considers in detail various dogmatic questions: the Christ, the human Jesus, the Gospels, the birth, miracles and resurrection of Jesus, the Apostles' Creed and finally the Pope's encyclical against modernism. The spirit is earnest but rather destructive; since the Church has erred, for instance, in assuming that the sun moves around the earth, it of course ceases to be infallible and therefore can never guarantee that it will not err again. The argument no doubt is logical, but there is no recognition of the part Christianity still should play in modern

times under the sway of evolution. The book, however, is not wholly destructive in so far as it has a monistic religion to offer with which to supplant the old regime. This new religion, intended to fit a humanity whose world-conception is that of evolution, just as the Christianity of medievalism was adapted to the Middle Ages, is formulated in the second part with regard to the subjects God, the soul, death, humanity and the meaning of life. The author concludes with a summons to all emancipated souls to openly join the movement which tends towards the establishment of a monistic church.

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PAG SAM JON ZANG. By *Sumpa Khan-Po Yege Pal Jor*. Edited by *Sarat Chandra Das*. Calcutta: Presidency Jail Press, 1908. Pp. 429, cxlviii. Price 3 rupees.

The editor has rendered Buddhism a great service in bringing to light this classical history of Buddhism. The service would have been greatly augmented if he had made the book accessible to the Western world by publishing an English translation instead of simply editing the Tibetan text of the original. The work is divided into two parts treating of the "History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India," and the "History of Tibet from Early Times to 1745 A. D." The author is the great national historiographer and chronologist of Tibet and lived from 1702-1775. A brief biography in English prefaces Part I in which we are told of the traditional saintliness of his character, his zeal for Buddhist propaganda and the favor he found in the sight of the great Mongol emperor of his day. Besides this sketch and the corresponding English introduction to Part II which gives briefly "The Origin of the Tibetans," and "The Early History of Tibet," the value of the book to English readers lies exclusively in the analytical table of contents provided for each Part, and a careful and complete explanatory index of the whole.

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DAS WELTBILD VON DARWIN UND LAMARCK. Von *Ernst Haeckel*. Leipzig: Kröner, 1909. Pp. 39.

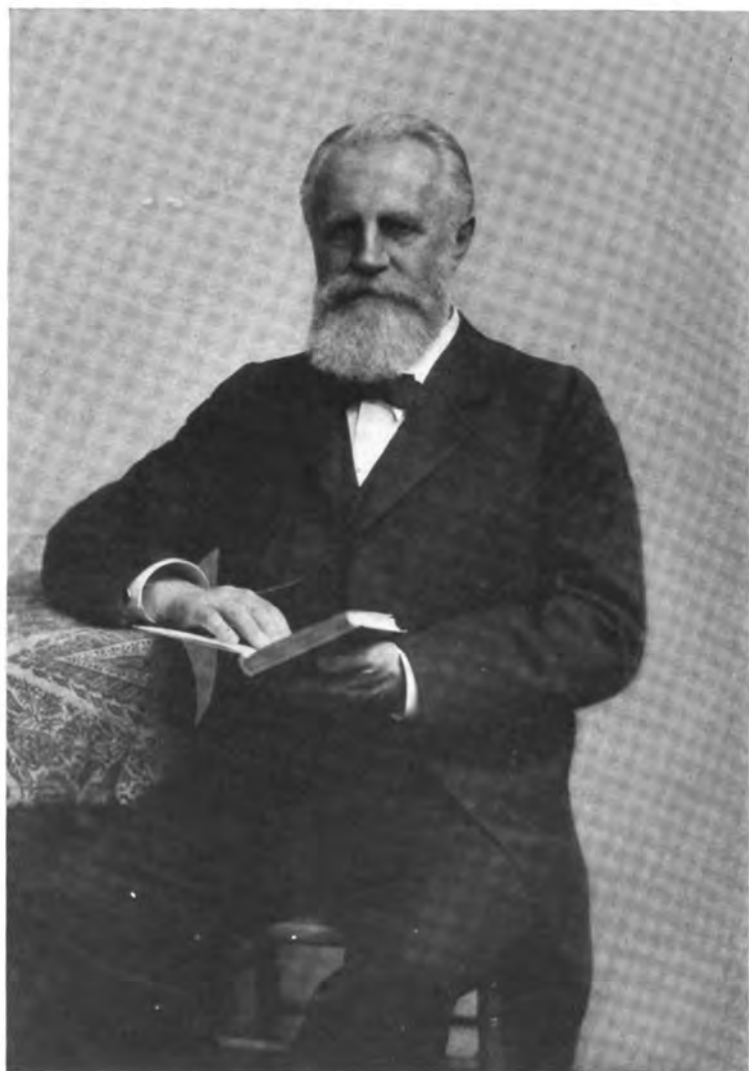
DARWIN ALS LEBENSELEMENT UNSERER MODERNEN KULTUR. Von *Rudolf Goldscheid*. Vienna: Heller, 1909. Pp. 111.

Each of these brochures consists of a lecture given at the commemoration of the centennial of Darwin's birthday, Feb. 12, 1909: Professor Haeckel's at the Volkshaus in Jena, and Mr. Goldscheid's before the Sociological Society in Berlin. Both treat of the value of the change in the prevalent world-conception wrought by the promulgation of the doctrines of evolution, the former from a scientist's point of view, while the latter in perhaps more general terms closes with the wish that the Darwin centennial may celebrate the introduction into the schools of all civilized nations of the established theory of descent in its most modern form.

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The series of "Letters to His Holiness," by A Modernist, begun in our last issue, is not to be continued in *The Open Court*, as was announced. The Letters have been published in the meantime in book form by the Open Court Publishing Co. (Pp. 300; cloth \$1. 25). They form a book of momentous import at this time and have a twofold purpose. On the one hand the author wants to make the Curia feel its enormous responsibility, and on the other hand to educate both priest and layman for the work of reconstruction within the Roman Catholic Church.





EDWARD C. HEGELER.

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 7.)

JULY, 1910.

NO. 650.

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## IN MEMORY OF MR. E. C. HEGELER.

BY THE EDITOR.

MR. Edward C. Hegeler of La Salle, Illinois, the founder of *The Open Court* and president of the Open Court Publishing Company, passed away peacefully after a short illness on Saturday, June 4, at eight o'clock in the evening.

Imposing in his appearance, venerable in his full snow-white hair and beard, and commanding respect with the serious expression of his broad-browed face, he was like one of the ancient patriarchs, wont to lead and to be obeyed. Being descended from an East Frisian family, he was a typical Teuton, tall and hardy, blue eyed and frank, manly and absolutely reliable in word and deed. He was a man incapable of telling a lie, and none who knew him would ever have believed that he could break a promise or shirk a duty.

He was born September 13, 1835, in the old Hansa town, Bremen, Germany, and he was proud of the Republican institutions of his native city.

It had been the wish of Mr. Hegeler's father, Hermann Dietrich Hegeler of Bremen, originally of Oldenburg, to have one of his sons settle in the United States, a country in which he himself had traveled and in the development of which he took a great interest. He was anxious to have his family represented here in this country and take an active part in its destinies. For this purpose he selected his youngest son Edward, who was educated with this end in view. It was thus but natural that Mr. Hegeler imbibed an American patriotism from his earliest childhood, but it would be wrong to think that his American patriotism ever antagonized his love of Germany, of the German people, customs and traditions, and their many noble aspirations in the arts and sciences. On the contrary,

he wanted to carry the German spirit into the new world on a soil favorable to its further growth. He wanted to transplant the seeds of German culture into his new home, and he was always ready to do his best to preserve friendly relations and mutual respect between the two nations.

Mr. Hegeler attended school in the Academy at Schnepfenthal. He then studied mechanical engineering at the Polytechnic Institute at Hanover, 1851-53, and in the school of mines at Freiberg, Saxony, 1853-56, here mainly under Prof. Julius Weisbach.

Accompanied by his friend and fellow student at Freiberg, Mr. F. W. Matthiessen, Mr. Hegeler traveled for some months on the Continent and in England, whence they embarked for America and landed in Boston in March 1857. While looking over the country for a proper place to settle they learned of Friedensville, Pennsylvania, where a zinc factory had been built, but it stood idle because the owners had not been able to manufacture the zinc. Mr. Matthiessen and Mr. Hegeler, then 21 and 22 years old, stepped in and with the same furnace succeeded in producing spelter, which at that time was pioneer work in America, for hitherto this metal had been imported from Europe. On account of the financial stringency of 1856, which still persisted in 1857, the owners of the Friedensville works refused to put more money into the enterprise, while neither Mr. Hegeler nor Mr. Matthiessen felt justified in risking their own capital, mainly because they had no confidence in the mines, which actually gave out eight years later.

Having further on investigated conditions in Pittsburg and Johnsville, Pa., and also in southeastern Missouri, Mr. Hegeler and Mr. Matthiessen finally decided upon La Salle, Illinois, because its coal fields were nearest to the ore supply at Mineral Point, Wisconsin. Here they started the Matthiessen and Hegeler Zinc Works on a small scale, on the same spot on which the present large plant is still operated.

Mr. Hegeler returned in 1860 to Germany, where on April 5 he married Camilla Weisbach, the daughter of his admired teacher. In July of the same year the young couple settled in La Salle, where with few interruptions they lived until the end of their lives. Mrs. Hegeler died only two years ago, May 28, 1908. Ten children were born to them, of whom seven survive, two sons and five daughters; and there are twenty-three grandchildren.

Mr. Hegeler's religion was simple enough, but like many simple things it is not easy for every one to understand. His ancestors had belonged to the Reformed Church, and the intellectual atmos-

phere of his father's house which surrounded him in his childhood was liberal. In Schnepfenthal he came in contact with the pietistic traditions of that institution, and he was deeply impressed with its devotional spirit, especially as it found utterance in song. When further experience in life broadened him, he surrendered his belief in Christian dogmatism but he preserved that seriousness of purpose, that moral endeavor, that profound faithfulness which characterizes all true religion. He had found the necessary correctives in the monistic conception of science. His idea of God had changed, but his "Religion of Science" would not dispense with God. With Goethe he saw God in nature, and recognized him as that power which enforces a definite kind of conduct. Morality is not what we think is good, but what can stand the test in the furnace of thorough and continued experience; it is for us to decipher the handwriting of God.

There was no need to look for a heaven in the clouds; the promises of providence fulfil all the expectations we can have here on earth. Every new discovery reveals new glories, and in this sense Mr. Hegeler remembered an old Moravian hymn expressing the sentiments of the passage in 1 Corinthians ii. 9:

"Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."

"Was noch kein Auge sah,  
Was noch kein Ohr vernahm,  
Was je hienieden  
Kein Menschenherz empfand,  
Das hat Gott denen  
Mit Huld beschieden,  
Die bis an's Ende  
Getreu ihn lieben."

Mr. Hegeler took great interest in psychology and found the key to its problems in the proposition, "I am my ideas." He argued that a man is wherever his ideas are. Our ancestors survive in us, and we shall survive wherever future generations think our thoughts and act as we would have acted. He deemed it the highest duty of every man to work out his own immortality. In his own conception, though he has ceased to be with us in the flesh, he has not passed from us. He is with us in spirit, and his soul remains a potent presence so long as his work, his thoughts, his ideals will persist.

For the sake of presenting his solution of the religious problem, the foundation of religion and ethics on a strictly scientific basis,

Mr. Hegeler founded and endowed The Open Court Publishing Company, which has published *The Open Court* since February 17, 1887, and *The Monist* since October 1, 1890; the former in the first year as a fortnightly, then as a weekly, and since 1897 as a monthly periodical, illustrated and popular in style; the latter a quarterly serving the same purpose, but open also to a more rigorous scientific treatment of religio-philosophical questions.

In the light of a scientific interpretation of the main doctrines of religion, Mr. Hegeler began thus to find a deep meaning in the old dogmas, and his sympathies were not limited to the faith of his childhood but to all religions, of which each in its own way more or less clearly expresses the same truths and preaches the same ethics. He counted among his friends not only some of the greatest scientists of the age, men like Ernst Mach and Ewald Hering, George J. Romanes, Hugo De Vries and the late Oxford scholar F. Max Müller, but also Buddhists and Catholic priests, Protestants and Freethinkers. With all the definiteness of his convictions he was broad in his sympathies, and to sum up we may without exaggeration say of him:

"He was a man, take him for all in all,  
I shall not look upon his like again."

\* \* \*

I deem it proper in this connection to express my own deep felt gratitude to Mr. Hegeler. Being myself in perfect agreement with the views he held and the aims he pursued, it became possible that while serving his plans, I could attend to my own life's work. He gave me an opportunity, a field of activity so unique that I could nowhere else in the whole wide world have found anything so suited to the vocation which I had set for myself. I am proud of his friendship and the confidence which he placed in me. I rejoice in my relation to him as his son-in-law, and I am convinced that the rightness of his endeavors will be recognized more and more by future generations. I can not help thinking of the lines of Matthias Claudius:

"Ach sie haben  
Einen guten Mann begraben,  
Und mir war er mehr."

"Alas they have  
A good man sunk into the grave,  
And more he was to me."

## A YAHVEH PICTURE AND WHAT IT TEACHES.

BY THE EDITOR.

A PICTURE of Yahveh made by an artist of ancient Israel would seem an impossibility when we bear in mind the sweeping prohibition<sup>1</sup> which reads thus:

"Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth."

And yet the excavator's spade has discovered a seal which, according to most orthodox interpreters, bears an unequivocal picture



SEAL OF GEDAL-YAHU.

After Dalman, *Palästina-jahrbuch*, II, Platte 1. (Considerably enlarged.)

of Yahveh, the god of ancient Israel. We here reproduce this significant little monument and will briefly consider the lesson which it teaches. Its discovery is a justification of the main results of Biblical research and incidentally throws much light on Hebrew art and on the shortcomings of artistic taste in ancient Israel.

<sup>1</sup> The very manufacture of images was branded as a crime and severely punished. See Deut. iv. 16-18; xxvii. 15; Lev. xxvi. 1; Jer. x. 14; li. 17; Is. xlv. 16.

Biblical research has discovered the key to a great many problems of the Old Testament through the discovery of the character of Deuteronomy which claims to be the law of Moses, but bears all the traces of a later date. About a century ago Professor De Wette published a dissertation on the subject proving that Deuteronomy is the book found in the temple in 621 B. C., on account of which the temple was cleaned of pagan paraphernalia and through which a rigorous monotheistic reform was introduced which became the basis of the Exilic and post-Exilic Judaism.

It is very strange that a number of religious institutions most vigorously condemned in Deuteronomy, such as the use of house gods or *teraphim*, the *ephod* used for divination in connection with the *Urim* and *Thummim*,<sup>2</sup> images and emblems of God in the shape of a bull, etc., and also the worship on high places, are quite commonly mentioned in the historical books without a thought of being objectionable. Only now and then when the Israelites disregarded the injunctions of Deuteronomy, has a passage been inserted by a post-Exilic redactor declaring that at that time Israel had again fallen away from the ways of the Lord. An instance of this kind is Gideon's manufacture of an *ephod*, as told in Judges viii. 22-27. The latter part of verse 27 is the redactor's comment which interrupts the context and is unquestionably a later insertion.

Worship on the high places was common in the days of the patriarchs, and it was the only form of worship because the temple of Jerusalem had not yet been built. The temple on the other hand was originally only one high place among others. It was the high place of Mount Moriah, and when Solomon built his palace at Jerusalem it became a kind of court chapel. However, the temple reform made the temple of Jerusalem the only legitimate place of sacrifice, and the priests of Jerusalem looked with scorn upon any other form of worship on the high places in the country. The institution of the monopoly of the temple worship at Jerusalem and many of the details of the priestly code are therefore of a comparatively late origin.

According to the report in the Second Book of Kings xxii and xxiii the temple reform was introduced under the reign of Josiah, who at that time was a mere child and a willing tool in the hands of the Jerusalemite priesthood. The kingdom did not last long under the rule of priestly advisers. The poor young sovereign fell in the battle of Megiddo in 609, as the Bible says, in punishment of the sins of his fathers, while he himself was proclaimed by the

<sup>2</sup> See the author's article "The Oracle of Yahveh," *Monist*, XVII, 365.



priestly writer as the best king that ever ruled since the days of David. The kingdom of Judea was destroyed in 607, and the aristocracy as well as all educated classes of the country were transferred to Babylonia. Here they developed that form of faith, based on the priestly code of Deuteronomy, which bears the name of Judaism and which was decidedly different from the old Israelitish religion. It was a new development in which a rigorous monotheism was established, the center and indeed the sole place of worship of which was located in Jerusalem.

De Wette's ingenious theory has been accepted by Old Testament scholars, because it explains many apparent contradictions which we meet with in the several books of the Old Testament. All critical research is based upon it and we must add that its results have been fully verified by incidental discoveries. For instance, we know that when the Jews established their hierarchy at Jerusalem under the protection of Cyrus, they had some trouble in carrying out their nationalistic institutions. We must remember that among the rules most severely insisted upon was an injunction against intermarriage with Gentiles, and both Ezra and Nehemiah met with great resistance in enforcing this rule which in ancient Israel had never been carried out, or was most flagrantly and constantly violated. Jews who had married Gentile women were required to abandon their wives, and when this applied to men of prominence, a schism originated which caused the secession of the Samaritans who built a temple of their own and claimed to preserve more carefully the original Israelitish traditions. In a certain sense they were right in this, but in the long run their greater breadth proved fatal to their existence. There is only a remnant of them preserved in Nablous, Samaria, and they have never played so significant a part in the history of the world, as have their brethren the Jews.

Further we have discovered of late the existence of a Jewish temple in Elephantine (Jeb), situated in Upper Egypt, where a prosperous Jewish colony must have existed; and in agreement with the results of Biblical research, although in contradiction to the statements in Deuteronomy, we find that these Jews had a temple of their own, and that their institutions and relations to the Gentiles were not in agreement with the priestly code of the temple reform.

In the meantime the excavator's spade has discovered at Tahpanhes in Lower Egypt the representation of a Semitic deity<sup>3</sup> which

<sup>3</sup> A picture of this altar piece of the Hyksos god has been published in the January number of *The Open Court* for 1909, and is accompanied by an article written by Prof. W. Max Müller, the discoverer of the monument.

can only be the god of heaven of the Semitic invaders of Egypt, known in history under the name of Shepherd Kings or Hyksos,<sup>4</sup> and this god can scarcely have been any other than Yahveh.

Yahveh, also pronounced Ya-u or Ye-hu, and abbreviated Ya or Yo, is an old deity who, if we may accept the interpretation of Delitzsch, is mentioned in some cuneiform tablets of ancient Babylon. Passages in the Psalms and the Book of Job prove that, in the religious traditions of Israel, he played the part of Bel Marduk, the conqueror of the dragon, and the creator of heaven and earth. It is certainly not accidental that the Jews when addressing Gentiles speak of Yahveh as the god of heaven, or as the god of heaven and earth, a usage which is especially adhered to in the Apocrypha.

The monument of the Semitic deity of Tahpanhes is a rare but not an isolated instance of a representation of the God of Israel. The seal discovered by the German Palestine Exploration Society is another case and in spite of its small size it is more important, because its interpretation admits of no doubt. \*It shows a picture of Yahveh between two palm trees, each of seven branches, enthroned on a ship which shows a bird's head on both the bow and the stern. This ship is the heavenly barge on which, as we know from similar Babylonian representations, the moon- and sun-gods ride on the ocean above the firmament. The inscription on the reverse of the seal is written in the Phœnician alphabet used in Palestine before the Exile, the characters being the same as those of the Siloam inscription, and, transcribed into Chaldean, it reads thus:

לאשמעב  
נגד יהו

which means "[Belonging] to Elishama, son of Gedal-Yahu." The line is broken between the initial and the final letter of the word *ben*, i. e., "son," which is obviously done so as to distribute the fourteen letters evenly into two sets of seven, reminding the owner of the sacredness of the number seven. For the same reason the letter *iod* appears to have been omitted in the first name.<sup>5</sup>

The seal is only 18 mm. long, 16 mm. broad and 5 mm. thick on the rim, 7 in the thickest part. It has the appearance of an Egyptian scarab, the flat surface being the picture of Yahveh, and

<sup>4</sup> The Egyptian *Hik-shasu* means literally "chief of shepherds." *Shasu* is the common designation of the Bedouins or nomads who lived in the fashion of the Old Testament patriarchs.

<sup>5</sup> In the Bible the name Elishama was commonly spelled with *iod* thus: אלישמת

the curved parts on either side of the double line indicating the wings of the beetle, bear the inscription.

For two reasons the origin of the seal must be dated before the Exile: first, after the Exile a picture of Yahveh would not be considered admissible, and secondly the Phœnician alphabet was no longer in use. The names Elishama and Gedalyahu (i. e., Gedaliah) are mentioned in Jeremiah xxxvi. 12 ff., and xl. 5 ff., but we have no means of identifying the owner of the present seal with any definite historical personality.

The root of the word *shama* means "to hear," and *Elishama* may either mean, "he who hears God," or "he who is heard by God." The former would denote "one obedient to God," the latter, "one whose prayer is granted by God."

Judging from the name of Elishama's father, the deity here represented can only be Yahu, that is Yahveh, or as is now commonly said, using an absolutely wrong pronunciation, "Jehovah."<sup>6</sup>

The picture of Yahveh is awkward, but the idea that underlies it is not unworthy. As a sample of art the seal is very poor and we may regard it as an instance of the lack of artistic temperament in the Jewish race:

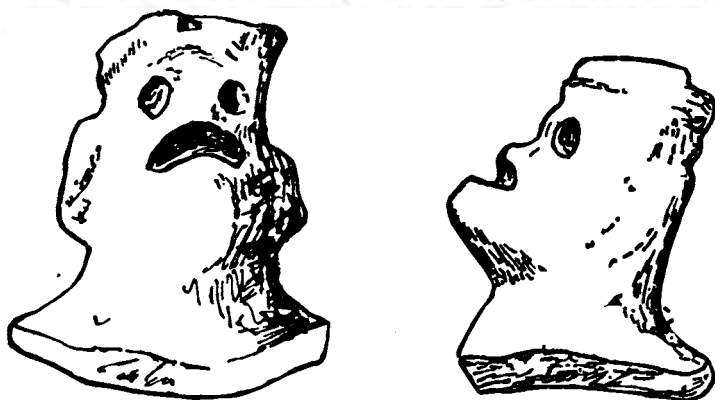
The question has been raised whether the Deuteronomic law forbidding images has stunted the growth of artistic development in the Jewish race, or, *vice versa*, whether the lack of artistic temperament has produced this condemnation of images and pictures. There seems to be a mutual cooperation of both factors. If we compare the most ancient paintings and carvings found in the caves of pre-historic man<sup>7</sup> with the artistic work discovered in Palestine we are compelled to acknowledge a lack of taste and artistic talent in the people of Israel, which is the more remarkable as the Jews rank very high in almost all other branches of intellectual attainments. Their amulets and seals, such as have been found at Gezer, are crude and do not compare in any way with the most primitive ornaments of any other race.

Whatever has been found on the soil of Palestine shows a decided dependence upon the art of either Phœnicia, Babylonia or Egypt, and the more artistic any object may be judged to be, the

<sup>6</sup> The pronunciation "Jehovah" dates only from the sixteenth century A. D. and is due to the mistake of some scholars of the Reformation who did not know that the consonants (יהוה) belong to one word, and the vowels (éoa) to another, *ādōnai*, which means "the Lord."

<sup>7</sup> The most important productions of primitive man are collected in the author's book *The Rise of Man*, and they are supplemented in the current number by the article "The Art of Primitive Man."

closer is the resemblance to the style of one or another of these three countries. The most artistic seal found in Palestine is a scarab, the seal of Asaph of Tell el-Mutesellim, which is in purely Egyptian style and shows a hawk-headed griffin wearing the double crown of



PRIMITIVE HEAD FOUND AT GEZER.

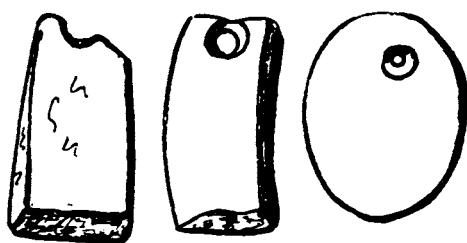
Palestine Exploration Fund, London. Quarterly Statement for 1904, p. 19.



PRIMITIVE FIGURE FOUND AT GEZER.

After Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (2d ed., 1907), p. 326.

Egypt. Perhaps the second best seal is a lion scarab also found at Tell el-Mutesellim. It is cut in jasper and reminds us very much of the famous mural painting of the lion on the great procession street of Marduk in Babylon. Though its manufacture shows Baby-



AMULETS OF GEZER.

Palestine Exploration Fund, Q. S. 1902, p. 343.



SEAL OF ASAPH, FROM  
TELL EL-MUTESELLIM.

After Benzinger, *H.A.*, p. 226.



SEAL OF "SHEMA THE SERVANT OF  
JEROBEAM."

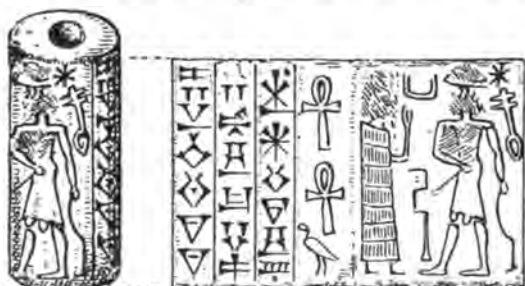
After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 226.



THE ASSYRIAN LION OF THE MARDUK STREET OF BABYLON.

lonian influence, we judge from the names of both its owner and the master of its owner that it belonged to an Israelite. The words Sherna as well as Jeroboam are Hebrew.

A seal cylinder found in Tell Ta'annak shows a mixture of Egyptian and Babylonian taste and was the property of a pagan from Mesopotamia. The inscription is in cuneiform writing and



SEAL CYLINDER FROM TELL TA 'ANNAK.

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 82.

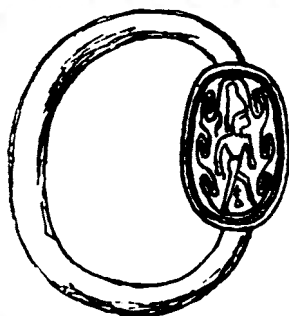
reads "Attana 'hile, son of 'Habsi, servant of Nergal." It is much older than the seal just described, for connoisseurs date the seal back to the time of Abraham or 'Hammurabi about 2300-2000 B. C.

The picture of Attana 'hile's seal cylinder shows a bearded man with a long gown standing in adoration before a god in a short dress. The god has in his right hand a kind of club and in his left



SCARAB FOUND IN PALESTINE.

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 225.



SCARABAEOID ON A RING.

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 82.

hand a *gamlu* or boomerang, which is found in the hands of Marduk and other gods. Two Egyptian *ankhs* and a bird, presumably a phoenix, separate the picture on the one side from the writing, while on the other side above the shoulder of the god is found an Egyptian lute and a seven-rayed star.



A scarabæoid,<sup>8</sup> held in a bronze ring, shows a man in walking attitude covered with the North Egyptian crown.

We may state here that as a general rule seal cylinders belong to the oldest period and show Babylonian influence. They were



SEAL CONE FROM TELL TA'ANNAK.  
After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 225.



SEAL OF "NETHANYAHU, SON  
OF 'OBADYAHU."  
After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 230.



SEAL CUBE FROM TELL TA'ANNAK.  
After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 225.

replaced between the 17th and 15th centuries by the Egyptian scarab which had acquired a peculiar sanctity as the symbol of immortality.

A seal in the shape of a cone shows two gazelles, perhaps the two sacrificial goats. It ought to be compared with other seals with two goats, for instance the seal of Nethanyahu and another seal in



SEAL OF "YEHU'AZAR, SON OF  
'OBADYAHU."  
After Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. III*, p. 190.

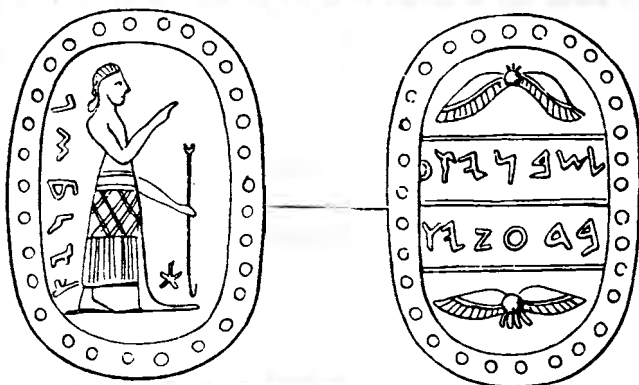


SEAL OF KEMOSHJEKHI, FOUND  
IN MOAB.  
After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 229.

the form of a cube which bears on either side an animal resembling a goat. The cube is perforated so as to be worn on a string. One goat of very crude but most interesting workmanship appears on the seal of Yeho 'azar belonging to the Clermont-Ganneau collection.

<sup>8</sup> This is the name of seals which are not exactly in the shape of a scarab but bear a resemblance to it.

We must remember that seals were intended to protect property. They were used for sealing the clay cases of letters or the doors of store rooms and treasuries, or the lids of boxes and jars so as to make it impossible for the servants or slaves in the house to get at



SEAL OF "SHEBANYAU, SERVANT OF 'UZZIYAU."

After Benzinger, *H. A.* p. 180.

the contents without breaking the seal. In order to make any intrusion a sacrilege, divine protection was invoked by placing on the seals a symbol of religious significance. Thus we have either representations of the deity as a winged disk, or the symbol of gods



SEAL OF 'KHANANYAHU, SON OF 'AKBOR."

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 230.



SEAL OF NATANYAU FROM GEZER.\*

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 230.

such as the bull for Marduk; the lion for Nergal; the seven-branched tree of life; the Egyptian *ankh*, the emblem of life; the trinity of solar disk, moon and star; sphinxes, griffins, eagles, etc., and sometimes the owner is portrayed on the seal in the posture of adoration.

\* This seal appears in a contract tablet as the signature of the owner of a field sold to another party. The impression is repeated three times. The document is published by C. H. W. Johns in the *Palest. Explor. Fund*, Q. S., 1905, p. 206 ff.

The solar disk is most common during the period of Egyptian influence, while the seven palm branches are of Babylonian origin. In the seal of Natanyau of Gezer both symbols appear. The seal of



THE ASCENSION OF ETANA, BABYLONIAN SEAL.\*

After Messerschmidt. *Berichte a. d. k. Kunstsamml.*, 1908, No. 232 ff.



SEAL OF 'ELIAMAZ, SON OF ELISA"  
FROM 'AMMAN.

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 228.



SEAL OF 'YAKHMOLYAHU, SON OF  
MA'ASEYAHU."

After Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. II*, p. 27.



SEAL OF 'YORAM, SON OF  
ZIMRIYAHU."

After Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris I*, p. 11.

Khananyahu shows the seven branches planted upright on an artistic two-handed dish.

Babylonian seals frequently represent scenes of the deeds of

\* The seal is rolled a little beyond the beginning so that Etana on the eagle appears twice.

the gods; or of the national epic. So we have for instance the ascension of Etana pictured on one of them. The hero is rising up to heaven seated on an eagle. The seals discovered in Palestine bear only the owner's name and a divine symbol but no complicated illustration or pictures. The seal of a certain Eliamaz, the son of Elisa shows the owner in the posture of adoration, but no deity present.



SEAL OF "ABIYAU, SERVANT OF UZZIYAU."

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 180.



SEAL OF "ZAKKUR, SON OF HOSEA."

After Levi, *S. u. G.*, Tab. III, 9.



SEAL OF "SHEMAYAHU, SON OF 'AZARYAHU."

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 229.

The seal of Yakhmolyahu shows outlines of an eagle. The seal of a certain Yoram shows a crude image of a Uraeus snake. The seal of Abiyau, the servant of Uzziyau, is Egyptian, for it represents the divine child Horus on the lotus flower, having on his head the combined symbol of the sun and moon.<sup>9</sup>

The seal of Zakkur shows the head and wings of a griffin. The seal of Natanyau shows two figures in the posture of adoration



SEAL OF "KHARANYAHU, SON OF 'AZARYAHU."

After Benzinger, *H. A.*, p. 229.



SEAL OF "ELSIGGES, DAUGHTER OF ELISHAMA."

After Levi, *Siegel und Gemmen*, Tab. III, 3.



SEAL OF "MENAKHEMETH, WIFE OF GADDIMELEK."

After Levi, *S. u. G.*, Tab. III, 12.

under a winged solar disk on either side of an Egyptian *ankh*, the symbol of life. The reverse shows a very crude seven-branched tree. Yahveh in the form of a bull is pictured on the seal of Shemayahu, while on the seal of Kharanyahu the name of the owner is surrounded by a circle of pomegranates. There are two seals belonging to women, one the seal of Elsiggeb, the daughter of Elishama, with two figures squatting on either side of a plant; and the

<sup>9</sup> See the author's article "The Persistence of Symbols," *Open Court*, XXII, 391.

other, the seal of Menakhemeth, the wife of Gaddimelek, exhibits two men in the posture of adoration, while between them appear the sun and the moon and above them the winged disk, an emblem of God.

In looking over the seals presented in this article, we must grant the palm of artistic beauty to the "Ascension of Etana," and this is of Babylonian, not of Israelite workmanship. When in addition we consider other facts of history, especially for instance, that the



THE APOTHEOSIS OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA.

From Springer's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. 1, p. 276.

temple at Jerusalem was built by a Phœnician architect with Phœnician workmen we cannot help conceding that the Israelites were lacking in artistic originality. On the other hand we may claim for them a superiority in working out religious ideas to which they gave an excellent literary form, best instanced in the Psalms, prophetic books, and the Book of Job.

The Babylonian seal representing the ascension of Etana possesses another interest for us which throws much light on the history of religious ideas. Etana, the hero of the Babylonian national epic, is lifted up to heaven at his death, and the idea of this triumphant end to life on earth was as dear to the Babylonian as the resurrection and ascension of Christ have been to Christians.

The main figure of this seal is Etana seated on the back of a soaring eagle, holding to the bird's neck with his hands. Above the eagle's wings we see on the right the disk of the sun, on the left the crescent of the moon. Underneath on the ground stands a human figure looking up to Etana and throwing a kiss of adoration with his finger tips. Another figure surrounded by two dogs raises his hands in astonishment, and even the dogs look upward. On the left a herdsman with staff in hand drives a goat and two rams out into the field. Behind him appears a hurdle. At a distance beyond the hurdle which in wrong perspective appears above it, a potter is busy at his work while some finished vases stand before him. Further toward the right, a baker is kneading and before him lie eight round loaves. It is apparently the artist's intention to characterize briefly the entire population of the country as being all concerned in the apotheosis of the national hero. The idea of Etana's ascension symbolizes the immortality of the human soul, and it was common all over the pagan world. The artistic representation of it continued in faithful tradition throughout the ages and may be considered as typical, so that the same kind of composition continued to be current even as late as in the early days of the Roman empire.

It is interesting to note the similarity between the ascension of Etana and later art productions, and this indicates that the conceptions of mankind present a continuous development. When we compare the Babylonian seal cylinders of Etana's ascension with the apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina as represented in relief on the bases of the Antoninus column now preserved in the Vatican, we find a similar attitude in the figures who are lifted up to heaven, only instead of the eagle there is a genius with large eagle wings. Above the wings of the genius there are two ornamental eagles accompanying the transfigured emperor and his wife in their flight up to Olympus.



## PROPHECY AND INSPIRATION.

BY JAMES B. SMILEY.

PRIMITIVE men believed that vast numbers of spirits teemed in the air, and these spirits were "supposed able either to exist and act flitting free about the world, or to become incorporated for more or less time in solid bodies."<sup>1</sup> These spirits were believed to enter men, and cause all the diseases to which they were subject. "Disease being accounted for by attack of spirits, it necessarily follows that to get rid of these spirits is the proper means of cure."<sup>2</sup> This gave rise to the world-wide practice of exorcism to drive out these intruders. Exorcism was common in ancient times, as it is among the undeveloped races of the present day.

Thus we are told that in ancient Babylonia disease was "supposed to be due to the direct presence in the body, or to the hidden influence, of some pernicious spirit. The cure was by the exorcism of the troublesome spirit."<sup>3</sup> Similarly in ancient Egypt diseases were believed to be "caused by demons who had entered into the sick. Under these circumstances medicines might be used to cause the disappearance of the symptoms, but the cure was the expulsion of the demons" (spirits).<sup>4</sup> A similar belief was entertained by the savages of Africa,<sup>5</sup> by the New Zealanders,<sup>6</sup> and it has been world-wide. The following is a good example of the way in which phenomena were interpreted. "On Corisco Island, in 1863, a certain man had acquired prominence as a magic doctor; he finally died of consumption. . . . A post-mortem being made, cavities were found in the lungs. Ignorant of disease, they thereupon dropped the in-

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 123. Holt ed. 1889.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 125.

<sup>3</sup> Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 271.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis, *Tshi-speaking People*, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Rev. R. Taylor, *New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*, p. 170.

vestigation, saying that his own 'witch' had 'eaten' him,"<sup>7</sup> i. e., his lungs had been "eaten" by an intruding spirit.

Naturally the unusual and almost super-human strength often displayed by the insane would be ascribed to a spirit's power. Thus we are told that in savage Africa "the insane being supposed to be physically and mentally possessed by an intruding spirit, their actions are necessarily not considered to be the outcome of their own volitions. . . . In some regions a tribe holds the following reasoning: This person is possessed by a spirit. That spirit is occupying his body and using his voice and limbs for some reason."<sup>8</sup> And this was the general primitive belief.

Our words *catalepsy* (Greek *katalepsis*, from *kata*, down or into, and *lambanō*, future *lēpsō*, I seize) and *epilepsy* (from *epi*, upon, and *lēpsō*, I seize) are derived from a Greek word meaning to seize. i. e., it was the ancient belief that the victim was "seized" by an entering spirit, which was the cause of the disease and the peculiar symptoms. The pale and emaciated appearance of invalids was in ancient times attributed to the action of intruding spirits or demons that were sucking the blood of the victim, much as the legendary vampires, which were mythical blood-sucking ghosts, were believed to do. In Rome, epileptics were sometimes carried into the arena to suck the wounds of dying gladiators. Pliny says that in his time the lips of epileptics were smeared with human blood as a prophylactic. The reason for this was probably similar to that which led the inhabitants of Peru to sprinkle llama's blood "on the doorway and internal walls" of the houses "to keep out the evil spirit,"<sup>9</sup> and the natives of Dahomey, in Africa, to strike blood on "the lintel and two side posts of all the houses,"<sup>10</sup> and the ancient Hebrews to smear blood "on the two side posts, and on the upper door-post of the houses" (Exodus xii. 7—the passover) so that the approaching spirit, seeing the blood, might be prevented from entering.

An Algonquin song asked "Who makes this river flow?" and it answered "The spirit, he makes the river flow,"<sup>11</sup> i. e., the spirit that dwelt in the river. There has been a world-wide belief that spirits

<sup>7</sup> Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 87.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 271, 272. See also Declé, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 154; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 128; Spencer, *Sociology*, I, 227, 232, 248, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Payne, *History of America*, I, 436, 437.

<sup>10</sup> Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans*, I, p. 172. See also Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, pp. 93, 219, for other instances.

<sup>11</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 210.

dwelt in trees, springs, wells, lakes, rivers, etc.<sup>12</sup> The rippling of the leaves of trees, the bubbling of wells and springs and the dashing of the torrents in brooks and rivers were attributed to the action of these indwelling spirits.<sup>13</sup> These spirit inhabited wells, rivers, etc., have been regarded as sacred, and it was a common ancient belief that diseases could be cured by bathing in these sacred waters.<sup>14</sup> The healing power of rivers has in some places been attributed to the power of the "spirits who dwell in running water. . . . to counteract the seizure of the patient's body by those malevolent spirits who cause disease."<sup>15</sup> Sacred wells and springs have been common in Europe,<sup>16</sup> and other parts of the world.<sup>17</sup> Thus we are told that "sacred wells in connection with sanctuaries are found in all parts of the Semitic area. . . . Healing springs and sacred springs are everywhere identified. . . . and the Arabs still regard medicinal waters as inhabited by *jinn*" (spirits).<sup>18</sup> When the water in the pool at Bethesda, mentioned in the New Testament, was "troubled" (bubbled) it was believed that an angel (spirit) had entered it, and thus manifested his presence. The first person who then stepped into the pool was "made whole of whatsoever disease he had" (John v. 2-4). Possibly it was the Hebrew belief that the spirit that entered the pool and manifested his presence by troubling the water, would drive away from the first person afterward entering it the spirit that caused his disease. The faith in the healing power of this spirit-possessed pool seems to be merely a Hebrew example of a wide-spread belief.

In ancient Mexico drunkenness, "like other pathologic states, was considered. . . . to be merely possession by a god or spirit,"<sup>19</sup> and this belief has been world-wide. Our word "spirits," which is

<sup>12</sup> For a large number of instances of river spirits see *Prim. Cult.*, II, 209-214.

<sup>13</sup> Payne, *History of America*, I, 497.

<sup>14</sup> Haddon, *The Study of Man*, p. 298. Payne, *Hist. of Amer.*, p. 492. In pre-Aryan times almost every river in India had its inhabiting spirit and was worshiped. This appears to be the origin of the belief in the sacredness of the Ganges, which is of great antiquity, and the reader will recall the desire of the modern Hindu to bathe in this sacred stream, which is a modern survival of a very ancient belief. (See *Prim. Cult.*, II, 211, 212.)

<sup>15</sup> Payne, *Hist. of Amer.*, pp. 494, 492.

<sup>16</sup> For sacred wells in Europe see R. C. Hope, *Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England*; Gomme, *Ethnology in Folk-Lore*; Haddon, *The Study of Man*, 295, 298, 304, etc.

<sup>17</sup> For Japan see Ashton, *Shinto*, p. 43. For Peru, see Payne, *Hist. of Amer.*, I, 494. See also Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, II, 213, 214.

<sup>18</sup> Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 152, 153.

<sup>19</sup> Payne, *History of America*, I, 478.

applied to intoxicating beverages, originated in the belief entertained by our ancestors, that when liquor was imbibed a "spirit" entered the drinker and caused the intoxication, and his strange actions and utterances.

Many plants and drugs which produced abnormal mental states have been regarded as divine. In India the soma plant produced an intoxicating beverage. "The exhilarating effects of the beverage were attributed to inspiration by a supernatural being who was therefore lauded and adored. . . . 'The Rishis had come to regard Soma as a god, and apparently to be passionately devoted to his worship.'"<sup>20</sup> The soma plant, in which the spirit (god) was believed to dwell, was regarded as a divine plant. The mescal plant yielded buds which, when eaten, produced mental excitement. The visions resulting were believed to be divine revelations and the plant was revered as divine, because inhabited by a spirit.<sup>21</sup> In ancient Peru tobacco was called "the sacred herb on account of the nervous stimulation it afforded."<sup>22</sup> The cocoa plant was also regarded "with feelings of superstitious veneration,"<sup>23</sup> and the same is true of opium.<sup>24</sup> The spirits that dwelt in the plants might at times enter men, and cause visions and intoxication.

Growing out of the belief that spirits thus entered and took possession of men, there would naturally arise the belief that at times these spirits could speak through them. Such men were believed to be inspired, and to have the gift of prophecy. Their words were not their own, they were the words of the indwelling spirit or god. Men who were thus inspired were regarded with superstitious reverence by the people, and spirit possession was often desired, and artificial means were frequently resorted to for this purpose, such as fasting, drinking blood, inhaling smoke, taking drugs of various kinds, etc. "According to Gassandi, a shepherd of Provence produced visions and prophecy through the use of deadly nightshade. The Egyptians prepare an intoxicating substance from hemp, called ossis. They roll it into balls of the size of a chestnut. After having swallowed a few they experience ecstatic visions. Johann Wier mentions a plant in the Lebanon (Theangelides) which, if eaten, causes persons to prophesy."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Spencer, *Sociology*, I, 348, Appleton ed., 1887.

<sup>21</sup> *Pop. Science Monthly*, May, 1892, art. "Mescal."

<sup>22</sup> Spencer, *Sociology*, I, 350.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 345.

<sup>25</sup> Ennermoser, *History of Magic*, trans. by William Howitt, I, 81.

The following examples, selected from many, are given to show how common and wide-spread this belief in inspiration and prophecy has been in the world. Miss Kingsley thus describes what she saw in West Africa. "After a time the fetish-man is wrought up into a state of fury. He shakes violently and foams at the mouth; this is to indicate that the fetish (spirit) was come home and that he himself is no longer the speaker, but the fetish who uses his mouth and speaks through him." Then people who have requests to make say that "knowing he is a great fetish they have come to ask his aid, and beg him to teach them what they should do. He then speaks kindly to them, expresses his hope that he shall be able to help them, and says, 'I go see.' It is imagined that the fetish then quits the priest and after a silence of a few minutes he is supposed to return and give his responses to the inquiries."<sup>26</sup> Mr. Ellis thus describes the process of prophecy in Dahomey, in Africa. "In regard to possession the priests seem fully aware of the fact that an empty stomach is productive of hallucinations and mental aberrations; hence persons who wish to consult the gods are enjoined to fast, while drugs are sometimes administered as well. The honest priest, in a condition of morbid mental exaltation produced by these means, fully believes, I think, that he is inspired by a god, when, wound up to a pitch of religious enthusiasm, he makes those utterances which are regarded by the bystanders as the words of the god."<sup>27</sup>

"Mr. Backhouse describes a Tasmanian native sorcerer, 'affected with spasmodic contractions of the muscles of one breast, which he attributes, as they do all diseases, to the devil'; this malady served to prove his inspiration to his people. . . . The Patagonian wizard begins his performance with drumming and rattling till the real or pretended epileptic fit comes on by the demon entering him, who then answers questions from within him in a faint and mournful voice. Among the wild Veddas of Ceylon the 'devil-dancers' have to work themselves into paroxysms, to gain the inspiration whereby they profess to cure their patients. . . . In the Pacific Islands spirits of the dead would enter for a time the body of a living man, inspiring him to declare future events, or to execute some commission from the higher deities. . . . The Fijian priest sits looking steadfastly at a whale's-tooth ornament, amid dead silence. In a few minutes he trembles, slight twitchings of the face and limbs come on, which increase to strong convulsions, with swelling of the veins, murmurs and sobs. Now the god has entered him, and with eyes protruding,

<sup>26</sup> Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 172.

<sup>27</sup> Ellis, *Ewe-speaking People*, pp. 150, 151.

unnatural voice, pale face and livid lips, sweat streaming from every pore, and every aspect of a furious madman, he gives the divine answer, and then, the symptoms subsiding, he looks around with a vacant stare, and the deity returns to the land of spirits."<sup>28</sup>

Sometimes by drinking blood a spirit was believed to enter the prophet, as in the following instances. "In Southern India a devil-dancer 'drinks the blood of the sacrifice, putting the throat of the decapitated goat to his mouth. Then, as if he had acquired new life, he begins to brandish his staff of bells, and to dance with a quick but unsteady step. Suddenly the afflatus descends. There is no mistaking that glare or those frantic leaps. He snorts, he stares, he gyrates. The demon has now taken bodily possession of him; and though he retains the power of utterance and motion, both are under the demon's control, and his separate consciousness is in abeyance.... He is now worshiped as a present deity, and every bystander consults him respecting his diseases, his wants, the welfare of his absent relatives, the offerings to be made for the accomplishment of his wishes, and, in short, respecting everything for which superhuman knowledge is supposed to be available.' At a festival of the Afoors of Minalhassa, in Northern Celebes, after a pig has been killed the priest rushes furiously at it, thrusts his head into the carcass, and drinks the blood. Then he is dragged away from it by force and set upon a chair, whereupon he begins to prophesy how the rice crop will turn out that year.... It is thought there is a spirit in him which possesses the power of prophecy."<sup>29</sup>

From India we get the following account. "In the wide range of human history, it is difficult to find an example of a primitive horde or nation, which has not had its inspired prophet or deified ancestor. The man-god whom the Kanjars worship is Máná.... The worshipers collect near a tree, under which they sacrifice a pig or goat, or sheep, or fowl, and make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor.... At the close of the ceremony there is a general feast, in which most of the banqueters get drunk. On these occasions—but before the drunken stage has been reached—a man sometimes comes forward, and declares himself to be especially filled with the divine presence. He abstains from the flesh and wine of which others partake, and remains standing before a tree with his eyes closed as in a trance. If he is seized with a fit of trembling the spirit of Máná is thought to have possessed him, and while the in-

<sup>28</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 131, 133, 134.

<sup>29</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 134.



spiration lasts he is consulted as an oracle by any man or woman of the assembly who desires to be helped out of a difficulty."<sup>30</sup>

In the Hindoo Koosh a fire is kindled with twigs of the sacred cedar, "and the Dainyal or sibil, with a cloth over her head, inhales the thick pungent smoke till she is seized with convulsions and falls senseless to the ground. Soon she rises and raises a shrill chant, which is caught up and loudly repeated by the audience.... The Bacchantes ate ivy and their inspired fury was by some believed to be due to the exciting and intoxicating properties of the plant."<sup>31</sup> Among the Fijians a dish of scented oil is placed before the priest with which he anoints himself. "In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to violent muscular action which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with an ague fit.... The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him."<sup>32</sup>

It was early perceived that fasting had a tendency to produce vivid dreams or visions, and these were generally regarded as caused by spirits, and as giving glimpses into futurity, and also into the spiritual world. This was one cause of the world-wide observance of fasting as a religious exercise. All visions resulting from the use of drugs like mescal and opium were similarly regarded and explained. To illustrate the way in which fasting was viewed we are told that among some "American tribes the 'jossakeed' or sooth-sayer prepares himself by fasting and the use of the sweating-bath for the state of convulsive ecstasy in which he utters the dictates of his familiar spirits.".... Among the Abipones "those who aspire to the office of juggler are said to sit upon an aged willow, overhanging some lake, and to abstain from food for several days, till they begin to see into futurity.... The Zulu doctor qualifies himself for intercourse with the *amadhlozi* or ghosts, from whom he is to obtain directions in his craft, by spare abstemious diet, want, suffering, castigation, and solitary wandering, till fainting fits or coma bring him into direct intercourse with the spirits. These native divines fast often, and are worn out by fastings, sometimes of several days duration, when they become partially or wholly ecstatic, and see visions. So thoroughly is the connection between fasting and spiritual intercourse acknowledged by the Zulus, that it has become a

<sup>30</sup> Nesfield, *An Account of the Kanjars of Upper India*, pp. 12, 13.

<sup>31</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 135.

<sup>32</sup> Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, I, 224.

saying among them, 'The continually stuffed body cannot see secret things.' They have no faith in a fat prophet."<sup>33</sup>

I have already stated that in antiquity intoxication was regarded as caused by a spirit which entered the body. Thus, of the Greek Dionysus, Euripides says: "And this deity is a prophet. For Bacchic excitement and raving [intoxication] have in them much prophetic power. For when this god enters in force into the body he causes those who rave to foretell the future."<sup>34</sup>

At Delphi, in ancient Greece, there was a famous oracle which was consulted by the Greeks for hundreds of years. It seems to have owed its origin to the fact that here, from a cleft in a rock, an intoxicating vapor arose, and those inhaling it were believed to be possessed by a spirit (god) and so were inspired and could prophesy. The method of consulting this oracle has been thus described. "The Pythia had prepared herself by bathing and a three days' fast. She burned barley meal on the altar at the stone of Apollo, drank from the spring of Cassolis. . . . took laurel leaves in her mouth, and arrayed in a long garment and with gold ornaments in her hair ascended the tripod, beside which the prophet took his place. The ascending vapors gradually brought the Pythia into a state of ecstasy. Foaming at the mouth and with convulsive movements, she gave utterance to some incomprehensible tones which the prophet caught, and having connected them into a sentence announced it to the inquirer."<sup>35</sup> Here the disconnected utterances of the Pythia into whom the spirit had entered, were caught by a priest and construed into a sentence, which was interpreted as the utterance of a god.

Spirits were also believed to enter trees and other objects as well as men. Thus in Dodona in Greece, there was a tree inhabited by Zeus who manifested his will by rustling the leaves. This was a very old oracle, and Hesiod said, "There at the outlying limit, Dodona is founded, which Zeus loved and decreed for his oracle to be loved of men." This tree was an oak, and Plato said that the sayings of the oak were the most ancient prophetic utterances. "Priestesses of the temple led inquirers to the oak, and when it rustled said to them, 'Zeus speaks thus.' . . . The priestesses fed the god with offerings of food."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, II, 413, 414.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in Spencer, *Sociology*, I, 350.

<sup>35</sup> Duncker, *History of Greece*, II, 234.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 27, 169, 170. For spirits rustling leaves see also Letourneau, *Sociology*, 284; Payne, *History of America*, I, 497. For spirits inhabiting trees see Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, II, 217-221.

Similarly we are told that in West Africa "spirits are believed to inhabit large rocks, caves, hollow trees, etc.... A deep cavern, with an echo, is always fixed upon as a favorite residence for these spirits, and oracular answers are given on all subjects, provided a suitable offering is presented at the same time."<sup>37</sup> So also in America the savage inhabitants consulted the spirits for advice in "hunting and fishing expeditions. The Esquimaux still consult spirits for this purpose, and their wizards are as familiar with the art of giving ambiguous replies to their anxious clients as were the well-informed keepers of the oracles of Greece.... The principal gods of aboriginal America universally performed the function of oracles, exactly as did the gods of the Old World previously to the rise of philosophy."<sup>38</sup>

I have already stated that dreams were believed to be caused by spirits, and regarding these spirits Tylor says that "man's most distinct and direct intercourse is had where they become actually present to his senses in dreams and visions. The belief that such phantoms are real and personal spirits, suggested and maintained as it is by the direct evidence of the senses [in dreams] of sight, touch and hearing, is naturally an opinion usual in savage philosophy, and indeed elsewhere, long and obstinately resisting the attacks of the later scientific doctrine."<sup>39</sup> "The North American Indians allowed themselves the alternative of supposing a dream to be either a visit from the soul of the person or object dreamt of, or a sight seen by the rational soul, gone out for an excursion while the sensitive soul remained in the body."<sup>40</sup> It is also said that "an Indian who wants anything will fast till he has a dream that his manitu [god] will grant it to him. While men are hunting, the children are sometimes made to fast, that in their dreams they may obtain omens of the chase. Hunters fasting before an expedition are informed in dreams of the haunts of the game."<sup>41</sup>

In many oracles the gods were believed to speak to men in dreams. "We can trace occasional survivals of the most primitive form of the hero-oracle. The person who seeks advice goes to sleep over the actual grave, and the dead man appears in a dream."<sup>42</sup> In such cases the spirit was believed to reside in the dead body in the grave, and it came forth and appeared to the suppliant for ad-

<sup>37</sup> Wilson, *West Africa*, p. 218.

<sup>38</sup> Payne, *History of America*, I, 442.

<sup>39</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 188.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 442.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 411. See also Spencer, *Sociology*, I, 133-139.

<sup>42</sup> *Encycl. Brit.*, article "Oracle."

vice, in his dreams. At Oropus, in Attica, in ancient Greece, there was an oracle. "Those who consulted it, fasted a whole day, abstained from wine, sacrificed a ram to Amphiaraus, and slept on the skin in the temple, where their destiny was revealed by dreams."<sup>43</sup> The scores of oracles found in various parts of the world appear to have all had their origin in the ancient belief that spirits (gods) entered these places, and from them would reveal the future, and give counsel and advice to men.

In ancient Egypt prophecies of a general kind took place during the religious procession of the god Apis. "Then the youths who accompanied him sang hymns in his honor.... Suddenly the spirit took possession of the youths and they prophesied."<sup>44</sup>

In common with the other nations of antiquity the Hebrews believed that all diseases were caused by spirits, and for centuries they believed in spirit possession, the "Talmud and other Rabbinical writings being full of allusions"<sup>45</sup> to it. As late as the time of Christ it is several times referred to in the New Testament. Thus in Acts reference is made to a "damsel possessed with a spirit of divination.... which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying." Paul "said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour." (Acts xvi. 16, 18). Here a spirit had entered the girl, and spoke through her, and it is evidently the same belief that we have found in other parts of the world.

The Hebrew word *nābî*, translated "prophet" in the Old Testament, "is neither part of the old Semitic vocabulary.... nor has it any etymology in Hebrew, the cognate words 'to prophesy' and the like being derived from the noun in its original sense. But we know that there were *nebîim* among the Canaanites; the 'prophets' of Baal appear in the history of Elijah as men who sought to attract their god by wild orgiastic rites.... The new Hebrew enthusiasts had at least an external resemblance to the devotees of the Canaanite sanctuaries, and this would be enough to determine the choice of a name which in the first instance seems hardly to have been a name of honor."<sup>46</sup> The exact interpretation of the word *nābî* is none too clear, but it seems to have been connected with the idea of ecstasy or exhilaration, and in some cases with the idea of madness. Thus it is said that "an evil spirit from God came mightily upon Saul and

<sup>43</sup> *Chambers' Encycl.*, article "Oracle," Lippincott ed., 1886.

<sup>44</sup> Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 189.

<sup>45</sup> *Supernatural Religion*, pp. 66, 67, Watts ed., 1902.

<sup>46</sup> *Encycl. Brit.*, article "Prophecy," p. 811.

he prophesied<sup>47</sup> [raved] in the midst of the house." (Sam. xviii. 10). Again it is said that "the spirit of God" came upon Saul, "and he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied [raved] before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Sam. xix. 24). Here are some of the well-known phenomena found in other parts of the world—raving, attributed to possession by a spirit, and prophecy. The prophet that spoke to Jehu was called a "mad fellow" (2 Kings ix. 11). Jeremiah speaks of "every man that is mad, and maketh himself a prophet" (Jer. xxix. 26), and Isaiah says it is the Lord who "maketh diviners mad" (Isaiah xlv. 25). Dean Stanley says that the real meaning of the Hebrew word *nābī* is "to give forth exciting utterances, as appears from its occasional use in the sense of raving."<sup>48</sup>

In order to induce the desired state of prophetic exaltation music was sometimes employed (2 Kings iii. 15; 1 Sam. x. 15). Speaking in the time of Saul it is said, "he that is now called a Prophet was before time called a Seer" (1 Sam. ix. 9). A seer was one who was subject to visions and could foresee or divine the future. At times messages appear to have been received by dreams. Thus Jeremiah says, "The prophet that has a dream, let him tell a dream." (Jer. xxiii. 28. See also 1 Sam. xxviii. 6; Zech. x. 2; Jer. xxvii. 9.)

Large numbers of prophets arose, and after the time of Samuel many of them gathered together in groups, which have sometimes been termed "schools of the prophets." The people fully believed they could foresee and foretell future events, and no doubt many agreed with Amos who said, "Surely the Lord will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets" (Amos iii. 7). They were frequently consulted and their advice sought. But at times different prophets gave exactly contrary predictions about the same future event, as in the case of Ahab, who was told by many of the prophets that he would be victorious if he went into battle, while Micaiah said he would be defeated. (1 Kings xxii. 6-28. See also Jer. xxvii. 12-14.) Repeated prophetic failures would naturally cause perplexity, and to guide the people the following advice was given to them: "And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the

<sup>47</sup> Revised Version of the Bible says "raved" in the margin.

<sup>48</sup> Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*, I, 367.



prophet hath spoken it presumptuously." (Deut. xvii. 21, 22.) That is to say, if the prophecy came true he was a true prophet, but if it failed he had "spoken it presumptuously." The common belief that the prophets had a supernatural power of peering into the future, so that they could foresee and correctly foretell future events, does not appear to be in accordance with the facts, but it is part of a world-wide belief.

In studying the work of the Hebrew prophets undue attention seems to have been paid in the past to certain questionable predictions of future events. After the time of Amos (B. C. 810-785) a number of remarkable prophets appeared whose really great work for the world consisted in helping to develop a conception of a moral God, who demanded moral conduct of men, instead of ceremonial observances. Thus Isaiah said, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.... Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me.... Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow" (Isaiah i. 11-18).<sup>49</sup>

The beneficial influence of such teaching has been incalculable, and it was clearly the most important work they did. "Although the prophets were far from originating a new conception of God, they none the less were the founders of what has been called 'ethical monotheism.'"<sup>50</sup> Also, echoing down through the centuries has come the optimistic voice of their prophetic hopes that at some time in the future every man should sit under his own vine and fig-tree, and nation should no longer make war against nation (Micah iv. 3, 4). The optimistic hope of the great Hebrew prophets that a brilliant future awaits the human race has been a wonderful help and stimulus to millions of men.

The belief that spirits (gods) took possession of men and spoke through them, so that they were inspired and could predict future events, arose in the world centuries before the art of writing was invented. But after this art was developed the belief would naturally be extended so that the indwelling spirit could dictate the written, as well as the spoken, word. Thus certain writings would be regarded as inspired, and as the utterances of a god.

<sup>49</sup> See also Micah vi. 6-8; Amos v. 8-15. Many similar passages will occur to the reader.

<sup>50</sup> *Encycl. Brit.*, article "Israel."



The Egyptian "Book of the Dead" was "according to Egyptian notions essentially an inspired book."<sup>61</sup> Kobo who founded a system in Japan in the early part of the ninth century, went to the temple of Ise, the most holy place of Shinto, and followed out the "ordinary Shinto plan for securing god-possession and obtaining revelation; that is, by starving both the stomach and the brain. After a week's waiting he obtained the visitation. The food-possessing goddess... manifested herself to him and delivered the revelation on which his system is founded."<sup>62</sup>

It is said that to the Nichiren sect of Japan "the very book itself is inspired, for the Nichirenites are extreme believers in verbal inspiration, and pay divine honors to each jot and tittle of the sutra, which to them is a god."<sup>63</sup> Here we find profound belief in a *book* which is regarded as *verbally inspired* and sacred. So also Zend-do, the famous Chinese founder of a Chinese sect, "when writing his commentary, prayed for a wonderful exhibition of supernatural power. Thereupon a being arrayed as a priest of dignified presence gave him instructions on the division of the text in his first volume. Hence Zend-do treats his own work as if it was the work of Buddha, and says that no one is allowed either to add to or take away even a word or sentence of the book."<sup>64</sup>

Mohammed, who lived 570 to 632 A. D., seems to have been subject to attacks resembling epilepsy, which the Arabs, like other people in antiquity, believed to be due to a possessing spirit. He was also subject to visions and dreams, and he was regarded as an inspired prophet. Ayishah, one of his wives, said, "The first revelations which the Prophet received were in true dreams.... Haris ibn Hishan asked the Prophet, 'How did the revelations come to you?' and the Prophet said, 'Sometimes like the noise of a bell, and sometimes the angel would come and converse with me in the shape of a man.'<sup>65</sup> "It is certain that he had a tendency to see visions, and suffered from fits which threw him into a swoon, without loss of inner consciousness."<sup>66</sup>

The Koran was dictated by Mohammed to a scribe in fragmentary passages, during a period of twenty-three years, and without any attempt at connected order. After his death these frag-

<sup>61</sup> Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, V, 132.

<sup>62</sup> Griffin, *Religion of Japan*, p. 201.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

<sup>65</sup> T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, article "Qur'an" (Koran).

<sup>66</sup> *Encycl. Britan.*, article "Mohammed."

ments were gathered together and subjected to two or three redactions before they assumed their final form. It is said that some passages were dictated to the scribe "immediately after one of those epileptic fits which not only his followers, but (for a time at least) he himself also, regarded as tokens of intercourse with the higher powers."<sup>57</sup> Sometimes his revelations came from inspirations "in the Prophet's breast," and sometimes from God himself, "veiled and unveiled, in waking and in the dreams of night."<sup>58</sup>

The adherents of Islam regard the Koran, which was thus dictated by Mohammed, with the highest reverence. The book has been carried wherever Islam has extended. We are told that "the claim to divine inspiration is made in every chapter and every line of it; God himself is the speaker." The book was "exalted in later stages to the highest conceivable honors; and one of the greatest controversies of Islam raged round the question whether it had existed from eternity and was uncreated."<sup>59</sup>

There has been much discussion as to whether Zoroaster (which is the Greek form of the Iranian word Zarathushtra) is a real historical character or purely mythical. After discussing this question the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, "It becomes impossible to answer otherwise than affirmatively every question as to the historical character of Zoroaster."<sup>60</sup> The exact date and place in which he lived is uncertain, although it was probably in eastern Iran (Persia) and at some time prior to B. C. 1000. The sacred book of his followers is commonly called the Zend-Avesta. It consisted "of twenty-one books, called Nasks, each containing Avesta and Zend, i. e., an original text (the Avesta) and a commentary on it (the Zend). The number 21 was evidently an artificial arrangement, in order to have one Nask for each of the 21 words of the most sacred formula of the Zoroastrians. . . . From the contents of the Nasks. . . we clearly see that they must represent the whole religious and scientific literature current throughout the ancient Persian Empire; for they treated not only of religious topics, but of medicine, astronomy, agriculture, botany, philosophy, etc. . . . This extensive literature. . . in all probability was already complete in B. C. 400. . . . At least this much seems to be certain, that at least a thousand years must have elapsed before a sacred literature so varied and extensive could have grown

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, article "Koran."

<sup>58</sup> *Chambers' Encycl.*, article "Koran."

<sup>59</sup> Menzies, *History of Religion*, 236, 237.

<sup>60</sup> *Encycl. Brit.*, article "Zoroaster."

up out of the seeds sown by the great founder of the Parsi creed, Spitama Zarathushtra."<sup>61</sup>

"The meaning of the supposed Zoroastrian authorship of the whole Zend-Avesta is that the scripture is the joint work of the high-priests of the ancient Persian Empire, and other priests nearest to them in rank, compiled in the course of centuries."<sup>62</sup> The original texts are believed to have been long transmitted orally. "As long as the language of the hymns or prayers repeated was a living one and perfectly intelligible, there was no need of committing them to writing; but as soon as it had become dead, the aid of writing was required in order to guard the sacred prayers against corruption and mutilation. This was, in all probability, the case a thousand years before the beginning of our era."<sup>63</sup>

The above are the conclusions of modern scholarship, but we are told that the authorship of these books was "ascribed by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and is so by the present Parsis, to Zoroaster himself." Parsi tradition asserted "that all the twenty-one Nasks were written by God Himself, and given to Zoroaster, as his prophet, to forward them to mankind. . . . The prophet was believed to have held conversation with God Himself, questioning the Supreme Being about all matters of importance, and receiving always the right answers to his questions. The prophet accordingly, after having been instructed, communicated these accounts of his conversations with God to his disciples and the public at large."<sup>64</sup> "Zoroaster experienced within himself the inward call to seek the amelioration of mankind and their deliverance from everlasting ruin, and regarded this inward impulse, intensified as it was by means of dreams and visions, as being the call addressed to him by God Himself. Like Mohammed after him, he often speaks of his conversations with God."<sup>65</sup>

The Hindu word *veda* is derived from the Sanskrit *vid*, "to know." Hence it literally means "knowledge." It is applied to those "ancient Sanskrit works on which the first period of the religious belief of the Hindus is based." The word is applied to four collections of sacred books, called respectively the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sama-veda, and the Atharva-veda. "The oldest of

<sup>61</sup> Haug, *The Sacred Language, Writing and Religion of the Parsis*, pp. 125, 135, 136.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 137. The reader will recall the Old Testament account of Moses conversing with God.

<sup>65</sup> *Encycl. Brit.*, article "Zoroaster." The italics are mine.

these works—and in all probability the oldest literary document existing—is the Rigveda; next to it stands the Yajurveda and Samaveda; and the last is the Atharvaveda.”<sup>66</sup> “Each Veda is divided into Mantras and Brāhmanas. The Mantras are a collection of hymns in which the praises of the gods are sung and their blessings invoked. The Brāhmanas are treatises written in prose for the use of the Brahmins, and contain both the liturgical institutes, in which the ceremonial application of the hymns is prescribed, and the Aranyakas and Upanishads, or the theological disquisitions, in which the spiritual aspirations gradually developed in the minds of the more devout of the Indian sages find expression.”

“When the four collections of the Vedas were arranged by Vēdavyāsa, their mythical compiler, when the Brāhmanas were compiled, and probably for three or four hundred years afterwards, writing was unknown in India. . . . It is evident, therefore, that all the literature of the Vedas was handed down orally, like the Homeric poems. Every Brahmin had to learn the Vedas by heart during the twelve or more years of his student life. . . . Long after writing was introduced the Brahmins were strictly forbidden to write or read the Vedas. In the Māhabhārata it is written, ‘Those who sell the Vedas, and those who write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell.’ ”<sup>67</sup>

“It has been the prevalent belief in India for centuries that the Vedas came not from man, but from God. And though the hymns are ascribed to various Rishis, or saints, whose names they bear, yet the Hindus have maintained for ages, and continue to maintain, that the Rishis were only ‘Seers,’ who intuitively saw them, or vehicles through which they were communicated by divine power. Hence many conflicting theories of inspiration have been propounded, and many contradictory schemes for proving the divine origin of the Vedas have been set forth.”<sup>68</sup> The word Rishi is derived from the Sanskrit *rishi*, “to see,” and in its origin and meaning it is probably similar to the “seers” found among the ancient Hebrews, and in other parts of the world.

“The Hindus hold that the Vedas have existed from all eternity and survive the periodic dissolutions of the universe, and that they have no human authors, but are ‘seen’ by the Rishis or ‘seers’ to whom they are from age to age revealed.”<sup>69</sup> Some 600 B. C. “every

<sup>66</sup> *Chambers' Encycl.*, article “Veda.”

<sup>67</sup> Phillips, *Teaching of the Vedas*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>69</sup> Appleton's *Universal Encycl.*, article “Sanskrit Literature.”

word, every verse and every syllable" of the Rigveda was counted, and the number "now agrees with existing copies as nearly as one could expect." The Brahmans hold the four Vedas to be "entirely the work of God," and both hymns and commentaries to be "god-given and inspired."

Thus we find that the Koran, the Zend-Avesta and the Vedas are alike held by the adherents of the religions to which they belong, to be verbally inspired and sacred books. Nowhere has the belief in such inspiration been more devout and unquestioned than among the millions who adhere to those religions.

The exact date at which the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament was made from the Hebrew into Greek is uncertain. It was called the Septuagint because the translation was reported to have been made by seventy-two learned and eminent men. By some the translation was believed to have been made about B. C. 280-270. Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, who wrote about the beginning of our era, was a man of much learning, and his writings have had much influence. He said that the Hebrew prophets "are interpreters of God, who uses their organs for declaring whatever he will." "They speak nothing of their own, but only what another suggests; and their own reflection resigns the citadel of the soul to the divine spirit dwelling within them."<sup>70</sup> This we have already found to be the world-wide primitive conception of inspiration—that of a "spirit dwelling within" the prophet, and speaking through him. Of the Septuagint translation it is said that he accorded "to the Greek text as profound a veneration and faith as if it had been written by the finger of God himself."<sup>71</sup> This belief in inspiration, entertained by Philo, was current in his day, and it has been current ever since that time. It has been extended to include the whole Bible as well as the Old Testament. It is difficult to see how the belief in the inspiration of the Bible, either in its origin or character, differs essentially from the belief in the inspiration of the other sacred books of the world.

#### SUMMARY.

In primitive times the belief arose that all sickness was caused by spirits that entered the body. Hence to cure the sick it was merely necessary to drive out the intruding spirit. Thus exorcism became a world-wide practice to cure disease.

<sup>70</sup> Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, I, p. 14.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. See also the belief, explained above, regarding the Koran, the Zend-Avesta and the Vedas.



Dreams and visions produced by fasting or other means, or by the use of various drugs like soma, mescal, opium and others, were believed to be caused by the action of intruding spirits, and to bring men into communion with the gods, lift the veil which hides the future, and give glimpses of the future life. Plants which yielded such drugs were often worshiped as divine, because a spirit (god) dwelt in them, as in the case of the soma, the mescal and others.

So, also, all abnormal mental phenomena, like those resulting from insanity and intoxication, were believed to be caused by spirits which took possession of men. The broken utterances of such men were regarded as the utterances of these possessing spirits.

The spirits (gods) which thus entered men might speak through them. Such utterances were not those of the man himself, but of the indwelling spirit (god). Men thus possessed were often called "seers" or "prophets," and were regarded as inspired. They were supposed to be able to predict, or foresee and foretell future events. Their utterances were treasured as divine, and people shaped their actions accordingly. This belief was unquestioned, and almost universal in ancient times, and it is common to-day among the lower or undeveloped races.

Growing out of this belief, oracles arose, like those at Delphi and Dodona in ancient Greece, where utterances of the gods took place. Hundreds of oracles, more or less similar, have existed in the world. Living in a world of which they knew little, tossed about by mighty forces which they did not understand, harrassed by all the disasters and uncertainties of life, and desiring light on the future, men sought the advice of the gods where they believed it could be obtained. As the primitive belief that all disease is caused by spirits which enter the body, gives place to more scientific medical conceptions, and as men acquire more accurate knowledge of the general processes of nature and the causes of phenomena, they cease to consult oracles and prophets, because they no longer entertain the ancient belief that spirits enter objects and speak through them; hence their belief in the prophetic power of such objects declines. But the lower and undeveloped races still retain the primitive misconceptions regarding the origin of disease, and spirit possession, and they have full faith in the divine origin of the utterances of their oracles and prophets, regard them as inspired, and flock to them, much the same as people did in ancient times.

The belief in prophecy and inspiration is of great antiquity, and it arose in the world hundreds, possibly thousands, of years before the art of writing was invented. After that art was developed



the primitive belief was expanded, so that written as well as oral utterances were viewed as dictated by a spirit (god), either dwelling within or talking to the writer. Books thus written were regarded as inspired and sacred. There have been many such books.

Among the legacies which the past has bequeathed to the present are the sacred books of the world. They contain much of the accumulated wisdom of the race. Some of them contain material which dates back to the dawn of civilization, and historical records of great importance. They have preserved for the world primitive legal codes, showing early society trying to substitute law for the sword, and peaceful for violent methods of settling disputes. They contain psalms and hymns giving voice to the hopes and aspirations of men, and touching appeals for help in hours of distress. And they contain moral precepts evolved as the result of centuries of experience, and at the cost of untold suffering. Born out of the struggles and trials of life, wrung from the hearts of men in the bitterness of their strife, they appeal to the hearts of other men, going through similar struggles. These records would not have been treasured for centuries by millions of men unless they had contained precepts which appealed strongly to them, and much truth which they could not afford to ignore.

This brief inquiry into the origin and development of the belief in prophecy and inspiration, which has been world-wide, may serve to shed some light on the problem of why the believers in the great world religions have regarded their sacred books as verbally inspired.

## WISE KNUT.

BY THE EDITOR.

FOLLOWERS of Mrs. Eddy, mental healers, and believers in the mysteries of spiritual phenomena, call their views "New Thought," but Mr. Bernard Stahl finds that kindred experiences were known and recorded long before Christian Science existed. He offers to the English speaking world the translation of a little book written by the late Björnstjerne Björnson,<sup>1</sup> the famous Norwegian poet, in which the story is told of a poor neglected boy who suffered in childhood from epilepsy and heard voices, and who as he grew older was looked upon by his neighbors as a God-inspired seer. He was called Wise Knut.

The story of Wise Knut is remarkable but contains nothing that is miraculous or incredible. It is obviously a faithful record, perhaps now and then exaggerated but upon the whole trustworthy. The failures of the seer are mentioned but not made as prominent as they ought to be in a scientific investigation. However, we can recommend the work as an instance that shows how belief in the supernatural originates.

Björnson's knowledge of Wise-Knut was not at first hand. He owes it to another Norwegian author, Johannes Skar, who wrote in the peasants' dialect and not in the literary language of Norway. Björnson says of him (pages 23-24):

"The author of this book was born of peasants but he was a man of classical education. His name was Johannes Skar and he was brought up so to speak on the strange stories related of Wise Knut. He traveled over a good deal of the country in order to search for evidence and make personal investigations, and it is safe to say that he never gave up or contented himself until he had found those who had been in personal contact with the famous seer.

"Johannes Skar very often spoke with Knut himself. He lived here at Svastum in Gausdal—only a few miles from my own estate—and many of the

<sup>1</sup> Björnstjerne Björnson, *Wise-Knut*, transl. by Bernard Stahl. New York, Brandu's [1909].

stories here related I've heard myself, some from the very first source and some more from the second or third, and from my very childhood indeed I've been told stories similar to those related by Johannes Skar without being able to enter into any investigations. But this has been done by Johannes Skar, and of his ability, good intention, and love for truth there is not the slightest doubt."

Björnson says of Wise-Knut (page 69):

"He believed that his strange abilities were given him as a gift from God, that God in every case 'used him' as his tool. He said, 'The prophets have had it like myself.'"

Knut's abnormal sensitiveness appears from the fact that he could not touch gold, silver nor copper without feeling pain. People came to consult him whenever they were in trouble, when a cow was lost, when they intended to dig wells, when they wanted to know of a medicine for their illnesses, or when they needed advice of any kind. On the spur of the moment he could give them answers, saying that the cow would come home, that she had only lost her way, that she had fallen down a cliff, or whatever he thought had happened, and frequently he hit it right.

It is said that Knut often felt bored when people came to consult him. On page 103 it is stated that he said, "Those people will never let me alone, I've no peace."

Björnson records many remarkable answers which Wise-Knut gave but he does not conceal the failures. On page 103 he writes: "Nor did he always 'receive' messages or was he 'told' what to do. Many were those who sought his help in vain and had to leave as ill and troubled as they arrived." Again (page 116):

"If any one asked Knut the reason for those failures and mistakes, he would answer, 'I can't say more than what is whispered into my ear,' (It was always through the 'ear' he received his messages) 'and,' he commonly added, 'I'm told that what I say is usually true.' In this he was right; what he said was indeed found to be 'usually true.'"

If we consider that these are second-hand statements, we shall understand that Knut's case was not extraordinary. His failures are explained by Björnson in this way (pages 118-119):

"In my heart of hearts I've a suspicion, however, that his failures were all results of a surpassing goodness. He would attempt to go farther than was possible in trying to help persistent people, many from far districts and lands; and he couldn't 'find things' when he was tired out or when he was suffering from harsh weather.

"His excuse for not being able to help was always the same, 'God is punishing me.' He bore all adversity and ridicule in this simple patient way.

"But he wasn't scorned by any except those who didn't know him. Those

who associated with him were *all*, believers or non-believers, his reverent friends, with full trust in his honesty and in his wonderful gift."

Wise-Knut was born and brought up in a poor mountain district on one of its very poorest farms; to quote Björnson (page 13):

"Knut was not like other children. Far from it. He was often very sick, and suffered intensely from the falling-sickness (epilepsy) and for that reason was unable to take part in the hard farm work or in fact do anything at all. Nor could he be taught to read except by listening to the other children. But the teacher soon took a liking to this strange ailing boy, with big sparkling and strongly squinted eyes, a defect, however, which only gave an added impression of something strange and absent. It happened quite often that Knut suddenly fell down from the school-bench and lay for a long while entirely unaware of himself and his surroundings. His schoolmates saw something quite supernatural in him.

"The falling-sickness, however, became less pronounced as the boy grew up."

Mr. Stahl accompanies his translation with a picture of Knut which, however, is wisely hidden within the bulk of the text between pages 64 and 65. As a frontispiece he offers the vigorous features of the venerable Björnson. The portrait of Wise-Knut shows enough pathological traits to arouse our compassion, not our admiration, and it takes a strong faith in the supernatural to regard this countenance as that of a prophet. The portrait, though crude, is probably faithful in all particulars, and we can only add that there is no idealizing about it.

It is but natural that the opinions of Wise-Knut's contemporaries differ greatly. We learn that some looked upon him simply as an epileptic, while others had an implicit faith in him as a truly god-inspired man. But one thing must be stated in his favor. He never traded upon the belief of the people for pecuniary gain. He never demanded money for advice given or for cures effected. This disarmed his enemies who otherwise might have taken the opportunity to sue him for practising medicine without a diploma. Once, however, he was arrested and suffered undeserved persecution on account of a disturbance which he caused in his harmless zeal in the little village church, but the officers who had to remove him were positively in danger from the threatening attitude of his followers. They escaped rough treatment only by Knut's patience and love of peace. Among the indignant populace was a giant of unusual strength who begged Wise-Knut for the privilege of liberating him and retaliating upon the guards according to their deserts, but Knut quieted him down and order was preserved.

Knut was of a religious disposition which (page 16) "made him trust in God and lean upon Him as his only support."

"During this sickness he was a defenceless prey to perpetual intoxications of the senses. After days of fainting spells he became at last calmer and then he could hear harps playing in the air (compare Ibsen's 'The Masterbuilder' Hilde's repeated talk about harps playing in the air) and the singing of hymns. Later he heard music played on violins and clarinets, sweeping along the floor as though it came from the earth itself, accompanied by a choir of heavenly voices. Finally the music rose up towards the skies—and faded into silence.

"Later on he was able to apprehend and understand a few words of the hymns. The form was very simple and the object was to tell him that he should throw away all witchcraft, and trust in the medicament of his God which was the 'flesh and blood of our Lord.' The hymn ended with these lines,

'If sickness, dread and pain thou fear  
Then sin from heart and soul first tear.'

"It is to be noted that the hymns he then and later 'heard' were sung in the general written language of the country, while Knut himself to his death spoke the dialect of the parish only, a dialect which differed a good deal from the common language."

In comment on this remark of Björnson we have to say that the religious hymns of Norway are all written in literary language and not in any dialect. Since we must assume that this hearing of voices is an echo of Knut's memories, it is but natural that the hymns he heard were sung in the same language with which he was acquainted. The hearing of voices, as well as other hallucinations, is a common occurrence in epileptic subjects, and unless the patient is of a scientific education it is but natural that he will attribute an objective significance to these phenomena.

The translator of the book believes in telepathic communications and spiritual phenomena though he suggests as a possible solution, "that the apparent mysteries of spiritualism and spiritual manifestations are nothing more or less than mysteries of the human nervous system." But whatever the author's motives, we recommend his enthusiasm for "making this interesting book available to the American reader" (page 8).

## THE ART OF PRIMITIVE MAN.

BY THE EDITOR.

PRIMITIVE man was an artist to a much higher degree than we might suppose, and it almost seems as if all the faculties that depend on intuition were developed first; a scientific comprehension appears to have come later. Even to-day we may be astonished at the artistic taste of such races as the Mexicans. Their skill in manufacturing ornaments of filigree silver, and in shaping human figures from clay, wax or other materials which they sell at low prices, is remarkable. If some American youth born and brought up in one of our large cities could do the same and would apply his talent to the manufacture of great art works he would be deemed a genius.

Anthropologists have discovered in ancient caves drawings scratched and painted on the walls which indicate that these pre-historic humans who antedate even the savage must have possessed remarkable gifts of an artistic kind. Discoveries have been made in the cave of Cro Magnon near Les Eysies, in the bluffs of Le Moustier and in the caves of Mas d'Azil, all of which may date back to 10,000 B. C. and earlier. In the cave of Brassempouy the torso of a female figure, an ivory carving, has been discovered which is perhaps the oldest statuette of a woman in existence, and is therefore most appropriately called the Venus of Brassempouy. The head and legs of this statue are broken off, but the figure itself is said to show remarkable ability in its creator, who must have worked with insufficient utensils and could have had no schooling of any kind.

If we look over the drawings and paintings that adorn the several caves, we notice that primitive artists like to represent the animals which play the most important part in their lives, the bison, the hind, the reindeer, and the mammoth. If we contemplate these first attempts at art, we feel inclined to think that artistic interest prevailed to a greater extent at the dawn of human evolution than it exists to-day, and although art may be more highly appreciated at



the present time, the larger portion of human activities have been turned into other channels.

We may assume that this holds good generally. Sentiment was



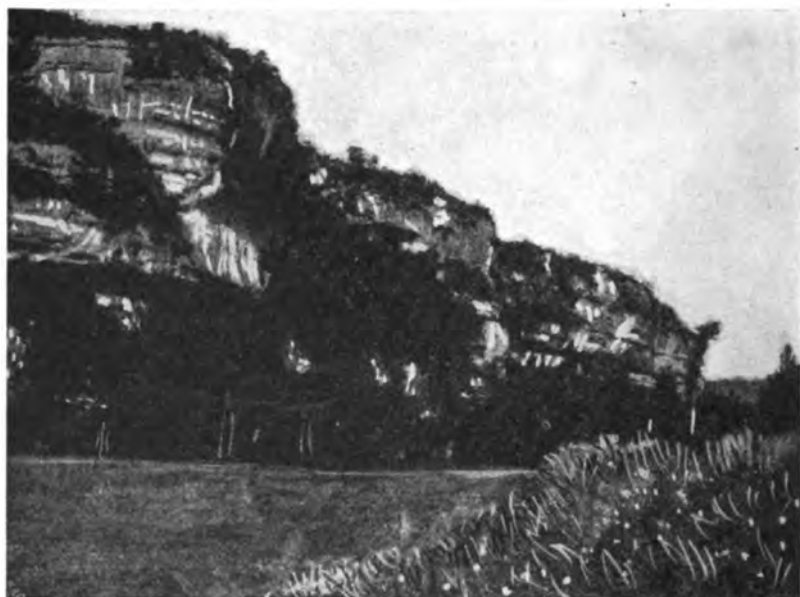
CAVES IN THE BLUFFS OF THE RIVER BÉUNE NEAR LES EYZIÈS.

After a photograph.

developed first and a calm consideration of facts followed slowly in the wake of progress. Speech was less articulate and more musical,

and the communication of ideas more poetic or even dramatic. Intonation and gesture were integral parts of language, and the differentiation of the meaning of the various sounds presumably remained for a long time of secondary importance. Men thought in unison, they felt in unison, and they expressed their sentiments in unison. To be sure they must have had leaders, but he only could be a leader who anticipated the sentiment of his tribesfolk.

The extraordinary artistic faculties of prehistoric man may appear to many as a new problem, and in fact we believe that with a



BLUFFS OF LE MOUSTIER WHERE PREHISTORIC CAVES OF THE PALEOLITHEAN PERIOD HAVE BEEN FOUND.

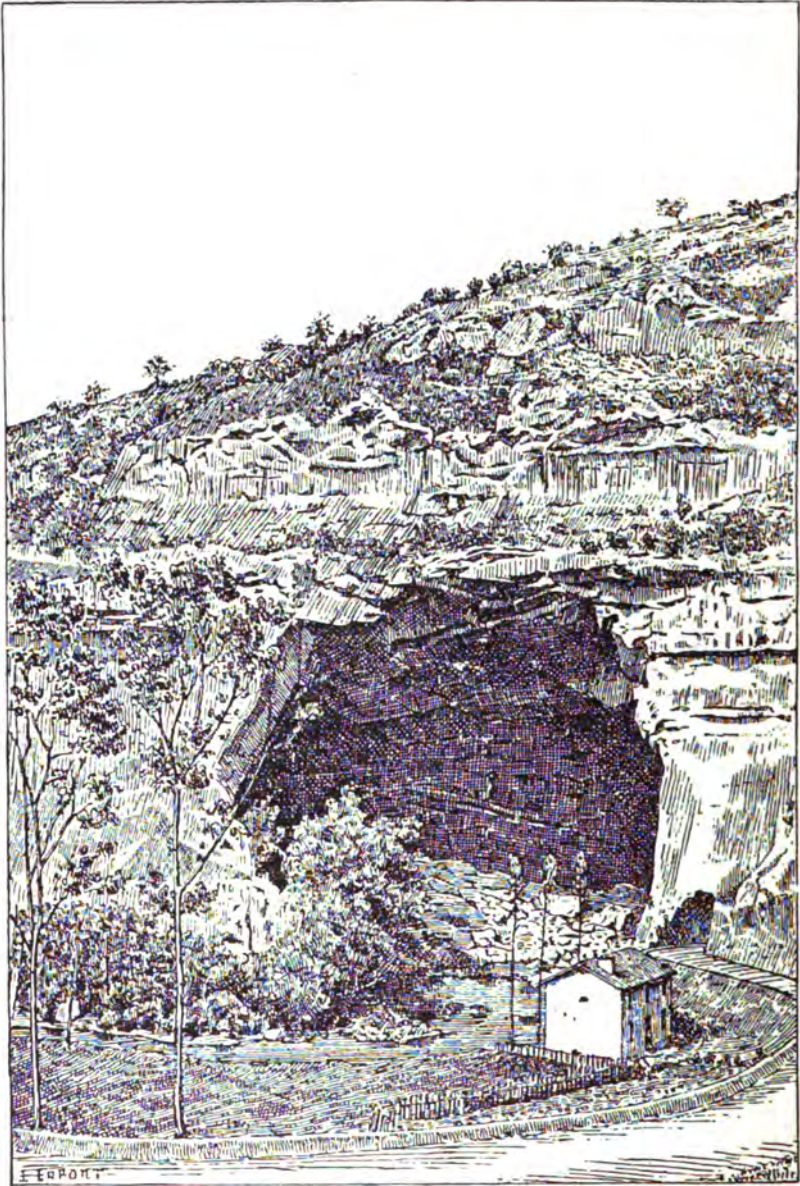
After a photograph by M. Belvès.

greater knowledge of his accomplishments we shall be compelled to view this early stage in a new light, and it seems probable that this new light will not be unfavorable to the *homo alalus*, the speechless man, the human being in his stage of brute infancy.

Schopenhauer has called attention to the fact that children are much more ingenious than adult people. He claims that a genius is more like a child with his naïveté and other charming attributes, while the commonplace man of a civilized period becomes hardened by his experience in this worst of all possible worlds. Though we



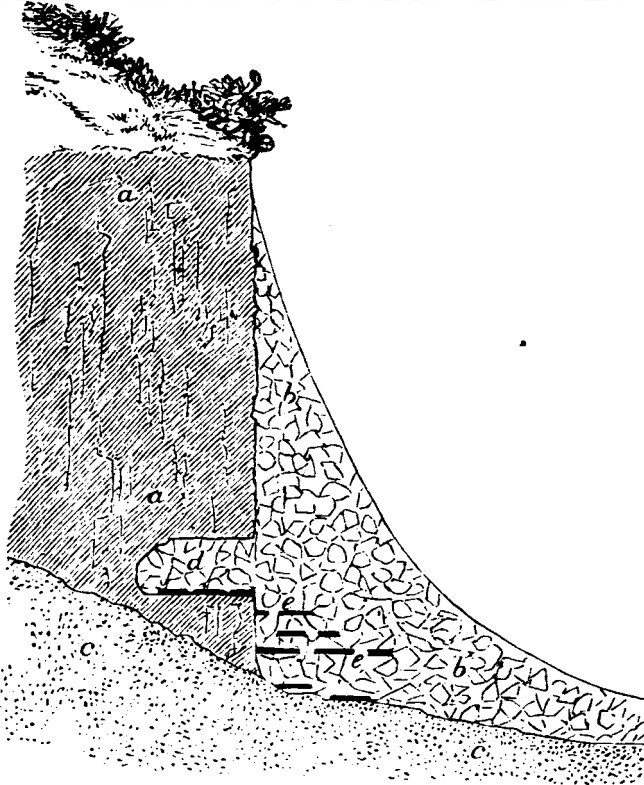
would not endorse Schopenhauer's views or make converts to his exaggerated pessimism, we feel that there is a truth in his observation. There is a peculiar charm in childhood which is perhaps most



THE CAVES OF MAS D'AZIL.

obvious when we see children of lower races, pickaninnies or papooses. The cunning attractiveness of the baby is absolutely lost in the adult, and we may assume that something analogous existed in primitive man.

The same temperature in spring by no means represents the same weather as the same temperature in autumn, though this is more true of the European climate than of the American where the Indian

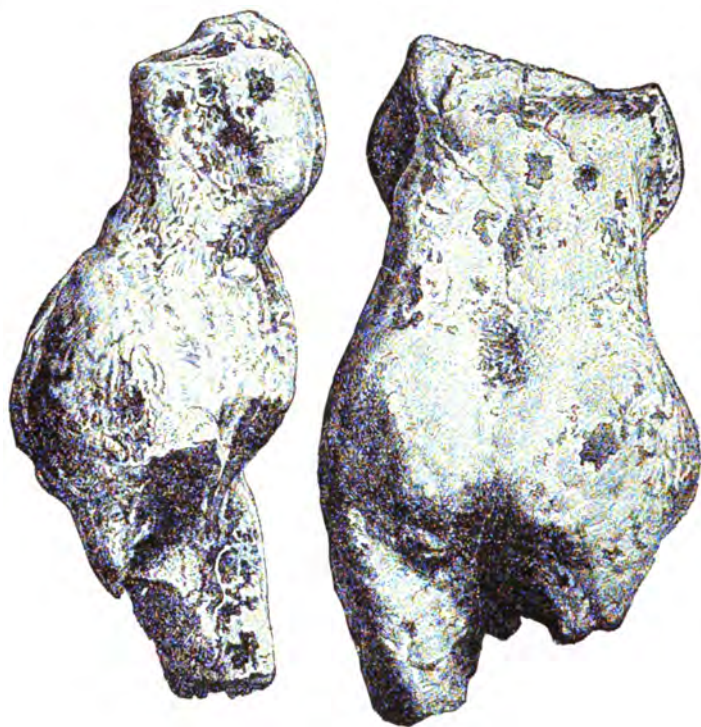


CROSS SECTION. DIAGRAM TYPICAL OF A CAVE MADE BY PRIMITIVE MAN IN LOESS, COVERED LATER ON BY ALLUVIUM.

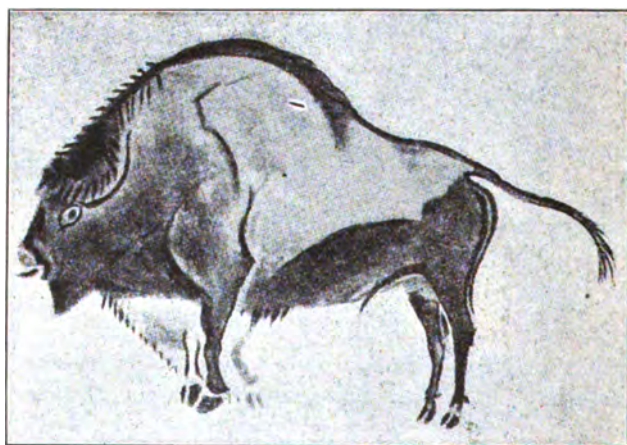
*a*, loess; *b*, alluvium; *c*, tertiary sand; *d*, the cave; *e*, primitive fire places.  
According to Mathäus Much.

summer has a peculiar charm of its own entirely lacking in European countries. A spring day prepares for the coming summer. Everything is growth. Plants and animals are filled with the expectation of a new and more bounteous life, while the same temperature in a European autumn presages the dreary winter and is only a last glimpse of departing summer.





THE VENUS OF BRASSEMPOUY.



BISON PAINTED IN SEVERAL COLORS.

After a pastel reproduction by Abbé Breuil. Size of original 1.30 meters.



Man certainly passed through a stage which is analogous in amount of knowledge and intellectual abilities to the comprehension of the ape. But there is this difference, that the brute representing the pre-human existence was rising; his intellectual abilities were sprouting and blossoming and developing new faculties; his soul was stirred by great hopes which were to be fulfilled in a not too distant time. There is a difference between a rising and a stagnant

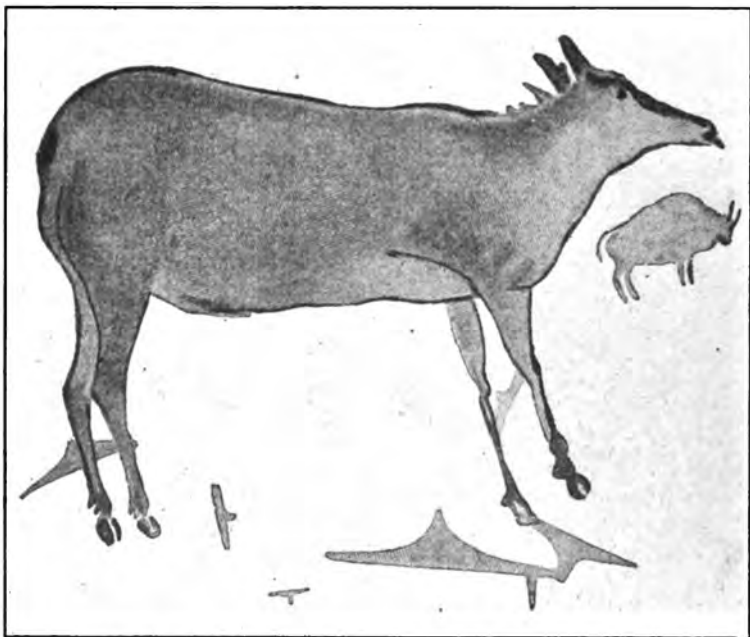


DRAWING OF A BISON SCRATCHED INTO A WALL.  
In the background is a figure which may have been intended for an elephant. After an impression taken by Abbé H. Breuil. The original is .50 meters long.

or descending motion. They may be on the same stage, just as the thermometer may mark the same point in spring and fall, yet what a difference between the upward aspiration and the dull stagnation of brutish indifference! While we grant that man actually passed through a stage which can be compared in many respects to conditions of animal life, it would be very wrong to say that he is des-

cended from the ape. There was never an ape or any one of the monkey tribes among the ancestors of man; whatever similarities the ancestor of man possessed to the anthropoids, the actual state of mind was all the time incomparably different.

In connection with these considerations we might mention an article by Professor Schwalbe<sup>1</sup> which proves that the skull of the Neanderthal man is in many respects much nearer to the formation of the anthropoid apes than to the skull of the present *homo sapiens*,



PICTURE OF A HIND.

Painting in colors after a pastel of Abbé Breuil. Reproduced from *Les peintures et gravures des cavernes murales pyrénéennes*, by E. Cartailhac and Abbé H. Breuil.

and yet it would be very wrong to consider this most interesting specimen of creation as an ape. He may have been a species of *homo sapiens* that died out, and present man may have developed from some other primitive race. This would offer a scope for new problems. But one thing is sure that if we could see the ancestor of man we might on superficial observation judge him to be a mere brute, but a careful appreciation of his aspirations would reveal the

<sup>1</sup> "On the Specific Characteristics of the Neanderthal Skull" in the *Verhandlung der Anat. Gesellsch.* With 13 diagrams. May, 1901. Pp. 44 ff.

dawn of his higher destiny and would show him in a light which has so far not been sufficiently recognized.

If we try to imagine the details of primitive human life, we may be sorry for our remote ancestor because he lacked the conveniences of civilization; we may pity him for the dangers of his precarious existence and may look down upon him on account of his ignorance and savage habits, but at the same time we may envy him for what he has accomplished. When we consider the story which primitive art productions tell us and bear in mind the guesses which suggest themselves with reference to the communal joys and hopes, sorrows and fears, labors and struggles and successful triumphs, we may very well assume that even then life was worth living. Think of the



REINDEER IN A CAVE NEAR FORT DE GAUME IN THE VALLEY OF THE VÉZÈRE.

After a photograph by Professor Capitan of Paris.

communal sing-song of a primeval tribe, of their wailings, their mournings, their longings, their rejoicings; what a warmth of feeling must have pervaded them, and how these half-understood sentiments must have thrilled their souls. Such communal life gradually shaped sound into language and laid the foundation of the humanity of man.

Every age has troubles and charms of its own, and it is not improbable that as the dawn of morning is more beautiful than the broad daylight, so the time when man was in the making was possessed of a grandeur and a poetic freshness which we in our artificialities and conventions can no longer fully appreciate.

## NAZARETH—GENEZARETH—ELIZABETH.

BY DR. EBERHARD NESTLE.

“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” (P. Carus, *The Pleroma*, 1909, p. 46).

Of course when Paul is called “a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes,” this does not mean that all the men whom he led were born in Nazareth, but to deny that of the first from whom the sect took the name is a verdict far too sweeping.

The objection in the Fourth Gospel that nothing good could come out of Nazareth (quoted by Carus, p. 112) is made by Nathanael (John i. 46) who is said to have been from Cana (John xxi. 2), i. e., from the place nearest to Nazareth, and the saying may be one of those expressions by which the inhabitants of neighboring places are wont to provoke each other.

As frequently pointed out, the difficulty lies in the linguistic fact that the Semitic name of the place has a sharp *s*, while the name of the sect, and in the Greek Gospels the name of the town as well, is spelled with a soft *z*. This strange spelling of Nazareth puzzled me for a long time, but I now think it due *merely to wrong analogy*.

Those people to whom we owe the Greek Gospels knew of the Nazirites (with *s*) and consequently spelled the name of the town also with *z*, which they ought to have spelled with *s*.

Analogy, and wrong analogy, is one of the most powerful forces in the formation of languages, and I can now adduce two very nice parallels to this process to which I ascribe the origin of the spelling Nazareth.

\* \* \*

Ask any German Protestant the name of the lake on whose borders Jesus taught, and he will answer, the lake Genesareth. The name is spelled in this way with a soft *z*, for instance, on the

maps accompanying my editions of the Greek Testament. Why? Because these maps are taken from an edition of the German Lutheran Bible. Luther himself had spelled the name in Mark vi. 53 in all his impressions, Genesareth (with *s*); it is only the work of the German Bible-version of 1892 that the spelling in this place also was assimilated to the spelling of Matt. xiv. and Luke v., where Luther had already used the soft *z*. The same analogy was in force even in the pre-Lutheran editions of the Bible to such an extent that two of them (that of Anton Sorg, Augsburg 1477, and that of H. Schönsperger, Augsburg 1487) printed the name Genesareth in Mark vi, in two words: "Sie kamen in das Land *gen nazareth*" (as if it were: "They came into the country towards Nazareth"). Even some early editions of the Greek Testament (for example those of Erasmus, Bogardus, Colinaeus and Gerbel) spell the name with ζ (soft *z*) and I should not wonder if the same spelling would turn up in some Greek manuscripts, as it is also found in Latin and Coptic manuscripts. (In Luke v. almost all Coptic manuscripts have soft ζ.

\* \* \*

Another example of the transition of a sharp or broad *s* into a soft *z* is offered by the name Elisabeth, the ordinary English form of which is now Elizabeth. I do not exactly know the linguistic causes which in this case led to the transition; but how old it is may be gathered from the fact that the oldest Latin manuscripts of the Gospels written on English soil (in Northumbria) or by English scribes give the name Elizabeth. Such are the codices of Dublin, Lichfield, Kells, Tours, Lindisfarne (see the Latin New Testament of Wordsworth-White). These manuscripts date partly from the seventh century.

After these dry examples to illustrate the power of analogy, let me conclude with two which may provoke a smile.

The monastic rule of St. Benedict of Narsia begins in the best tradition. *Obsculta fili*, "Harken, Son, to my words." This spelling with *b* for *osculata* (= *ausculata*) is merely to be explained by the fact that the Saint wrongly saw in the first part of the word the Latin preposition *ob*. But the same spelling is found in two wall-inscriptions in Pompeii.

Quite the same mistake may be frequently observed in Suabian schools in the pronunciation and spelling of the German word *Ameise*, meaning "ant." When in a Suabian country school the children ought to say or write, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard," they

frequently say and write *An-meise* for *Ameise*, because in their dialect the *A* of *Ameise* is pronounced in the same nasal way as the preposition *an* in words like *ansehen*, *Angesicht*. Therefore, they believe, if they wish to pronounce and spell the word correctly they must say and write *An-meise*. In former days it was written even *On-meise* or *Ohn-meise*, as if it contained the preposition *ohne*, "without."

In view of such parallels from various places, languages and centuries I think the supposition not too daring, that the puzzling spelling Nazareth is due to an early confusion with the Nazirites.



## BJÖRNSEN AND HIS WORK.

THIS little volume<sup>1</sup> is the only systematic study which has yet appeared in English of the work of this famous Norwegian poet, novelist and dramatist. It has been rewritten from a thoughtful appreciative paper which appeared in 1902 in commemoration of Björnson's seventieth birthday. Dr. Payne emphasizes the nationalism of Björnson in spite of the message he bore to the intellect and conscience of the world at large. His earliest work *Synnöve Solbakken* which was written in the twenty-fifth year of his life, opened a new era in Norwegian letters which up to this time had not been independent of the Danish capital where all Scandinavian literary tradition had hitherto centered.

Björnson was born at Kvikne, December 8, 1832, the son of a country pastor who six years later removed to Romsdal, one of the most picturesque regions of Norway. The impression made upon the boy's sensitive nature by these surroundings was deep and enduring. He received his secondary education in a famous school at Christiania, where Ibsen was attending at the same time. He entered the university in his twentieth year, but his student career was not a brilliant one. He was too much occupied with his own intellectual interests to make a model pupil. One of his first attempts at literary work after leaving the university was a juvenile drama, *Valborg*, which was accepted by the theater. The result, however, was remarkable; for, having been given a complimentary ticket of admission, the young playwright made such good use of it that his eyes were opened to the defects of his own accepted work, and he withdrew it before it came to be presented.

The next fifteen years were richly productive. "Thus at the age of forty," says Dr. Payne, "Björnson found himself with a dozen books to his credit, books which had stirred his fellow countrymen as no other books had ever stirred them, arousing them to the full

<sup>1</sup> *Björnstjerne Björnson (1832-1910)*. By William Morton Payne. Chicago: McClurg, 1910. Pp. 98.

consciousness of their own nature and of its roots in their own heroic past."

One of the first of these was "Arne," which is familiar to English readers and in which is found a beautiful lyric which expresses the poet's feeling of awe and longing in the presence of his native mountains. Some of its stanzas read as follows in Dr. Payne's English:

"Often I wonder what there may be  
Over the lofty mountains,  
Here the snow is all I see,  
Spread at the foot of the dark green tree;  
Sadly I often ponder,  
Would I were over yonder.

"The apple-tree, whose thoughts ne'er fly  
Over the lofty mountains,  
Leaves, when the summer days draw nigh,  
Patiently waits for the time when high  
The birds in its boughs shall be swinging,  
Yet will know not what they are singing.

"He who has yearned so long to go  
Over the lofty mountains—  
He whose visions and fond hopes grow  
Dim, with the years that so restless flow—  
Knows what the birds are singing,  
Glad in the tree-tops swinging.

"Oh, shall I never, never go  
Over the lofty mountains!  
Must all my thoughts and wishes so  
Held in these walls of ice and snow  
Here be imprisoned forever?  
Till death shall I flee them never?

"One day, I know, shall my soul free roam  
Over the lofty mountains.  
Oh, my God, fair is thy home,  
Ajar is the door for all who come;  
Guard it for me yet longer,  
Till my soul through striving grows stronger."

Björnson is perhaps best known to English readers through his tales of peasant life in which he may really be said to have discovered the Norwegian peasant for literary purposes. Another sense in which Björnson may be considered particularly nationalistic is in his use of the wealth of the traditional literature of the Scandinavians. The ancient sagas of the Norsemen helped him greatly

in his delineation of the peasant character, and he wrote five saga dramas of which the trilogy *Sigurd Slembe* is one of the noblest masterpieces of modern literature. Though written in prose with the exception of a prologue in blank verse, the drama is interspersed with several lyrics one of which Dr. Payne has admirably translated in the original meter.

"Sin and Death, at break of day,  
Day, day,  
Spoke together with bated breath;  
'Marry thee, sister, that I may stay,  
Stay, stay,  
In thy house,' quoth Death.

"Death laughed aloud when Sin was wed,  
Wed, wed,  
And danced on the bridal day;  
But bore that night from the bridal bed,  
Bed, bed,  
The groom in a shroud away.

"Death came to her sister at break of day,  
Day, day,  
And Sin drew a weary breath;  
'He whom thou lovest is mine for aye,  
Aye, aye,  
Mine he is,' quoth Death."

"The volume of lyrics [published in 1870] includes many pieces of imperfect quality and slight value,—personal tributes and occasional productions,—but it includes also those national songs that every Norwegian knows by heart, that are sung upon all national occasions by the author's friends and foes alike, and that have made him the greatest of Norway's lyric poets. No translation can ever quite reproduce their cadence or their feeling; they illustrate the one aspect of Björnson's manysided genius that must be taken on trust by those who cannot read his language. A friend once asked him upon what occasion he had felt most fully the joy of being a poet. His reply was as follows: 'It was when a party from the Right in Christiania came to my house and smashed all my windows. For when they had finished their assault, and were starting home again, they felt that they had to sing something, and so they began to sing, "Yes, we love this land of ours"—they couldn't help it. They had to sing the song of the man they had attacked.' Into this collection were gathered the lyrics scattered through the peasant tales and the

saga dramas, thus making it completely representative of his quality as a singer."

At the end of the fifteen years above referred to, Björnson's poetic impulse seemed to be almost exhausted, but the world could not foresee the 35 years of splendid activity for which he was preparing in the few intervening years of silence. The transformation in literary manner and choice of subjects from national lyrics and saga dramas to novels and plays of modern life, began when he sent home from abroad the two plays "The Editor" and "A Bankruptcy." Fourteen plays and seven volumes of prose fiction represent this later period, and during the greater part of the time their author was also an active influence in the political and social press and platform of his country. Of his modern dramas perhaps his greatest is "The King," while his two great novels are "Flags Are Flying in City and Harbor" and "In God's Ways." From this last book Dr. Payne selects a passage which he thinks best typifies Björnson's message to mankind. It consists of a sermon preached by a clergyman on the Sunday following the certainty of his child's recovery. In this he states that it is life, not faith, which is the first concern of man. The little book closes with a few characteristic anecdotes of the poet's irresponsibility in details, and impulsive temper. Björnson died in Paris which had been his winter residence for a number of years. "The news of his death occasioned demonstrations of grief not only in his own country, but also throughout the civilized world. Every honor that a nation can bestow upon its illustrious dead was decreed him by King and Storthing; a warship was dispatched to bear his remains to Christiania, and the pomp and circumstance of a state funeral acclaimed the sense of the nation's loss."

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### A TRIBUTE TO MR. E. C. HEGELER.

BY F. W. MATTHIESSEN.

Mr. F. W. Matthiessen of the Matthiessen & Hegeler Zinc Company of La Salle, Illinois, responded to the request of the editor of the *La Salle Tribune* with the following tribute to his partner and lifelong friend, Mr. Edward C. Hegeler, which is at the same time an account of the early history of zinc manufacture in the United States as represented by the experiences of these two pioneers in that industry.

"I met Mr. Hegeler in Freiberg in November, 1853. He had already made up his mind to come to America and I had been here before. It was thus natural that we formed an early acquaintance, which afterward ripened into friendship.

"Mr. Hegeler finished his studies in the spring of 1856, but did some important surveying in the mines of Freiberg after that. I had gone to Heidelberg for the summer. We met again in the fall of 1856 and traveled together through various mining districts of Germany, Belgium and England. Thence we sailed on a steamer for the United States, landing in Boston, and immediately thereafter going to New York. In the latter city we learned that at Friedensville, near Bethlehem in Lehigh county, Pa., attempts had been made to make zinc from the ore deposits found at that place. The ore was a fine silicate, but all attempts to produce zinc from it had failed. We were aware that success would be difficult to attain, but Mr. Hegeler looked upon it as an excellent opportunity to test his skill and I would have undertaken anything with him as co-worker. We were successful, and we made some metal. This was all done at our own expense. After attaining our object we found that the company had not sufficiently recovered from the panic of the year before to furnish the necessary funds to properly equip a smelter, in addition to their works for the manufacture of white zinc. We did not feel inclined to invest our money further since we would have been dependent upon a company owning one mine only. We considered that the ore deposits would not stand the additional drain for metal-making, being already taxed to supply the paint works.

"We heard about the discovery of zinc ore in the West and concluded to ascertain what chances there might be out west. We had learned of the existence of zinc ore in southeastern Missouri and in Wisconsin. On our way west we stopped for a few months at Pittsburg, which was the great manufacturing center, believing that by so doing, we might get acquainted with American necessities and American business methods. Then we went and explored the mines in southeastern Missouri. We made investigations with a

view of establishing, perhaps, a smelter in the coal region of East St. Louis. Our experiments with the ore were satisfactory, but we found difficulties in our way on account of political conditions. We could do nothing there. This was in the spring of 1858.

"We then turned our attention to the zinc mines of Wisconsin and were given great encouragement. This was also true when we came to La Salle, the closest coal field to these ore mines, with the object of establishing a smelter here. Especially did the late Alexander Campbell encourage us in our enterprise, obtaining for us the necessary real estate and also a contract with the Illinois Central railroad. We located near the Central tracks and built the first furnace a little north of the present furnaces. Mr. Hegeler had examined the fire clay in St. Louis and had ascertained that it was suitable to our needs. He bought the necessary fire brick in St. Louis and had it shipped by boat to La Salle. And we started to build the factory.

"The first shovelful of dirt was turned up December 24, 1858. We had a furnace running successfully when the Civil War broke out. There being no sale for spelter after the outbreak of hostilities, we ceased temporarily, but commenced operation again when in 1862 or 1863 a lively demand arose for zinc in the manufacture of arms and cartridges. During the cessation of manufacturing we had been making experiments so that when we started again we did so with decidedly improved methods. Our means were limited, and we were very careful in our expenditures. We spent no money that was not absolutely necessary. The history of the factory here is well known and through it the citizens have had many proofs of Mr. Hegeler's sterling qualities.

"Mr. Hegeler was a most untiring and indefatigable worker. Having set out to do a thing, he had the most unyielding determination, the equal of which I have never seen. He deprived himself of all luxuries so that his means would not give out before he had accomplished success. He never did anything for the sake of appearances, but was always firm for what he believed to be right and was always true to his principles and to his convictions, without regard to financial loss or loss of popularity. Even though he considered a protective tariff to favor his personal interest, he did not advocate it, but opposed it. He realized the advantages of a tariff to manufacturing, but believed in the principle of free trade, and always stood by that principle. He had the courage of his convictions and acted accordingly. Having once decided that a certain line of conduct was correct, nothing could sway him from that course; and in business, having conceived an idea, he would leave nothing undone to bring it to success. Mr. Hegeler was always willing to tackle the most difficult problems. He would work night and day with little or no rest in order to solve them, and he usually succeeded. He had great energy, tenaciousness and perseverance.

"The death of my old friend is a source of great sorrow to me, but I certainly consider it a privilege to have enjoyed the friendship, companionship and confidence of a man so eminent as Edward C. Hegeler."

#### HOME AGAIN.<sup>1</sup>

BY T'AO CH'EN (A. D. 365-427).

[T'ao Ch'ien is a name still familiar to all students of poetry in the Middle Kingdom, says Professor Giles from whose *History of Chinese Literature* we

<sup>1</sup> Translated by James Black.



take the following particulars. T'ao Ch'ien or T'ao Yuan-Ming, as he was called in early life, after a youth of poverty obtained an appointment as magistrate. But he was unfitted by nature for official life; all he wanted, to quote his own prayer, was "length of years and depth of wine." He only held the post for eighty-three days, objecting to receive a superior officer with the usual ceremonial on the ground that "he could not crook the hinges of his back for five pecks of rice a day"—such being the regulation pay of a magistrate. He then retired into private life and occupied himself with poetry, music, and the culture of flowers, especially chrysanthemums, which are inseparably associated with his name. In the latter pursuit he was seconded by his wife, who worked in the back garden while he worked in the front. The "Peach-Blossom Fountain" of T'ao Ch'ien is a well-known and charming allegory. One critic speaks of him as "drunk with the fumes of spring." Another says, "His heart was fixed upon loyalty and duty, while his body was content with leisure and repose. His emotions, scenery, facts and thoughts were all real." Much of his poetry is political, and bristles with allusions to events which are now forgotten, mixed up with thoughts and phrases which are greatly admired by his countrymen. The following poem in the original is considered, in point of style, one of the masterpieces of the language. Its theme is the author's retirement from office, when, weary of official restraints and formalities he heard and heeded, like many another, the call of home. Why, he thought, should he bend any longer before superiors in the prescribed salutations? Were not his fields fallow, and his garden neglected; and his beloved chrysanthemums without any one to tend them?]

"Come home again!" Why not? My fields are choked  
With weeds, and I to painful office yoked.  
No more, then, sadly will I grieve alone.  
What's past is done. The future is my own.  
And homeward now I soon shall wend my way.  
Yesterday I was wrong: I'm right to-day.

Adown the stream my boat sails lightly on,  
My clothing stirred by gentle breezes blown.  
News of the road each traveler affords.  
Too slow the light each rising sun accords.  
Afair, at last, my humble dwelling shows,  
And hastes my journey joyfully to close.

The servants all run eagerly to meet me  
And on the threshold waits my boy to greet me.  
Though mid the weeds I tread where paths were laid,  
Chrysanthemum and pine<sup>a</sup> rise undismayed.  
I pass the door, and children's arms entwine;  
Now sit to rest, and call, "A cup of wine."

How fine that old tree in the court appears!  
How good to look on it across the years!  
That calm recess by southern window placed,  
How comfortable there to sit and rest.  
The garden, too, I visit every day,  
There, when the gate is shut, alone I stay.

Walking now, and now sitting, oft I raise  
My eyes, inquiring, toward the distant haze.

<sup>a</sup> Chrysanthemum and pine: symbols of high character and long life.

I watch the cloud, without intention, come,  
The bird that, tired of flying, knows its home.  
The sun grows dimmer fast, and soon will set,  
But in the pine's deep shade I linger yet.

Musing, I ponder why the world I left,  
Being now of office and of friends bereft.  
The world and I were mated ill. In vain  
Return and ask of it what here I gain,—  
The simple converse of relations dear,  
The lute to soothe the heart, and books to cheer.

Now tells the farmer of the season due  
When sowing in the west field should be through.  
And now the country round, through height and hollow,  
In cart or skiff, the winding ways I follow,  
The flowery land I view, the bubbling spring,  
And myriad nature ever flourishing.

Not such am I. How brief my sojourn here!  
This body's flickering light, its term how near!  
But ah! Why think of life as short or long,  
Or seek we aught the busy marts among?  
Be wealth and honors far from my desire,  
I dare not to the "Emperor's land"<sup>a</sup> aspire.

Afield, then, let me hie, my staff in hand,  
To watch the laborers cultivate the land,  
Or climb the eastern hill my flute to play,  
Approach the spring and try poetic lay,  
In Fortune trust to lead life's journey through,  
For Heaven well ordering all, my doubts—adieu.

#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

RITUAL, FAITH AND MORALS. By *Frank Hill Perrycoste, B. Sc.* London: Watts & Company, 1910. Pp. 252.

The preface to this work gives a rather pathetic insight into the struggles of the scholar who feels convinced that he has a message for the world but is prevented from delivering it because of insufficient financial support. In this case the message as a whole consists of an historical inquiry into the influence of religion upon moral civilization, and the present volume contains only chapters 5 and 6 which seemed the best fitted for independent publication out of a work of 48 chapters in all, divided into six "Books." Since the ultimate publication of the whole comprehensive work depends upon the financial success of this specimen volume, the author gives a table of contents of the entire work. The first book entitled "Prolegomena" is of an introductory character, giving the object and method of the inquiry, and defining religion as we are told in this preface, "so as to leave no room for ambiguity, and to exclude that merely figurative or rhetorical use of the term from which all the real meaning of religion has been eviscerated." The author states that in

<sup>a</sup> "The Emperor's land," i. e., the Court; symbolically, heaven.

this he agrees with the orthodox and hopes he has solved "the special difficulty presented by esoteric Buddhism." Thus it is clear that he limits religion to a belief in a personal God, and has found some new way of disposing of the fate of so extensive a world-religion as Buddhism. The second book discusses "The Influence of Religion upon Morality in General," taking the influence of the various periods of Christianity in detail. Book III is to be "A Natural History of All Priesthoods," while the last three books treat of the influence of religions on the domestic, humanitarian, and some manly virtues. The two chapters now published are "On the Perversion of Morality by the Subordination of Virtue to Faith," and "On the Perversion of Morality by Rite-Mongering." A bibliography of over ninety book titles besides various magazine and Britannica articles is evidence of the extent of the author's preparation for his work and this is only one-third of the list used for the entire work. In the literature he cites he has taken pains to get his material largely from Christian authors, the most important for his purpose and most widely quoted of whom are Catholics. His object was to avoid accepting conclusions which might be open to the charge of prejudice in the main line of the argument.

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LIBERTY AND PROGRESS. By C. Y. C. Dawbarn. London: Longmans, 1909. Pp. 339. Price 9s. net.

The author here adds another to his interesting and instructive studies on economic questions. He claims no new gospel of reform but calls attention to the fact that too many are already in the field, all with the common characteristic of spending other people's money, and he makes the suggestion that the social and economic reform most needed at present is to "reflect more and scatter less." He believes that progress "is not to be achieved by making a clean sweep of every existing institution, when we shall probably have nothing but a ruin for our reward, but by trying to appreciate what existing conditions really are, and then proceeding by steps." The book is, in the main, a brief for much-abused capital. "Poverty is not due to others' wealth, its alleviation is." Part I, "The Employed," discusses questions of liberty and individualism, with chapters on the underpaid, fairly paid, the overpaid, and the nature, limitations and varieties of property. Part II, "The Principles of Employment," first defines employment and states the principles involved, devoting special chapters to good and bad times, conflicting interests, to change in channels of employment and the state as organizer of labor and finder of work. Part III, "Our Underpaid and Unemployed," discusses nature's laws in relation to parental responsibility, thrift, and organization, also poor laws, poverty, crime, and the housing problem.

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LESSINGS BRIEFWECHSEL MIT MENDELSSOHN UND NICOLAI ÜBER DAS TRAUERSPIEL. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Robert Petsch. Philosophische Bibliothek, Bd. 121. Leipzig: Dürr, 1910. Pp. 144. Price 3 m.

This is an interesting collection of writings covering most dramaturgical problems. The correspondence with Lessing had its occasion in a prize offered by Friedrich Nicolai in 1796 for the best German tragedy. It is hard to estimate how great an influence this correspondence must have had on Lessing's future work, and so it is an important contribution to be considered in a study of the great dramatist's work. Dr. Petsch's Introduction gives

important excerpts from Bodmer's "Critical Letters" and further discusses the history of the theory of tragedy from the Renaissance to the middle of the eighteenth century. It is complemented by the notes and index with the intention that no difficulty in the text should remain unexplained.

*Messiah, the Ancestral Hope of the Ages, "The Desire of All Nations,"* "As proved from the records on the sun-dried bricks of Babylonia, the papyri and pyramids of Egypt, the frescoes of the Roman Catacombs, and on the Chinese incised Memorial Stnoe of Cho'ang," is a most gorgeous book with many colored lithograph illustrations which has been printed by Keiseisha, Tokyo, Japan. Its author, Mr. E. A. Gordon, Member of the Society of Biblical Archeology, and of the Japan Society of London, and also of the World's Chinese Students' Federation, Shanghai, has published several books, including *The Temples of the Orient and Their Message*, *Clear Round, a Story of World-Travel*, etc. In the present volume he has before his mind an ideal which underlies all his labors. It is this, that a Saviour or a Messiah has been expected in all countries and that this hope has found expression in the several religions of the world, not alone in Christianity but also in Buddhism and pre-Christian creeds. We can not say that the author is critical in the selection of his arguments, but it would lead us too far to enter into details. Suffice it to say that he speaks of Aqvaghosha as being one of the Magi who went to Bethlehem, and thinks that he was presumably baptized by St. Thomas. This, according to the author, would explain the Christian spirit of that sage's famous work, *The Awakening of Faith*.

Most of the illustrations are Japanese, some of them are Chinese, a few are Egyptian, and three or four are products of European art. There is also a map of Palestine and of India, the Holy Lands of the two greatest religions on earth.

The front cover design is the tombstone of St. Thomas, and the back cover shows the cross on the Nestorian monument, both published some time ago in *The Open Court* (Vol. XXIII, pp. 26, 172), and reprinted in the pamphlet on *The Nestorian Monument*, published by the Open Court Publishing Company.

Interest in the study of comparative religions is rapidly becoming general and the result is an ever-increasing demand for reliable and interesting accounts of historical religions. Two notable books of this character have just been issued by Gabriel Beauchesne & Company of Paris, in their series of studies on the history of religions (*Etudes sur l'histoire des religions*). One of these books is on Buddhism and is written by L. de la Vallée Poussin (*Bouddhisme: Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique*, Price 4 fr.); the other by the Baron Carra de Vaux treats of Mohammedanism (*Le doctrine de l'Islam*, Price 4 fr.).

Both are illustrated and well printed on good paper and bound in the excellent French style which commends itself for simplicity and good taste, as well as being inexpensive. It is a custom which might be followed by American publishers to the advantage of buyer as well as publisher. Libraries especially would be glad to buy their standard books unbound. The volumes are of uniform size and style and make a very good appearance.





THE SHRINES OF HUSSEIN AND ABBAS AT KERBELA.

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 8.)

AUGUST, 1910.

NO. 651.

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## THE SACRED CITIES OF EASTERN ARABIA.

BY EDGAR J. BANKS.

IT is popularly supposed that in the Mohammedan world Mecca is the one and only sacred city, yet the Moslems themselves count ten sacred places to which they make their pilgrimages. Mecca they place foremost among them, for there the Prophet was born, and there all Moslems, regardless of sect, flock to worship about the sacred Kaaba. It is the one best known to Christians, because the few adventurers who have risked their lives to enter it, have given thrilling accounts of their experiences. On the eastern side of the desert, in the vicinity of the once glorious Bagdad, are three cities, Kazamieh, Kerbela and Nejef, which to the Shiah branch of Moslems—the Persians, Indians and several of the desert Arab tribes—are scarcely less sacred. In the winter of 1904-5, disguised as a Turk, and under the guidance of a faithful Moslem servant, I performed the pilgrimage, at least to the exterior of these three shrines.

From whatever direction one approaches Bagdad, the eye is first attracted to the six lofty golden minarets of Kazamieh. The city, lying to the right of the Tigris four miles north of Bagdad, derived its name from Kazim, a nephew of Ali and an early Moslem saint; now his tomb has become a magnificent mosque in which the eastern Moslems love to worship and store their wealth. For several years an antiquated horse-railway has connected the city with Bagdad, yet in spite of this representative of the West, the Christian who enters Kazamieh, is met with angry glances and insults. To pass the gate-way of the shrine, or to glance in at the open court, is to endanger life. A few years ago, while stealing a forbidden glance from the street, a British consul was fired upon, and later, as I was passing the open gate-way, an ancient Persian woman

rushed at me so furiously that to avoid trouble I beat a hasty retreat.

The shrines of all the sacred cities closely resemble each other in construction. High walls, entirely lined within and partly without with beautifully enameled Persian tiles, enclose a large rectangular court. Gate-ways on three sides of the enclosure lead into the court, while upon the fourth side is the mosque or shrine, decorated with all the barbaric splendor which the money wrung from the visiting pilgrims can purchase. Before the mosque at Kazamieh is a colonnade of teak wood inlaid with mother of pearl. Six minarets, all capped with gold, stand at the corners and at the centers of the longer sides of the court, and a large golden dome rises



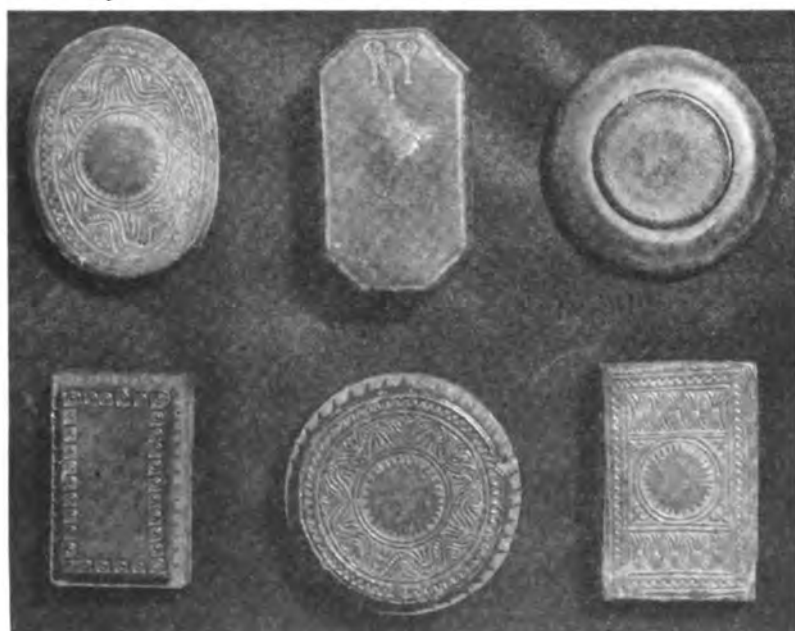
DERVISHES WHO WANDER FROM ONE SACRED CITY TO ANOTHER.

above them. Only the Kaaba at Mecca has a greater number of minarets.

In the mosque, directly beneath the dome, are the tombs of the saints enclosed in a huge lattice-frame; the walls about it are gorgeously decorated with tiling, precious stones and metals. This description applies in a general way also to the shrines of Kerbela and Nejef, each of which is provided with but two minarets.

The number of pilgrims visiting the sacred cities of Irak have increased so rapidly in recent years that a daily stage employing about twenty carriages, each accomodating eight passengers, runs from Bagdad to them. Kerbela lying about forty miles from Bagdad, in the desert to the west of the Euphrates, has a population approxi-

inating fifty thousand, and it is said that the city is increasing at the rate of a thousand houses a year. It has far outgrown the ancient walls which are now but little more than an enclosure for the shrines. The city is famous in Moslem history, for there Hussein, the son of Ali, was killed in the year 680 A. D.—an event which gave rise to the grewsome festival of the month of Moharrem, when all devout Shiahs beat and cut themselves in grief assumed for the occasion. To enter Kerbela is no longer difficult for the Christian,



CLAY BLOCKS USED IN PRAYER.

That the heads of the moslems may rest upon them instead of upon the ordinary dirt, during their prostrations. The clay is from the soil of the sacred city of Kerbela, and in it is supposed to be the blood of the martyred saints Hassan and Hussein.

and Jews have long lived there. From the roof of the inn in which I was lodged, I could look down upon the sacred shrines, yet it was unsafe to attempt to approach the entrance.

The graves of Hussein and of his younger brother Abbas have been the life of Kerbela. Thither the Shiah pilgrims flock by thousands, carrying with them their dead to bury in the sacred soil. Some come upon horse-back, with their dead wrapped in bundles

of reeds or in rugs which they sell to meet the expense of the journey, or jammed into saddle bags; others arrive by stage, carrying as baggage a mysterious basket in which are the bones of a body exhumed to be transplanted in the sacred soil; still others cross the desert on foot, carrying upon their shoulders the few remaining bones which have not dropped out of their wrappings on the way to lighten the burden. To the pious Shiah the chief aim in life is to be buried in one of the sacred cities, and while dying, the promise which he extracts from his relatives, is that his body shall be taken there, that he may rise with the saints on the resurrection day. The promise is generally fulfilled, though perhaps years later.

The soil of Kerbela is more sacred than of any other city, for it drank the blood of the martyred saints; now the priests mould little pieces of the clay-like soil, stamp them with a design or with verses from the Koran, and sell them to the pilgrims. Thus the pilgrims may carry away with them a bit of Kerbela, which they place upon the ground before them whenever they prostrate themselves in prayer, and thus in their distant homes they may always pray on sacred soil.

Though Hussein is a saint of the greatest importance, Abbas is feared more than he is revered, and the people of the town relate strange tales of his actions. Frequently, so they say, he rises from his grave and walks about the streets of the city to punish the unjust. He never slumbers, and as each pilgrim enters the mosque, he reads his most secret thoughts. Once when a proud soldier approached his grave with drawn sword, Saint Abbas was angered, and with invisible hand, he seized the sword, and severed the soldier's head from the body; then in the twinkling of an eye he fixed the head in space in the vault of the dome above; there within plain sight of all the people, both it and the sword are suspended together, without support, as a warning to all who enter. Once when a Greek Christian attempted to enter the mosque, the saint in his grave perceived that an infidel was approaching, and the Greek fell dead upon the threshold. Similar stories without number are circulated by the priests for the purpose of magnifying the power and the popularity of the saint.

From Kerbela, a stage drawn by four mules abreast carries the pilgrims southward over the stony plains for sixty miles to the desert city of Nejef. Long before the journey of ten hours is over there appear upon the horizon the two golden minarets and the tall dome of the tomb of Ali, the first Moslem martyr, glittering in the sunlight, then the duller roofs of the houses and the towers

of the old city walls, and finally a myriad of gilded domed tombs which have been crowded into the desert outside the city, form a picture worthy of the days of the Arabian Nights. Nejef, with a population of about twenty thousand, is a city of fanatics, and the headquarters of various sects of dervishes, and though a Turkish garrison is now stationed there, the government has little control over its over-religious subjects. During my visit to the city, I was lodged in the Turkish guardhouse, in a little chamber over the city gate, nor was I permitted to venture into the streets unless accompanied by several armed soldiers.

The city is still surrounded by its ancient crumbling walls, and the streets are unusually narrow and filthy. The interior of the shrine, as far as I know, has never yet been seen by a Christian.



TOMBS IN THE DESERT.

Nejef in the distance to the right. In the center and to the left are tombs outside the city.

In architecture, the shrine resembles those of the other sacred cities, and as at Kerbela a square clock-tower with a chime of bells to strike the hours, stands midway between the minarets and the tomb. The striking of the bells, though once forbidden by the Moslems because employed by the Christians, to call them to worship, sounds out of place in the mosque yard, especially when it deadens the voice of the muezzin in the minaret gallery singing the call to prayer.

No shrine is more richly decorated than this supposed tomb of Ali. It is said that the gold covering its minarets and dome has the value of two and a quarter millions of dollars. Slabs of gold are laid into the floor about the three graves; a silver fence surrounds

them, and the walls about are inlaid with precious stones. In the central and largest of the three graves within the enclosure formed by the silver fence, and directly beneath the center of the dome, lies Ali, who, so the Shiah's say, should have been the first successor of Mohammed. In the other two tombs Adam and Noah are said to be buried.

Nejef is particularly a city of the dead, for every nook and corner has been used for burial purposes over and over again until the government has forbidden more bodies to be buried within the walls. However, the faith in the sanctity of the soil of Nejef is stronger than the firmans of the Sultan, and the hundreds of bodies which arrive at the city daily, are smuggled through the breaches in the city wall, or are admitted by bribery through the gates, to find a resting place near the shrine. The result is that the cellars and court yards of the houses are filled with the dead; the streets are undermined; holes are dug into the walls, and the decomposing bodies are stored away in dark rooms and upon the house tops to await the great day and the resurrection of Ali. Beneath the mosque is a deep pit into which the bones of those who have been buried in the vicinity for twenty years or more, are thrown. For each person living in the city, there are probably a thousand dead, and the living are waiting to die that they may be buried in the sacred soil.

Everything is expensive in Nejef. Bread is sold at double the Bagdad price. House rent is made dear by the many wealthy Indians who have come there to die on sacred soil, but to die is the most expensive thing of all. For permission to lie beneath the sand far out of the city on the distant horizon, just within sight of the golden tips of the minarets, where the jackals and hyenas are sure to devour the body before the first morning, the cost is never less than a Turkish lira (\$4.40); the price of a grave nearer the sacred center depends upon the circumstances of the friends of the dead, and their ability to bargain. A wealthy Persian recently paid \$44,000 for the privilege of being buried for twenty years in the basement of a mosque beneath the tomb of Ali; at the end of that period his body was to be disinterred and thrown into the pit beneath the shrine.

The annual revenue of this small desert city, derived from the sale of graves alone, is said to amount to more than two million dollars a year. In spite of the enormous income, the priests who are always in attendance at the mosques to serve or to fleece the bearers of the dead, receive no salary, yet they grow wealthy and



self-important upon the gifts which they extort from the pious faithful. When the treasury of the Turkish empire is empty, to replenish it, the sultan might but make an expedition to these sacred desert cities, for in their coffers are stored riches which have been accumulating for ages,—diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls without number, gold coins of every age and country, silks and carpets of rarest design and workmanship. Nothing is too valuable for the Shiah Moslem to present to the shrine of Ali, for thus he purchases an eternal home in Paradise, and smoothes the rough, thorny way over which he must travel to reach the crystal palace and the dark-eyed houris of musk awaiting him there.

## HASAN AND HUSAIN: THE PASSION PLAY OF PERSIA—A CONTRAST.

BY BERTHA JOHNSTON.

THE stream of pilgrims which this decennial year flows from all quarters, from all lands, into the little valley of Oberammergau, has probably reached a height never before attained, because the impressive and artistic merit of that most daring of dramatic productions is known now as never before.

It is perhaps familiar to few of those who have seen or read of the wonderful Oberammergau play, that one great division of the followers of Mohammed has also developed a miracle play, given annually in both Persia and India, requiring ten days for its presentation and awakening intense emotion, and impassioned grief wherever played.

A brief comparison of these two tremendous dramas, whose characters, scenes, and the lessons therein taught have become in each case an integral part of the adherents of their respective religions, woven into the very thread and fibre of their being, cannot fail to be of interest to all "who love their fellow-men."

The origin of the play of Oberammergau is familiar to all, so we will restate it briefly. In 1633 a pestilence raged in this region and the villagers made a solemn vow that if its progress were stayed they would perform the Passion Play every tenth year. This vow has been faithfully observed.

Like other great folk-plays and epics this production as at present given has been a matter of growth and evolution. As it stands now it may properly be regarded as the production of the scholarly Geistlicher Rath Daistenberger who for thirty years prior to 1889, trained the villagers, and rewrote, remodelled, added to and eliminated from the drama until it assumed the form in which it is now presented, a masterpiece in the expression of strong religious

feeling and a consummate effort when measured by the severest standards of dramatic art.

As presented at Oberammergau, there are nineteen principal performers in the play, including the Chorus, who gives the numerous explanatory prologues.

The language is for the most part simple, direct, to the point, as in the New Testament, although as occasion demands, words, sentences and paragraphs have been judiciously interpolated in order to carry on the story intelligently. Both as regards color harmonies and composition, the many tableaux are wonderfully effective, and the singing of the choruses, the acting of the performers, have reached the highest degree of perfection.

Preceding every scene is given a tableau of a corresponding incident in Old Testament history which serves to emphasize the particular lesson conveyed. Thus, the Council of the High Priests is preceded by the tableau of Joseph cast into the pit, and the parting at Bethany is prefigured by the departure of Tobias from his home.

As for the characters and the scenes selected for dramatization—here we see exhibited malignant jealousy, revengeful greed, frenzied finance, cruel spite, craven irresolution, determined will, sign-seeking superstition, pious hypocrisy, back-sliding fear, traitorous betrayal, much as we meet them on every hand to-day. And on the other side, are most wonderfully expressed faithful affection, tender forethought, agonizing repentance, frightful remorse, unselfish service and the noblest heights of pure redeeming love, unexampled love of humanity, understanding of its weaknesses, comprehension of its aspirations and noble possibilities, forgiveness of its wrongs.

Humanity in its weakness and its strength, its vices and its virtues stands before us and those who see the play must needs leave that judgment hall in all meekness of heart and with renewed self-pledges to devote life, talent, money to the service of even the least of these little ones—knowing that "where love is, God is."

And what of the Persian Passion Play, its origin, manner of presentation and influence?

As with Christianity, so with Islam, schisms arose and sects appeared soon after the death of the founder of the new faith. In Christendom the divisions came about through dissensions over dogma and the correct interpretation of texts not uninfluenced by political motives. Among the Mohammedans the grand schism was occasioned by disputes not only over which of the traditions were

or were not canonical, but over the proper succession to the caliphate.

The claimants to the caliphate were four, Ali (first cousin to the Prophet and also husband to his daughter Fatimah) and his three fathers-in-law, Abu Beker, Omar, and Othman. The latter three succeeded in turn to the high office, being upheld by the Sunnis or traditionalists, who were found mostly among the Turks and Arabs. When Persia was overcome by the Saracens, she, hating her Turkish conquerors, upheld the claims of Ali and his descendants and affiliated with the great Shiah sect, whose major article of faith is that the descendants of Ali are the rightful sovereign pontiffs.

On the plains of Karbala, A. D. 780, Husain, grandson of Mohammed, was killed in battle, his brother Hasan having been poisoned by the Sunnis ten years before. In time the Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain evolved, centering around the martyrdom of these two sons of Ali and grandsons of the Prophet. The main characteristics are thus summed up by an English official long resident in Persia and India and who has published a translation of thirty-seven of the scenes.

"It is singular in its intolerable length; in the fact of the representation extending over many days; in its marvelous effects upon a Mussulman audience, both male and female; in the curious mixture of hyperbole and archaic simplicity of language, and in the circumstance that the so-called unities of time and space are not only ignored but abolished. The Prophet Mohammed and his family are at once the central figures and moving spirits of the whole, whether the scene may be that of Joseph and his brethren on earth, or of the Patriarchal Family at the Judgment Day. Mohammed appears on the scene at will; and with him as with the Creator, it seems to be a universal Here and a universal Now."

As we study this lengthy drama, we obtain interesting and illuminating glimpses into the strange life of the Orient. The portrayal of simple, primitive passions, of fierce hate and generous, self-denying love, of family fealty and clannish devotion, brings us back to the period when our ancestors led the nomadic life and were swayed by the most elementary emotions.

At the first cursory superficial reading the play impressed one as the outgrowth of fanatical sectarianism. It seemed as if the primary object of its creators was not so much the dissemination of the light of Islam, as an intention to cut deeper the lines and build higher the walls that separate the two great Mohammedan denominations; to make the Shiahs hate with an ever-increasing

hatred the successors of those whom they considered responsible for the deaths of Hasan and Husain. So virulent is this feeling that some of the more bigoted Shiah will have the sign of Omar tattooed upon the soles of their feet that they may thus continually tread it under foot; a feeling paralleled by the fanaticism of those Christians who would still persecute the Jews because their ancestors were in part responsible for the death of Jesus. The Persian Passion Play is not calculated to moderate this bitter antagonism.

But the sufferings of Ali and his family, grievous as they were, were no worse than befall any soldier in any war. In what then consists the great merit of the death of Ali and his family? What is it that arouses in an entire people from Shah to common laborer such a passion of sorrow and excited grief?

Although the two great Passion Plays seem at first comparison as far apart as the two poles, we know that, far apart as the poles are, they are each a part of our great globe, our common Mother Earth, and these two folk dramas are not in essential spirit, in their deeper meanings, quite as different as external characteristics would seem to indicate.

We find two main correspondences between the two dramas. Ali and his two sons are unwarlike in spirit, disinterested, gentle, pious, forgiving, uninterested in mere politics and intrigues. Even his arch-enemy Yezid is quoted as saying of his defeated foe, "God loved Husain but would not suffer him to attain anything." At the final battle of Karbala, when all were suffering agonies from thirst and the river but a short distance away, one by one Abbas, Ali Akbar and two younger brothers in vain try to get to the river and back with the precious water for their loved ones, and in remembrance of this suffering and sacrifice young men of the highest rank carry around water-skins with which to supply the needs of even the poorest of the audience during the play. Love, pity, gratitude, are the emotions stirred as at Oberammergau. Again, throughout the play we are reminded that all the sufferings, all this anguish, is endured by Husain, in order that those who are his followers may be saved on the Day of Judgment from eternal torment.

But let us study the play more in detail.

In a volume before us, the introductory chapter or scene takes us back, as in the Oberammergau play, to the parting of Jacob from Joseph and the casting of the latter in the pit. As Jacob bemoans the loss of Joseph apparently he foresees the future and wonders "what will be the feelings of Fatimah, the mother of Husain, when she sees her son's blood-stained coat after he shall have been put

to death in a most cruel manner." And Gabriel reminds him that his sufferings are as naught compared to those of Husain who sees his relatives killed before his eyes, just before he himself is slain.

One scene pictures Fatimah with the little Husain seated on her knee as she combs his locks. The pulling of a hair causes him to cry out and then the angel Gabriel reminds her of the greater anguish to come. Later, in this same scene while the children are happily digging a well in the sand, a group of boys stone them, these boys being their victorious and cruel enemies in the days to come. Thus are we reminded of events pictured in the Apocrypha of the New Testament.

Another strange and pathetic chapter shows the death of the little son of Mohammed, who is made to converse with the Prophet and the angel of death, Izrail, having first asked permission of his schoolmaster to return home and prepare for a long journey from which there is no return, and begging pardon for past faults and neglected duties. In reality the child at the time of his death was less than two years old.

Another scene brings before us the disobedient son who has for his unfilial conduct been consigned to the torments of hell. Mohammed is much distressed at his cries of anguish, and he, Ali, Fatimah and Hasan, implore his mother to forgive him and for the sake of their agonies to release him, but she is obdurate until when Husain rehearses his sufferings at Karbala and an angel threatens her with swift punishment, she relents and the forgiven son comes out of the grave.

Many times the Prophet's children suffered from lack of the very necessities of life, and we can imagine how affecting would be that scene in which the two boys, Hasan and Husain, ask their parents in vain for food. Finally Fatimah decides to appeal to her father although as she says "I am ashamed to complain to my father respecting Ali my husband." Later, Mohammed and the children return to the mother's home, but the boys are so faint they can hardly move and we hear their grandfather saying, "O Husain and Hasan, ye lights of the eye of God's elect, ye two ornaments of the shoulders of Mohammed, the chosen of God, come and ride both of you on my back, that I may take you to your mother." And he offers the prayer "O God, I adjure Thee by the merit of my cousin, the Lion of God, and by these two dear things I am supporting on my shoulders, freely have mercy on Ali's followers in the Day of Resurrection, as I voluntarily suffer ignominy in this world for their sake." Arrived at home, the larder bare, angels from Paradise



supply their needs with fresh dates. Ali meanwhile has gone out to find employment and meets a youth who is seeking to kill him, to whom Ali magnanimously offers his head when he learns that the young man is in love and wishes to give it as a dowry to the father of the lady of his love. The youth is impressed by this self-abnegation and becomes a convert. "Better generosity than this none has ever seen, that one should freely give his head to another man," which seems a paraphrase of that noble utterance of Jesus under far more impressive circumstances, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

We are permitted to be present at the deathbed of Mohammed, where, before he expires he addresses in turn each beloved member of his family, telling them of the particular woes in store for each and asking if for the sake of their people they are willing to endure this great suffering. Great indeed must have been the devotion of Fatimah who for the service of God is willing that even her best-beloved Husain shall be given up to sorrow; great indeed the love of Husain who besides his own woes must endure to give up his brother Abbas and to see his son Ali Akbar slain before him. As the Prophet dies he exclaims, "Oh! let me suffer the severity of death, instead of my people. Give all the afflictions and sorrows of my followers to me alone to bear."

Here and there in the dialogues we are surprised by allusions to Christ and Mary and are thus obliged to remind ourselves that Jesus is revered by the Mohammedans almost as much as by the Christians. In a pathetic conversation between Ali, Fatimah and the other members of the "Family of the Tent," as they are called, we hear the family crying in chorus to their father, "When thou openest thy mouth thou givest us life; thou makest the dead live by thy *Christlike* influence. Tell us, O Ali, our adventures; after we have heard them thou wilt see what patience we each of us possess."

Having just heard both Mohammed and Ali foretell what are to be the peculiar sufferings of each of the martyr family, we are somewhat surprised in the succeeding paragraphs to hear them imploring their enemy to refrain from his cruel usurpation, and acting in each case as if the deed were quite unexpected. Throughout the play there is this curious mingling of past and present and future; of willing acceptance of what must be, and pathetic if not violent reproaches cast upon those responsible for all the suffering.

Thus, the murder of Ali, in the mosque by the traitor Ibn Muljam, seems to come as a tragic surprise to his devoted family and the scene gives us sad but pleasing glimpses into a united family

life, in which Hasan and Husain and their sisters, Zainab and Kulsum, mutually mourn and sympathize with each other.

Moawiyah, Governor of Bussorah, is one of the bitter enemies of the Family of the Tent, and he induces Hasan's wife to poison her husband. Hasan expires in agony, surrounded by his bewailing sisters, brothers and children. He reproaches without betraying her, the wife who was responsible for his death, and when another brother would fain draw his sword at the grave to destroy the guilty people, Husain replies, "Nay, my brother; it is better to have patience with them for a while; for thus has Hasan enjoined, saying, 'You must take care not to excite the people, or provoke them to jealousy, lest there should be bloodshed over my bier.'"

Still another martyr was Muslim, an envoy of Husain's, sent to Kufah to find out the feeling of the people and discover if they would be true to certain promises made. He is executed by the city's ruler, but before this happens our sympathies are excited by his two little boys whom he has brought with him and who become tired of the town and ask their father to take them on an excursion to the river. Later, when danger threatens, the oldest one is heard saying, "Dear father, seeing alms avert calamitous events, and sacrifices prevent impending misfortunes, offer then, thy two sorrowful sons to the living God as acceptable sacrifices, that thy Lord may have mercy on thy youth and save thy soul from death." The children wander around disconsolately, each weary and hungry, but thinking ever of the other's comfort. In the succeeding scene they are both murdered. And here again there is a loving rivalry between the brothers, as to who shall suffer first, the elder hoping that if he be killed first their enemy's wrath may be appeased.

We cannot make even a brief reference to all of the many chapters or scenes which continue the long drama; but there are several in which we become acquainted with little Sukainah (daughter of Husain) whose years however it is difficult to determine as is the case with the other children, for what they say often indicates the little child, while the language is most mature and dignified. Passages between the little maid and her aunt Zainab show the loving relation between them and the trial it was for those who loved each other to be hopeless to assist or make them comfortable or happy. The little one longs for her father who comes and tenderly holds her in his lap.

Just before battle one of his foes, although he knows that Husain is on the losing side, becomes converted and comes to his defense, followed by his son and brother, preferring imperishable

to the perishable riches, and thus throughout the entire story we see love and pity triumphing over the sterner passions.

As the final scene draws near, Kasim implores his uncle Husain's permission to enter the conflict, although only a youth of sixteen, but desiring martyrdom and its eternal reward. Husain finally consents but first desires that Kasim shall espouse his daughter Fatimah, and thus we are brought face to face in almost the same breath with the two events that stir so deeply all our emotions. The marriage ceremony takes place, the youth mournfully yet determinedly separates himself from his beautiful bride, and hurries into battle.

The final catastrophe comes at last. Husain is killed and the women, with heads uncovered (so dreadful a situation to the Eastern woman) are led through the streets of the conquering city, having previously suffered cruel beatings from their brutal foes. They are imprisoned, but the sovereign's wife visits them and becoming interested asks mercy for them and is herself forthwith executed for her temerity.

The final scene presents to us the Judgment Day, when the angel Gabriel receives the order to blow his trumpet for calling up the dead, and we learn how unavailing are any other means of salvation than the martyrdom of Husain. Abraham is the first to arise, imploring rescue from the flames of torment, no matter what becomes of his beloved Isaac; and Isaac beseeches that he be saved even if his father must continue to suffer; Jacob appears and has forgotten all about his dear Joseph of the first scene. All that he thinks of is his own suffering and rest therefrom; and when Joseph rises from the flames he thinks not of his father, but only how he himself may be relieved of his agony. All this of course is to lead up, by contrast, to the difference between even the ancient fathers, and the wonderful loving sacrifices of the Mohammed-Ali faction. In turn Mohammed, Ali, Fatimah, and Hasan appear and because of their vicarious sufferings ask that their believing followers be saved future pain and sorrow, but the Most High will not listen until at last appears Husain, recounting all his many sorrows, willingly endured for his people, and the sacrifice is accepted.

Thus runs the strange, powerful story, which annually affects millions of men and women to a frenzy of excitement and demonstration of utmost grief and passion, whether in the large cities of India or the isolated desert towns of Persia. And yet the stage setting is of the simplest, the arrangements in many particulars reminding us of the European drama in its beginnings.

In Persia all of the larger houses have their own *tabut* or *tazia* (a model of the tombs at Karbala) among the wealthier Shiah these being beautiful fixtures of silver, gold, ivory, inlaid work or other rich material. The stage is a kind of movable pulpit covered with rich materials, and with no wings to conceal the coming and the going of the actors; thus again recalling early English conditions. With this play, a lion skin, suspended, reminds the on-lookers that this is a scene in the desert; a silver basin of water symbolizes the river Euphrates, whose cool waters are so desired by the thirsty martyrs; a little heap of chopped straw represents the ashes or earth with which the woeful mourners bestrew their dishevelled hair; and without apparently disturbing the train of thought the master of ceremonies will himself at the proper moment, in view of the audience, place in the hands of the right person the straw needed or will give a timely suggestion to the children who play their parts with rare and touching seriousness, for it is a most solemn occasion to the little ones; these frequently come from the most influential families who feel honored to have them thus take part in the sacred function.

The actors are regularly trained for their parts, and to them too it is a sacred office which they perform. It is said that they throw themselves into it with great and serious feeling. Indeed, strange to say, so real is the suffering and rare patience of the martyred ones that even those who take the parts of the tyrants break down and sob as they perform their cruel offices. The martyr family speak always in a lyrical chant; the language of the persecutors is prose.

The Oriental style of speech with its extravagant similes and comparisons, its formal modes of address even when between those who are most intimate, the number of words necessary to make a most simple statement, all sound strange into our ears, accustomed to the most direct, matter-of-fact modes of communication. We have given a few quotations; here are a few examples of quaint and unusual comparisons which however give us a peep into the Oriental households. When Hasan is about to die Kulsum complains, "Let me know if heaven has rolled up the carpet of my life." In the same scene Kasim says, "Time has pelted the bottle of my heart with cruel stones"; and Hasan himself, "The pot of my life has ceased from its natural ebullition."

A maiden is as beautiful as the moon on the fourteenth night, and the zephyr becomes as "musk passing through her hair." Hasan is the "disembarking Noah of the present generation." The Euphra-

tes is "restless as quicksilver"; the head is "cloven asunder like the point of a pen." Curious indeed is the affirmation "I am a doorkeeping dog in the street of thy affection and faith"; another quaint simile is that which compares one's life with "a tattered page in sorrow's volume." We alluded above to references to Christian saints, and in another place we find Mohammed saying to Fatimah, "Thou being in God's sight the Mary of this people, the Creator will give thee patience."

These quotations might be continued indefinitely but enough has been given to indicate something of the language and spirit of the play as presented in the translations\* to which we have had access. In his *Essays in Criticism* (1865) Matthew Arnold includes a study of the Persian Passion Play, but at the time there was no English translation. His knowledge was derived from the observations of the French traveler and Orientalist Gobineau, and it is necessarily incomplete. But the philosophic mind of the great English essayist, enriched by much thinking, reading and travel, has enabled him to understand and sympathize with the universal need of the human heart that called the play into being. The need of an ideal, pure, unselfish, innocent of transgression, long-suffering, willing for the sake of righteousness and of humanity to suffer to the end.

The two-volume play seems crude, strained, artificial in many of the situations, especially when without the accompaniment of dramatic action that makes it so real to the people whence it originated. But in its earlier form the Christian Passion Play was equally crude, with much of coarseness in many of the scenes enacted. There is nothing in this drama of the vulgar humor so conspicuous in our former miracle plays and moralities. In its present form, that of Persia is a true expression of popular feeling, and is encouraged by the popular friars but is condemned by the regular ecclesiastical authorities of the Moslem Church as being heretical and "addressed to the eye," thus coming within the confines of the forbidden. Nor is it approved by the more restrained and critical judgment of those who esteem themselves above the common crowd. Its effect upon the people seems to resemble the violent hysterical excitement aroused at some of our revival meetings.

During the first ten days of the first month (Mohurram) of the Mohammedan year (the anniversary of the ten days of suffering) the people dress in mourning, carry black flags and keep Mohurram fires lighted (if only a nightlight in a simple basin) all through the

\* *The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain*, Pelly and Wollaston.



period. The scenes of excitement and of self-inflicted injury recall the Flagellants and other zealots of times past and present, before the folk awoken to the truth, ancient but ever young, that justice and judgment and mercy are more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice and self-mutilation.

It is said by our compiler that "up country in India where the *tabuts* in the final processions are brought to the Mohammedan cemeteries and Sunnis and Shiahhs meet face to face before the open graves of Hasan and Husain, the feuds between them which have been pent up all the year are often fought out to a bloody end." We know similar scenes of violence take place wherever the real spirit of religion is forgotten in race hatred or sectarian bigotry. Mohammedans forget that Hasan forbade bloodshed at his grave as Christians forget that Jesus said "Forgive them, they know not what they do."

It is certainly interesting to observe the general resemblance between these two great expressions of religious feeling in the principal ideas upon which each rests. They spring from the same human heart that cries for light and love wherever man is found. What we miss most in the Moslem is that sense of things spiritual which raises the modernized German play far above its Persian counterpart. Mild, tender, loving, self-sacrificing, as are the Mohammedan victims, they fall short of the ideal of the Christ. There is a lack of constructive righteousness, of hunger for the ideal; no expression of sorrow for evil done or temptation conquered. One dies to save people from sinning, the other from the results of their sinning; and the Heaven of the Christian orthodox faith is assuredly more spiritual, rests on a higher plane, than that promised by Mohammed to his followers.

But perhaps we are drawing finer distinctions than really exist. It might be more just to compare the Persian Play with the Christian one in its earlier form. When it comes to final arbitrament as to which is the true religion we find the answer in Lessing's inspired Play "Nathan the Wise," where he tells the story of the three rings. Real religion is seen in the lives of those who profess it. Where are found truth, righteousness, purity, love, continued aspiration for the higher life, there is the real Passion Play. Which audience is most inspired to forgetfulness of injuries, to loving service, "to deeds of daring rectitude"? That is the final test by which both plays must be judged.



## THE MUHARRAM IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE.

INDIA is the land of festivals. There is no day which is not sacred to some god or saint; and many of these celebrations overlap or coalesce. Amid this welter of festivity, half a dozen great festivals stand out by themselves.

The Muharram\* is the high festival of the Muslims in India. It falls on the first ten days of the first month of the Muslim year, called Muharram, or "sacred"; and by this name it is usually known. The historical basis of the festival is found in the tragic death of Ali, who married the daughter of Muhammad, and of his two sons; but of that we shall speak later.

For many days before the festival begins, the village carpenter is busy erecting mimic tombs of bamboo, to be covered finally with tinsel and colored paper. These tazias, as they are called in the north, or tabuts, in Western India, are intended as effigies of the tomb of the martyrs; and a fine turban and costly armor are laid at the back to represent the state and consequence of Husayn, Ali's son, slain on the bloody plain of Karbala. In the wealthy Muhammadan states of the north, these tazias are magnificent and costly creations; some of which are held over from year to year, and exhibited to the wondering eyes of the tourist. Large or small, they are

\* The following table shows some common variants in the spelling of Muhammadan names. The spelling preferred by the author is followed in this article.

PREFERRED FORM	OLDER FORM
Muharram	Mohurram
Muslim	Moslem
Muhammad	Mohammad, etc.
Hasan	Hassan
Husayn	Hosein
Qasim	Cassim
Quran	Koran
Karbala	Kerbela
Sunnis	Sunnites
Shiahs	Shiites
Shiva (better, Shiwa)	Siva, Civa
Shaivites	Sivites, Civites
Himalyas	Himalayas

fairly faithful copies of the domed Muslim tombs which lend picturesqueness to every scene. In the Maratha country, as Western India is more properly called, originality is sought after. Although Islam acknowledges no caste, the guilds of the various trades band together to erect tabuts. Thus, in Satara where I was living, the beef-butchers built one four stories high; the vegetable venders had one on which, appropriately, they induced rice or some other quick-growing grain to sprout, so that it was covered with a velvety coat of living green; one guild of mutton-butchers displayed the figure of a horseman attacked by a tiger; while a fourth had an athlete standing between two women. In the north there is much bitter feeling between the Muhammadans and the Hindus; but in Western India, owing to the Muslims being in a weak minority, a general friendliness prevails, so that each tabut is supported not only by the men of its own guild and quarter but by subscriptions from Hindus as well.

The Ashura Khana, or Ten-Day House, is erected. Here every evening during the festival, crowds of people assemble for the majlises, or mourning meetings, a band of singers chant the *Marsiya*, a poem in honor of Husayn; and the *Waqia Khan* narrates in graphic style the story of the tragic and pathetic death of the hero, while the audience sway their bodies and beat their breasts, wailing, "Ali! Ali! Husayn! Husayn!"

While the festival is in progress, bands of boys, and sometimes girls, wander about the streets, blowing raucous blasts on hollow bamboos; others, preceded by drummers, and arrayed fantastically, demand subscriptions from shop-keepers and householders. Near the tabut, an Arab mummer makes nerve-racking cracks with a split bamboo. Some see in this man a scapegoat or guardian, who frightens homeless spirits from the mimic tombs in which they would like to dwell. *Sabils*, or little refreshment stands, are set up in many places to supply sherbet to thirsty devotees.

On the tenth day comes the *Tazion ka Mela*, or real "feast of mourning." On this day the great procession assembles. All the tabuts from the surrounding villages press into the nearest town, and, packed in the mouths of the narrow streets giving on the main route of march, await their turn to fall into line. The scene is one of the greatest confusion. Throngs of gaily dressed natives of every creed and caste mass themselves on the narrow sidewalks, and, overflowing walls and roofs, fill windows and doorways. In the country towns in Western India, it is usually a good-natured crowd, out for a holiday, eating fruit and sweets, chaffing each other, and

having a good time generally. Above the noise a greater din arises, strengthened by kettle-drums and all manner of unmusical instruments, and the cry goes round that the procession is coming! At the head of this motley rout is led the white *duldul* horse, two in Satara, typical of the steeds of the martyrs. Other emblems carried on poles crowd close on these. On *nez sahibs*, imitation spears, since the government has prohibited real ones, limes are borne, typical of the carrying of Husayn's head at Karbala, and of much else in India. Horse-shoes, recalling Husayn's swift steed, serve also as a trap for wandering spirits. The *panja*, or hand, is popularly supposed to represent the five members of the Prophet's family, Muhammad, Fatima, Ali and his two sons; probably its original signification was merely that of a tomb, for it is well known that the hand takes the place of the skull and cross-bones on Semitic tombstones. Bunches of black hair figure among the standards and may typify Husayn's horse (which was white); but more probably is the hair which takes the place of a victim in a funeral sacrifice. Western Indian Muhammadanism is thoroughly saturated with Hinduism as well as with its own original heathenism. The most remarkable adjunct of the Muharram is seen in the tiger-men. They are in evidence throughout the ten days and swarm in the final procession. In the recent celebration in Mysore, a touch of realism was given by carrying one about in a cage. But of these more anon.

With Oriental dilatoriness, it is generally late in the afternoon when the thronging ill-regulated procession gets fairly under way. With many halts and turns and twists, it moves slowly through the crowded streets. Night falls, and a myriad swinging lights spring into being. Torches flaming at both ends are whirled, making double circles of fire. The music, the shouting, the wailing, the hysteria, increase; the procession becomes a mad rabble; and in the small hours of the deepening night, the devotees, fevered, exhausted, smitten by the chill wind, creep back to their homes for a brief troubled sleep or a continuation of the orgy.

Next day, the procession forms anew, generally in the morning. The enthusiasm of the night evaporates under the sunshine. The tabuts are taken to the seaside, or to the bank of a tank or river. Here the ornaments and everything of value are stripped off; and the bamboo skeleton, often broken and bedraggled, is *takked*, that is, thrown with ceremony into the water, in a frank following of Hindu custom. In Bombay City, the two rival factions, Sunnis as well as Shiahhs, observe the Muharram with processions of tabuts, immersion, and the rest. When a friendly spirit prevails, as was the case

two years ago, the processions march at different hours, and everything passes off quietly. But when the two processions collide, as they did last year, there is trouble, often resulting in loss of life. The Shiah are generally the aggressors, keeping a pious silence as they pass their own mosques, but giving vent to much noisy music as they pass those of their rivals. Just before the recent Muharram, the leaders of both factions were brought together at a great dinner, and peace and friendship were declared; but the only outcome was a sullen foregoing of the processions and final rites.

Back of this feast of mourning, or the Muharram, to use its popular name, is a chapter of history. When Muhammad undertook his great work of reforming society and promulgating a new religion, he found the Arab tribes engaged in perpetual fights and bitter feuds. So fierce and deadly was this intertribal warfare, that Islam might have failed at the beginning for lack of a man to accept it, had not some early Arab Solon induced his fellows to set aside four months in the year, the first seventh, eleventh and twelfth, as months of peace, to allow of the practice of religion. We observe a similar *tabu* on fighting during the Olympic Games in ancient Greece; and in the curious institution of the *Trêve de Dieu* in France in the Middle Ages, which is paralleled to-day in the Khaiber Pass. The Prophet found this arrangement so beneficial that he incorporated it into his religion; and the Muslim Muharram, literally the "sacred" first month of the year, began as a month of peace, wherein pilgrims might safely perform their return journey from Mecca.

Had Muhammad been equally careful to appoint his successor, the Muharram might still have remained a time of truce. On his death, many thought that Ali, his cousin and son-in-law and first disciple, should succeed him; but to others the more gifted Omar seemed the right person. This caused a faction, which came to a head when Ali, after becoming the fourth Caliph, was murdered in 661. His son Hasan succeeded him; but being a weak youth, more given to piety and uxoriousness than to war and government, he abdicated the office within a year and retired into private life. His end is uncertain; some claim that he was killed by a tiger; others, that after divorcing seventy wives (some say only fifty) the next one poisoned him. Husayn, meanwhile, grew up noble, brave and beautiful, the hero of many a song and tale, skilled in all manly accomplishments, and beloved of all. Like many a similar leader of a lost cause, bad advice and treachery were his undoing, and his noble and pathetic death at Karbala gave him the crown of martyr-

dom and the aureole of a saintly champion. With his death ended the struggle of the Fatimid family for the Khalifat. But the Muslim world was hopelessly split into the factions of the Sunnis and Shiahhs.

The Sunnis are the orthodox party, following the Sunnat, or "tradition," and rejecting the claims of Ali and his descendants. They observe Muharram as a month of fasting, as originally instituted; but keep the tenth day as a festival, saying that on that day God created Adam. The Muslims of Hyderabad, the largest native state in India, observe, instead of the tenth, the seventh, Langar Day, telling a local legend about a boy prince rescued from an elephant. But with that we have nothing to do.

The Shiahhs, of whom are most of the Muslims of Persia and India, hold that Ali was the Vicar of God, little, if any, inferior to Muhammad, and that Omar, in making up the canon of the Quran, left out many important passages proving this. They revere Ali, his two sons, and their seven successors as the ten Imams; and hold in high regard their descendants, of whom many are still living. Their principal tenet is hatred of the Sunnis; and their greatest holiday the first ten days of Muharram as a feast of mourning, which we have just described.

Back of the history, which is genuine enough, lies the mythological matrix. Here we have one of the many instances in which a historical person serves as a nucleus for the crystallization of brilliant and beloved myths. Muhammad made the sacred year rigidly lunar, rejecting the intercalation of an extra month once every two or three years, as impious. As a result, the Muharram, during a period of thirty-three years, swings through every season. Originally, Muharram was really the beginning of the solar as well as of the lunar year; and our Indian "festival of grief" links up with the tabued Tammuz festival, prototype of the Adonis festival of Asiatic Greece and the Easter of pagan Europe. Wherever winter follows summer, and is followed in turn by spring, there we find the weird myths of death and resurrection, whether of Korè or of Ishtar, of Baldur the Beautiful or of Shiva the Destroyer.

The Muharram festival, like the Baldur story, lacks the essential feature of the resurrection, probably because the mythical hero has been replaced by an historical one; perhaps, too, because Islam, in its break with Christianity, did not care to have any resurrection *motif* made prominent. But the resurrection idea comes forward in an unexpected manner, namely, in the presence of the tiger-men. Their presence is accounted for in many ways. On one of the floats

at the festival in Satara, a tiger attacks a horseman, and the story is told that thus Hasan came to his death; but this story has not a wide credence. Another explanation is that the tiger is a great spirit house for attracting and quieting spirits disturbed by a funeral procession. Neither seems sufficient to account for the number and prominence of the tiger-men.

Tiger-men are found in Persia; but there they are generally boys disporting themselves harmlessly. In India, especially Western India, they are for the most part Hindus, usually of low caste. Dressed only in a scanty loin-cloth, their bodies striped black and yellow, a long tiger-tail switching behind, and a sharp antelope horn in each hand, these men, drunk with *bhang*, during the whole of the Muharram festival roam the country in imitation of tigers, dancing, raging, even killing. It is a remarkable fact that the victims are generally persons against whom the tiger-man, before assuming the character, had some grudge. It is impossible to convict such a man of murder; for the people believe that the tiger-men are inspired by God (Parameshwar = *θεός*), and therefore that the god claimed a sacrifice and not that the man committed a murder.

The tiger is the most mystical animal in India. This reverence for him, increased by the belief that no man or beast once mauled by a tiger ever recovers, probably accounts for the great number of people who annually fall victims to his claws. In some provinces these victims are not allowed to be buried or burned lest evil, especially drought, befall the land.

The tiger is closely connected with Shiva; and in the Linga worship, the tiger skin, according to the *Linga Purana*, plays an important part. Most of the Hindus of Western India are Shaivites, especially of the subdivision called Lingaits; and the fact that a respectable Hindu woman will not look at a tiger-man goes to confirm the conjecture that the tiger-man is an incarnation of Shiva.

Shiva's position as third of the Hindu Trinity has nearly obliterated his earlier character. He was not a Vedic deity; and much ingenuity has been required to identify him with Rudra. That he was a frequenter of graveyards, a companion of ghosts, a drunkard, a reveler, a mad man and a wanderer, insulted and cursed by gods and demigods, shows that he was a foreigner; and many of these attributes point to some form of Dionysus brought in from the north, over the Himalyas. The Greek Dionysus, under the name of Iacchos, was of that dread circle who had chthonian attributes, a god of decaying and returning vegetation. It would be interesting to follow out the parallel between Shiva and this divinity, both of



Semitic origin, both gods of the dead, outcasts and despised, yet rising to the highest rank in their respective pantheons. It is significant also that as the panther was sacred to Bacchus, so the tiger belongs to Shiva. In the Hindu philosophy, with its overwhelming belief in rebirth and continued existence after death, this aspect of Shiva as a god of resurrection, loses its force, or, rather, is transformed into that of the destroyer and re-creator, which practically amounts to the same thing. It may seem far-fetched to see in the tiger-men in the Muharram festival the missing resurrection *motif*; but such things are not uncommon in religious observances.

A few days before Husayn's murder, to go back to the historic narrative, he gave his favorite daughter in marriage to Qasim, son of Hasan. This event is commemorated on the seventh day of the Muharram, called the Mahdi, when the Alam i Qasim, or standard, is carried in procession, and fine garments are borne on the backs of horses and camels, as at a wedding. When this standard is brought back to the Ashura Khana, as Qasim's representative, it is laid down, covered over, and treated as a corpse.

In Bombay a more realistic "bridegroom" is found. The Dula, as he is called, sits, in fulfilment of a vow, with his head green capped, over an urn of frankincense. At intervals he is raised, a pole bearing the funeral *panja*, or hand, is bound to his chest, and a bunch of peacock feathers is given him. Thus encumbered, and intoxicated with the fumes of the incense, he is led through the streets; and people supposed to be afflicted with evil spirits or witchcraft appeal to him for relief.

Here we have a marriage interjected into the very midst of funeral wailing; nor does it require much ingenuity to see in this, even more than in the tiger-men of Shiva, a hint of the resurrection. To the Hindu mind, the father lives in the son; Husayn, about to die, gives his daughter in marriage to his dead brother's son, and thus provides for the continuity of the race. In mythology, moreover, marriage is closely connected with death, that death which is but the ante-chamber of a new life. This idea is especially emphasized in Greece, where Korè, the bride of Hades, is typical of the soul; and this mystic marriage is set forth in a whole series of fine amphorae.

In conclusion, we may see in the wild orgy of grief of the Muharram, not merely a sectarian celebration of the glorious death of a martyr, but a new mingling of the palm and the willow, a reiteration of the oldest beliefs and fears and hopes of the race, the sorrow for the untimely end of the noble and the beautiful; the hope, dim, timid, yet real and fervent, of a life to come.

## SYRIA.\*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

THE religions of Syria never had the same solidarity in the Occident as those from Egypt or Asia Minor. From the coasts of Phœnicia and the valleys of Lebanon, from the borders of the Euphrates and the oases of the desert, they came at various periods, like the successive waves of the incoming tide, and existed side by side in the Roman world without uniting, in spite of their similarities. The isolation in which they remained and the persistent adherence of their believers to their particular rites were a consequence and reflection of the disunited condition of Syria herself, where the different tribes and districts remained more distinct than anywhere else, even after they had been brought together under the domination of Rome. They doggedly preserved their local gods and Semitic dialects.

It would be impossible to outline each one of these religions in detail at this time and to reconstruct their history, because our meager information would not permit it, but we can indicate, in a general way how they penetrated into the Occidental countries at various periods, and we can try to define their common characteristics by showing what new elements the Syrian paganism brought to the Romans.

The first Semitic divinity to enter Italy was *Atargatis*, frequently mistaken for the Phœnician Astarte, who had a famous temple at Bambyce or Hierapolis, not far from the Euphrates, and was worshiped with her husband, Hadad, in a considerable part of Syria besides. The Greeks considered her as the principal Syrian goddess (*Συρία θεά*), and in the Latin countries she was commonly known as *dea Syria*, a name corrupted into *Iasura* by popular use.

We all remember the unedifying descriptions of her itinerant priests that Lucian and Apuleius<sup>1</sup> have left. Led by an old eunuch

\* Translated by A. M. Thielen.

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, *Lucius*, 33 f., and Apuleius, *Metam.*, VIII, 24 f.

of dubious habits, a crowd of painted young men marched along the highways with an ass that bore an elaborately adorned image of the goddess. Whenever they passed through a village or by some rich villa, they went through their sacred exercises. To the shrill accompaniment of their Syrian flutes they turned round and round, and with their heads thrown back fluttered about and gave vent to hoarse clamors until vertigo seized them and insensibility was complete. Then they flagellated themselves wildly, struck themselves with swords and shed their blood in front of a rustic crowd which pressed closely about them, and finally they took up a profitable collection from their wondering spectators. They received jars of milk and wine, cheeses, flour, bronze coins of small denominations and even some silver pieces, all of which disappeared in the folds of their capacious robes. If opportunity presented they knew how to increase their profits by means of clever thefts or by making commonplace predictions for a moderate consideration.

This picturesque description, based on a novel by Lucius of Patras, is undoubtedly extreme. It is difficult to believe that the sacerdotal corps of the goddess of Hierapolis should have consisted only of charlatans and thieves. But how can the presence in the Occident of that begging and low nomadic clergy be explained?

It is certain that the first worshipers of the Syrian goddess in the Latin world were slaves. During the wars against Antiochus the Great a number of prisoners were sent to Italy to be sold at public auction, as was the custom, and the first appearance in Italy of the *Chaldaei*<sup>2</sup> has been connected with that event. The *Chaldaei* were Oriental fortune-tellers who asserted that their predictions were based on the Chaldean astrology. They found credulous clients among the farm laborers, and Cato gravely exhorts the good landlord to oust them from his estate.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning with the second century before Christ, merchants began to import Syrian slaves. At that time Delos was the great trade center in this human commodity, and in that island especially, Atargatis was worshiped by citizens of Athens and Rome.<sup>4</sup> Trade spread her worship in the Occident.<sup>5</sup> We know that the great slave revolution that devastated Sicily in 134 B. C. was started by a slave from Apamea, a votary of the Syrian goddess. Simulating divine madness, he called his companions to arms, pretending to act in accord-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Riess in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s. v., "Astrologie," col. 1816.

<sup>3</sup> Cato, *De agric.*, V, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. corr. hell.*, VI, 1882, p. 497, No. 15; p. 498, No. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, XXXIX, 6.

ance with orders from heaven.<sup>6</sup> This detail, which we know by chance, shows how considerable a proportion of Semites there was in the gangs working the fields, and how much authority Atargatis enjoyed in the rural centers. Being too poor to build temples for their national goddess, those agricultural laborers waited with their devotions until a band of itinerant galli passed through the distant hamlet where the lot of the auction had sent them. The existence of those wandering priests depended, therefore, on the number of fellow-countrymen they met in the rural districts, who supported them by sacrificing a part of their poor savings.

Towards the end of the republic those diviners appear to have enjoyed rather serious consideration at Rome. It was a pythoness from Syria that advised Marius on the sacrifices he was to perform.<sup>7</sup>

Under the empire the importation of slaves increased. Depopulated Italy needed more and more foreign hands, and Syria furnished a large quota of the forced immigration of cultivators. But those Syrians, quick and intelligent as they were strong and industrious, performed many other functions. They filled the countless domestic positions in the palaces of the aristocracy and were especially appreciated as litter-bearers.<sup>8</sup> The imperial and municipal administrations, as well as the big contractors to whom customs and the mines were farmed out, hired or bought them in large numbers, and even in the remotest border provinces the *Syrus* was found serving princes, cities or private individuals. The worship of the Syrian goddess profited considerably by the economic current that continually brought new worshippers. We find her mentioned in the first century of our era in a Roman inscription referring in precise terms to the slave market, and we know that Nero took a devout fancy to the stranger that did not, however, last very long.<sup>9</sup> In the popular Trastevere quarter she had a temple until the end of paganism.<sup>10</sup>

During the imperial period, however, the slaves were no longer the only missionaries that came from Syria, and Atargatis was no longer the only divinity from that country to be worshiped in the Occident. The propagation of the Semitic worships progressed for the most part in a different manner under the empire.

At the beginning of our era the Syrian merchants, *Syri negotiatores*, undertook a veritable colonization of the Latin provinces.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Florus, II, 7 (III, 9).

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch, *Vita Marii*, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Juvenal, VI, 351.

<sup>9</sup> Suetonius, *Nero*, 56.

<sup>10</sup> Gauckler, *Bollettino comunale di Roma*, XXII, 1907, pp. 225 f.

<sup>11</sup> Courajod, *Leçons du Louvre*, I, 1899, pp. 115; 327 f.

During the second century before Christ the traders of that nation had established settlements along the coast of Asia Minor, on the Piraeus, and in the Archipelago. At Delos, a small island but a large commercial center, they maintained several associations that worshiped their national gods, in particular Hadad and Atargatis. But the wars that shook the Orient at the end of the republic, and above all the growth of piracy, ruined maritime commerce and stopped emigration. This began again with renewed vigor when the establishment of the empire guaranteed the safety of the seas and when the Levantine traffic attained a development previously unknown. We can trace the history of the Syrian establishments in the Latin provinces from the first to the seventh century, and recently we have begun to appreciate their economic, social and religious importance at the true value.

The Syrians' love of lucre was proverbial. Active, compliant and able, frequently little scrupulous, they knew how to conclude first small deals, then larger ones, everywhere. Using the special talents of their race to advantage, they succeeded in establishing themselves on all coasts of the Mediterranean, even in Spain.<sup>12</sup> At Malaga an inscription mentions a corporation formed by them. The Italian ports where business was especially active, Pozzuoli, Ostia, later Naples, attracted them in great numbers. But they did not confine themselves to the seashore; they penetrated far into the interior of the countries, wherever they hoped to find profitable trade. They followed the commercial highways and traveled up the big rivers. By way of the Danube they went as far as Pannonia, by way of the Rhone they reached Lyons. In Gaul they were especially numerous. In this new country that had just been opened to commerce fortunes could be made rapidly. A rescript discovered on the range of the Lebanon is addressed to sailors from Arles, who had charge of the transportation of grain, and in the department of Ain a bilingual epitaph has been found mentioning a merchant of the third century, Thaïm or Julian, son of Saad, decurion of the city of Canatha in Syria, who owned two factories in the Rhone basin, where he handled goods from Aquitania.<sup>13</sup> Thus the Syrians spread over the entire province as far as Treves, where they had a strong colony. Not even the barbarian invasions of the fifth century stopped their immigration. Saint Jerome describes them traversing the entire Roman world amidst the troubles of the invasion, prompted by the lust of gain to defy all dangers. In the barbarian society the

<sup>12</sup> Kaibel, *Inscr. gr.*, XIV, 2540.

<sup>13</sup> CIL, III, S., 14165<sup>a</sup>.

part played by this civilized and city-bred element was even more considerable. Under the Merovingians in about 591 they had sufficient influence at Paris to have one of their number elected bishop and to gain possession of all ecclesiastic offices. Gregory of Tours tells how King Gontrand, on entering the city of Orleans in 585, was received by a crowd praising him "in the language of the Latins, the Jews and the Syrians."<sup>14</sup> The merchant colonies existed until the Saracen corsairs destroyed the commerce of the Mediterranean.

Those establishments exercised a strong influence upon the economic and material life of the Latin provinces, especially in Gaul. As bankers the Syrians concentrated a large share of the money business in their hands and monopolized the importing of the valuable Levantine commodities as well as of the articles of luxury; they sold wines, spices, glassware, silks and purple fabrics, also objects wrought by goldsmiths, to be used as patterns by the native artisans. Their moral and religious influence was not less considerable: for instance, it has been shown that they furthered the development of monastic life during the Christian period, and that the devotion to the crucifix<sup>15</sup> that grew up in opposition to the monophysites, was introduced into the Occident by them. During the first five centuries Christians felt an unconquerable repugnance to the representation of the Saviour of the world nailed to an instrument of punishment more infamous than the guillotine of to-day. The Syrians were the first to substitute reality in all its pathetic horror for a vague symbolism.

In pagan times the religious ascendancy of that immigrant population was no less remarkable. The merchants always took an interest in the affairs of heaven as well as in those of earth. At all times Syria was a land of ardent devotion, and in the first century its children were as fervid in propagating their barbarian gods in the Occident as after their conversion they were enthusiastic in spreading Christianity as far as Turkestan and China. As soon as the merchants had established their places of business in the islands of the Archipelago during the Alexandrian period, and in the Latin period under the empire, they founded chapels in which they practised their exotic rites.

It was easy for the divinities of the Phœnician coast to cross the seas. Among them were Adonis, whom the women of Byblus mourned; Balmarcodes, "the Lord of the dances," who came from

<sup>14</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.*, VIII, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Bréhier, *Les origines du crucifix dans l'art religieux*, Paris, 1904.



Beirut; Marna, the master of rain, worshiped at Gaza; and Maiuma,<sup>16</sup> whose nautical holiday was celebrated every spring on the coast near Ostia as well as in the Orient.

Besides these half Hellenized religions, others of a more purely Semitic nature came from the interior of the country, because the merchants frequently were natives of the cities of the *Hinterland*, as for instance, Apamea or Epiphanea in Coele-Syria, or even of villages in the flat country. As Rome incorporated the small kingdoms beyond the Lebanon and the Orontes that had preserved a precarious independence, the current of emigration increased. In 71 Commagene, which lies between the Taurus and the Euphrates, was annexed by Vespasian, a little later the dynasties of Chalcis and Emesa were also deprived of their power. Nero, it appears, took possession of Damascus; half a century later Trajan established the new province of Arabia in the south (106 A. D.), and the oasis of Palmyra, a great mercantile center, lost its autonomy at the same time. In this manner Rome extended her direct authority as far as the desert, over countries that were only superficially Hellenized, and where the native devotions had preserved all their savage fervor. From that time constant communication was established between Italy and those regions which had heretofore been almost inaccessible. As roads were built commerce developed, and together with the interests of trade the needs of administration created an incessant exchange of men, of products and of beliefs between those out-of-the-way countries and the Latin provinces.

These annexations, therefore, were followed by a renewed influx of Syrian divinities into the Occident. At Pozzuoli, the last port of call of the Levantine vessels, there was a temple to the Baal of Damascus (*Jupiter Damascenus*) in which leading citizens officiated, and there were altars on which two golden camels<sup>17</sup> were offered to Dusares, a divinity who had come from the interior of Arabia. They kept company with a divinity of more ancient repute, the Hadad of Baabek-Heliopolis (*Jupiter Heliopolitanus*), whose immense temple, considered one of the world's wonders<sup>18</sup> had been restored by Antoninus Pius, and may still be seen facing Lebanon in majestic elegance. Heliopolis and Beirut had been the most ancient colonies founded by Augustus in Syria. The god of Heliopolis participated in the privileged position granted to the inhabitants of

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'archéol. or.*, IV, p. 339.

<sup>17</sup> *Pauly-Wissowa*, s. v. "Damascenus, Dusares."

<sup>18</sup> Malalas, XI, p. 280, 12 (Bonn).

those two cities, who worshiped him in a common devotion,<sup>19</sup> and he was naturalized as a Roman with greater ease than the others.

The conquest of all Syria as far as Euphrates and the subjection of even a part of Mesopotamia aided the diffusion of the Semitic religions in still another manner. From these regions, that were partly inhabited by fighting races, the Cæsars drew recruits for the imperial army. They levied a great number of legionaries, but especially auxiliary troops, who were transferred to the frontiers. Troopers and foot-soldiers from those provinces furnished important contingents to the garrisons of Europe and Africa. For instance, a cohort of one thousand archers from Emesa was established in Pannonia, another of archers from Damascus in upper Germany; Mauretania received irregulars from Palmyra, and bodies of troops levied in Ituraea, on the outskirts of the Arabian desert, were encamped in Dacia, Germany, Egypt and Cappadocia at the same time. Commagene alone furnished no less than six cohorts of five hundred men each that were sent to the Danube and into Numidia.<sup>20</sup>

The number of inscriptions consecrated by soldiers proves both the ardor of their faith and the diversity of their beliefs. Like the sailors of to-day who are transferred to strange climes and exposed to incessant danger, they were constantly inclined to invoke the protection of heaven, and remained attached to the gods who seemed to remind them in their exile of the distant home country. Therefore it is not surprising that the Syrians who served in the army should have practised the religion of their Baals in the neighborhood of their camps. In the north of England, near the wall of Hadrian, an inscription in verse in honor of the goddess of Hierapolis has been found; its author was a prefect, probably of a cohort of Hamites stationed at that distant post.<sup>21</sup>

Not all the soldiers, however, went to swell the ranks of believers worshiping divinities that had long been adopted by the Latin world, as did that officer. They also brought along new ones that had come from a still greater distance than their predecessors, in fact from the outskirts of the barbarian world, because from those regions in particular trained men could be obtained. There were, for instance, *Baltis*, an "Our Lady" from Osroene beyond the Euphrates;<sup>22</sup> *Azis*, the "strong god" of Edessa, who was identified with

<sup>19</sup> CIL, X, 1634.

<sup>20</sup> Cichorius in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s. v. "Ala" and "Cohors."

<sup>21</sup> CIL, VII, 759.

<sup>22</sup> *Baltis* in *Pauly-Wissowa*, *Realenc.*, s. v.

the star Lucifer;<sup>23</sup> *Malakbel*, the "Lord's messenger," patron of the soldiers from Palmyra, who appeared with several companions at Rome, in Numidia and in Dacia.<sup>24</sup> The most celebrated of those gods then was the Jupiter of Doliche, a small city of Commagene, that owed its fame to him. Because of the troops coming from that region, this obscure Baal, whose name is mentioned by no author, found worshipers in every Roman province as far as Africa, Germany and Brittany. The number of known inscriptions consecrated to him exceeds a hundred, and it is still growing. Being originally nothing but a god of lightning, represented as brandishing an ax, this local genius of the tempest was elevated to the rank of tutelary divinity of the imperial armies.<sup>25</sup>

The diffusion of the Semitic religions in Italy that commenced imperceptibly under the republic became more marked after the first century of our era. Their expansion and multiplication were rapid, and they attained the apogee of their power during the third century. Their influence became almost predominant when the accession of the Severi lent them the support of a court that was half Syrian. Functionaries of all kinds, senators and officers, vied with each other in devotion to the patron gods of their sovereigns, gods which the sovereigns patronized in turn. Intelligent and ambitious princesses like Julia Domna, Julia Maesa, Julia Mammea, whose ascendancy was very considerable, became propagators of their national religion. We all know the audacious pronouncement of the year 218 that placed upon the throne the fourteen year-old emperor Heliogabalus, a worshiper of the Baal of Emesa. His intention was to give supremacy over all other gods to his barbarian divinity, who had heretofore been almost unknown. The ancient authors narrate with indignation, how this crowned priest attempted to elevate his black stone, the coarse idol brought from Emesa, to the rank of supreme divinity of the empire by subordinating the whole ancient pantheon to it; they never tire of giving revolting details about the dissoluteness of the debaucheries, for which the festivities of the new *Sol invictus Elagabal* furnished a pretext.<sup>26</sup> However, the question arises whether the Roman historians, being very hostile to that foreigner who haughtily favored the customs of his own country, did not misrepresent or partly misunderstand the facts. Heliogabalus's attempt to have his god recognized as supreme, and to establish a

<sup>23</sup> *Pauly-Wissowa, Realenc., s. v. "Aziz."*

<sup>24</sup> *Dussaud, Notes, 24 f.*

<sup>25</sup> *Kan, De Jovis Dolicheno cultu, Groningen, 1901.*

<sup>26</sup> *Réville, Religions sous les Sévères, pp. 237 f.*

kind of monotheism in heaven as there was monarchy on earth, was undoubtedly too violent, awkward and premature, but it was in keeping with the aspirations of the time, and it must be remembered that the imperial policy could find the support of powerful Syrian colonies not only at Rome but all over the empire.

Half a century later Aurelian<sup>27</sup> was inspired by the same idea when he created a new worship, that of the "Invincible Sun." Worshiped in a splendid temple, by pontiffs equal in rank to those of ancient Rome, having magnificent plays held in his honor every fourth year, *Sol invictus* was also elevated to the supreme rank in the divine hierarchy, and became the special protector of the emperors and the empire. The country where Aurelian found the pattern he sought to reproduce, was again Syria. Into the new sanctuary he transferred the images of Bel and Helios, taken from Palmyra, after it had fallen before his arms.

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The sovereigns, then, twice attempted to replace the Capitoline Jupiter by a Semitic god and to make a Semitic religion the principal and official religion of the Romans. They proclaimed the fall of the old Latin idolatry and the accession of a new paganism taken from Syria. What was the superiority attributed to the creeds of that country? Why did even an Illyrian general like Aurelian look for the most perfect type of pagan religion in that country? That is the problem to be solved, but it must remain unsolved unless an exact account is given of the fate of the Syrian beliefs under the empire.

That question has not as yet been very completely elucidated. Besides the superficial opusculum of Lucian on the *dea Syria*, we find scarcely any reliable information in the Greek or Latin writers. The work by Philo of Byblus is a euhemeristic interpretation of an alleged Phœnician cosmogony, and a composition of little merit. Neither have we the original texts of the Semitic liturgies, as we have for Egypt. Whatever we have learned we owe especially to the inscriptions, and while these furnish highly valuable indications as to the date and the area of expansion of these religions, they tell us hardly anything about their doctrines. Light on this subject may be expected from the excavations that are being made in the great sanctuaries of Syria, and also from a more exact interpretation of the sculptured monuments that we now possess in great numbers, especially those of Jupiter Dolichenus.

Some characteristics of the Semitic paganism, however, are

<sup>27</sup> Zosimus, I, 61.

known at present, and it must be admitted that it would appear at a disadvantage if judged by the features that first attract our attention.

It had retained a stock of very primitive ideas and some aboriginal nature worship that had lasted through many centuries and was to persist, in part, under Christianity and Islam until the present day.<sup>28</sup> Such were the worship of high elevations on which a rustic enclosure sometimes marked the limits of the consecrated territory; the worship of the waters that flow to the sea, the streams that arise in the mountains, the springs that gush out of the soil, the ponds, the lakes and the wells, into all of which offerings were thrown with the idea either of venerating in them the thirst-quenching liquid or else the fecund nature of the earth; the worship of the trees that shaded the altars and that nobody dared to fell or mutilate; the worship of stones, especially of the rough stones called bethels



COIN OF EMESA



COINS OF PAPHOS

Showing conical representations of the deity.

that were regarded, as their name (*beth-El*) indicates, as the residence of the god, or rather, as the matter in which the god was embodied.<sup>29</sup> Aphrodite Astarte was worshiped in the shape of a conical stone at Paphos, and a black aerolite covered with projections and depressions to which a symbolic meaning was attributed represented Elagabal, and was transferred from Emesa to Rome, as we have said.

The animals, as well as inanimate things, received their share of homage. Remnants of the old Semitic zoolatry perpetuated themselves until the end of paganism and even later. Frequently the gods were represented standing erect on animals. Thus the Doli-chean Baal stood on a steer, and his spouse on a lion. Around certain temples there were sacred parks, in which savage beasts roamed

<sup>28</sup> Janssen, *Coutumes des Arabes du pays de Moab*, Paris, 1908, pp. 297 f.

<sup>29</sup> Titus of Bostra, II, 60, pp. 60, 25, ed. de Lagarde.

at liberty,<sup>30</sup> a reminder of the time when they were considered divine. Two animals especially were the objects of universal veneration, the pigeon and the fish. Vagrant multitudes of pigeons received the traveler landing at Ascalon,<sup>31</sup> and they played about the enclosures of all the temples of Astarte<sup>32</sup> in flocks resembling white whirlwinds. The pigeon belonged, properly speaking, to the goddess of love, whose symbol it has remained above all to the people worshipping that goddess.

"Quid referam ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes  
Alba Palaestino sancta columba Syro?"<sup>33</sup>



GODDESS ON A LIONESS  
From a rock-carving at Boghaz-Koi.



COIN OF TARSUS  
Showing goddess on an animal, the conical stone and dove.



BETHEL ON COIN OF TARSUS

The fish was sacred to Atargatis, who undoubtedly had been represented in that shape at first, as Dagon always was.<sup>34</sup> The fish were kept in ponds in the proximity of the temples.<sup>35</sup> A superstitious fear prevented people from touching them, because the goddess punished the sacrilegious by covering their bodies with ulcers and tumors.<sup>36</sup> At certain mystic repasts, however, the priests and initiates consumed the forbidden food in the belief that they were ab-

<sup>30</sup> Lucian, *De dea Syria*, c. 41.

<sup>31</sup> Philo Alex., *De provid.*, II, c. 107 (II, 646 M).

<sup>32</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, s. v. "Dea Syria," col. 2242.

<sup>33</sup> Tibullus, I, 7, 17.

<sup>34</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 46; V, 331.

<sup>35</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.*, col. 2241.

<sup>36</sup> Selden, *De dis Syris*, II, c. 3, pp. 268 f., ed. 1672.



sorbing the flesh of the divinity herself. That worship and its practices, which were spread over Syria, probably suggested the ichthys symbolism in the Christian period.<sup>37</sup>

However, over this lower and primordial stratum that still cropped out here and there, other less rudimentary beliefs had formed. Besides inanimate objects and animals, the Syrian pagan-



ASTARTE AND THE DOVE



ASTARTE'S DOVE (DETAIL)

ism worshiped personal divinities especially. The character of the gods that were originally adored by the Semitic tribes has been ingeniously reconstructed.<sup>38</sup> Each tribe had its Baal and Baalat who protected it and whom only its members were permitted to worship. The name of *Ba'al*, "master," summarizes the conception people had

<sup>37</sup> Usener, *Sintheutsagen*, 1899, pp. 223 f.

<sup>38</sup> Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 292 f.

of him. In the first place he was regarded as the sovereign of his votaries, and his position in regard to them was that of an Oriental potentate towards his subjects; they were his servants, or rather his slaves.<sup>39</sup> The Baal was at the same time the "master" or proprietor of the country in which he resided and which he made fertile by causing springs to gush from its soil. Or his domain was the firmament and he was the *dominus caeli*, whence he made the waters fall to the roar of tempests. He was always united with a celestial or earthly "queen" and, in the third place, he was the "lord" or husband of the "lady" associated with him. The one represented the male, the other the female principle; they were the authors of all fecundity, and as a consequence the worship of the divine couple often assumed a sensual and voluptuous character.

As a matter of fact, immorality was nowhere so flagrant as in the temples of Astarte, whose female servants honored the goddess with untiring ardor. In no country was sacred prostitution so developed as in Syria, and in the Occident it was to be found practically only where the Phœnicians had imported it, as on Mount Eryx. Those aberrations, that were kept up until the end of paganism,<sup>40</sup> probably have their explanation in the primitive constitution of the Semitic tribe, and the religious custom must have been originally one of the forms of exogamy, which compelled the woman to unite herself first with a stranger.<sup>41</sup>

As a second blemish, the Semitic religions practised human immolations longer than any other religion, sacrificing children and grown men in order to please sanguinary gods. In spite of Hadrian's prohibition of those murderous offerings,<sup>42</sup> they were maintained in certain clandestine rites and in the lowest practices of magic, up to the fall of the idols, and even later. They corresponded to the ideas of a period during which the life of a captive or slave had no greater value than that of an animal.

These sacred practices and many others, on which Lucian complacently enlarges in his opusculum on the goddess of Hierapolis, daily revived the habits of a barbarous past in the temples of Syria. Of all the conceptions that had successively dominated the country, none had completely disappeared. As in Egypt, beliefs of very different date and origin coexisted, without any attempt to make them agree, or without success when the task was undertaken. In

<sup>39</sup> Fossey, *Bull. corr. hell.*, 1907, p. 60.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constant.*, III, 55.

<sup>41</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 36.

<sup>42</sup> Porphyry, *De abst.*, II, 56.

these beliefs zoolatry, litholatry and all the other nature worships outlived the savagery that had created them. More than anywhere else the gods had remained the chieftains of clans<sup>43</sup> because the tribal organizations of Syria were longer lived and more developed than those of any other region. Under the empire many districts were still subjected to the tribal regime and commanded by "ethnarchs" or "phylarchs."<sup>44</sup> Religion, which sacrificed the lives of the men and the honor of the women to the divinity, had in many regards remained on the moral level of unsocial and sanguinary tribes. Its obscene and atrocious rites called forth exasperated indignation on the part of the Roman conscience when Heliogabalus attempted to introduce them into Italy with his Baal of Emesa.

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How, then, can one explain the fact that in spite of all, the Syrian gods imposed themselves upon the Occident and made even the Cæsars accept them? The reason is that the Semitic paganism can no more be judged by certain revolting practices, that perpetuated in the heart of civilization the barbarity and puerilities of an uncultivated society, than the religion of the Nile can be so judged. As in the case of Egypt we must distinguish between the sacerdotal religion and the infinitely varied popular religion that was embodied in local customs. Syria possessed a number of great sanctuaries in which an educated clergy meditated and expatiated upon the nature of the divine beings and on the meaning of traditions inherited from remote ancestors. As their own interests demanded, that clergy constantly amended the sacred traditions and modified their spirit when the letter was immutable in order to make them agree with the new aspirations of a more advanced period. They had their mysteries and their initiates to whom they revealed a wisdom that was above the vulgar beliefs of the masses.<sup>45</sup>

Frequently we can draw diametrically opposite conclusions from the same principle. In that manner the old idea of *tabu*, that seems to have transformed the temples of Astarte into houses of debauchery, also became the source of a severe code of morals. The Semitic tribes were haunted with the fear of the *tabu*. A multitude of things were either impure or sacred because, in the original confusion, those two notions had not been clearly differentiated. Man's ability to use the products of nature to satisfy his needs, was thus limited

<sup>43</sup> This was the case even where cities had arisen.

<sup>44</sup> Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I, pp. 405; 409.

<sup>45</sup> Hippolytus, *Adv. haeres.*, V, 11, § 7.

by a number of prohibitions, restrictions and conditions. He who touched a forbidden object was soiled and corrupted, his fellows did not associate with him and he could no longer participate in the sacrifices. In order to wipe out the blemish, he had recourse to ablutions and other ceremonies known to the priests. Purity, that had originally been considered simply physical, soon became ritualistic and finally spiritual. Life was surrounded by a network of circumstances subject to certain conditions, every violation of which meant a fall and demanded penance. The anxiety to remain constantly in a state of holiness or regain that state when it had been lost, filled one's entire existence. It was not peculiar to the Semitic tribes, but they ascribed a prime importance to it.<sup>46</sup> And the gods, who necessarily possessed this quality in an eminent degree, were holy beings (*ἅγιοι*)<sup>47</sup> *par excellence*.

In this way principles of conduct and dogmas of faith have frequently been derived from instinctive and absurd old beliefs. All theological doctrines that were accepted in Syria modified the prevailing ancient conception of the Baals. But in our present state of knowledge it is very difficult indeed to determine the shares that the various influences contributed, from the conquests of Alexander to the Roman domination, to make the Syrian paganism what it became under the Cæsars. The civilization of the Seleucid empire is little known, and we cannot determine what caused the alliance of Greek thought with the Semitic traditions.<sup>48</sup> The religions of the neighboring nations also had an undeniable influence. Phœnicia and Lebanon remained moral tributaries of Egypt long after they had liberated themselves from the suzerainty of the Pharaohs. The theogony of Philo of Biblus took gods and myths from that country, and at Heliopolis Hadad was honored "according to Egyptian rather than Syrian rite."<sup>49</sup> The rigorous monotheism of the Jews, who were dispersed over the entire country, must also have acted as an active ferment of transformation.<sup>50</sup> But it was Babylon that retained the intellectual supremacy, even after its political ruin. The powerful sacerdotal caste ruling it did not fall with the independence of the country, and it survived the conquests of Alexander as it had previously lived through the Persian domination. The researches of Assyriologists have shown that its ancient worship persisted

<sup>46</sup> Robertson Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 446 f.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Etudes d'archéologie orientale*, II, 1896, p. 104.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Dussaud, *Notes*, pp. 89 f.

<sup>49</sup> Macrobius, I, 23, § 11.

<sup>50</sup> Enting, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1885, p. 669.

under the Seleucides, and at the time of Strabo the "Chaldeans" still discussed cosmology and first principles in the rival schools of Borsippa and Orchoë.<sup>51</sup> The ascendancy of that erudite clergy affected all surrounding regions; it was felt by Persia in the east, Cappadocia in the north, but more than anywhere else by the Syrians, who were connected with the Oriental Semites by bonds of language and blood. Even after the Parthians had wrested the valley of the Euphrates from the Seleucides, relations with the great temples of that region remained uninterrupted. The plains of Mesopotamia, inhabited by races of like origin, extended on both sides of an artificial borderline; great commercial roads followed the course of the two rivers flowing into the Persian Gulf or cut across the desert, and the pilgrims came to Babylon, as Lucian tells us, to perform their devotions to the Lady of Bamyce.<sup>52</sup>

Ever since the Captivity, constant spiritual relations had existed between Judaism and the great religious metropolis. At the birth of Christianity they manifested themselves in the rise of gnostic sects in which the Semitic mythology formed strange combinations with Jewish and Greek ideas and furnished the foundation for extravagant superstructures.<sup>53</sup> Finally, during the decline of the empire, it was Babylon again from which emanated Manicheism, the last form of idolatry received in the Latin world. We can imagine how powerful the religious influence of that country on the Syrian paganism must have been.

That influence manifested itself in various ways. First, it introduced new gods. In this way Bel passed from the Babylonian pantheon into that of Palmyra and was honored throughout northern Syria.<sup>54</sup> It also caused ancient divinities to be arranged in new groups. To the primitive couple of the Baal and the Baalat a third member was added in order to form one of those triads dear to Chaldean theology. This took place at Hierapolis as well as at Heliopolis, and the three gods of the latter city, Hadad, Atargatis and Simios, became Jupiter, Venus and Mercury in Latin inscriptions.<sup>55</sup> Finally, and most important, astrolatry wrought radical changes in the characters of the celestial powers, and, as a further consequence, in the entire Roman paganism. In the first place it gave them a second personality in addition to their own nature.

<sup>51</sup> Strabo, XVI, 1, 6.

<sup>52</sup> Lucian, *De dea Syria*, c. 10.

<sup>53</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, I, pp. 233 f.

<sup>54</sup> *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1907, pp. 447 f.

<sup>55</sup> Dussaud, *Notes*, p. 24.

The sidereal myths superimposed themselves upon the agrarian myths, and gradually obliterated them. Astrology, born on the banks of the Euphrates, imposed itself in Egypt upon the haughty and unapproachable clergy of the most conservative of all nations.<sup>56</sup> Syria received it without reserve and surrendered unconditionally;<sup>57</sup> numismatics and archeology as well as literature prove this. King Antiochus of Commagene, for instance, who died 34 B. C., built himself a monumental tomb on a spur of the Taurus, in which he placed his horoscope, designed on a large bas-relief, beside the images of his ancestral divinities.<sup>58</sup>

The importance which the introduction of the Syrian religions into the Occident has for us consists therefore in the fact that indirectly they brought certain theological doctrines of the Chaldeans with them, just as Isis and Serapis carried beliefs of old Egypt from Alexandria to the Occident. The Roman empire received successively the religious tribute of the two great nations that had formerly ruled the Oriental world. It is characteristic that the god Bel whom Aurelian brought from Asia to set up as the protector of his states, was in reality a Babylonian who had emigrated to Palmyra,<sup>59</sup> a cosmopolitan center apparently predestined by virtue of its location to become the intermediary between the civilizations of the Euphrates and the Mediterranean.

The influence exercised by the speculations of the Chaldeans upon Greco-Roman thought can be asserted positively, but cannot as yet be strictly defined. It was at once philosophic and religious, literary and popular. The entire neo-Platonist school used the names of those venerable masters, but it cannot be determined how much it really owes to them. A selection of poems that has often been quoted since the third century, under the title of "Chaldaic Oracles" (*Λόγια Χαλδαϊκά*) combines the ancient Hellenic theories with a fantastic mysticism that was certainly imported from the Orient. It is to Babylonia what the literature of Hermes Trismegistus is to Egypt, and it is equally difficult to determine the nature of the ingredients that the author put into his sacred compositions. But at an earlier date the Syrian religions had spread far and wide in the Occident ideas conceived on the distant banks of the Euphrates. I shall try to indicate briefly what their share in the pagan syncretism was.

<sup>56</sup> Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 372.

<sup>57</sup> Diodorus, II, 31, 2.

<sup>58</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 188, fig. 8.

<sup>59</sup> Sobernheim, "Palmyrenische Inschriften," *Mitt. der vorderasiat. Gesellschaft*, X, 1905, pp. 319 f.



We have seen that the gods from Alexandria gained souls especially by the promise of blessed immortality. Those from Syria must also have satisfied doubts tormenting all the minds of that time. As a matter of fact the old Semitic ideas on man's fate in after-life were little comforting. We know how sad, dull and hopeless their conception of life after death was. The dead descended into a subterranean realm where they led a miserable existence, a weak reflection of the one they had lost; since they were subject to wants and suffering, they had to be supported by funeral offerings placed on their sepulchers by their descendants. Those ancient beliefs and customs were found also in primitive Greece and Italy.

This rudimentary eschatology, however, gave way to quite a different conception, one that was closely related to the Chaldean astrology, and which spread over the Occident towards the end of the republic. According to this doctrine the soul returned to heaven after death, to live there among the divine stars. While it remained on earth it was subject to all the bitter necessities of a destiny determined by the revolutions of the stars; but when it ascended into the upper regions, it escaped that fate and even the limits of time; it shared equally in the immortality of the sidereal gods that surrounded it.<sup>60</sup> In the opinion of some, the soul was attracted by the rays of the sun, and after passing through the moon, where it was purified, it lost itself in the shining star of day.<sup>61</sup> Another more purely astrological theory, that was undoubtedly a development of the former, taught that the soul descended to earth from the heights of heaven by passing through the spheres of the seven planets. During its passage it acquired the dispositions and qualities proper to each planet. After death it returned to its original abode by the same route. To get from one sphere to another, it had to pass a door guarded by a commandant (*ἀρχων*).<sup>62</sup> Only the souls of initiates knew the password that made those incorruptible guardians yield, and under the conduct of a psychopompus<sup>63</sup> they ascended safely from zone to zone. As the soul rose it divested itself of the passions and qualities it had acquired on its descent to the earth as though they were garments, and, free from sensuality, it penetrated into the eighth heaven to enjoy everlasting happiness as a subtle essence.

<sup>60</sup> See below.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Wendland, *Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 68, n. 1; 70, n. 2.

<sup>62</sup> A belief still held by present-day Nosaïris in Syria.

<sup>63</sup> A divinity believed to conduct souls to their proper abodes.

Perhaps this doctrine, undoubtedly of Babylonian origin, was not generally accepted by the Syrian religions, as it was by the mysteries of Mithra, but these religions, impregnated with astrology, certainly propagated the belief that the souls of those worshipers that had led pious lives were elevated to the heights of heaven, where an apotheosis made them the equals of the luminous gods.<sup>64</sup> Under the empire this doctrine slowly supplanted all others; the Elysian fields, which the votaries of Isis and Serapis still located in the depths of the earth, were transferred into the ether bathing the fixed stars,<sup>65</sup> and the underworld was thereafter reserved for the wicked who had not been allowed to pass through the celestial gates.

The sublime regions occupied by the purified souls were also the abode of the supreme god.<sup>66</sup> When it transformed the ideas on the destiny of man, astrology also modified those relating to the nature of the divinity. In this matter the Syrian religions were especially original; for even if the Alexandrian mysteries offered man just as comforting prospects of immortality as the eschatology of their rivals, they were backward in building up a commensurate theology. To the Semitic races belongs the honor of having reformed the ancient fetichism most thoroughly. Their base and narrow conceptions of early times to which we can trace their existence, broaden and rise until they form a kind of monotheism.

As we have seen, the Syrian tribes worshiped a god of lightning,<sup>67</sup> like all primitive races. That god opened the reservoirs of the firmament to let the rain fall and split the giant trees of the woods with the double ax that always remained his emblem.<sup>68</sup> When the progress of astronomy removed the constellations to incommensurable distances, the "Baal of the Heavens" (*Ba'al šamîn*) had to grow in majesty. Undoubtedly at the time of the Achæmenides, he was connected with the Ahura-Mazda of the Persians, the ancient god of the vault of heaven, who had become the highest physical and moral power, and this connection helped to transform the old genius of thunder.<sup>69</sup> People continued to worship the material heaven in him; under the Romans he was still simply called *Caelus*, as well as "Celestial Jupiter" (*Jupiter Caelestis*, *Ζεὺς Οὐρά-*

<sup>64</sup> Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, 1897.

<sup>65</sup> Macrobius, *Comm. somn. Scip.*, I, 11, § 8.

<sup>66</sup> Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 31.

<sup>67</sup> Originally he was the god of thunder.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Usener, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>69</sup> Pognon, *Inscr. sémit.*, 1907, pp. 165 f.

vios),<sup>70</sup> but it was a heaven studied by a sacred science that venerated its harmonious mechanism. The Seleucides represented him on their coins with a crescent over his forehead and carrying a sun with seven rays, to symbolize the fact that he presided over the course of the stars;<sup>71</sup> or else he was shown with the two Dioscuri at his side, heroes who enjoyed life and suffered death in turn, according to the Greek myth, and who had become the symbols of the two celestial hemispheres. Religious uranography placed the residence of the supreme divinity in the most elevated region of the world, fixing its abode in the zone most distant from the earth, above the planets and the fixed stars. This fact was intended to be expressed by the term Most-High ("Υψιστος) applied to the Syrian Baals as well as to Jehovah.<sup>72</sup> According to this cosmic religion, the Most High resided in the immense orb that contained the spheres of all the stars and embraced the entire universe which was subject to his domination. The Latins translated the name of this "Hypsistos" by *Jupiter summus exsuperantissimus*<sup>73</sup> to indicate his pre-eminence over all divine beings.

As a matter of fact, his power was infinite. The primary postulate of the Chaldean astrology was that all phenomena and events of this world were necessarily determined by sidereal influence. The changes of nature, as well as the dispositions of men, were controlled according to fate, by the divine energies that resided in the heavens. In other words, the gods were almighty; they were the masters of destiny that governed the universe absolutely. The notion of their omnipotence resulted from the development of the ancient autocracy with which the Baals were credited. As we have stated, they were conceived after the image of an Asiatic monarch, and the religious terminology was evidently intended to display the humility of their priests toward them. In Syria we find nothing analogous to what existed in Egypt, where the priest thought he could compel the gods to act, and even dared to threaten them.<sup>74</sup> The distance separating the human and the divine always was much greater with the Semitic tribes, and all that astrology did was to emphasize the distance more strongly by giving it a doctrinal foundation and a scientific appearance. In the Latin world the Asiatic religions propa-

<sup>70</sup> Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 103.

<sup>71</sup> Babelon, *Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie*, 1890, pp. clix; 178 f.

<sup>72</sup> According to the Alexandrian Judaism these were all qualities of Jehovah.

<sup>73</sup> "Jupiter summus exsuperantissimus," *Archiv f. Religionsw.*, IX, 1906, pp. 326 f.

<sup>74</sup> Ps.-Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*, VI, 7.

gated the conception of the absolute and illimitable sovereignty of God over the earth. Apuleius calls the Syrian goddess *omnipotens et omniparens*, "mistress and mother of all things."<sup>75</sup>

The observation of the starry skies, moreover, had led the Chaldeans to the notion of a divine eternity. The constancy of the sidereal revolutions inspired the conclusion as to their perpetuity. The stars follow their ever uncompleted courses unceasingly; as soon as the end of their journey is reached, they resume without stopping the road already covered, and the cycles of years in which their movements take place, extend from the indefinite past into the indefinite future.<sup>76</sup> Thus a clergy of astronomers necessarily conceived Baal, "Lord of the heavens," as the "Master of eternity" or "He whose name is praised through all eternity"<sup>77</sup>—titles which constantly recur in Semitic inscriptions. The divine stars did not die, like Osiris or Attis; whenever they seemed to weaken, they were born to a new life and always remained invincible (*invicti*).

Together with the mysteries of the Syrian Baals, this theological notion penetrated into Occidental paganism.<sup>78</sup> Whenever an inscription to a *deus aeternus* is found in the Latin provinces it refers to a Syrian sidereal god, and it is a remarkable fact that this epithet did not enter the ritual before the second century, at the time the worship of the god Heaven (*Caelus*)<sup>79</sup> was propagated. That the philosophers had long before placed the first cause beyond the limits of time was of no consequence, for their theories had not penetrated into the popular consciousness nor modified the traditional formulæ of the liturgies. To the people the divinities were beings more beautiful, more vigorous, and more powerful than man, but born like him, and exempt only from old age and death, the immortals of old Homer. The Syrian priests diffused the idea of a god without beginning and without end through the Roman world, and thus contributed, along lines parallel with the Jewish proselytism, to lend the authority of dogma to what had previously been only a metaphysical theory.

The Baals were universal as well as eternal, and their power became limitless in regard to space as it had been in regard to time. These two principles were correlative. The title of "*mar 'olam*" which the Baals bore occasionally may be translated by "Lord of

<sup>75</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.*, VIII, 25.

<sup>76</sup> Diodorus, II, 30.

<sup>77</sup> De Vogüé, *Inscr. sémit.*, pp. 53 f.

<sup>78</sup> CIL, VI, 406 = 20758.

<sup>79</sup> *Rev. archéol.*, 1888, I, pp. 184 f.

the universe," or by "Lord of eternity," and efforts certainly have been made to claim the twofold quality for them.<sup>80</sup> Peopled with divine constellations and traversed by planets assimilated to the inhabitants of Olympus, the heavens determined the destinies of the entire human race by their movements, and the whole earth was subject to the changes produced by their revolutions.<sup>81</sup> Consequently, the old *Ba'al šamin* was necessarily transformed into a universal power. Of course, even under the Cæsars there existed in Syria traces of a period when the local god was the fetich of a clan and could be worshiped by the members of that clan only, a period when strangers were admitted to his altars only after a ceremony of initiation, as brothers, or at least as guests and clients.<sup>82</sup> But from the period when our knowledge of the history of the great divinities of Heliopolis or Hierapolis begins, these divinities were regarded as common to all Syrians, and crowds of pilgrims came from distant countries to obtain grace in the holy cities. As protectors of the entire human race the Baals gained proselytes in the Occident, and their temples witnessed gatherings of devotees of every race and nationality. In this respect the Baals were distinctly different from Jehovah.

The essence of paganism implies that the nature of a divinity broadens as the number of its votaries increases. Everybody credits it with some new quality, and its character becomes more complex. As it gains in power it also has a tendency to dominate its companion gods and to concentrate their functions in itself. To escape this threatening absorption, these gods must be of a very sharply defined personality and of a very original character. The vague Semitic deities, however, were devoid of a well defined individuality. We fail to find among them a well organized society of immortals, like that of the Greek Olympus where each divinity had its own features and its own particular life full of adventures and experiences; and each followed its special calling to the exclusion of all the others. One was a physician, another a poet, a third a shepherd, hunter or blacksmith. The Greek inscriptions found in Syria are, in this regard, eloquently concise.<sup>83</sup> Usually they have the name of Zeus accompanied by some simple epithet: *κύριος* (Lord), *ἀνίκητος* (invincible), *μέγιστος* (greatest). All these Baals

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, 258; II, 297.

<sup>81</sup> CIL, III, 1090 = Dessau, *Inscr.*, 2998.

<sup>82</sup> Robertson Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 75 f.

<sup>83</sup> Renan, *Apôtres*, p. 297.

seem to have been brothers. They were personalities of indeterminate outline and interchangeable powers and were readily confused.

At the time the Romans came into contact with Syria, it had already passed through a period of syncretism similar to the one we can study with greater precision in the Latin world. The ancient exclusiveness and the national particularism had been overcome. The Baals of the great sanctuaries had enriched themselves with the virtues<sup>84</sup> of their neighbors; then, always following the same process, they had taken certain features from foreign divinities brought over by the Greek conquerors. In that manner their characters had become indefinable, they performed incompatible functions and possessed irreconcilable attributes. An inscription found in Brittany<sup>85</sup> assimilates the Syrian goddess to Peace, Virtue, Ceres, Cybele, and even to the sign of the Virgin.

In conformity with the law governing the development of paganism, the Semitic gods tended to become pantheistic because they comprehended all nature and were identified with it. The various deities were nothing but different aspects under which the supreme and infinite being manifested itself. Although Syria remained deeply and even coarsely idolatrous in practice, in theory it approached monotheism or, better perhaps, henotheism. By an absurd but curious etymology the name Hadad has been explained as "one, one" ('ad 'ad).<sup>86</sup>

Everywhere the narrow and divided polytheism showed a confused tendency to elevate itself into a superior synthesis, but in Syria astrology lent the firmness of intelligent conviction to notions that were vague elsewhere. The Chaldean cosmology, that deified all elements but ascribed a predominant influence to the stars, ruled the entire Syrian syncretism. It considered the world as a great organism kept intact by an intimate solidarity, and whose parts continually influenced each other.

The ancient Semites believed therefore that the divinity could be regarded as embodied in the waters, in the fire of the lightning, in stones or plants. But the most powerful gods were the constellations and the planets that governed the course of time and of all things.

The sun was supreme because it led the starry choir, because it was the king and guide of all the other luminaries and therefore the

<sup>84</sup> *Rev. de Philologic*, 1902, p. 9.

<sup>85</sup> CIL, VII, 759.

<sup>86</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 23, § 17.



master of the whole world.<sup>87</sup> The astronomical doctrines of the "Chaldeans" taught that this incandescent globe alternately attracted and repelled the other sidereal bodies, and from this principle the Oriental theologians had concluded that it must determine the entire life of the universe, inasmuch as it regulated the movements of the heavens. As the "intelligent light" it was especially the creator of human reason, and just as it repelled and attracted the planets in turn, it was believed to send out souls, at the time of birth, into the bodies they animated and to cause them to return to its bosom after death by means of a series of emissions and absorptions.

Later on, when the seat of the Most-High was placed beyond the limits of the universe, the radiant star that gives us light became the visible image of the supreme power, the source of all life and all intelligence, the intermediary between an inaccessible god and mankind, and the one object of special homage from the multitude.<sup>88</sup>

Solar pantheism, which grew up among the Syrians of the Hellenistic period, as a result of the influence of Chaldean astrolatry, imposed itself upon the whole Roman world under the empire. Our very rapid sketch of the constitution of that theological system shows incidentally the last form assumed by the pagan idea of god. In this matter Syria was Rome's teacher and predecessor. The last formula reached by the religion of the pagan Semites and in consequence by that of the Romans, was a divinity unique, almighty, eternal, universal and ineffable, that revealed itself throughout nature, but whose most splendid and most energetic manifestation was the sun. To arrive at the Christian monotheism<sup>89</sup> only one final tie had to be broken, that is to say, this supreme being residing in a distant heaven had to be removed beyond the world. So we see once more in this instance, how the propagation of the Oriental cults levelled the roads for Christianity and heralded its triumph. Although astrology was always fought by the Church, it had nevertheless prepared the minds for the dogmas the Church was to proclaim.

<sup>87</sup> Cicero, *Somnium Scip.*, c. 4.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Cumont, "La théologie solaire du paganisme romain," in *Mémoires des savants étrangers*, XII, Pt. 2, pp. 447 f.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Synesius, II, 10 f.; IV, 120 f.

## THE CHAMBERS OF THE SOUTH—JOB, IX, 9.

BY THEODORE COOPER.

"Look unto the Heavens and see."

WHEN Job, on a cold starry night, from his ash heap on the shores of a sea, cried

"Which alone stretcheth out the heavens  
And treadeth upon the waves of the sea,  
Which maketh the Bear, Orion and the Pleiades,  
And the Chambers of the South,"

his hand swept over the sea and through well-known constellations, and rested at two dark spots in the south just above the horizon, where "He hath described a boundary upon the face of the waters"; true chambers of mystery, which sailors have named "the Holes in the Sky."

This is the impression conveyed to the mind of one who for over half a century has been a star gazer on land and sea, under both northern and southern skies.

The most beautiful and impressive portion of the heavens is centered about the south celestial pole. It contains the continuation and brightest part of the Milky Way, the Magellan clouds which are great patches of the Milky Way gone astray, the Southern Cross, the Holes in the Sky and a quarter of all the stars of first magnitude in the heavens.

These "Holes in the Sky" and the adjacent Southern Cross are  $25^{\circ}$  to  $30^{\circ}$  from the celestial pole and on the same meridian as the handle of the Great Dipper. Under favorable conditions at points south of north latitude  $25^{\circ}$ , the Southern Cross and the Dipper can be seen in the heavens at the same time. These "Holes in the Sky" are great islands in the Milky Way absolutely free from stars. By contrast to the brightness of the surrounding Milky Way

and the neighboring stars of first and second magnitude, they appear to the naked eye almost black. Their darkness and sharply defined edges give the impression of holes broken through the blue and starry firmament to an outer region of utter darkness. The name given them by the early sailors is a perfectly expressive one. There is nothing like them elsewhere in the heavens. They are not inconspicuous, their apparent sizes being about 80 to 20 times the size of the moon. They impress the thoughtful observer with awe and a deep realization of the immensity of space and the infinite.

Sir John Herschel describes the large spot under the name of the "Coal Sack" (savors more of the era of steam than of sailing ships), as follows:

"In the midst of this bright mass [the Milky Way] surrounded



THE "HOLES IN THE SKY" ABOVE THE SOUTHERN HORIZON.

by it on all sides, and occupying about half its breadth, occurs a singular dark pear-shaped vacancy, so conspicuous and remarkable as to attract the notice of the most superficial gazer, and to have acquired among the early southern navigators the uncouth but expressive appellation of the Coal Sack.... Its blackness is simply due to the effect of contrast with the brilliant ground with which it is on all sides surrounded."

They can only be seen in northern latitudes, where they must be close to the horizon, under favorable local, seasonal and atmospheric conditions. A free horizon or one unobstructed by natural objects, trees, hills or mountains, and an absence of mist, haze or the refraction of heated air currents would be needed. The few hours they would be above the horizon must also occur at night.

A sea horizon and a cold winter night would be favorable conditions. Job and his friends apparently had these conditions:

"Out of the Chamber of the South cometh the storm,  
And cold out of the North." R. V.

By this time, but one of the Holes in the Sky is visible; the other has perhaps passed below the horizon or been obscured by the approaching storm.

In the above quotation the word *mezarim*, which has been replaced (not translated) by the word "North," Professor Schiaparelli, the Italian astronomer, translates as "the winnowing pans," and suggests that since these pans were similar in shape to our dippers, the same groups of stars that we know as the Dippers and the Chinese as the Ladles,<sup>1</sup> may have been intended. The above quotation could then be paraphrased:

"Out of the Hole in the Sky cometh the storm  
And cold out of the Dippers."

In considering the probability of the Holes in the Sky being conspicuous objects on or above the horizon in the days of Job, the following general statement must be made:

1. The free horizon of any locality is a level plane tangent to the earth's surface and comprises a view of one-half of the celestial sphere. At any latitude, as N.  $40^\circ$ , we can see to the north, stars  $40^\circ$  below the north pole and to the south, stars  $40^\circ$  above the south pole (under favorable atmospheric conditions).

2. The direction of the earth's axis as referred to the fixed stars is a changeable one, varying about  $47^\circ$  in a cycle of about 20,000 years.

About 4000 years ago, the north and south celestial poles, or points about which the stars appeared to rotate, were some  $22^\circ$  from their present positions. Due to this "precession" of the earth's axis, stars and constellations in the southern heavens, which are not visible now were then visible in northern latitudes.

The Holes of the Sky, which are now  $25$  to  $30^\circ$  from the present south celestial pole, being partially above the horizon at N. Lat.  $28^\circ$ , and fully above at N. Lat.  $24$ , would in ancient times have been

<sup>1</sup>The Chinese character *tesu*, commonly translated "bushel," sometimes "peck," also "ladle," looks like a cross with two dots in the upper left-hand corner, and with a somewhat slanting cross-beam. The lower part is intended to represent the handle of a grain measure. Possibly the two dots are meant to indicate the grain. It is an essential part of the meaning of "bushel" that it possesses a handle, for it was also used for winnowing. The Chinese *tesu* holds ten pints.—ED.

22 degrees higher above the horizon at the same latitudes; or could possibly be seen at latitudes 22° further north.

These holes, under favorable conditions, could have been seen as far north as

N. Lat. 35° in 500 B. C.

N. Lat. 38° in 1000 B. C.

N. Lat. 40° in 1500 B. C.

N. Lat. 47° in 2500 to 4000 B. C.

the last being about the extreme northern point at which they could ever have been seen. These estimates are for an unobstructed horizon at the sea level.

The sky line, generally called the horizon, is always higher, even in countries considered as level, than the sea-horizon. For inland regions which are hilly or mountainous, the sky line may be 10 or more degrees above the sea-horizon. A range of hills 500 feet high at a distance of one mile will cut off 6 degrees; and at a distance of half a mile, 12 degrees from the true horizon.

For an observer standing on the shore of any body of water to see that "boundary described upon the face of the waters," the distance across the water must be far enough to sink the hills or mountains on the opposite shore below the horizon. This would require 32 miles for hills 500 feet high, and for hills 1000 feet high 36 miles. The only seas connected with "Bible lands" of sufficient size, considering the characters of the shores, to permit a free horizon are the Mediterranean, Red Sea and Persian Gulf, all seas "closed with doors."

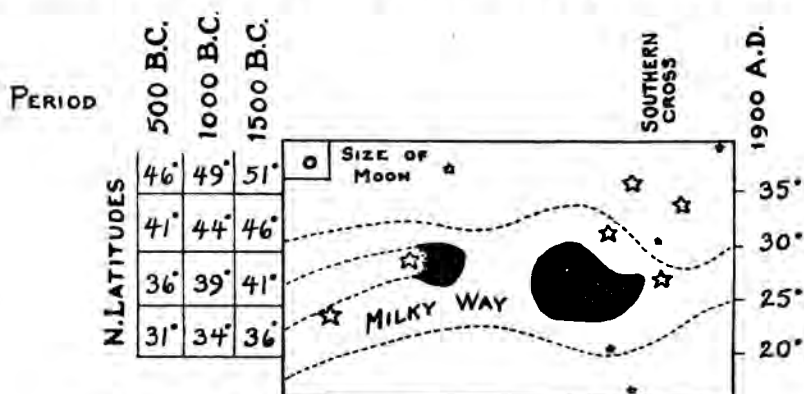
Considering the mountainous character of the countries of Greece and Asia Minor, it is doubtful if in ancient historic times the "Holes in the Sky" could be seen, except from the coast of Southern Greece and adjacent islands, from points on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf and from certain inland districts south of N. Lat. 30 to 33°.

The northern part of the Red Sea—Mount Sinai Peninsula or the Land of Midian, where one tradition says Moses, previous to the Exodus, found this poem, would be a suitable locality for its birth place. From here, Job and his friends by travel and intercourse with traders passing back and forth, could gather that intimate knowledge of the natural history of Egypt, Ethiopia and Arabia, which they either possessed or were endowed with by the author of the poem. They also could see from here, down the Red Sea, the Chambers of the South, just above the horizon on a cold starry night.

That Biblical commentators and astronomers have never found any reasonable explanation for the Chambers of the South and have overlooked what the writer thinks a natural and appropriate explanation, can only be due to the supposition that they never have seen these holes in the sky. Their impressive appearance is not shown on celestial charts.

The absence of any recognition of these mysterious spots in the mythology and literature of the Greeks, Egyptians and Israelites may be due to the same lack of knowledge.

Since commentators differ widely as to the location and period of this poem, the accompanying sketch of the region of the heavens about the Southern Cross and Holes in the Sky has been prepared to enable any reader to determine for himself the possibility of their



THE "HOLES IN THE SKY" AT THEIR HIGHEST ELEVATION.

being seen at any desired location and time. In the corner is placed the moon on the same visual scale. At the sides are scales giving the relative north latitude for several periods from the present to 1500 B. C.

The reader, by placing a card or paper horizontally across the sketch can see how these holes would appear at the sea level, for any date and latitude.

By putting a pin through the card vertically below the center of the sketch at the point of zero level on any selected scale and then rotating the sketch or card, the appearance of these spots, rising or setting, and the number of hours they will be above the horizon can be demonstrated.



## TABI-UTUL-BEL, THE PIOUS SUFFERER.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Book of Job has always been of unusual interest to Bible readers. It is a philosophical poem which treats the problem of suffering. The introduction, apparently a later addition, depicts God as holding regular meetings of the angels through whom he governs the world. And here Satan the accuser also appears, railing at Job the pious man, and claiming that his faith would be found wanting if he ceased to enjoy prosperity. Satan is then permitted to bring misfortune upon Job. Goethe imitates this scene in his Prologue to Faust, and here also Mephistopheles receives permission to lead Faust astray.

In all his ordeals Job wavers but remains faithful to God, and at the end he is vindicated by having his health and former prosperity restored to him.

All critics, among them the most orthodox, agree that the poem is not a Hebrew composition. The Jews received it from Edom, and Job is described as an Edomite nobleman. The name Job (*'Iyob*) is a foreign word of unknown meaning, and so are the names of his three friends who discuss his misfortunes. The general background of the poem is that of Edom, and the city of Uz is also presumably localized in the same country. We are safe then in assuming that whatever its original home may have been, the Jews received the poem from their neighbors on the southeast.

Since the spade has recovered so many historical treasures from the buried cities of Mesopotamia, a poem has been found in the library of Asurbanipal which bears a strong resemblance to the Biblical Book of Job. Part of it was first published in 1875<sup>1</sup> and was translated by Sayce in 1887. Pinches improved upon the work of Sayce and looked upon the hero as a prototype of the Messiah. In the meantime other Assyriologists worked at it successively and

<sup>1</sup> *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. IV, 1875.

translated various other fragments. For a long time these were considered as independent penitential psalms or lamentations. Finally Zimmern and Winckler have translated the most important portions of it in their new edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1903, pages 385-387.

Of late Mr. H. L. F. Gillespie, of Chicago, has called our attention to the fact that Prof. Morris Jastrow has published an English version of the complete poem in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXV, pages 157-176, under the title "A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job." In this article Professor Jastrow discusses the several historical and textual problems both of the book of Job, and the Lamentation of Tabi-utul-Bel, a pious king and the victim of great suffering. We here insert the Babylonian poem, mainly after Professor Jastrow's translation, though in some variations Zimmern is followed instead. The references at the right are to passages in Job which are interesting for comparison. They have been selected by Mr. Gillespie, and in some cases the parallel is very close.

I will praise the lord of wisdom,  
 ..... protection  
 [The staff of thy divinity?] I seize hold of.  
 [Mine eyes he closed, bolting them as with] a lock,  
 [Mine ears he stopped] like those of a deaf person;  
 A king—I have been changed into a slave. (xxx. 26)  
 A madman—my companions became estranged from me.  
 In the midst (?) of the assembly, they spurned me.... (xix. 19)  
 At the mention (?) of my piety... terror.  
 By day—deep sighs, at night—weeping;  
 The month—cries, the year—distress.  
 I experience, O my mistress, mournful days, distressful months,  
 years of misery. (vii. 3)

\* \* \*

I had reached and passed the allotted time of life;  
 Whithersoever I turned—evil upon evil. (xxx. 27 ff)  
 Misery had increased, happiness had disappeared,  
 I cried to my god, but he granted me not his countenance;  
 I prayed to my goddess, but she did not raise her head. (xxiii. 8, 9)  
 The seer-priest could not determine the future by an inspection.  
 The sacrificial-priest did not by an offering justify my suit,  
 The oracle-priest I appealed to, but he revealed nothing.

The exorciser-priest did not by his rites release me from the ban.

(xiii. 4; xvi. 2)

The like of this had never been seen;

Whithersoever I turned, trouble was in pursuit. (iii. 26)

As though I had not always set aside the portion for my god,

(xxix. 2-5)

And had not invoked my goddess at my meals,

Had not bowed down my face, and brought my tribute;

As one in whose mouth supplication and prayer were not constant,

Who had passed over the day of his god, had forgotten the new-moon festival,

Had spurned them, neglected their images,

Not taught his people fear and reverence, (iv. 3)

Not invoked his god, but eaten of his food,

Neglected his goddess, not offering her drink,

As though one who had always honored his lord could forget him!

Like unto one who has lightly uttered the sacred name of his god—  
thus I appeared.

Whereas I was always steadfast in supplication and prayer;

Prayer was my practice, sacrifice my law, (i. 5, last clause)

The day of worship of the gods was the joy of my heart,

The day of devotion to the goddess more to me than riches;

The prayer of a king,—that was my joy;

And hymns of praise—in them was my delight.

I taught my country to commemorate the name of God, (iv. 3)

To honor the name of the goddess I accustomed my people.

The fear of the king I made like unto that of God,

And in reverence for the palace I instructed the people.

For, indeed, I thought that such things were pleasing to God.

What, however, seems good in itself, to God is displeasing,

What in itself is held in contempt finds favor with God;

Who is there that can grasp the will of the gods in heaven?

The mysterious plan of God—who can fathom it? (xviii. 20)

How can mere mortals learn the way of God?

He who is alive at evening is dead the next morning; (iv. 20)

Suddenly he is cast into grief, in haste he is stricken down;

In one moment he is singing and playing,

In a twinkling he wails like a mourner.

As day and night the spirit [of mankind] changes;

Now they are hungry and are like a corpse,

Again they are filled, and feel equal to God;

If things go well, they prate of mounting to heaven.

If they are in distress, they speak of descending into Irkalla.  
 An evil demon has taken hold of me (?); (i. 12)  
 From yellowish, the sickness became white, (xxx. 30)  
 It threw me to the ground and stretched me on my back,  
 It bent my high stature like a poplar;  
 Like a strong tree I was uprooted, like a lofty tree thrown down. (xviii. 16)  
 As one whose food is putrid I grew old. (xxx. 27)  
 The malady dragged on its course.  
 Though without food, hunger diminished (?);  
 .....my blood [became sluggish (?)]  
 With nourishment cut off (?).  
 Though my armor was burnished, the bow [strung], (xxix. 29)  
 Tied to the couch with the outlet closed, I was stretched out. (xii. 14b)  
 My dwelling had become a prison;  
 In the bonds of my flesh my members were powerless,  
 In fetters of my own, my feet were entangled,  
 My discomfiture was painful, the downfall severe.  
 A strap of many twists held me fast,  
 A sharply-pointed spear pierced me, (vi. 4a)  
 My persecutor tracked me all the day,  
 Nor in the night time did my pursuer let me draw a breath, (vii. 4)  
 Through wrenching my joints were torn asunder (xvi. 9)  
 My limbs were shattered and rendered helpless;  
 In my stall I passed the night like an ox,  
 I was saturated like a sheep in my excrements;  
 My diseased joints the exorciser tore apart (?)  
 And my omens the seer-priest set aside,  
 The prophet-priest could not interpret the character of my disease,  
 And the limit of my malady the seer-priest could not determine. (xiii. 4)  
 No god came to my aid, taking me by the hand,  
 No goddess had compassion for me, walking by my side.  
 The grave was open, my burial prepared; (xvii. 1)  
 Though I was not yet dead, the lamentation for me was over;  
 The people of my land had already said "alas" over me. (vii. 6; ix. 25-26)  
 My adversary heard it and his face shone; (xxx. 1-10)  
 As the joyful tidings were announced to him, his heart rejoiced,  
 Supposing that it was the day for my whole family,  
 When among the shades, their deity would be honored (?)

The weight of his hand I was no longer able to endure....  
 (Tabi-utul-Bel dwelling in Nippur,  
 He spake, "How long yet!" deeply sighing,  
 The strong ruler, decked with the turban.)  
 My sins he caused the wind to carry away,  
 [Mine eyes which had been bolted he opened;]  
 Mine ears had been closed and bolted as a deaf person's—  
 He took away their deafness, he restored my hearing;  
 The net (?) which had shut (me) in, he released from round about me,  
 He healed, and my breast resounded like a flute,  
 The fetters which enclosed (me) like a lock he unlocked.  
 The one weakened by hunger he made strong like a powerful, well-  
     knitted sprout.  
 He brought me food, he provided drink.  
 The neck that had been bent downwards and worn  
 He raised erect like a cedar;  
 He made my form like one perfect in strength.  
 Like one rescued from an evil spirit, my lips (?) cry out,  
 He poured out their wealth, he embellished their property.  
 My knees that were caught like a mountain bird,  
 My entire body he restored; (xlii. 10)  
 He wiped out the anger, he freed from his wrath (?),  
 The depressed form he cheered up.  
 (To the shores of Naru, the place of the judgment of humanity  
     they crossed over,  
 The forehead brand was removed, the slave mark taken away.)

\* \* \*

He who sins against E-sagila, through me let him see.  
 In the jaw of the lion about to conquer me Marduk placed a bit;  
 Marduk seized the one ready to overwhelm me, and completely en-  
     circled me with his bulwark. (xi. 13-17)

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE CORNPLANTER MEDAL AND WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH.

BY FREDERICK STARR.

The Cornplanter Medal for Iroquois Research is to be awarded to four classes of workers,—historians, ethnologists, artists, philanthropists. The first award was made to a critical student of history, the second and third to an ethnologist and an archeologist; the fourth strike of the medal has been given this year to a philanthropist of world fame, whose long life has been devoted to benevolent and charitable work, and whose interest and sympathy have gone beyond the limits of race and the narrower ties of blood.



WILLIAM PRYOR LETCHWORTH.

William Pryor Letchworth was born at Brownsville, Jefferson County, New York, on May 26, 1823. He came of a family of Friends, some members of which achieved notable positions as preachers and writers in their faith. In his boyhood his parents removed to Auburn, where seven years of his life were spent. At the age of about twenty-two years he went to New York City to engage in commercial pursuits, but in 1848 removed to Buffalo where he devoted himself to the manufacture of hardware, saddlery and malleable iron. While there in business his health became somewhat impaired, and in 1859 he



bought a property at Portage for a country seat. This property, since famous as "Glen Iris," was located at the upper falls of the Genesee, one of the most lovely spots for scenery in the state of New York. At first merely a summer home, "Glen Iris" became more and more occupied by its owner until finally it was his permanent residence, even though his business remained at Buffalo. Mr. Letchworth possessed excellent business ability, which is shown not only by his building up a considerable fortune in his manufacturing enterprises, but also by the wisdom and success with which he has handled various important concerns entrusted to him. Thus in 1871 he was elected President of the Buffalo Fine Arts Association, an institution of worthy aims, but at that time in desperate financial straits. Under his management it was put upon its feet and brought to the flourishing condition which has made it an important influence in its community. In 1873 Mr. Letchworth retired from active business with the intention to devote the remainder of his life to philanthropy.

In that year he was appointed a member of the New York State Board of Charities. It is not too much to say that it is chiefly due to his membership that that Board has an enviable and commanding position among such organizations in the United States. His arduous and unrelenting services were given without remuneration, and even in his official travel he was ever accustomed to pay his own expenses. In 1878 he was elected President of the Board, which office he held for ten years. After a continuous connection with the Board for a period of twenty-four years he finally insisted upon retirement on account of his increasing age. At the end of twenty years' service on the Board, the University of the State of New York bestowed the degree of LL. D. upon Mr. Letchworth "in recognition of his distinguished services to the State of New York as a member and President of the State Board of Charities, and as an author of most valuable contributions to the literature pertaining to the defective classes." Upon his resignation from the Board his fellow members passed extraordinary resolutions expressive of their appreciation of the man and his work. While Mr. Letchworth's work in philanthropy was general, his special interests were the problems of juvenile unfortunates and the insane. In his investigations of actual conditions he traveled throughout the state repeatedly, inspecting its charitable institutions. The condition of children in orphan asylums and reformatories was revolutionized by his efforts. In seeking the best methods of caring for and treating unfortunates he traveled widely through Europe, studying the systems of different countries with care. He was a member of many societies and organizations and was in constant personal contact and correspondence with other workers in the field. Three important works written by him are classic and standard in philanthropic literature. These are his great *State Report on Juvenile Reformation and Orphan Asylums* (1873), *The Insane in Foreign Countries* (1880), and *The Care and Treatment of Epileptics* (1898).

Mr. Letchworth's original purchase at Portage was comparatively small, but he subsequently added to it until "Glen Iris" included the land on both sides of the Genesee River for a distance of three miles, including the site of the upper, middle, and lower falls. His residence was within sight and hearing of the middle fall. At the upper fall the river is crossed by a lofty railroad bridge, and from the trains one catches glimpses of the beautiful scenery below. Between the middle and lower falls the river cuts a fine gorge with high banks on either side through solid rock. No scenery in the state except Niagara is better known; few places have been more visited; of none have the

beauties and attractions been more often sung. Nowhere in the state has there been a lovely country home more famous for its hospitality. Grounds and home alike have been thrown open to guests and public with a liberality and freedom rarely equalled. And now Mr. Letchworth has donated this fair domain, this valuable property, this wonderful scenic beauty to the state of New York as a playground and resort for all the people. The property, a thousand acres in extent and costing half a million dollars was transferred December 31, 1906, and was accepted by the state in trust forever. It has been fitly named "Letchworth Park," and will keep its donor's name fresh in public memory long after he is gone. Rarely has a man done so much for the people in any one direction as Mr. Letchworth has in two. Such men are not easily forgotten.

But why should Mr. Letchworth be the recipient of the Cornplanter Medal? For years he has been interested in the history and condition of the Iroquois,—especially the Senecas. When the old Council House of Caneadea was in danger of destruction, he had the old timbers carefully removed and the edifice exactly reconstructed upon his property just back of the "Glen Iris" residence. The occasion was a notable one. The master of ceremonies was a Cornplanter, grandson of the Chief Cornplanter, whose profile appears on our medal. Mr. Letchworth's great uncle, Rev. John Letchworth, more than once came in contact with the famous chief during his missionary wanderings. The Council was interesting, not only as the last Indian Council in the Genesee Valley and in its being held in the historic building, but also as bringing about a renewal of relations between long estranged representatives of the Mohawk and Seneca tribes. When the gravestone of Mary Jemison, "the old white woman of the Genesee," was in danger of demolition, Mr. Letchworth had it removed to "Glen Iris" and reset,—a new monument with appropriate inscription being erected at the same time. It is needless here to recall the interesting and romantic story of Mary Jemison and her connection with the Iroquois. All that has passed into well-known history. Upon the grounds of "Glen Iris" and transferred with the rest of the property to the state is a small museum building for interesting objects connected with Indian and pioneer history. A descriptive pamphlet of this museum has been written by Mr. Henry R. Howland of Buffalo. It shows the care that Mr. Letchworth has taken to secure and preserve valuable materials that would otherwise be lost. For these three acts and for many lesser kindnesses Mr. Letchworth has deserved and gained the love and esteem of the Iroquois Indians and of their friends. Those have bestowed upon him the Indian name *Hai-wa-ye-is-tah*, "the man who always does the right thing"; these award the Cornplanter Medal in recognition of his interest in and service to the Iroquois.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

**MEN VERSUS THE MAN.** A Correspondence Between *Robert Rives La Monte* and *H. L. Mencken*. New York: Holt, 1910.

This book is a record of an actual correspondence which took place between two men, both of whom were interested in the general subject of the organization of society, but since they were separated by a space of 300 miles were unable to give the subject a more intimate discussion. As the title indicates, the controversy is the old quarrel between individualism and communism. Mr. La Monte is a socialist, a faithful disciple of Marx, though

by no means considering him infallible. Mr. Mencken is to some extent an individualist of the Nietzsche school "whose ideal is a splendid oligarchy of Beyond Men ruling over a hopelessly submerged rabble." To persons alive on social topics the book will prove of great interest as showing in what different ways accepted facts and theories appear and appeal to two intelligent and eager inquirers.

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PHILOSOPHISCHE REDEN UND VORTRÄGE. Von *Carl Stumpf*. Leipsic: Barth, 1910. Pp. 261, Price 5 m.

This volume consists of a number of miscellaneous lectures delivered on various occasions at widely different times by Professor Stumpf, the prominent Berlin psychologist. With the exception of the first, *Die Lust am Trauerspiel* ("Delight in Tragedy") all have appeared in periodicals or in pamphlet form, and they are collected here in the hope that one will help in the interpretation of another. *Leib und Seele*, "Body and Soul," was the opening address of the International Congress of Psychology at Munich in 1896. *Der Entwicklungsgedanke in der gegenwärtigen Philosophie* ("The Evolution Idea in Modern Philosophy") was a Founder's Day address at the Kaiser Wilhelms-Akademie of Berlin. Other lectures are on Child-Psychology, Ethical Skepticism and the Beginnings of Music.

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THE NEW SCHAFF-HERZOG ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE. Edited by *Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D.*, and others. Vol. VI. Price \$60.00 per set of 12 volumes. \$5.00 per volume.

The present volume, which completes one-half of this valuable work, covers the alphabet from "Innocents" (Feast of the Holy Innocents) to "Lindger." The importance of the place it occupies in the whole series may be easily seen when we consider that within this scope lie Inquisition, Isaac, Israel, Jerome, Jesuits, Jews, John, Justification, Law, and of course chiefly "Jesus." This is treated from the standpoint of orthodox Biblical criticism. A life of Jesus has not been attempted, but we have instead a minute examination of the evidences of Christianity laying special emphasis on the resurrection of Jesus as the touchstone of Christian faith.

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EXAMINATION OF PROFESSOR WILLIAM JAMES'S PSYCHOLOGY. By *Ikbāl Kīshen Shargha*. Allahabad: Ram Narain Lal, 1909. Pp. 118. Price, 1 rupee.

A professor of philosophy in far-away India in this book examines some of Professor James's psychological views "especially those which to the present writer seem unsound." He quotes largely from Professor James in order to set certain inconsistencies in a clear light. He believes that readers should be warned against taking everything in the *Text Book* on trust, and therefore believes his criticism has a mission in England and America as well as in India. He devotes special chapters to Brain and Consciousness, Externality of Sensation, The Self as Known and as Knower, Conception, Emotion, and Will.

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JOHN, THE UNAFRAID. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910. Pp. 128.

*John, the Unafraid*, is a little volume of parables and wise sayings by an unnamed author who is said to be "a man known from one end of the country

to another." It is a story of good deeds of a man who went about "his father's business," preaching a gospel, the whole plan of which may be found in the word kindness. He taught "unselfishness to be the cornerstone of truth and the character of the rock of our salvation; that fear is our greatest curse, and opportunity to serve our greatest blessing."

The first chapter describes a prophecy that "a new planet would become visible, similar to, but much larger than the sun, and that in just forty-two months it would strike and destroy the earth and every living thing thereon. At first some doubted, but it was soon believed by all the people who dwelt upon the earth." The result of this prophecy was to spread terror and confusion all over the land. The people gave up their work; some devoted themselves to praying, others to lamentations, and others to cursing. Here was John the Unafraid's opportunity. The parable is prettily told in quaint language, with here and there a very tender and beautiful saying that might well be taken to heart with great profit by every reader.

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Prof. F. W. Williams, of Yale University, has written a brief sketch of the relations between the United States and China, reviewing in a most condensed form of 35 pages the policy pursued by our country toward China. It appears as one of a number of addresses delivered at Clark University and collected in a volume bearing the title *China and the Far East*. Upon the whole it is an account most creditable to the New World although our home policy toward Chinese immigrants cannot be said to be commendable, and has in a most glaring way broken the treaties we made with China. But the fact remains that if the United States since Cushing's advent in China in 1844 had not insisted on the integrity of the Chinese empire, the European powers might have torn it to pieces on repeated occasions and divided it into provinces. Professor Williams brings out very clearly how important in establishing the "cooperative policy" of the powers toward China was the part played by Anson Burlingame, the first envoy to represent the United States in China after the new diplomatic conditions which went into effect in 1860. As a result of the friendly impression he produced upon the Chinese authorities, he was asked, upon his resignation after six years, to become the head of a Chinese embassy to all the Treaty powers and in this capacity rendered important service to the country for whom he acted, and for the interest of general peace and friendly relations.

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Mr. George Arthur Plimpton, of New York, possesses a most valuable collection of arithmetical books, published before 1601; and Prof. David Eugene Smith, of the Teachers' College, Columbia University, has undertaken the task of presenting the title pages and interesting passages from this collection in an *édition de luxe*, which was published in 1908, under the title *Rara Arithmetica*, by Ginn & Company, Boston and London. In order to make this most interesting book accessible to book lovers and students of the history of mathematics, a new and cheaper edition has been published which is still very elegant and will be a welcome addition to any library. The frontispiece is a reproduction of a manuscript of Boethius, of 1294 A. D. Plate 5 reproduces a page from the manuscript of an edition of Euclid of the same year. In addition the book contains innumerable plates and diagrams, every one of them fascinating for some reason or other.





RAPHIAEL'S THEOLOGIA, COMMONLY CALLED DISPUTA.  
*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 9.)

SEPTEMBER, 1910.

NO. 652.

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## THE EUCHARIST IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY THE EDITOR.

MONTREAL is to be the meeting place of a stately gathering of Roman Catholics, who will hold the Eucharist Congress there for the first time in the New World in celebration of the most sacred mystery of the Church.

In former articles we have shown that Christianity does not stand alone in rites of this kind. We find similar institutions in ancient Babylon, in Egypt, among the Greeks and also among the more distant nations of Inner Asia, the Tibetans, yea even among the American Indians. It is but natural that such a ceremony should develop, and there is no reason to doubt that similar institutions arose simultaneously and without any historical connection in different parts of the globe.<sup>1</sup> The very name Eucharist is not Hebrew but Greek and does not in this sense occur in the New Testament. St. Paul speaks of the Lord's Supper and of the Love Feast, *Agape*, but the term Eucharist seems to have suddenly sprung into common use in the beginning of the second century, when we find it in the Letters ascribed to Ignatius,<sup>2</sup> in Irenaeus,<sup>3</sup> in Justin Martyr,<sup>4</sup> and in Origen.<sup>5</sup>

In the days of savagery the sacrifice offered was the sacred emblem of the god,—the ram, the bull, the boar, or even a man, and

<sup>1</sup> See the illustrated editorial "Food of Life and the Sacrament," in *Monist*, X, 246-279, and 343-382.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist. ad Philad.*, 4, and *ad Smyrn.*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber N.* 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Apolog.*, I, 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Contr. Celsum*, VIII, 57.

so it is not infrequent that religious cannibalism has been connected with the celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>6</sup>

The Jewish Passover is a similar ritual, and here the paschal lamb is slain and ceremonially eaten by the worshippers. It is noteworthy at the same time that the bread was baked in the more primitive fashion without the use of leaven, and the same conservative tendency is noticeable elsewhere, e. g., among the American Indians. It is natural for man in religious affairs to cling with persistence to the ancient customs, and this may have been the reason why even now the wafer is preferred in most churches to leavened bread. This wafer represents the victim offered on the altar, and so it was called *hostia*, "Host," or *oblata*, the offering made for an atonement.

Luther followed the practice of the Roman church in using the wafer for the Eucharist, while Calvin did not shrink from the innovation of introducing ordinary bread for the Lord's Supper.

Among the Jews unleavened bread is called *maṣṣa*, which is not Hebrew but presumably a Persian loan word *myazda* denoting the sacrificial cake, sacramentally eaten together with the sacred *homa* drink, for the nourishment of the resurrection body.

The celebration of the Eucharist in the Roman Catholic church is called *missa*, "mass," and the name is explained as being derived from the words *dismissa est ecclesia*, "the church is dismissed," which are sometimes spoken at the end of the service. A more plausible etymology would derive the word from the Persian *myazda* which is the more probable when we consider the similarity of the Lord's Supper to the Mithraist Eucharist. Justin Martyr even goes so far as to say that it was well known that the Mithraists celebrated the same ceremony.

Whatever parallels there may be in paganism to the Christian Eucharist, we must grant that as the Roman Catholic mass exists to-day it is unique and seems to have developed in perfect independence. Mithraistic reminiscences may still linger with it, yet one thing is sure that whatever solemnity may have attached to kindred rites, nothing can reach the grandeur and dignity of the Roman Catholic mass.

The underlying idea of the mass has been worked out with logical consistency during the development of the church. Whatever may be said in criticism of the paltry quibbles which accompa-

<sup>6</sup> For a treatment of this subject from the standpoint of comparative ethnology see J. B. Smiley's article, "The Communion Ceremony," *Open Court*, XXIII, 513.

nied the progress of ecclesiastical history from one ecumenical council to another, we can see that a definite idea dominates the formulation of the faith point after point, and the final result is a logically consistent, though of course mystical, system of theology.

To be sure a modern scientist will not easily be reconciled to the dogmatic conception of these doctrines, but if we make allowances for poetry and bear in mind the significance (the spirit, not the letter) of the several dogmas, we shall have to grant that most of them are profound and full of meaning. And this is especially the case with the Eucharist. In its Roman Catholic interpretation more than in Protestantism Christianity is a summary of the religious spirit of the past. It echoes the most distant beliefs, and yet overcomes the prehistoric errors and superstitions by the spirit of a new dispensation. Here we have the eating of the God without the cannibalism of the Aztecs or other uncivilized peoples, and the ceremony is performed with a seriousness which boldly insists on the reality of the presence of the God who offers himself as a sacrifice.

In ecclesiastical history we always find the two contrasts, the mystic and the rationalist. The mystic insists on the reality of the performance, the rationalist is anxious to deprive it of the irrationality of mysticism. He therefore proposes to make the ceremony merely symbolical, which, however, appears offensive to the pious worshiper, and degrades the ceremony into a trivial and prosaic performance.

In defence of the mystical standpoint we must consider that symbol is the nature of spirit, and in symbols the spirit is really and truly present. But if the rationalist speaks of the symbolical nature of religious doctrines or rituals, he attempts to deny the real presence of the spirit. In this same way the nominalists regarded words as mere sounds (*flatus vocis*) while the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel declares that the words which he speaks are truth and life. No wonder that the rationalizing nominalist is opposed by the mysticist; and we must bear in mind that in mystic rites mysticism is on its own ground. Here if anywhere mysticism has a fair title to exist.

The Roman Catholic church celebrates the Eucharist in the mass, and the mass is the very keystone of the arch of theology. It is the ultimate consequence of the doctrine of the Trinity which teaches the triple mode of divine dispensation. There is God the Father, the eternal cosmic order, supernatural and absolute, who exists in and by himself aside from any consideration of the universe. But this absolute divinity is the Creator who manifests himself in the creation, in the actual world of material existence.

He actualizes himself and becomes incarnate in God the Son, in Christ, the God-man. The divine spirit, however, is not limited to one individual but dominates the whole history of mankind. First it prepares the appearance of the incarnate God and then it organizes the kingdom of heaven on earth which Christ has founded and this third manifestation is called The Holy Ghost.

The significance of the Trinity naturally touches man most in the God-incarnation, in Christ, and Christ's fate is closely linked in this mystical conception to the lives of all men. He is the Saviour, the high priest and the victim in one, who by his passion redeems mankind from the curse of sin.

In the history of Jesus the atonement has been made through his death on the cross. But we must bear in mind that the life of Jesus is typical for the fate of the divine presence immanent in the world, and the doctrine of Christ's passion refers to a general condition, not to a single historical fact. This sin-offering is a constant feature in the history of the world. True, it has found its most realistic expression in the tragedy on Golgotha, but the incarnation, the passion, the struggle for redemption is an omnipresent factor in religious experience, and this was felt instinctively by the church when it insisted on the doctrine that every Eucharist is really and truly a sin-offering for an atonement with all that is implied thereby. Accordingly the church insists that Christ is really present in the Host. In fact the very name implies that the wafer is the victim offered upon the altar for man's redemption. And this idea found its appropriate expression in the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In appreciating a religious ceremonial we cannot allow rationalism to have its way. We must accept the mystic interpretation and consider the entire performance as solemn poetry, where an appeal to reason would be as out of place as if we took a description of Dante's *Divina Commedia* in a literal sense, or as if we expected Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust* to be limited in his operations to actual possibilities.

The performance of the mass is a drama, and as such it belongs in the category of the arts and should not be measured by the gage of scientific thought. Accordingly the doctrine of transubstantiation simply expresses the consistent notions of the religious symbolism of the Christian God-conception, and the worshiper receives in the Host the real incarnate God in bodily form.

It goes without saying that in this connection we do not mean to advise the scientist or the man educated in the scientific world-conception to abandon his view and to kneel with the worshiper be-

fore the Host. We merely explain the significance of the rite and justify its logic from its own premises.

The doctrine of transubstantiation was not received at once in the Roman Catholic church. It was definitely sanctioned only under Pope Innocent III, in 1215 by the fourth Lateran Synod. The zeal with which this highest mystery of the church was accepted showed itself in many ways and kept the mass of the people in an unusual strain of awe and excitement. Miracles were expected and they happened.

A superstitious conception of the transformation of the wafer into the physical body of Christ as soon as the priest spoke over it the words, *hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body," was greatly aided by a harmless natural phenomenon which consisted in the appearance of a red fungus that fastened itself with great preference upon the unleavened bread of which the Host was made. The fanaticism of those days led to many heinous persecutions of heretics and Jews which were committed in the ignorance of the Middle Ages. The history of the Inquisition tells us of the crimes of unbelievers who were assumed to have pierced the Host or cut it to pieces for the purpose of making Christ suffer, and the appearance of the red stains was accepted as satisfactory evidence in court.

The first case, so far as we can learn, happened in Paris in 1249, where a Jewish couple, living in the Rue des Billettes, were burned at the stake on the charge of having pierced the Host, and the evidence of this crime consisted in the clots of blood, or to speak more guardedly, of a red substance like blood, which persistently appeared on the Host that was assumed to have been mutilated. The incident caused an enormous excitement; ballads perpetuated the story and the miracle was commemorated in the stained glass windows of several churches. The notion that the Jews were bent on piercing the Host, together with the accusation that their ritual required the murder of Christian children, continued to haunt public imagination for several centuries, and for this alleged crime many Jews suffered a terrible martyr death on the fagots.

A special incident concentrated the attention of the Christian world on this doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Host. A German priest on his way to Rome happened to read mass in the little church of St. Christina at Bolsena near Orvieto, in the year 1263, and when he blessed and lifted up the Host, he noticed spots like blood upon it, and the same red marks appeared in the *corporale*, the cloth which had covered the wafer.

The traveling priest had been a doubter all his life as to whether

the Host was to be considered as a mere symbol, or as harboring the real presence of Christ. Now he was convinced of the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the rumor of the miracle spread rapidly from mouth to mouth.

It reached the ears of Pope Urban IV who happened to be in Orvieto, and he came in procession to Bolsena, accompanied by all the dignitaries of the church and a crowd of people in order to receive personally the *corporale* thus miraculously stained by the very blood of Christ. A magnificent cathedral was built in Orvieto where Ugolino di Prete Ilario represented the miracle in a series of interesting frescoes. His pictures are painted with historical faithfulness, but two and a half centuries after him there arose a greater



POPE URBAN IV RECEIVING THE BOLSENA CORPORALE.  
Fresco by Ugolino di Prete Ilario in the Cathedral of Orvieto.

artist, who painted the same event idealized not only by religious enthusiasm but also by the immortal genius of an artistic conception. This was none other than Raphael, whose painting of the "Miracle of the Mass at Bolsena" is counted as one of his masterpieces.

Raphael is not an historical painter. His brush idealizes whatever it touches, and so he changes the small church of Bolsena into a great cathedral and imparts to the pope the strong features of his patron, Julian II.

Almost simultaneously with the miracle of Bolsena another event happened which added to the awe in which the Host was held. In consequence of the dream of Juliana, a nun of Louvain, the first procession with the Host, the *Corpus Christi* as it was called in



Latin, took place there in 1263, and this festival is still celebrated in the Roman Catholic church with great pomp the first Thursday after Trinity.

The doctrine of the transubstantiation as the center of Roman Catholic theology has found its noblest embodiment in the painting of the so-called *Disputa* by the same great artist. It represents the theology of the church which has raised the Host upon the altar as the central mystery of religion. We see in the highest heaven God the Father surrounded by archangels. Underneath is enthroned God the Son as the glorified and transfigured Christ, at his right



THE MIRACLE OF THE MASS AT BOLSENA.  
Fresco in the Vatican by Raphael.

hand his mother, at his left hand John the Baptist. He is surrounded by prophets, apostles, and the evangelists. Further down the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove hovers between four little cherubs bearing in their hands the opened volumes of the four Gospels.

Underneath this celestial scene an altar is erected on earth upon which stands the Host and around the altar are grouped the church fathers, and the most prominent theologians, who by their thought and faith have worked out the comprehension of this doctrine of transubstantiation.

We children of the twentieth century feel strangely touched by the spirit of medievalism when confronted with these mystical traditions. They have become weird to us and yet it would be a grave mistake to measure their significance by the dry rationalism of to-day, for they incorporate a philosophy which could be modernized if it were interpreted as the poetic conception of a philosophical truth.

## THE MISSA SOLEMNIS.

BY BARON VON DER PFORDTEN.\*

NOT every man is inclined to render an account to himself and to others with regard to the stand he takes on the most important questions of life; and yet each one must possess an answer which corresponds to his own personality. This is certainly true of Beethoven whose idealism sprang fundamentally from deep religious conceptions of which we have sufficient evidence, for it was exactly the moral force of his character which was the guiding principle of his life and finally led him to victory. We must expect Beethoven to have perceived and established his relation to God and to the riddles of existence with the conscious power which breathes through his whole nature. And indeed this is the case. Were we to state how Beethoven's religion or philosophy,—the name makes no difference—is to be represented, we would have to say that it was before all else peculiarly his own.

Beethoven was baptized and educated a Catholic, but he was not what would be called a believing Christian; that is to say, his faith was not founded upon traditional revealed religion, nor even upon Christianity alone. From many different directions he received religious stimulation and philosophical intuition. He had read much and was remarkably susceptible to the intensification and expansion his own experience received from his reading. We know that he underscored passages which especially affected him. He even copied many of them and certain ones he kept always before his eyes. The specialist can state exactly whence every religious and philosophical idea of Beethoven originated, so it has become customary to call him in general terms a deist. This term admits a scientific foundation but within it lurks the danger of a misunderstanding. It may mislead us into thinking that we have a religious and philosophical thinker before us. I would surely be the last man to undervalue

\* Translated from the German by Lydia G. Robinson.

Beethoven's powerful spiritual abilities. He certainly delved with spiritual keenness also in religious and philosophical problems, though not as an investigator and scholar, but as a man and artist, as the emotional dramatist with whom we have become fully acquainted. This is decidedly important.

Through his art Beethoven felt himself closely linked to the best and noblest souls. Art and science were his warrant for the imperishable worth of eternity, as we might say, and belief in a higher life. His "spiritual realm," his "art heaven" are not simply phrases. With the wings of Daedalus he rises above this world to the prescience and presentiment of a future world that is better, larger, and more beautiful; but the main thing is that he does not lose the ground beneath his feet. He builds no castles in the air. He not only stands as a king in his realm, but, as Schiller expresses it, he exercises the supreme right of kings, priestly authority, and becomes a mediator between God and humanity. "There is nothing higher," he writes, "than to come closer to God than other men and from that point of vantage to spread abroad the beams of divinity among the human race." Here we have everything at once—his art, his religion, and his ethics, the summit and foundation of his greatness.

Thus Beethoven is entitled to venture the most remote and highest things and hold a service of worship with his fellows. His *Missa solennis* means nothing else than this and nothing less. This work is remarkable in every respect; Beethoven himself declared it to be his best.

First of all we can not help wondering that Beethoven should compose a mass at all. After becoming familiar with his very personal religion we must ask, how could he choose this text in which he did not believe? The mass is a Christian, ecclesiastical, Catholic treatment intended for divine service; its text is sanctified by tradition, its significance dogmatically assured. What could Beethoven hope to find in it?

As we have clearly established, Beethoven was not a believing Christian in the confessional sense; he was not, as we say, a true son of his church, and yet he was no hypocrite. Is there not a contradiction here? Let us carry it out to its full conclusion. Why did he not depart from the Catholic church and become a free thinker? How could he, at the end, receive the Last Sacrament? Was this a death-bed conversion? These matters are not at all to the point. The solution is found much more easily.

Beethoven's religion was neither Catholic nor Protestant,—not

even purely Christian in the most general sense, but neither did it contradict Christian teaching and Christian sentiment. The believing Christian may regret that Beethoven did not permit himself to receive from revealed religion all that he sought and longed for; such a one may feel that Christianity could have supplied Beethoven with everything much more richly and more surely than his personal religion, if only he had been able to have made it his own in faith. About this there is no doubt; but never does the positivist Christian have occasion to take offense. What counts for him as truth was also sacred to Beethoven, only not so exclusively and not with the claim of unconditional precedence. Let us say he has humanized Christianity but not sanctified it. Thus he could remain a Catholic without hypocrisy, for he denied nothing, he simply did not believe everything. Who can not understand this from an artistic point of view can never comprehend it. Goethe, in the second part of *Faust*, has done in his way what Beethoven has accomplished in the *Missa solennis*. Christianity, especially in its Catholic garb, is not conceived as religion itself but as a religious manifestation with sacred symbols which are capable of becoming the expression of the highest ideality.

It avails nothing for us to cite Bach and his Mass in B Minor. There we have the very different question, how can a believing Protestant compose a mass? and the answer briefly is that he expresses what is common to both confessions, what is Christian, and pays no heed to what separates the two, especially transubstantiation. Therefore through the Protestant temperament the underlying Christian sentiment may be heard. On the other hand the *Missa solennis* like Beethoven's religion is neither Catholic nor Protestant. Especially is it not ecclesiastical, nor Christian, but just Beethovenian. It is not a mass at all in the real sense of the word. It does not lend itself to divine service, either externally according to compass and difficulty, or intrinsically according to conception and expression. It should rather be said that it is a powerful dramatic phantasy to which Beethoven was inspired by the text of the mass.

By mere chance we are able to learn the history of the origin of the piece. Archduke Rudolf was to be installed as archbishop of Olmütz, and for this purpose Beethoven wished to write a ceremonial mass. Thus it is an occasional composition. Though composed for his most important friend, patron and pupil with a serious purpose, and for an important motive, it is nevertheless an occasional composition! This indeed sounds like a disenchantment.

Accordingly the mass was not the creation of a free impulse,

not a direct embodiment of his own nature, not a work of his own volition, but the fulfilment of a given form, perhaps with powerful expression, perhaps with new content but not with an unheard of and incomprehensible aim. Yes it might have come to us in this way. Thus it began, thus it was intended, we would better say that thus the master thought he intended it. We might have obtained a mass like the earlier one in C Major though correspondingly more significant and magnificent, but it would not have been the *Missa solemnis*. It is especially important to know this. We not only hear but we can even point out that this work has become something very different than it was to become.

It has *become*—emphasis must be laid upon this. All that we praise in it is not intended, not desired, not accomplished, not even suspected. Beethoven went about the task to compose a mass, and what he accomplished was *his* mass, because he had to, because he could not do differently. Far removed from any caprice or calculation, far removed from plan or program, this work became by compelling necessity that which we now have. It was not ready in time for the purpose it was intended to serve. It had to abandon its original motive. While the master was at work upon it his genius and *δαίμων* made him forget everything, himself and the world, archbishop and church and only create from his own being. This is the reason that we have so many tales of his extraordinary behavior during this time while he was composing the *Missa solemnis*.

He seemed removed from the world, yes actually obsessed. To this period belong the stories which circulate as worthless anecdotes, but in this light receive full significance: how in his room he poured one bucketful of water after another over himself and did not notice that he was causing a deluge; or how on a stormy night he would wander around God knows where and return home wet through and hatless. All this must have horrified his neighbors, and in this connection arise the strongest contrasts, and from the sublime to the ridiculous seems only a step. Everything combines to make the stage setting supremely dramatic.

In the same period Beethoven experienced annoyance and worry, trouble and disappointment to an extraordinary degree. Everything was at the highest tension. What we have observed before in particular cases we must here imagine gathered together in the strongest *fortissimo*. It is the decisive battle of the Beethoven soul-drama. Now or never will his entire personality be revealed to us, and we have a drama of peculiar greatness. Yes, we are standing at the



boundary line; truly a fearful thought. Will the ethics of power stand the test? Will the hero be also the conqueror? Thank God he is not vanquished. He has been able to overcome the dreadful agitation and to adapt it to artistic use. In the *Missa solennis*, it sounds forth to us not without form nor incomprehensible. He presents to us a work that we can enjoy sympathetically, and we do not have to pay for what it has cost him. If we go at it with sacred seriousness, but without anxious hesitation and with faithful confidence to let it work upon us, this is the great promise to men of good will.

*Mit Andacht* stands above the first movement, the Credo, an *adagio sostenuto* in D Major, like a motto for the whole. Thus we can recognize the dramatic setting at the start. The solo voices stand out against the chorus with particular prominence as we shall realize better later on. The sacred treatment begins with a simple invocation to God: *Kyrie*, "Lord"; then the alto voice takes up the theme, *eleison*, "have mercy upon us." It is absolutely necessary to follow the words of the text. Who is not familiar with Latin will do well to have the whole thing literally translated, for we will find not only the sense of the sentences, but often the individual word, yes, even the single syllable, expressly sounded; it is well to note this in the beginning.

The second part, *Christe eleison*, is softer and more sustained, B Minor; then the first part is repeated so that we have a clear consecutive arrangement. Even this first movement contains powerfully expressive passages; Beethoven feels profoundly the prayer for divine mercy and takes it very seriously. It is much more than the usual approach to the Most High with hasty reverence; it is a prayer from the dust, humble, devout and at the same time energetic. Upon faith in God's mercy rested Beethoven's entire religion, and so in this case also all the rest of the mass.

Like a flourish of trumpets sounds forth the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, "Glory to God in the highest," D Major, an *allegro vivace* which is rolled up and flung forth like a waving banner. The rhythm cannot be sharp and definite enough; the tempo must not be hurried. In the greatest contrast to this stands, *et in terra pax*, "and on earth peace," with the beautiful concluding *hominibus bonae voluntatis*, "for the men of good will."

Similarly but still stronger contrasts the jubilant *laudamus te. benedicimus te*, "we praise thee, we bless thee," with the *adoramus te*, "we worship thee," in a thrilling *pianissimo*. It is as if, terrified at his boldness in singing so loud to God, man suddenly becomes

dumb in adoration. All the more powerfully the *glorificamus*, "we glorify thee," comes in. The continuation is finally modulated from C Minor to B Major, and in a *meno allegro* follows the gentle and heartfelt melody by the tenor, *gratias agimus tibi*, "we give thanks to thee," *propter magnum gloriam tuam*, "for thy great glory." Then in *tempo primo* at a rapid *crescendo*, *domine Deus rex coelestis*, "Lord God, Heavenly King," *Deus pater omnipotens*, "God the Father Almighty." This last word is given extreme emphasis, the chorus *fortissimo*, the orchestra in full movement, the trumpets crashing in for the first time. So greatly is Beethoven impressed by the omnipotence of God! After the *omni*-, "all," has been drawn out to the utmost, the *potens*, "mighty," breaks off in *unisono* as the expression of an undoubted, unconditioned power about which no more words need be lost. So great, so majestic, is God, so strong his arm!

But now again we have a complete contrast: *domine fili unigenite Jesu Christe*, "O Lord, the only begotten Son, Jesus Christ," soft and consoling. Then *agnus Dei*, "Lamb of God," is simply named but not carried further, and the note lingers upon *filius patris*, "Son of the Father."

Then begins the *larghetto* in F Major; *qui tollis peccata mundi*, "Thou who takest away the sins of the world." The chief emphasis is not laid upon the burden and guilt of sin, but upon the petition, *miserere nobis*, "have mercy upon us." The soloists sing it with constantly new turns of expression; the chorus repeats it but once. Then it takes up the *qui tollis*, and the soloists continue with *suscipe deprecationem nostram*, "receive our prayer." Now the imposing *qui sedes ad dexteram patris*, "that sittest at the right hand of God the Father," one of the much dreaded passages with high B repeated six times for the soprano of the chorus, and a wonderful rendering of the *miserere nobis*. Beethoven felt this beseeching petition so passionately that he inserted a swelling "Ah" at the end. If our editions contain *O miserere* instead, it is of course correct Latin, but Beethoven wrote "Ah," as he had become accustomed from the Italian, an unconscious reminiscence of the opera which shows us how dramatically inclined he was even here.

Especially famous has become the passage five measures before the last tenor solo, where the six-four follows directly upon F Major from F Sharp Minor, and the entire conclusion expresses "if thou helpest not we are hopelessly lost." But He must help because He can help.

It passes into an *allegro maestoso*. *Quoniam tu*, "for thou,"

sing the tenors of the chorus with all their might, in order to come down a steep octave into *piano* with the *solus sanctus*, "only art holy." Some have tried to complain that this passage does violence to logic; that one should not cry out the subject ("Thou") and whisper the predicate ("art holy"), but right here is revealed the expression of Beethoven's feeling that makes him change in the middle of the sentence. With desperate energy God is invoked according to the preceding anguish and need, and in the midst of the cry of the soul reverence before the holiness of God seizes man and hurls him to the ground. But he collects himself in *quoniam tu solus altissimus*, "thou only art Most High," which again demands a gigantic effort from the chorus. Now follows the magnificent fugue, *in gloria Dei patris. Amen.* "In the Glory of God the Father. Amen." The trombones join in the theme, then the solo voices take it up above a *cantus firmus* of the bass chorus. It swells into a mighty *unisono*. Finally the *Gloria* is repeated.

The *Credo* follows. Very firmly and positively the theme starts out. *Credo*, "I believe," it says to us with unfaltering assurance. I do not understand why its explanation has been distorted to mean that this energy was only a borrowed one, that Beethoven wished to stifle doubt in the germ in his soul and ours, so that he repeats strong and loud again *Credo*, "I believe"! What is the need of such an effort at interpretation? He was not an unbeliever, not anti-Christian, as we have pointed out from the beginning. He believes in a personal God, and here he puts it in song. *In unum Deum*, "in one God," it is emphasized, while *patrem omnipotentem*, "the Father Almighty," swells out so majestically that the chorus can hardly accomplish the high B again. Noteworthy are two short passages: *et invisibilem*, "(Creator of all things visible) and invisible," and *ante omnia saecula*, "before all worlds," both mysterious but the second much more mystical than the first. Triumphantly sounds the *Deum de Deo*, "God of God"; strongly emphasized is *genitum non factum*, "begotten, not made," with an almost threateningly repeated *non* against every contradiction; and expressively intoned is the thrice repeated *per quem omnia facta sunt*, "by whom all things were made."

But now comes one of the chief passages. The orchestra leads softly and beautifully in D Sharp Major, and the chorus sings with wonderful feeling: *qui propter nos homines*, "who for us men," *et propter nostram salutem*, "and for our salvation," which we, wretched that we are, so greatly need and which only His love can give us, *descendit de coelis*, "came down from heaven." Here Beethoven

gives expression to his love for humanity, his most intense sympathy with all human sorrow and misery. For these a Saviour must arise. In the same way he is impressed by the thought that this Saviour must come down from the heights of heaven. How far removed heaven is from earth is made visible to us with the distinctness of a painter, from high B down and finally up again.

The next part is the most splendid. The tenor solo has a miracle to announce; *et incarnatus est*, "and was incarnate," he sings in an indescribable *adagio* which in a mysterious melody accompanied only by the viola is modulated after the fashion of ancient church music. *De spiritu sancto*, "by the Holy Ghost," then wonderfully soft, *ex Maria*, "of Mary," and finally *virgine*, "the Virgin." How the D Minor triad trembles on the wooden wind instruments can not be described in words. The other soloists take up the theme above which floats a flute solo representing the dove as symbol of the Holy Ghost. But the chorus—and here we have a dramatic scene—repeats the whole movement *pianissimo* on the empty fifth, A:E more whispering than singing. The multitude cannot com-



#### CRUCIFIXUS IN THE MISSA SOLEMNIS.

prehend the miracle. They remain upon their knees in trembling devotion. They can only repeat what is told them but do not understand its import; only a miracle can make them grasp it.

But now comes the solution. How it happened, how it could happen, the singer can not explain, but what the result is he proclaims aloud: *et homo factus est*, "and was made man." Then the chorus sings it loudly after him, for now it can follow, *Homo, homo* is repeated alternately by soloists and chorus, and infinitely much lies in this dialogue. "A man, just think, a man!" Truly? A man? Is that so? Dare we believe it? That would be beyond all imagining! Then we would have the Saviour of whom we are in need; then indeed would we be succored! And is it indeed no dream, no legend? Are you telling us truly that it is a fact? Yes, I repeat it to you, it is a fact"—*factus est!* Something like this is the impression that this passage makes upon us. The proclamation continues. An *adagio espressivo* in D Minor brings the *crucifixus etiam pro nobis*, "and was crucified also for us." The Saviour has become

not only a man but a martyr. *Pro nobis*, "for us," the choir repeats in a frightened query; "then we are guilty of it?" And as if memory suddenly recalled something formerly learned, *sub Pontio Pilato*, yes that is right, it was "under Pontius Pilate," how could we have forgotten it? Indescribably again is sung the *passus*, "he suffered," by soloist and chorus. The Saviour has suffered for all humanity, and how he has suffered! The orchestra has a wailing theme in C and C Sharp which I can only compare to the Saviour's lament in Wagner's "Parsifal." Only he who himself has borne anguish of spirit can fathom it. *Et sepultus est*, "and was buried," concludes this part in a touching cadence in which soprano and bass vividly describe the sepulture with a sustained C.

Then after a painful oppressive pause, the tenor chorus comes in with *et*, "and," that means "Give heed! it is not yet finished"; and on the same note, high G, *resurrexit*, "he rose again." At one stroke the bonds are broken. It continues *allegro molto; et ascendit in coelum*, "and ascended into heaven," depicted realistically in rapid scales until in the great F Major in which all sopranos of the chorus sustain a high A, all heaven opens before us. Then the last judgment is magnificently presented. We hear the trumpets with which it opens, and then comes *judicare*, "(He shall come again) to judge," in a second chord of threatening majesty. And again in the sharpest contrast *vivos*, "the quick," *et mortuos*, "and the dead," the first piercingly as if they wished to defend themselves, the latter dull and gloomy in an empty harmony difficult to catch. *Cujus regni non erit finis*, "whose kingdom shall have no end," arranged in a fugue, finally throws in again an inimitable *non non* in answer to every doubt.

The section which treats of the Holy Ghost is more quiet. Then follows the concluding fugue: *et vitam venturi saeculi*, "And (I believe in) the life of the world to come." That Beethoven here makes use of every advantage a fugue can possess is very apparent, but he does it in order to bring about a climax which may be considered unparalleled. If the chorus, especially the sopranos, meets all these requirements it can produce a most effective performance. Eternal life in which Beethoven believed, as we know, is not described here, but it is observed and foretold. It is very unique when, following upon the immense chorus passage, the *grave*, the solo voices carry us with their *Amen* above this world into the future world which is not only promised here but is made accessible. Therefore they waver *pianissimo* in light chords as if in celestial



heights, and the chorus remains far below and permits itself to be carried up by them and the orchestra.

Must we not fear lest at this point a disappointing anticlimax may follow? Or do we now hear voices in "the choir invisible"? Once more Beethoven writes the instruction, *Mit Andacht*. We are to prepare ourselves to look upon God face to face. The orchestra begins a melody in a solemn *crescendo* with splendid instrumentation, and the alto soloist sings *sanctus*, "Holy." A theme of three notes D, E, A, proves sufficient to draw us to our knees. Here we can be sure that Beethoven was devout in the truest sense of the word. He prostrates himself and us before the all-holy God. Even the soloists hardly dare to sing, and at last they only falter, supported by the orchestra. Who is able to look upon God without being affected in the depths of his soul? Man must perish before God's face. In the small ninth chord everything seems to become extinct. Then the soloists, not the chorus, tear themselves away, to the jubilant *pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua*, "Heaven and earth are full of thy glory," and a resounding hymn of praise brings relief from the depression: *Hosanna in excelsis!* The *presto* in which it is given forth bears testimony to the fact that the deaf master heard inwardly what it was hardly possible to express to others. The piercing notes cause sharp discords.

A prelude follows, *sostenuto ma non troppo*, G Major.

Whether Beethoven really composed this transition just at this point I dare not affirm. At any rate now approaches the most wonderful moment. God not only is seen and divined and extolled, he lowers himself to men; he holds communion with us. In the highest tones, the violins start in and glide slowly down the scale in twelve-eighth time. It is incredible what an effect is attained by this simple mode of expression. The hearer has indeed nothing to be ashamed of whose eyes become moist as he listens. Again the representation becomes dramatic; the bass chorus sings *piano* on the one note D as if receiving a gift of grace: *benedictus qui venit in nomine domini*, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." How can we describe this mood? The most faithful cannot receive the sacrament in a more devout frame of mind. Now the the violins play the tenderest melody that Beethoven ever sung; the soloists take it up and the chorus enters upon it first shyly, then more confidently, and a movement is performed in which all humanity, filled with its God, seems exalted and inspired.

But we are still upon earth; we are still men. Infinite is God's



mercy, immeasurable his power, but terribly great and heavy also is our guilt. The B Minor *adagio* makes us feel this. Terribly does the burden of the transition from the second to the third measure weigh upon the soul. Heavy and serious begins the bass solo: *agnus Dei qui tollis peccato mundi*, "Lamb of God who takest away the sins of the world," the sins of the entire world which give us a glimpse into the terrible abyss of destruction. When he now sings *miserere nobis*, "have mercy upon us," the men's chorus takes it up in an equally hopeless lament. Then follows the alto and finally all four soloists, and the penitential prayer becomes more and more impressive, more and more humble. Then finally a change *pianissimo* on the sixth chord of A Major like an irresistibly beseeching, "Wilt thou then not hear us?" And now follows the last portion, *dona nobis pacem*, "Grant us thy peace."

At this point Beethoven permits himself to do a very peculiar thing. He writes above the *allegretto vivace*, D Major: "Petition for inward and outer peace." In so doing he does violence to the text of the mass which contains nothing of the sort, nor can it be read out of the mass. It must first be put in it. It is easy to see how Beethoven was misled. Hitherto he had conceived the words, if not exactly in the ecclesiastical interpretation, at any rate very ideally. What he is now doing arouses a justifiable feeling of surprise, and he is not easily understood by his hearers. At first the petition for peace is spun out into a richly lyrical movement with a beautiful theme, but suddenly we hear, *allegro assai*, B Major, martial music in the distance—the enemy approaches! Perils of war break into the midst of the religious service. The soloists cry out anxiously. It is and always will be an unexampled piece of daring to throw in such a scene in so realistic a dramatic setting, but it makes no difference to us. Our fancy has to follow whithersoever it is led.

In the following repetition of the *dona*, the theme is very much in Handel's style, and it is more than probable that Beethoven wished thus to offer tribute to his highly honored master. Still another surprise awaits us. A *presto fugato alla breve* starts in and is carried on by the orchestra up to the despairing cry of the whole chorus, *agnus Dei*. This is evidently intended to indicate the absence of internal peace for which relief is now sought in prayer. This demand on our emotional fancy and earnestness is still stronger than the preceding because here no stopping point is offered from without. With full voice the soprano soloist now starts in with the *dona* on high B, then sustains high A sharp in order to obtain *pacem*.

"peace," or rather to accomplish it by force. Finally the terrible suspense is allayed, and we return to *tempo primo*. Peace is won and assured. It sounds as if all wished to ascertain it for themselves. Now for the first time it becomes really quiet, and we have soft *piano* passages. Finally the main theme stands out large and brilliant, and the orchestra closes with the most definite confirmation.

This last movement is undeniably a surprise to the impartial hearer. Many will be disappointed who expected a harmonious end. It is a matter of individual feeling. One thing is clear, that the *Missa solemnis*, as we have said before, is a powerful dramatic phantasy, a religious service of the soul which represents Beethoven's inmost emotions. We have the impression that form and medium of expression were hardly sufficient for him; he goes to the limit of the possible. Still the conviction is forced upon us that we are enjoying a work of art complete in itself—a conviction which cannot be shaken. I might point to many individual details, but however passionately they might be advocated they do not cause the whole to lose its unity.

Its construction may be comprehended formally and intrinsically. The general impression is decisive. Were we to indicate with one catch-word the nobility of the soul which here celebrates a consecration of idealism, we would say that Beethoven's mass is the canticle of his sincerity. This is the reason that everything is so genuine and on so large a scale, and this is the reason that it is in keeping with the motto which he inscribed upon his score: "Written from the heart—may it again reach the heart!"

## THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

FIFTEENTH—SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TAPESTRIES AT THE  
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

BY CLARENCE HOBLITZELL.

**T**APESTRY weaving, one of the most ancient arts of man, is also one which, at an early date had attained a high degree of perfection. It is interesting to know that the exquisite products of the Gobelins in the eighteenth century—products reflecting the taste and skill of the greatest capital in Europe, but repeated, in technical treatment at least, the work of the weavers of tapestry in Egypt two thousand years before. To go no farther back than the evidence presented by the early Christian tombs with their eloquent riches in embroidered and woven fabrics, we are confronted with the fact that even in the number of warp threads to a given space, the modern technique is curiously similar to the old. And going farther back still we behold in the wall-paintings three thousand years before Christ, representations of tapestry looms like the hand looms now in use.

The long and, so far as existing examples of tapestry are concerned, silent interval of the first centuries of the Christian era in Western Europe, together with the early years of the Romanesque and Gothic periods, have passed, leaving few fragments of a handiwork costly in time and money, and always held in esteem by the great and noble. The Cathedral of Halberstadt, Germany, and the museums of Lyons, Nuremburg and South Kensington possess pieces dating from the latter part of the twelfth century, the so-called Bayeux Tapestry embroidered by Queen Matilda of England, having been wrought a hundred years before. Examples of tapestry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are also rare, so ruthless the tooth of time and the despoiling touch of vandal and robber, one consuming the soft wool of the weft, the other, more consum-

mately destroying the entire fabric for the gold wherewith it was often heavily woven.

From the fifteenth-sixteenth century appreciation, however, re-born and quickened into life in all directions of art by the flaming wonder of the Renaissance, we may claim more treasures of the loom, and from then till the present, tapestry has been woven at times in various parts of the world: in Russia, in Italy, Germany, Spain, France, Flanders, England, and to-day in America as well (notably at the famous works of Mr. William Baumgarten started



BAPTISM.\*

in 1893 at Williamsbridge, N. Y., where the best traditions of the art are faithfully adhered to.)

It has been said that early tapestries are rare, and this is especially true of suites of tapestry where the story is shown in a series of cartoons. Such a suite was recently acquired in France and presented to the Metropolitan Museum by its president, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. It is in five pieces, two of which are double compositions, and represents the Seven Sacraments, the figures being the size of life. These tapestries are Burgundian of the early fifteenth century, and

\* This series of illustrations is reproduced from photographs of Burgundian Gothic tapestries of the 15th century, presented by Mr. J. P. Morgan to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.





CONFIRMATION.

were probably woven at Arras. They convey a good impression of the restraint and sober richness of the great Gothic period, its romance and mystery, its art and life. The quaint costumes of both men and women, gorgeous in brocade, embroidery and miniver, the formality of composition with its diapered or powdered back-



THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

ground, the constrained figure drawing, and the serious, even pensive expression of the faces are all characteristic of early fifteenth century art.

Pathetic wrecks, as the pieces are of their original splendid state when stiff with gold and brilliant in color they hung in royal chapel



or on abbey wall, their spirit remains, though its material garment has suffered the ravages of five hundred years. Still beautiful, they survive as monuments to the art of their time. What vicissitudes, what wars and storms have they endured, and into how many hands, both gentle and harsh, have they passed since then. Looking at these sober browns, pale yellows, dull crimsons fading to faint vermillion, and grays shaded with opaque blue, they compose superb if low-toned harmonies upon the quiet walls where they are now enshrined. Maugre their mutilation and faded glory and the departed gold from their diapered ground, the elements of their interest and beauty exist indisputably.



PENANCE.

HOLY ORDERS.

What a far cry it is from the world of the early fifteenth to that of the period of the middle seventeenth century. Already the glorious achievements of the Cinquecento seem a golden volume closing forever. The flashing light of the Italian Renaissance had ravished Europe with a flood of beauty in painting, sculpture and the applied arts, with wonders of science and statesmanship, with inventions and unparalleled discoveries, yet how soon the glowing torch fell into darkness. Velasquez in Spain, and Rubens, Van Dyck, Hals and Rembrandt with a host of lesser yet marvelous contemporaries in Holland and the Netherlands, ascended the tribune built by Brunelleschi in Florence in 1407, and occupied by

Italy's inspired sons who for two hundred years had poured the ichor of their genius upon the slowly fructifying North.

Fine tapestry had been made in Flanders as early as the twelfth century. During the country's rise to prominence, the manufacture of tapestry steadily increased till in the sixteenth century Brussels was making the finest quality and the greatest amount in the world. In the following century the famous factories continued their efforts, but towards the middle of the century the decadence of taste had set in, Italian art was already rococo. The Flemings and the Dutch artists, from the very nature of their remarkable and untraditional



MARRIAGE.

EXTREME UNCTION.

art were but a detriment to the history of tapestry. Their genre scenes and portraits proved the end of the Renaissance as they also sounded the final death note of the Gothic period. Hence the tapestries of Brussels, save in instances where orders were given for subjects in the old manner, reflect the changed conditions. The designs are large, agitated, out of scale, high lights are used profusely and the compositions become pictures rather than woven hangings and subsidiary backgrounds.

Among the other tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum is a

Brussels suite of this period, about 1650. There are five large pieces with figures rather more than the size of life, representing scenes from the lives of Antony and Cleopatra. They are all marked with the double B (Brussels and Brabant) of the Brussels factory, and the names of the weavers Jan van Leeftael and Gerard van der Strechen, woven in the separate pieces. It is known that Rubens contributed cartoons illustrating the lives of Antony and Cleopatra, and this suite was evidently woven from designs by the master. The different pieces are in perfect condition, the general tones being yellow, golden and claret browns, with touches of deep blue and dull green, while a predominant note of warm gray, almost a cream color is used for the sky and the high lights. Elaborate borders surround each design. The end of the century is suggested in these dramatic tapestries in which the disturbed figures crowd the limits of the composition. But although the lines are torturing to the eye seeking repose and esthetic selection, there is still something large about them. It is the decadence, but the decadence tinged with the memory of great principles not yet entirely overthrown. We realize this in the aristocratic elegance of the color scheme used throughout the suite. The total absence of the vermillion and flat blues which distinguish later work and the vigor of the somewhat careless drawing both remove them from the pretty or exasperating things turned out during the last years of the century. The technique also bears witness to the excellence of the factory, the pieces being woven with a full, soft weft which presents a surface of great regularity and beauty. The suite, originally in possession of the Barberini, afterwards passed into the hands of the late King Ludwig of Bavaria. It was bequeathed to the Museum by Mrs. Elizabeth U. Coles in memory of her son.

## THE BROTHERHOOD OF SAINT SIMON.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

“THE three chief aspects of France at the moment of the advent of Saint Simonianism were, in the social order, competition; in the moral order, skepticism; in the political order, anarchy.” So writes Louis Blanc in his interesting chapter on the sect in his *History of Ten Years*. He continues: “This school rehabilitated the principle of authority in the midst of the triumphs of liberalism; proclaimed the necessity of a social religion at a moment when the laws themselves were atheistic; and advocated the organization of industry and cooperative ideas at an epoch when the deceptive success of competition had attained its highest point. With an intrepidity which has never been equaled and with a vigor well seconded by lofty talent and profound study, this school laid bare all the sores of the century and opened up to the intelligent a vast and new vista.”

The teachings of the Count of Saint Simon, the founder of French socialism, produced but little effect during his lifetime (1760-1825). But at the very start he won over to his views some of the most brilliant young men of the day, such as Auguste Comte and Augustin Thierry, and during the two years which followed the revolution of 1830 Saint Simonianism became a power in the intellectual world of France, to become later a power also in the industrial world and even to exercise a certain influence in the political world.

Perhaps the best way to enable Americans to understand the intellectual side of Saint Simonianism is to point out that many of its tenets and acts resembled those of our own transcendental movement of the middle of the last century. What Emerson said of a certain meeting of the Transcendental Club, that it was like “going to heaven in a swing,” might be repeated of many of the Sunday lectures in the Rue Taithout or of the gatherings of “The

Family" in the Rue Monsigny. We are told that at some of the lectures or sermons the congregation was often so moved by an appeal, for example, to the privileged classes to help the working classes that tears were shed, while, amidst applause, the listeners began to embrace one another and scenes occurred that remind one of a Methodist revival or an American camp-meeting. This Family, which consisted of seventy-nine members, exclusive of the catechumens, and included the two Supreme Fathers, sixteen Fathers of the College, two of whom were women, took their meals in common, when all the principles of Saint Simonianism were discussed, while a deep spirit of fraternity prevailed, all of which reminds one of the atmosphere and conversation which prevailed in the plain dining-room of Brook Farm.

The comparison holds good in almost every particular. Just as the monks of Mênilmontant—the Saint Simonians led a monastic life for a season—sought to organize a regular religion, so there was a tendency of this same kind at Brook Farm, with William H. Channing as a sort of embryonic *Enfantin*. In the department of music John S. Dwight was the *Félicien David* of Brook Farm, and in the field of journalism *The Harbinger* was the *Globe*. George William Curtis, who hovered on the outskirts of the farm, just as did several choice spirits of France on the heights of Mênilmontant, speaks of "this effort at practical Christianity," while Saint Simon's doctrine was often described as "the new Christianity." In a general way transcendentalism has been defined as the doctrine that the principles of reality are to be discovered by the study of the processes of thought, while the transcendentalists themselves preferred to call themselves "disciples of newness," though a less reverent observer dubbed them "a race who drove into the infinite, soared into the illimitable, and never paid cash."

"Its most systematic historian," as Higginson styles Lindsay Swift, says of the Brook Farm experiment which lasted from 1841 to 1847, that "there was a distinct beginning, a fairly coherent progress, but a vague termination," which also well describes the history of Saint Simonianism, as, in fact, all these socialistic attempts in general. Curtis said in one of his "Easy Chair" essays of 1869: "It is to the transcendentalism, that seemed to so many good souls both wicked and absurd, that some of the best influences of American life to-day are due. The spirit that was concentrated at Brook Farm is diffused, but it is not lost." Professor Charléty makes much the same remark concerning Mênilmontant: "These apostles had many friends, who while lamenting their foolishness admired their

talents," and Georges Weil, in the latest and one of the best studies of the sect, *L'Ecole Saint-Simoniennne*, points out that it is a mistake to imagine, as most people do, that Saint Simonianism ended with the famous trial of 1832. "Up to the time of the death of *Enfantin*, in 1864, and even later," he says, "though there was no longer a Saint Simonian sect, there was a group of Saint Simonians, and there was especially a Saint Simonian state of mind. Its remarkable influence did not even disappear with the extinction of the last of the disciples." And, lastly, the superiority of the individual character of so many of the original Saint Simonians, for, taken as a body, they were a grand lot of men and women, also finds its counterpart in their American pendants—in Hawthorne, Ripley, Dana, and others. But curiously enough, it may be said in passing, I do not find that the transcendentalists remarked, either before or after their dispersion, this resemblance between themselves and their French precursors.

Both of these observations are true of Saint Simonianism and the woman's rights movement in America. Not only had they many points in common, but the American reformers do not appear to have been aware of this fact. "*Enfantin* proclaimed as a religious necessity," says Louis Blanc, "the enfranchisement of woman and her participation in the supreme power alongside of himself in the religious system, when would be established what he called the dual priesthood." In fact, the Saint Simonian belief in a female element in the godhead exactly resembles a latter-day phase of the American woman's rights creed, which startled the more old-fashioned wing of the reformers and shocked the church. In reading the various writings of the Saint Simonians you are continually encountering ideas and even phrases which you find in almost exactly the same words in the publications of Elizabeth Cady Stanton during the closing years of her life.

In the Saint Simonian profession of faith occur such passages as these: "I believe in God, Father and Mother of us all, man and woman." "I believe that God has raised up *Father Enfantin* in order that he may call to his side the Woman Messiah, who, by the equality of man and woman, will consecrate the union of humanity and the world." Holstein, a distinguished Saint Simonian, declared almost in his last breath: "I believe in God, Father and Mother." Michel Chevalier thus states the credo of the sect: "I believe in social regeneration based on the equality of man and woman, and I await the coming of the woman who will bring this about." One of the songs of the Saint Simonian poet, Vincard, contains this line:



"Let us cause to reign our God, Father and Mother."  
*(Faisons régner notre Dieu, Père et Mère.)*

An article in the *Globe* has this sentence: "There is being prepared in the moral world something that is unexpected and unheard of; we anticipate the coming of a Woman Messiah." In the calendar drawn up especially for the sect, several days each month were sacred to "the Father and the Mother." Charléty declares that these dreamers "turned their whole attention toward the coming of the Woman; it was their fixed idea." For a moment it was even thought that she might be at hand in the person of George Sand! Enfantin had repeatedly and confidently announced her advent, and when she did not appear he lost influence, and it was the beginning of his discredit and the fall of the sect.

Saint Simonian ideas are also reproduced in a more general way in the American woman's rights movement. The Mémilmontant thinkers did not overlook the educational and political claims of their female co-workers, nor forget their promises when the day for fulfilment seemed at hand. When the second Carnot, an old Saint Simonian, became minister of public instruction under the republic of 1848, he authorized at the College of France the opening of a series of lectures especially devoted to woman, while Olinde Rodriques, one of the ablest of the early Saint Simonian leaders, gives women their political rights in the constitution which he drew up for consideration at this same crisis. Even the female dress was reformed. The Saint Simonian women wore a sort of Bloomer costume—a kind of riding hat, black veil, short black skirt, leather belt, and trousers. Though it is true that Rosa Bonheur first put on male attire in order to facilitate her art work in the Paris slaughter-houses, it is also true that since her father was a Saint Simonian she had probably seen, as a child, the Saint Simonian women dressed in this way, and her own mother, possibly among them, so that it must have become very easy and natural for her to don a somewhat similar costume when necessity called for it.

M. Henry D'Allemagne, one of the best living authorities on Saint Simonianism and the Saint Simonians, tells me that it is generally believed that it was Raymond Bonheur, the father of Rosa Bonheur and himself an artist, who designed the peculiar costume of the men of the order—a short tight-fitting violet-blue frock-coat, without a collar; a red waistcoat fastened up the back with hooks and eyes; white trousers and a black leather belt with a brass buckle. "White is considered to signify love; red, work; and violet-blue, faith," wrote Raymond Bonheur to Lacour; "and the whole costume

symbolizes, therefore, that Saint Simonianism is based on love, is fortified by labor, and is enveloped by faith." Furthermore, in the words of Father Enfantin, "the waistcoat is the sign of fraternity, for you cannot button it alone"; and, lastly, as each one of the faithful assumed the responsibility of his own conduct, his name was written in large letters across his breast.

The remarkable industrial talent of the Saint Simonians has rightfully excited wonder. Saint Simon himself, when in the New World at the time of the American Revolution, proposed to the Viceroy of Mexico to make a canal between the two oceans, and half a century later his disciples went still farther in this same direction, when, in August, 1833, Enfantin wrote: "It is left to us to make, between ancient Egypt and old Judea, one of the new routes from Europe to India and China; later we will dig the other at Panama." Professor Charléty says: "Enfantin was the promoter, inspirer, and the first engineer of the Suez Canal. The glory of the enterprise rightfully belongs to the Saint Simonians and the Polytechnic School."

Nor did the sect confine its efforts in this field to interoceanic canals. The first railway built in France, that from Paris to Saint Germain, which was opened in 1837, was the work of these remarkable men. In fact, they were the very soul of the whole early railway construction of the country, and several of their sons and grandsons now hold high posts in the management of the chief lines.

Politically, too, Saint Simonianism presents a striking interest. Saint Simon himself was a friend of the first revolution, but when he saw that the republicans were incapable of governing, he accepted Bonaparte and put all his faith in him. In 1848 his followers did the same thing in respect to Napoleon III. During the reign of Louis Philippe almost all of the Saint Simonians were republicans, and some even conspired against the government. So when the revolution of 1848 broke out they were much stirred. But a letter from the Father urged the disciples not to take part in the uprising. In a word, the Saint Simonian school welcomed the advent of the Second Empire, for to most of them political liberty was a secondary consideration. What they desired above all was a government strong enough to preserve order and assure progress. What they had looked for in vain in a parliamentary republic, a despotic government gave them; and so they rallied to its support. M. Weill says: "Napoleon III was, for a period at least, Saint Simonism crowned. . . If we follow Napoleon III in his speeches and his letters we will find him continually in accord with the Saint Simonians. . . It was not

only the ideas, but the men of the Saint Simonian school who triumphed under the Empire; several even lived in the immediate circle of Napoleon III." In fact, the folly of the democrats was equaled only by the selfishness of the conservative burgher class in 1848. Under these circumstances "the conduct of the Saint Simonians was remarkable," a close observer has pointed out. They stood almost alone between two extremes, and, though they approved of the change, they strove to draw from it only practical results, such as primary schools for all, a better banking system, and large appropriations for public improvements.

The socialistic side of the new doctrine was indeed very pronounced. "Two forms of modern thought," writes Professor Charléty, "which are closely allied, though not necessarily confounded in the same men, positivism and socialism, really spring from Saint Simonianism." Though the reform failed, "it prepared the way both for socialistic rhetoric and sociological studies." It should be remembered that, at the moment of the revolution of 1848, it was a Saint Simonian who, first in France and in Europe, proposed to solve the difficulties between capital and labor by the system of profit sharing. It is a common mistake, however, to think that the social question was introduced into French politics by the revolution of 1848, whereas it was precipitated into the arena by the outburst of 1830. Pierre Leroux, a distinguished Saint Simonian (who, by the way, once blamed Victor Hugo to his face for never having made a verse in honor of the founder of the sect), was the first, in 1834, to employ the word socialism, while the new socialists, Cabet, Louis Blanc, and Proudhon, were very much in evidence throughout the reign of Louis Philippe, though highly distasteful to the advocates of pacific progress, the peculiar characteristic of the Saint Simonians after they had come to their senses and were dispersed.

During the days of July the people of Paris came generously to the support of the sorely pressed liberal burgher class, and when the victory was won the working classes naturally felt that they should share in the consequent benefits. During the Restoration the burgher class had alone been on the scene. But the Orleans monarchy brought the people into politics, and the Saint Simonians, who were quick to perceive the innovation and immediately took advantage of it, owed much of their early success to this fact. Some of the more sanguine leaders even thought for a moment that they might get control of the new situation and bring about a complete social revolution in accordance with their ideas. Lafayette, who for a short period was the arbiter of France, was even approached with

this end in view; in fact, so carried away were the most ardent, that they did not hesitate to turn their eyes toward the Tuileries, and Louis Philippe himself was summoned to yield his place to the apostles of the new sect!

The Saint Simonian doctrine may be stated briefly as follows: Saint Simon divided society into workers and non-workers, and held that the future belonged exclusively to the first; which he strove to classify as exactly as possible, finally concluding that as man feels, thinks, and acts, all human work can be done by those who address themselves to our sensibilities, who cultivate our intelligence, and who set in motion our activities. Consequently, the three social functions consist in moving, enlightening, and enriching men; and hence there are three classes of workers—artist, teachers in the broadest sense, and manufacturers. Under the name of neo-Christianity, Saint Simon brought together all his scattered ideas and reduced them to three dicta, viz., universal cooperation, based on love, and consequently subversive of competition, the formula "to each man according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works," which destroyed the principle of inheritance; and, lastly, the thorough organization of industry, so that war is put an end to. In a word, Saint Simon attacked every privilege of birth and declared all armed conflicts impious. "The golden age," he said, "which a blind tradition has always placed in the past is really in front of us." "Like all reformers," says Louis Blanc, "he started from the perfectibility of humanity." But his disciples who followed were not always so precise in their definitions. "The Saint Simonian doctrine," says one of them, "was neither a Koran nor a Leviticus: it was a conception with a frame, a preface with a tale of contents." Lerminier's definition is somewhat similar, "a vast and confused table of contents, a hasty prospectus of the French philosophy of the nineteenth century," while another declares that it is simply "a new reform of Christianity—nothing more, nothing less."

Saint Simon died in 1825. The journal which he was bent on founding at the moment of his death, the *Producteur*, appeared from October, 1825, to October, 1826. Then followed two years, 1826 to 1828, of "the silent expansion" of Saint Simonianism. Toward the end of 1828 the little group of Saint Simonians instituted a series of sermons concerning the religious side of the doctrine. This went on for nearly two years, when these sermons were eventually published in two volumes, and constitute the chief philosophical work of the sect. These public lectures were followed up by private talks, when conversions to the new faith were accomplished.

Each believer was expected to bring a friend or two to these evening reunions, who were argued with and their objections refuted, with the result that a new adherent was generally secured. Among the early apostles were many young and brilliant graduates of the famous Paris State Polytechnic School, which has always played such a prominent part in the liberal movements of France. They were one of the chief sources of strength of the reform. To these were added sentimentalists, mystics, and persons troubled by religious anxiety and who hoped to find rest for their weary souls in this new haven. "Many of the neophytes," writes Gustave d'Eichthal, "sought here consolation of some sort; others hoped thus to escape from the state of vague melancholy into which they had been plunged by romanticism, while still others were fleeing family troubles, or seeking rest from the fatigues of a wild and misspent youth." Professor Charl  ty says: "The Saint Simonians poured into the hearts of the young of both sexes a generous spirit of enthusiasm. To their minds was offered the elevated pleasure, the joy of possessing the truth. The appeal was heard. All those whose souls were unsettled, who were looking for a belief or were impatient to do something; all those who, weary of the commonplaceness of received opinion, longed for 'something else,' who, tired of the inaction in which some insufficient calling left their souls asleep, who were ambitious—all such persons flew to the Saint Simonians, as in other times they sought out literary circles or political clubs."

The youthfulness of the Saint Simonians was very notable, and explains much of the attractiveness of the reform. So immature were several of them that nature refused to second the rule of the sect that all its members should wear full beards! The principal apostles were indeed a very young body of men. Only one of them had reached forty, and he remained but a short time. Thirteen were in their thirties, while eighteen were under thirty, and three of these, youths of twenty. No wonder, then, that Charl  ty declares that "the retreat of the apostles to M  nilmontant was not unfruitful, for it filled their old age with pleasant memories and gave strength to their middle life,—M  nilmontant, where they had loved one another so dearly, where, in the exuberancy of youth, they had entertained such wild but sublime hopes, such noble joy, which appeared, through the flight of memory, purified from all dross," which reminds one of Renan's remark: "It is almost always a principle with great lives that during some months they feel God, and this sensation suffices to fill whole years with energy and sweetness."

Several dicta of the new doctrine made a strong appeal to its



adherents. It was declared at the very start, as we have already seen, that humanity was to have a triple governing power—knowledge, industry, and the fine arts—and when the sect was definitely founded, a large part was reserved to artists. It was pointed out in the *Producteur* that art was too individualistic, at the mercy of the caprice of each artist, "the symbol of the moral anarchy in which we live." "But the moment is doubtless at hand," continues the Saint Simonian journalist, "when the painter, the musician, the poet who shall have attained to the complete development of his faculty to feel, will possess the power of pleasing and moving in as certain a manner as the mathematician now possesses the power of solving a geometrical problem, or the chemist the power of separating a body into its elements. Then will the moral side of society be definitely constituted." Art has its social side; "it should move the masses." This was the germ of the theory which certain of the leaders soon pushed to an extreme. It was taught that the religious side of the sect would be directed by the man of the most artistic nature, who would be the supreme priest. Every one was drawn to the reform by the fine presence and attractive manners and language of Enfantin, whom all agreed in pronouncing "a real charmer." Of course, knowledge would have its head and industry, too, but the religious head would be he of the most artistic temperament. So the artist became the prophet, and when Saint Simonianism assumed the garb of religion, and killed itself thereby, the artist became the high priest. No wonder, then, that many young painters like Raymond Bonheur, that Félicien David, Liszt and Halévy, that sculptors and architects, either coquetted for a moment with, or openly and ardently embraced, the new faith that gave them the place of honor in the society which it was to organize. But it was more to be wondered at that a whole group of young men, intelligent, and most of them endowed with a strong personality, should shut themselves up in Enfantin's house and submit to the severest rule which had no other sanction than the praises or the reproaches of the Father; many of them having to break with family ties that were very dear to them, and yet not one of them hesitating an instant to do so—this was indeed the triumph of art!

In the enthusiasm for the new tenets the activity of the members was not limited to the purely art side of the work, which was rather humdrum. They were also ardent propagandists. Paris was divided into four "sections," under one or more "directors"; and to further extend Saint Simonian influence among the working classes of the capital, a committee of three, composed of a physician, a director,



and a directress, was appointed for each of the twelve wards which then formed the city.

Then occurred an unfortunate departure in the movement. After the funeral of *Enfantin's* mother, on April 22, 1832, all the friends, several hundred in number, who went to the cemetery, returned with the Father to his home at *Ménilmontant*, where he pronounced a short address. Then all departed except the forty apostles, who were henceforth to abide with him.

The daily life at *Ménilmontant* resembled that of a convent. The brothers rose at five, breakfasted at seven, dined at one, supped at seven, and were in bed by ten. There were no domestics, and each apostle had certain menial duties to perform. Thus the cultivated *Gustave d'Eichthal* cleaned plates, while the Father Superior presided over the garden, and among the brothers who aided him in these horticultural tasks was the artist *Raymond Bonheur*, of whom there exists a picture, spade in hand.

At this moment the Saint Simonians were one of the chief centers of curiosity of the proverbially inquisitive Parisians. The gates of the convent were thrown open twice each week, on Sundays to all comers, and on Wednesdays to privileged persons. On Sundays as many as 10,000 persons would sometimes walk out from Paris to see the Saint Simonians go through their ceremonies, to look at them eat, and to listen to their songs. So great was the crowd that the government sometimes surrounded the spot with soldiers for fear of disorder.

One of the rules of this peculiar sort of monastery was that requiring the apostles not to leave its gates. This was the hardest one for many of the members to conform to, for it meant a voluntary separation from wife and children; and there were always friends and relatives to blame them for this course, though, as has already been stated, it was unhesitatingly followed by several of the apostles, some of whom occupied high social and mental positions. It should be remembered, also, that one of the fundamental principles of Saint Simonianism was that family, caste, city, nation were synonymous with antagonism; that all social forms made for war. The idea of association, however, had peace as its aim.

On August 27 and 28, 1832, the Saint Simonians were tried before the courts for immorality, though the impartial historian must admit that the charge, if partly true in the case of *Enfantin*, was wholly false concerning his faithful followers. The truth of the matter is that the sect had become troublesome, not to say more, to the powers that were; and in over-centralized France, espe-

cially in the time of the July monarchy, this was a grave political crime. So loose morals was seized upon as the pretext and article 291 of the criminal code as the real means of suppressing these *enfants terribles*. At 7 A. M., on the first day, Enfantin and the apostles, in full Saint Simonian dress, marched down from Ménilmontant, through the whole breadth of Paris, to the court-house, where several of the leaders were condemned to fine and imprisonment, in accordance with the article just mentioned, which reads as follows: "No association numbering more than twenty persons, which meets daily or on certain fixed dates, and whose aim is of a religious, literary, political, or other nature, can be formed without the consent of the government, or under conditions other than those which it pleases the public authorities to impose upon it." The application of this article in the case of the Saint Simonians was not approved by several of the liberal organs of the time, and it was finally abrogated seventy years afterward, in July, 1901.

In the month of October following the first trial the Saint Simonians were again arraigned, accused this time of dishonesty in money matters. But there was no ground for the charge, and all the accused were acquitted. After the first trial the sustaining fund of the monastery began to diminish, and the faithful had grown weary of a life of almost nothing to do. After the second trial the financial situation got still worse. Thereupon the Father divided the apostles into two groups, one, the smaller, remaining with him at Ménilmontant, while the other group was to go forth and preach the good word. But once having breathed again the free air of the every-day world, none ever returned to the restraints of Ménilmontant. This happened in the late autumn of 1832.

## THE RELIGION OF EGYPT.\*

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

WE know more about the religion of the early Egyptians than about any other ancient religion. Its development can be traced back three or four thousand years; we can read its sacred texts, mythical narratives, hymns, rituals, and the Book of the Dead in the original, and we can ascertain its various ideas as to the nature of the divine powers and of future life. A great number of monuments have preserved for our inspection the pictures of divinities and representations of liturgic scenes, while numerous inscriptions and papyri enlighten us in regard to the sacerdotal organization of the principal temples. It would seem that the enormous quantity of documents of all kinds that have been deciphered in the course of nearly an entire century should have dispelled every uncertainty about the creed of ancient Egypt, and should have furnished exact information with regard to the sources and original character of the worship which the Greeks and the Romans borrowed from the subjects of the Ptolemies.

And yet, this is not the case. While of the four great Oriental religions which were transplanted into the Occident, the religion of Isis and Serapis is the one whose relation to the ancient belief of the mother country we can establish with greatest accuracy, we know very little of its first form and of its nature before the imperial period, when it was held in high esteem.

One fact, however, appears to be certain. The Egyptian worship that spread over the Greco-Roman world came from the Serapeum founded at Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter, somewhat in the manner of Judaism that emanated from the temple of Jerusalem. But the earliest history of that famous sanctuary is surrounded by such a thick growth of pious legends, that the most sagacious investigators have lost their way in it. Was Serapis of native origin,

\*Translated from the French by A. M. Thielen.

or was he imported from Sinope or Seleucia, or even from Babylon? Each of these opinions has found supporters very recently. Is his name derived from that of the Egyptian god Osiris-Apis, or from that of the Chaldean deity Sar-Apsi? *Grammatici certant*.<sup>1</sup>

Whichever solution we may adopt, one fact remains, namely, that Serapis and Osiris were either immediately identified or else were identical from the beginning. The divinity whose worship was started at Alexandria by Ptolemy was the god that ruled the dead and shared his immortality with them. He was fundamentally an Egyptian god, and the most popular of the deities of the Nile. Herodotus says that Isis and Osiris were revered by every inhabitant of the country, and their traditional holidays involved secret ceremonies whose sacred meaning the Greek writer dared not reveal.<sup>2</sup>

Recognizing their Osiris in Serapis, the Egyptians readily accepted the new cult. There was a tradition that a new dynasty should introduce a new god or give a sort of preeminence to the god of its own district. From time immemorial politics had changed the government of heaven when changing that of earth. Under the Ptolemies the Serapis of Alexandria naturally became one of the principal divinities of the country, just as the Ammon of Thebes had been the chief of the celestial hierarchy under the Pharaohs of that city, or as, under the sovereigns from Sais, the local Neith had the primacy. At the time of the Antonines there were forty-two Serapeums in Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

But the purpose of the Ptolemies was not to add one more Egyptian god to the countless number already worshiped by their subjects. They wanted this god to unite in one common worship the two races inhabiting the kingdom, and thus to further a complete fusion. The Greeks were obliged to worship him side by side with the natives. It was a clever political idea to institute a Hellenized Egyptian religion at Alexandria. A tradition mentioned by Plutarch<sup>4</sup> has it that Manetho, a priest from Heliopolis, a man of advanced ideas, together with Timotheus, a Eumolpide from Eleusis, thought out the character that would best suit the new-comer. The result was that the composite religion founded by the Lagides became a combination of the old creed of the Pharaohs and the Greek mysteries.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, I, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, II, 42, 171.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, ed. Parthey, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, 28.

First of all, the liturgic language was no longer the native idiom but Greek. This was a radical change. The philosopher Demetrius of Phalerum, who had been cured of blindness by Serapis, composed poems in honor of the god that were still sung under the Cæsars several centuries later.<sup>5</sup> We can easily imagine that the poets, who lived on the bounty of the Ptolemies, vied with each other in their efforts to celebrate their benefactors' god, and the old rituals that were translated from the Egyptian were also enriched with edifying bits of original inspiration. A hymn to Isis, found on a marble monument in the island of Andros,<sup>6</sup> gives us some idea of these sacred compositions, although it is of more recent date.

In the second place, the artists replaced the old hieratic idols by more attractive images and gave them the beauty of the immortals. It is not known who created the figure of Isis draped in a linen gown with a fringed cloak fastened over the breast whose sweet, meditative, graciously maternal face is a combination of the ideals imagined for Hera and Aphrodite. But we know the sculptor of the first statue of Serapis that stood in the great sanctuary of Alexandria until the end of paganism. This statue, the prototype of all the copies that have been preserved, is a colossal work of art made of precious materials by a famous Athenian sculptor named Bryaxis, a contemporary of Scopas. It was one of the last divine creations of Hellenic genius. The majestic head, with its somber and yet benevolent expression, with its abundance of hair, and with a crown in the shape of a bushel, bespoke the double character of a god ruling at the same time both the fertile earth and the dismal realm of the dead.<sup>7</sup>

As we see, the Ptolemies had given their new religion a literary and artistic shape that was capable of attracting the most refined and cultured minds. But the adaptation to the Hellenic feeling and thinking was not exclusively external. Osiris, the god whose worship was thus renewed, was more adapted than any other to lend his authority to the formation of a syncretic faith. At a very early period, in fact before the time of Herodotus, Osiris had been identified with Dionysus, and Isis with Demeter. M. Foucart has endeavored to prove in an ingenious essay that this assimilation was not arbitrary, that Osiris and Isis came into Crete and Attica during the prehistoric period, and that they were mistaken for

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Diogenes Laertius, V, 5, § 76.

<sup>6</sup> Kaibel, *Epigr.*, 1028 = Abel, *Orphica*, p. 295.

<sup>7</sup> Amelung, "Le Serapis de Bryaxis," *Revue archéol.*, II (1903), p. 178.

Dionysus and Demeter<sup>8</sup> by the people of those regions. Without going back to those remote ages, we shall merely say with him that the mysteries of Dionysus were connected with those of Osiris by far-reaching affinities, not simply by superficial and fortuitous resemblances. Each commemorated the history of a god governing both vegetation and the underworld at the same time, who was put to death and torn to pieces by an enemy, and whose scattered limbs were collected by a goddess, after which he was miraculously revived. The Greeks must have been very willing to adopt a worship in which they found their own divinities and their own myths again with something more poignant and more magnificent added. It is a very remarkable fact that of all the many deities worshiped by the Egyptian districts those of the immediate neighborhood or if you like, the cycle of Osiris, his wife Isis, their son Harpocrates and their faithful servant Anubis, were the only ones that were adopted by the Hellenic populations. All other heavenly or infernal spirits worshiped by the Egyptians remained strangers to Greece.<sup>9</sup>

In the Greco-Latin literature we notice two opposing attitudes toward the Egyptian religion. It was regarded as the highest and the lowest of religions at the same time, and as a matter of fact there was an abyss between the always ardent popular beliefs and the enlightened faith of the official priests. The Greeks and Romans gazed with admiration upon the splendor of the temples and ceremonial, upon the fabulous antiquity of the sacred traditions and upon the erudition of a clergy possessed of a wisdom that had been revealed by divinity. In becoming the disciples of that clergy, they imagined they were drinking from the pure fountain whence their own myths had sprung. They were overawed by the pretensions of a clergy that prided itself on a past in which it kept on living, and they strongly felt the attraction of a marvelous country where everything was mysterious, from the Nile that had created it to the hieroglyphics engraved upon the walls of its gigantic edifices.<sup>10</sup> At the same time they were shocked by the coarseness of its fetichism and by the absurdity of its superstitions. Above all they felt an unconquerable repulsion at the worship of animals and plants, which had always been the most striking feature of the vulgar Egyptian religion and which, like all other archaic devotions,

<sup>8</sup> P. Foucart, "Le culte de Dionysos en Attique," *Mém. Acad. des Inscr.*, XXXVII (1904).

<sup>9</sup> With the exception of Zeus Ammonius who was but half Egyptian.

<sup>10</sup> Friedländer, *Sittengesch.*, II, 144 f.



seems to have been practised with renewed fervor after the accession of the Sais dynasty. The comic writers and the satirists never tired of scoffing at the adorers of the cat, the crocodile, the leek and the onion. Juvenal says ironically: "O holy people, whose very kitchen-gardens produce gods."<sup>11</sup> In a general way, this strange people, entirely separated from the remainder of the world, were regarded with about the same kind of feeling that Europeans entertained toward the Chinese for a long time.

A purely Egyptian worship would not have been acceptable to the Greco-Latin world. The main merit of the mixed creation of the political genius of the Ptolemies consisted in the rejection or modification of everything repugnant or monstrous like the phallophories of Abydos, and in the retention of none but stirring or attractive elements. It was the most civilized of all barbarian religions; it retained enough of the exotic element to arouse the curiosity of the Greeks, but not enough to offend their delicate sense of proportion, and its success was remarkable.

It was adopted wherever the authority or the prestige of the Lagides was felt, and wherever the relations of Alexandria, the great commercial metropolis, extended. The Lagides induced the rulers and the nations with whom they concluded alliances to accept it. King Nicocreon introduced it into Cyprus after having consulted the oracle of the Serapeum,<sup>12</sup> and Agathocles introduced it into Sicily at the time of his marriage with the daughter-in-law of Ptolemy I (298).<sup>13</sup> At Antioch, Seleucus Callinicus built a sanctuary for a statue of Isis sent to him from Memphis by Ptolemy Euergetes.<sup>14</sup> In token of his friendship Ptolemy Soter introduced his god Serapis into Athens, where the latter had a temple at the foot of the Acropolis<sup>15</sup> ever after, and Arsinoë, his mother or wife, founded another at Halicarnassus, about the year 307.<sup>16</sup> In this manner the political activity of the Egyptian dynasty was directed toward having the divinities, whose glory was in a certain measure connected with that of their house, recognized everywhere. Through Apuleius we know, that under the empire the priests of Isis mentioned the ruling sovereign first of all in their prayers.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Juvenal, XV, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, § 16.

<sup>13</sup> Holm, *Gesch. Sisiliens*, I, p. 81.

<sup>14</sup> Libanius, *Or.*, XI, 114.

<sup>15</sup> Pausan, I, 18, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, No. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 17.

And this was simply an imitation of the grateful devotion which their predecessors had felt toward the Ptolemies.

Protected by the Egyptian squadrons, sailors and merchants propagated the worship of Isis, the goddess of navigators, simultaneously on the coasts of Syria, Asia Minor and Greece, in the islands of the Archipelago,<sup>18</sup> and as far as the Hellespont and Thrace.<sup>19</sup> At Delos, where the inscriptions enable us to study this worship somewhat in detail, it was not merely practised by strangers, but the very sacerdotal functions were performed by members of the Athenian aristocracy. A number of funeral bas-reliefs, in which the deified dead wears the *calathos* of Serapis on his head, prove the popularity of the belief in future life propagated by these mysteries. According to the Egyptian faith he was identified with the god of the dead.<sup>20</sup>

Even after the splendor of the court of Alexandria had faded and vanished; even after the wars against Mithridates and the growth of piracy had ruined the traffic of the Ægean Sea, the Alexandrian worship was too deeply rooted in the soil of Greece to perish, although it did become endangered in certain seaports, like Delos. Of all the gods of the Orient, Isis and Serapis were the only ones that retained a place among the great divinities of the Hellenic world until the end of paganism.<sup>21</sup>

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It was this syncretic religion that came to Rome after having enjoyed popularity in the eastern Mediterranean. Sicily and the south of Italy were more than half Hellenized, and the Ptolemies had diplomatic relations with these countries, just as the merchants of Alexandria had commercial relations with them. For this reason the worship of Isis spread as rapidly in those regions as on the coasts of Ionia or in the Cyclades.<sup>22</sup> It was introduced into Syracuse and Catana during the earliest years of the third century by Agathocles. The Serapeum of Pozzuoli, at that time the busiest seaport of Campania, was mentioned in a city ordinance of the year 105 B. C.<sup>23</sup> About the same time an Iseum was founded at Pompeii, where the decorative frescos attest to this day the power of expansion possessed by the Alexandrian culture.

<sup>18</sup> *Revue archéologique*, I (1905), p. 341.

<sup>19</sup> Ruhl, "De Sarapide et Iside," *Græcia cultis*, 1906.

<sup>20</sup> Ravaissou, *Gazette archéologique*, I, pp. 55 f.

<sup>21</sup> Harnack, *Ausbreitung des Christentums*, II, p. 274.

<sup>22</sup> Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, II, p. 480.

<sup>23</sup> CIL, X, 1781, I, 15-16.

After its adoption by the southern part of the Italian peninsula, this religion was bound to penetrate rapidly to Rome. Ever since the second century before our era, it could not help but find adepts in the chequered multitude of slaves and freedmen. Under the Antonines the college of the *Pastophores* recalled that it had been founded in the time of Sulla.<sup>24</sup> In vain did the authorities try to check the invasion of the Alexandrian gods. Five different times, in 59, 58, 53, 50 and 48 B. C., the senate ordered their altars and statues torn down,<sup>25</sup> but these violent measures did not stop the diffusion of the new beliefs. The Egyptian mysteries were the first example at Rome of an essentially popular religious movement that was triumphant over the combined resistance of the public authorities and the official clergy.

Why was this Egyptian worship the only one of all Oriental religions to suffer repeated persecutions? There were two motives, one religious and one political.

In the first place, this cult was said to exercise a corrupting influence perverse of piety. Its morals were loose, and the mystery surrounding it excited the worst suspicions. Moreover, it appealed violently to the emotions and senses. All these factors offended the grave decency that a Roman was wont to maintain in the presence of the gods. The innovators had every defender of the *mos maiorum* for an adversary.

In the second place, this religion had been founded, supported and propagated by the Ptolemies; it came from a country that was almost always hostile to Italy during the last period of the Republic;<sup>26</sup> it issued from Alexandria, whose superiority Rome felt and feared. Its secret societies, made up chiefly of people of the lower classes, might easily become clubs of agitators and haunts of spies. All these motives for suspicion and hatred were undoubtedly more potent in exciting persecution than the purely theological reasons, and persecution was stopped or renewed according to the vicissitudes of general politics.

As we have stated, the chapels consecrated to Isis were demolished in the year 48 B. C. After Cæsar's death, the triumvirs decided in 43 B. C. to erect a temple in her honor out of the public funds, undoubtedly to gain the favor of the masses. This action would have implied official recognition, but the project appears never to have been executed. If Antony had succeeded at Actium,

<sup>24</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 30.

<sup>25</sup> Seeck, *Hermes*, XLIII (1908), p. 642.

<sup>26</sup> Manicheism suffered persecution for similar reasons later.

Isis and Serapis would have entered Rome in triumph, but they were vanquished with Cleopatra; and when Augustus had become the master of the empire, he professed a deep aversion for the gods of his former enemies. Moreover, he could not have suffered the intrusion of the Egyptian clergy into the Roman sacerdotal class, whose guardian, restorer and chief he was. In 28 B. C. an ordinance was issued forbidding the erecting of altars to the Alexandrian divinities inside the sacred enclosure of the *pomerium*, and seven years later Agrippa extended this prohibitive regulation to a radius of a thousand paces around the city. Tiberius acted on the same principle and in 19 A. D. instituted the bloodiest persecution against the priests of Isis that they ever suffered, in consequence of a scandalous affair in which a matron, a noble and some priests of Isis were implicated.

All these police measures, however, were strangely ineffectual. The Egyptian worship was excluded from Rome and her immediate neighborhood in theory if not in fact, but the rest of the world remained open to its propaganda.<sup>27</sup>

With the beginning of the empire it slowly invaded the center and the north of Italy and spread into the provinces. Merchants, sailors, slaves, artisans, Egyptian men of letters, even the discharged soldiers of the three legions cantoned in the valley of the Nile contributed to its diffusion. It entered Africa by way of Carthage, and the Danubian countries through the great emporium of Aquileia. The new province of Gaul was invaded through the valley of the Rhone. At that period many Oriental emigrants went to seek their fortunes in these new countries. Intimate relations existed between the cities of Arles and Alexandria, and we know that a colony of Egyptian Greeks, established at Nimes by Augustus, took the gods of their native country thither.<sup>28</sup> At the beginning of our era there set in that great movement of conversion that soon established the worship of Isis and Serapis from the outskirts of the Sahara to the vallum of Brittany, and from the mountains of Asturias to the mouths of the Danube.

The resistance still offered by the central power could not last much longer. It was impossible to dam in this overflowing stream whose thundering waves struck the shaking walls of the *pomerium* from every side. The prestige of Alexandria seemed invincible. At that period the city was more beautiful, more learned, and better policed than Rome. She was the model capital, a standard to

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Drexler in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. "Isis," II, col. 409 f.

<sup>28</sup> Hirschfeld, *CIL*, XII, p. 382.

which the Latins strove to rise. They translated the works of the scholars of Alexandria, imitated her authors, invited her artists and copied her institutions. It is plain that they had also to undergo the ascendancy of her religion. As a matter of fact, her fervent believers maintained her sanctuaries, despite the law, on the very Capitol. Under Cæsar, Alexandrian astronomers had reformed the calendar of the pontiffs, and Alexandrian priests soon marked the dates of Isis holidays upon it.

The decisive step was taken soon after the death of Tiberius. Caligula erected the great temple of Isis Campensis on the Campus Martius probably in the year 38.<sup>29</sup> In order to spare the sacerdotal susceptibilities, he founded it outside of the sacred enclosure of the city of Servius. Later Domitian made one of Rome's most splendid monuments of that temple. From that time Isis and Serapis enjoyed the favor of every imperial dynasty, the Flavians as well as the Antonines and the Severi. About the year 215 Caracalla built an Isis temple, even more magnificent than that of Domitian, on the Quirinal, in the heart of the city, and perhaps another one on the Coelian. As the apologist, Minucius Felix, states, the Egyptian gods had become entirely Roman.<sup>30</sup>

The climax of their power seems to have been reached at the beginning of the third century; later on the popular vogue and official support went to other divinities, like the Syrian Baals and the Persian Mithras. The progress of Christianity also deprived them of their power, which was, however, still considerable until the end of the ancient world. The Isis processions that marched the streets of Rome were described by an eye witness as late as the year 394,<sup>31</sup> but in 391 the patriarch Theophilus had consigned the Serapeum of Alexandria to the flames, having himself struck the first blow with an ax against the colossal statue of the god that had so long been the object of a superstitious veneration. Thus the prelate destroyed the "very head of idolatry," as Rufinus put it.<sup>32</sup>

As a matter of fact, idolatry received its death blow. The worship of the gods of the Ptolemies died out completely between the reigns of Theodosius and Justinian<sup>33</sup> and in accordance with the sad prophecy of Hermes Trismegistus<sup>34</sup> Egypt, Egypt herself,

<sup>29</sup> Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, pp. 71 f.; 289 f.

<sup>30</sup> Minucius Félix, *Octav.*, 22, 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Rev. his. litt. relig.*, VIII (1903), p. 422, n. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Rufinus, II, 24.

<sup>33</sup> Harnack, *Ausbr. des Christent.*, II, pp. 147 f.

<sup>34</sup> Ps.-Apul., *Asclepius*, 34.



\* lost her divinities and became a land of the dead. Of her religions nothing remained but fables that were no longer believed, and the only thing that reminded the barbarians who came to inhabit the country of its former piety, were words engraved on stone.

\* \* \*

This rapid sketch of the history of Isis and Serapis shows that these divinities were worshiped in the Latin world for more than five centuries. The task of pointing out the transformations of the cult during that long period, and the local differences there may have been in the various provinces, is reserved for future researches. These will undoubtedly find that the Alexandrian worship did not become Latinized under the empire, but that its Oriental character became more and more pronounced. When Domitian restored the Iseum of the Campus Martius and that of Beneventum, he transferred from the valley of the Nile sphinxes, cynocephali and obelisks of black or pink granite bearing borders of hieroglyphics of Amasis, Nectanebus or even Rameses II. On other obelisks that were erected in the propyleums even the inscriptions of the emperors were written in hieroglyphics.<sup>35</sup> Half a century later that true dilettante, Hadrian, caused the luxuries of Canopus to be reproduced, along with the vale of Tempe, in his immense villa at Tibur, to enable him to celebrate his voluptuous feasts under the friendly eyes of Serapis. He extolled the merits of the deified Antinous in inscriptions couched in the ancient language of the Pharaohs, and set the fashion of statues hewn out of black basalt in the Egyptian style.<sup>36</sup> The amateurs of that period affected to prefer the hieratic rigidity of the barbarian idols to the elegant freedom of Alexandrian art. Those esthetic manifestations probably corresponded to religious prejudices, and the Latin worship always endeavored to imitate the art of temples in the Nile valley more closely than did the Greek. This evolution was in conformity with all the tendencies of the imperial period.

By what secret virtue did the Egyptian religion exercise this irresistible influence over the Roman world? What new elements did those priests, who made proselytes in every province, give the Roman world? Did the success of their preaching mean progress or retrogression from the standard of the ancient Roman faith? These are complex and delicate questions that would require minute analysis and cautious treatment with a constant and exact observation of shades. I am compelled to limit myself to a rapid sketch,

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Notizie degli scavi di ant.*, 1904, pp. 107 f.

<sup>36</sup> Gregorovius, *Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrian*, pp. 222 f.



which, I fear, will appear rather dry and arbitrary, like every generalization.

The particular doctrines of the mysteries of Isis and Serapis in regard to the nature and power of the gods were not, or were but incidentally, the reasons for the triumph of these mysteries. It has been said that the Egyptian theology always remained in a "fluid state,"<sup>37</sup> or better in a state of chaos. It consisted of an amalgamation of disparate legends, of an aggregate of particular cults, as Egypt herself was an aggregate of a number of districts. This religion never formulated a coherent system of generally accepted dogmas. It permitted the coexistence of conflicting conceptions and traditions, and all the subtlety of its clergy never accomplished, or rather never began, the task of fusing those irreconcilable elements into one harmonious synthesis.<sup>38</sup> For the Egyptians there was no principle of contradiction. All the heterogeneous beliefs that ever obtained in the various districts during the different periods of a very long history, were maintained concurrently and formed an inextricable confusion in the sacred books.

About the same state of affairs prevailed in the Occidental worship of the Alexandrian divinities. In the Occident, just as in Egypt, there were "prophets" in the first rank of the clergy, who learnedly discussed religion, but never taught a theological system that found universal acceptance. The sacred scribe Cheremon, who became Nero's tutor, recognized the stoical theories in the sacerdotal traditions of his country.<sup>39</sup> When the eclectic Plutarch speaks of the character of the Egyptian gods, he finds it agrees surprisingly with his own philosophy,<sup>40</sup> and when the neo-Platonist Iamblichus examines them, their character seems to agree with his doctrines. The hazy ideas of the Oriental priests enabled every one to see in them the phantoms he was pursuing. The individual imagination was given ample scope, and the dilettantic men of letters rejoiced in molding these malleable doctrines at will. They were not outlined sharply enough, nor were they formulated with sufficient precision to appeal to the multitude. The gods were everything and nothing; they got lost in a *sfumato*. A disconcerting anarchy and confusion prevailed among them. By means of a scientific mixture of Greek, Egyptian and Semitic elements "Hermetism"<sup>41</sup> endeavored to create

<sup>37</sup> In the words of Mr. Wiedemann.

<sup>38</sup> Naville, *La Religion des anciens Egyptiens*, 1906, pp. 89 f.

<sup>39</sup> Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, II, p. 216.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Decharme, *Traditions religieuses chez les Grecs*, pp. 486 f.

<sup>41</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 49, n. 2.

a theological system that would be acceptable to all minds, but it seems never to have imposed itself generally on the Alexandrian mysteries which were older than itself, and furthermore it could not escape the contradictions of Egyptian thought. The religion of Isis did not gain a hold on the soul by its dogmatism.

It must be admitted, however, that, owing to its extreme flexibility, this religion was easily adapted to the various centers to which it was transferred, and that it enjoyed the valuable advantage of being always in perfect harmony with the prevailing philosophy. Moreover, the syncretic tendencies of Egypt responded admirably to those that began to obtain at Rome. At a very early period henotheistic theories had been favorably received in sacerdotal circles, and while crediting the god of their own temple with supremacy, the priests admitted that he might have a number of different personalities, under which he was worshiped simultaneously. In this way the unity of the supreme being was affirmed for the thinkers, and polytheism with its intangible traditions maintained for the masses. In the same manner Isis and Osiris had absorbed several local divinities under the Pharaohs, and had assumed a complex character that was capable of indefinite extension. The same process continued under the Ptolemies when the religion of Egypt came into contact with Greece. Isis was identified simultaneously with Demeter, Aphrodite, Hera, Semele, Io, Tyche and others. She was considered the queen of heaven and hell, of earth and sea. She was "the past, the present and the future,"<sup>42</sup> "nature the mother of things, the mistress of the elements, born at the beginning of the centuries."<sup>43</sup> She had numberless names, an infinity of different aspects and an inexhaustible treasure of virtues. In short, she became a pantheistic power that was everything in one, *una quae est omnia*.<sup>44</sup>

The authority of Serapis was no less exalted, and his field no less extensive. He also was regarded as a universal god of whom men liked to say that he was "unique": *Εἰς Ζεὺς Σάραπισ*. In him all energies were centered, although the functions of Zeus, of Pluto or of Helios were especially ascribed to him. For many centuries Osiris had been worshiped at Abydos both as author of fecundity and lord of the underworld,<sup>45</sup> and this double character early caused him to be identified with the sun, which fertilizes the earth during its diurnal course and travels through the subterranean realms at

<sup>42</sup> Plutarch, *De Isid.*, 9.

<sup>43</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 5.

<sup>44</sup> CIL, X, 3800.

<sup>45</sup> We have indicated this above.

night. Thus the conception of this nature divinity, that had already prevailed along the Nile, accorded without difficulty with the solar pantheism that was the last form of Roman paganism. This theological system, which did not gain the upper hand in the Occident until the second century of our era, was not brought in by Egypt. It did not have the exclusive predominance there that it had held under the empire, and even in Plutarch's time it was only one creed among many.<sup>46</sup> The deciding influence in this matter was exercised by the Syrian Baals and the Chaldean astrology.

The theology of the Egyptian mysteries, then, followed rather than led the general influx of ideas. The same may be said of their ethics. It did not force itself upon the world by lofty moral precepts, nor by a sublime ideal of holiness. Many have admired the edifying list in the Book of the Dead, that rightfully or otherwise sets forth the virtues which the deceased claims to have practised in order to obtain a favorable judgment from Osiris. If one considers the period in which it appears, this ethics is undoubtedly very elevated, but it seems rudimentary and even childish if one compares it with the principles formulated by the Roman jurists, to say nothing of the minute psychological analyses of the stoical casuists. In this range of ideas also, the maintenance of the most striking contrasts characterizes Egyptian mentality which was never shocked by the cruelties and obscenities that sullied the mythology and the ritual. Like Epicurus at Athens, some of the sacred texts actually invited the believers to enjoy life before the sadness of death.<sup>47</sup>

Isis was not a very austere goddess at the time she entered Italy. Identified with Venus, as Harpocrates was with Eros, she was honored especially by the women with whom love was a profession. In Alexandria, the city of pleasure, she had lost all severity, and at Rome this good goddess remained very indulgent to human weaknesses. Juvenal harshly refers to her as a procuress,<sup>48</sup> and her temples had a more than doubtful reputation, for they were frequented by young men in quest of gallant adventures. Apuleius himself chose a lewd tale in which to display his fervor as an initiate.

But we have said that Egypt was full of contradictions, and when a more exacting morality demanded that the gods should make man virtuous, the Alexandrian mysteries offered to satisfy that demand.

At all times the Egyptian ritual attributed considerable impor-

<sup>46</sup> Plutarch, *De Isid.*, 52.

<sup>47</sup> Naville, *La rel. des anc. Egyptiens*, pp. 170 f.

<sup>48</sup> Juvenal, VI, 489.

tance to purity, or, to use a more adequate term, to cleanliness. Before every ceremony the officiating priest had to submit to ablutions, sometimes to fumigations or anointing, and to abstain from certain foods and from incontinence for a certain time. Originally no moral idea was connected with this purification. It was considered a means of exorcising malevolent demons or of putting the priest into a state in which the sacrifice performed by him could have the expected effect. It was similar to the diet, shower-baths and massage prescribed by physicians for physical health. The internal status of the officiating person was a matter of as much indifference to the celestial spirits as the actual worth of the deceased was to Osiris, the judge of the underworld. All that was necessary to have him open the fields of Aalu to the soul was to pronounce the liturgic formulas, and if the soul declared its innocence in the prescribed terms its word was readily accepted.

But in the Egyptian religion, as in all the religions of antiquity,<sup>49</sup> the original conception was gradually transformed and a new idea slowly took its place. The sacramental acts of purification were now expected to wipe out moral stains, and people became convinced that they made man better. The devout female votaries of Isis, whom Juvenal<sup>50</sup> pictures as breaking the ice to bathe in the Tiber, and crawling around the temple on their bleeding knees, hoped to atone for their sins and to make up for their shortcomings by means of these sufferings.

When a new ideal grew up in the popular conscience during the second century, when the magicians themselves became pious and serious people, free from passions and appetites, and were honored because of the dignity of their lives more than for their white linen robes,<sup>51</sup> then the virtues of which the Egyptian priests enjoined the practice also became less external. Purity of the heart rather than cleanliness of the body was demanded. Renunciation of sensual pleasures was the indispensable condition for the knowledge of divinity, which was the supreme good.<sup>52</sup> No longer did Isis favor illicit love. In the novel by Xenophon of Ephesus (about 280 A. D.) she protects the heroine's chastity against all pitfalls and assures its triumph. According to the ancient belief man's entire existence was a preparation for the formidable judgment held by Serapis after death, but to have him decide in favor of the mystic, it was not

<sup>49</sup> Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, London, 1905, pp. 88-192.

<sup>50</sup> Juvenal, VI, 522 f.

<sup>51</sup> Friedländer, *Sittengesch.*, I, p. 510.

<sup>52</sup> Plutarch, *De Isid.*, c. 2.

enough to know the rites of the sect; the individual life had to be free from crime; and the master of the infernal regions assigned everybody a place according to his deserts.<sup>53</sup> The doctrine of future retribution was beginning to develop.

However, in this regard, as in their conception of the divinity, the Egyptian mysteries followed the general progress of ideas more than they directed it. Philosophy transformed them, but found in them little inspiration.

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How could a religion, of which neither the theology nor the ethics was really new, stir up at the same time so much hostility and fervor among the Romans? To many minds of to-day theology and ethics constitute religion, but during the classical period it was different, and the priests of Isis and Serapis conquered souls mainly by other means. They seduced them by the powerful attraction of the ritual and retained them by the marvelous promises of their doctrine of immortality.

To the Egyptians ritual had a value far superior to that we ascribe to it to-day. It had an operative strength of its own that was independent of the intentions of the officiating priest. The efficacy of prayer depended not on the inner disposition of the believer, but on the correctness of the words, gestures and intonation. Religion was not clearly differentiated from magic. If a divinity was invoked according to the correct forms, especially if one knew how to pronounce its real name, it was compelled to act in conformity to the will of its priest. The sacred words were an incantation that compelled the superior powers to obey the officiating person, no matter what purpose he had in view. With the knowledge of the liturgy men acquired an immense power over the world of spirits. Porphyry was surprised and indignant because the Egyptians sometimes dared to threaten the gods in their orations.<sup>54</sup> In the consecrations the priest's summons compelled the gods to come and animate their statues, and thus his voice created divinities,<sup>55</sup> as originally the almighty voice of Tot had created the world.<sup>56</sup>

The ritual that conferred such superhuman power<sup>57</sup> developed in Egypt into a state of perfection, completeness and splendor unknown in the Occident. It possessed a unity, a precision and a per-

<sup>53</sup> Diodorus, I, 93.

<sup>54</sup> Porph., *Epist. ad Aneb.*, 29.

<sup>55</sup> G. Hock, *Griechische Weihegebräuche*, 1905, pp. 65 f.

<sup>56</sup> Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, p. 24, n. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Iamblichus, *Myst.*, VI, 6.



manency that stood in striking contrast to the variety of the myths, the uncertainty of the dogmas and the arbitrariness of the interpretations. The sacred books of the Greco-Roman period are a faithful reproduction of the texts that were engraved upon the walls of the pyramids at the dawn of history, notwithstanding the centuries that had passed. Even under the Cæsars the ancient ceremonies dating back to the first ages of Egypt, were scrupulously performed because the smallest word and the least gesture had their importance.

This ritual and the attitude toward it found their way for the most part into the Latin temples of Isis and Serapis. This fact has long been ignored, but there can be no doubt about it. A first proof is that the clergy of those temples were organized just like those of Egypt during the period of the Ptolemies.<sup>58</sup> There was a hierarchy presided over by a high priest, which consisted of *prophetes* skilled in the sacred science, *stolistes*, or *ornatrices*,<sup>59</sup> whose office it was to dress the statues of the gods, *pastophores* who carried the sacred temple plates in the processions, and so on, just as in Egypt. As in their native country, the priests were distinguished from common mortals by a tonsure, by a linen tunic, and by their habits as well as by their garb. They devoted themselves entirely to their ministry and had no other profession. This sacerdotal body always remained Egyptian in character, if not in nationality, because the liturgy it had to perform remained so. In a similar manner the priests of the Baals were Syrians,<sup>60</sup> because they were the only ones that knew how to honor the gods of Syria.

In the first place a daily service had to be held just as in the Nile valley. The Egyptian gods enjoyed a precarious immortality, for they were liable to destruction and dependent on necessities. According to a very primitive conception that always remained alive, they had to be fed, clothed and refreshed every day or else perish. From this fact arose the necessity of a liturgy that was practically the same in every district. It was practised for thousands of years and opposed its unaltering form to the multiplicity of legends and local beliefs.<sup>61</sup>

This daily liturgy was translated into Greek, perhaps later into Latin also; it was adapted to the new requirements by the founders of the Serapeum, and faithfully observed in the Roman temples of the Alexandrian gods. The essential ceremony always was, the

<sup>58</sup> Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, I, pp. 114 f.

<sup>59</sup> CIL, XII, 3061.

<sup>60</sup> Kan, *De Iove Dolicheno*, 1901, p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Paris, 1902.



opening (*apertio*)<sup>62</sup> of the sanctuary. At dawn the statue of the divinity was uncovered and shown to the community in the *naos*, that had been closed and sealed during the night.<sup>63</sup> Then, again as in Egypt, the priest lit the sacred fire and offered libations of water supposed to be from the deified Nile,<sup>64</sup> while he chanted the usual hymns to the sound of flutes. Finally, "erect upon the threshold"—I translate literally from Porphyry—"he awakens the god by calling to him in the Egyptian language."<sup>65</sup> As we see, the god was revived by the sacrifice and, as under the Pharaohs, awoke from his slumber at the calling of his name. As a matter of fact the name was indissolubly connected with the personality; he who could pronounce the exact name of an individual or of a divinity was obeyed as a master by his slave.<sup>66</sup> This fact made it necessary to maintain the original form of that mysterious word. There was no other motive for the introduction of a number of barbarian appellations into the magical incantations.

It is also probable that the toilet of the statue was made every day, that its body and head were dressed,<sup>67</sup> as in the Egyptian ritual. We have seen that the *ornatrices* or *stolistes* were especially entrusted with these duties. The idol was covered with sumptuous raiment and ornamented with jewels and gems. An inscription furnishes us with an inventory of the jewels worn by an Isis of ancient Cadiz;<sup>68</sup> her ornaments were more brilliant than those of Spanish madonna.

During the entire forenoon, from the moment that a noisy acclamation had greeted the rising of the sun, the images of the gods were exposed to the silent adoration of the initiates.<sup>69</sup> Egypt is the country whence contemplative devotion penetrated into Europe. Then, in the afternoon, a second service was held to close the sanctuary.<sup>70</sup>

The daily liturgy must have been very absorbing. This innovation in the Roman paganism was full of consequences. No longer were sacrifices offered to the god on certain occasions only, but twice a day elaborate services were held. As with the Egyptians, whom Herodotus had termed the most religious of all peoples,<sup>71</sup> devotion

<sup>62</sup> Apuleius, XI, 22.

<sup>63</sup> Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XVIII, 3, 5, § 174.

<sup>64</sup> Juvenal, VII, 527.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Apuleius, XI, 20.

<sup>66</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 313, n. 4.

<sup>67</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.*, XI, 9.

<sup>68</sup> CIL, II, 3386.

<sup>69</sup> Apuleius, XI, 24.

<sup>70</sup> The ritual differed somewhat in this respect from that of Egypt.

<sup>71</sup> Herodotus, II, 37.

assumed a tendency to fill out the whole existence and to dominate private and public interests. The constant repetition of the same prayers kept up and renewed faith, and, we might say, people lived continually under the eyes of the gods.

Besides the daily rites of the Abydos liturgy the holidays marking the beginning of the different seasons were celebrated at the same date every year.<sup>72</sup> It was the same in Italy. The calendars have preserved the names of several of them, and of one, the *Navigium Isidis*, the rhetorician Apuleius<sup>73</sup> has left us a brilliant description on which, to speak with the ancients, he emptied all his color tubes. On March 5th, when navigation reopened after the winter months, a gorgeous procession<sup>74</sup> marched to the coast, and a ship consecrated to Isis, the protectress of sailors, was launched. A burlesque group of masked persons opened the procession, then came the women in white gowns strewing flowers, the *stolistes* waving the garments of the goddess and the *dadophores* with lighted torches. After these came the *hymnodes*, whose songs mingled in turn with the sharp sound of the cross-flutes and the ringing of the brass timbrels; then the throngs of the initiates, and finally the priests, with shaven heads and clad in linen robes of a dazzling white, bearing the images of animal-faced gods and strange symbols, as for instance a golden urn containing the sacred water of the Nile. The procession stopped in front of altars<sup>75</sup> erected along the road, and on these altars the sacred objects were uncovered for the veneration of the faithful. The strange and sumptuous magnificence of these celebrations made a deep impression on the common people who loved public entertainments.

But of all the celebrations connected with the worship of Isis the most stirring and the most suggestive was the commemoration of the "Finding of Osiris" (*Inventio, Εὑρεσις*). Its antecedents date back to remote antiquity. Since the time of the twelfth dynasty, and probably much earlier, there had been held at Abydos and elsewhere a sacred performance similar to the mysteries of our Middle Ages, in which the events of Osiris's passion and resurrection were reproduced. We are in possession of the ritual of those performances.<sup>76</sup> Issuing from the temple, the god fell under Set's blows:

<sup>72</sup> Maspero, *Rev. critique*, II (1905), pp. 361 f.

<sup>73</sup> Apuleius, *Metam*, XI, 7 f.

<sup>74</sup> Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, p. 315.

<sup>75</sup> Dessau, *Inscr. sel.*, 4353. 4445.

<sup>76</sup> Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter Sesostri III.*, Leipzig, 1904.

around his body funeral lamentations were simulated, and he was buried according to the rites; then Set was vanquished by Horus, and Osiris, restored to life, reentered his temple triumphant over death.

The same myth was represented in almost the same manner at Rome at the beginning of each November.<sup>77</sup> While the priests and the believers moaned and lamented, Isis in great distress sought the divine body of Osiris, whose limbs had been scattered by Typhon. Then, after the corpse had been found, rehabilitated and revived, there was a long outburst of joy, an exuberant jubilation that rang through the temples and the streets so loudly that it annoyed the passers-by.

This mingled despair and enthusiasm acted as strongly upon the feelings of the believers as did the spring-holiday ceremony in the Phrygian religion, and it acted through the same means. Moreover, there was an esoteric meaning attached to it that none but the pious elect understood. Besides the public ceremonies there was a secret worship to which one was admitted only after a gradual initiation. The hero of Apuleius had to submit to the ordeal three times in order to obtain the whole revelation. In Egypt the clergy communicated certain rites and interpretations only upon a promise not to reveal them. In fact this was the case in the worship of Isis at Abydos and elsewhere.<sup>78</sup> When the Ptolemies regulated the Greek ritual of their new religion, it assumed the form of the mysteries spread over the Hellenic world and became very like those of Eleusis. The hand of the Eumolpide Timotheus is noticeable in this connection.<sup>79</sup>

But while the ceremonial of the initiations and even the production of the liturgic drama were thus adapted to the religious habits of the Greeks, the doctrinal contents of the Alexandrian mysteries remained purely Egyptian. The old belief that immortality could be secured by means of an identification of the deceased with Osiris or Serapis never died out.

Perhaps in no other people did the epigram of Fustel de Coulanges find so complete a verification as in the Egyptians: "Death was the first mystery; it started man on the road of the other mysteries."<sup>80</sup> Nowhere else was life so completely dominated by pre-occupation with life after death; nowhere else was such minute and

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Foucart, "Rech. sur les myst. d'Eleusis," *Mém. Acad. Inscr.*, XXXV, p. 37.

<sup>78</sup> *Idem*, pp. 19 f.

<sup>79</sup> Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.*, p. 1574.

<sup>80</sup> *La cité antique*, Bk. I, II, fin.

complicated care taken to secure and perpetuate another existence for the deceased. The funeral literature, of which we have found a very great number of documents, had acquired a development equaled by no other, and the architecture of no other nation can exhibit tombs comparable with the pyramids or the rock-built sepulchers of Thebes.

This constant endeavor to secure an after-existence for one's self and relatives manifested itself in various ways, but it finally assumed a concrete form in the worship of Osiris. The fate of Osiris, the god who died and returned to life, became the prototype of the fate of every human being that observed the funeral rites. "As truly as Osiris lives," says an Egyptian text, "he also shall live; as truly as Osiris is not dead, shall he not die; as truly as Osiris is not annihilated, shall he not be annihilated."<sup>81</sup>

If, then, the deceased had piously served Osiris-Serapis, he was assimilated to that god, and shared his immortality in the underworld, where the judge of the dead held forth. He lived not as a tenuous shade or as a subtle spirit, but in full possession of his body as well as of his soul. That was the Egyptian doctrine, and that certainly was also the doctrine of the Greco-Latin mysteries.<sup>82</sup>

Through the initiation the mystic was born again, but to a super-human life, and became the equal of the immortals.<sup>83</sup> In his ecstasy he imagined that he was crossing the threshold of death and contemplating the gods of heaven and hell face to face.<sup>84</sup> If he had accurately followed the prescriptions imposed upon him by Isis and Serapis through their priests, those gods prolonged his life after his decease beyond the duration assigned to it by destiny, and he participated eternally in their beatitude and offered them his homage in their realm.<sup>85</sup> The "unspeakable pleasure" he felt when contemplating the sacred images in the temple<sup>86</sup> became perpetual rapture when he was in the divine presence instead of in the presence of the image, and drawn close to divinity his thirsting soul enjoyed the delights of that ineffable beauty.<sup>87</sup>

When the Alexandrian mysteries spread over Italy under the republic, no religion had ever brought to mankind as formal a promise of blest immortality as these, and this, more than anything

<sup>81</sup> Eрман, *Die ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 96-97.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Kaibel, *Inscr. gr.*, XIV, 2098.

<sup>83</sup> Reizenstein, *Archiv für Religionsw.*, VII (1904), 406 f.

<sup>84</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.*, 23.

<sup>85</sup> *Idem*, XI, 6 fin.

<sup>86</sup> *Idem*, c. 24.

<sup>87</sup> Plutarch, *De Isid.*, 78, p. 383 A.

else, lent them an irresistible power of attraction. Instead of the vague and contradictory opinions of the philosophers in regard to the destiny of the soul, Serapis offered certainty founded on divine revelation corroborated by the faith of the countless generations that had adhered to it. What the votaries of Orpheus had confusedly discovered through the veil of the legends, and taught to Magna Grecia,<sup>88</sup> namely, that this earthly life was a trial, a preparation for a higher and purer life, that the happiness of an after-life could be secured by means of rites and observances revealed by the gods themselves, all this was now preached with a firmness and precision hitherto unknown. These eschatological doctrines in particular, helped Egypt to conquer the Latin world and especially the miserable masses, on whom the weight of all the iniquities of Roman society rested heavily.

\* \* \*

The power and popularity of that belief in future life has left traces even in the French language, and in concluding this study, from which I have been compelled to exclude every picturesque detail, I would like to point out how a French word of to-day dimly perpetuates the memory of the old Egyptian ideas.

During the cold nights of their long winters the Scandinavians dreamed of a Walhalla where the deceased warriors sat in well closed brilliantly illuminated halls, warming themselves and drinking the strong liquor served by the Valkyries; but under the burning sky of Egypt, near the arid sand where thirst kills the traveler, people wished that their dead might find a limpid spring in their future wanderings to assuage the heat that devoured them, and that they might be refreshed by the breezes of the north wind.<sup>89</sup> Even at Rome the adherents of the Alexandrian gods frequently inscribed the following wish on their tombs: "May Osiris give you fresh water."<sup>90</sup> Soon this water became, in a figurative sense, the fountain of life pouring out immortality to thirsting souls. The metaphor obtained such popularity that in Latin *refrigerium* became synonymous with comfort and happiness. The term retained this meaning in the liturgy of the church,<sup>91</sup> and for that reason people continue to pray for the spiritual *rafraîchissement* of the dead although the Christian paradise has very little resemblance to the fields of Aalu.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Diels, *Vorsokratiker*.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Maspero, *Etudes égyptiennes*, I (1881), p. 189.

<sup>90</sup> Kaibel, *Inscr. gr.*, XIV, 1488, 1705, 1782, 1842.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, II, p. 391.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### HEINRICH JULIUS HOLTZMANN.

#### OBITUARY.

We are just in receipt of the announcement of the demise of Dr. Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, Professor Emeritus of the theological faculty of the University of Strassburg, who, on August 4, 1910, passed away in Baden-Baden at the advanced age of seventy-eight years.

Some years ago we published an article on the life and career of Professor Holtzmann in *The Open Court* (XVI, 257) referring to him as a typical example of a modern theologian who, coming from the orthodox camp, had gradually broadened out under the influence of scientific inquiry, and without breaking with the past has developed into a man of science, sharing with his colleagues of other faculties, among them also the naturalists, an adhesion to the scientific world-conception which is fast becoming the common property of all educated people.

Professor Holtzmann was born May 17, 1832, in Karlsruhe, Baden. He studied theology at Heidelberg in 1861 and in 1874 was called to the University of Strassburg, where he remained until 1904, when he retired to Baden-Baden. But the period of retirement did not mean leisure to him, for he continued his literary, especially his editorial, work of the *Theologische Jahresberichte* most diligently up to the very last.

His specialty was the New Testament, and his several works are counted as most comprehensive and reliable expositions of the present state of inquiry. We mention here as the most important ones his books on "The Synoptic Gospels" (1863), "Critique of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians" (1872), "The Pastoral Epistles" (1880); while his "Textbook (*Lehrbuch*) of the Historico-critical Introduction to the New Testament" (1885) as well as his "Commentary (*Hand-Commentar*) on the New Testament" have passed through several editions, and are still indispensable works of reference. He further published a "Textbook of New Testament Theology," "The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus," and a great many smaller works and essays. Not the least part of his activity consisted in editing the *Theologische Jahresberichte*, the scientific standing of which is unquestioned in both orthodox and liberal circles.

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### SEMITIC AND SUMERIAN; A STUDY IN ORIGINS.

BY ALAN S. HAWKESWORTH.

This is the title of the contribution of the Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A. of Oxford, to the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*. He clearly shows that there exists a



close similarity between the Sumerian of archaic Babylonia and the root stems of the Semitic group of languages—Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Assyrian and Ethiopic. He even brings forward some analogies in archaic Chinese and Japanese, although Sumerian, like Chinese, is an agglutinative tongue almost devoid of any inflections; while the Semitic languages, as we well know, possess elaborate grammatical machinery, Arabic and Assyrian, in particular, as every weary student is aware, being rather overburdened in this respect.

Indeed, as I myself have pointed out in my essay on "The Identity of Hebrew and Aryan Roots," over 95% of the Semitic roots occur also in our Greek and Latin lexicons. The truth is in fact that *roots*, in every language, are necessarily inherited and should then, *prima facie*, be the same among all people of an original common ancestry; while, on the other hand, grammar, or inflection, and to a still greater degree, syntax and "style," must vary not merely with every racial "family"—Aryan or Semitic, or Mongolian—but also with every nation, every age, and even every social class and individual. In truth, no two of us have precisely identical grammars, nor do we even agree with ourselves, as boy, youth, and man. So here we can repeat in the philological domain the philosophical dictum of Leibnitz, that no two things can ever be identical.

Dr. Ball gives a lengthy and impressive list of such roots common to Sumerian and the various Semitic tongues. He further shows that the familiar triliteralism of our Semitic lexicons was almost certainly built up from more primitive monosyllabic roots, the various pre-, in-, or suffixes used to complete the triliteral form, having, in a great number of cases, quite obvious values—a fact also elaborated by myself in a hitherto unpublished essay, "Upon the Formation of Hebrew Verbal Stems."

For example, the prefix *shin* to a root gives it a *causative* value, making it a Shaphel form of the original root. Thus *Batha*, "to cut off," "cease," becomes *shabath*, "to cause to cease," "keep Sabbath," while *Tur*, *Dur*, *Atar*, *Ng'atar* = *ἑρπύς*, "tour," "tower," etc., etc., in its Shaphel form is *Shatar*, "oversee," "guard," whereas *Natar*, "watch," "guard," is plainly the Niphal form of the same stem. Yet again, *Ur*, "become light" and *Ara*, *ὁράω*, "to see," become *Nur*, *Nahar*, "to shine"; and *shur*, "see," *Zahar*, *Tsahal*, "shine," *Tsohar*, "light," etc., etc. Preformative *nun* then appears to impart a passive sense, as befits its Niphal origin, while roots beginning with *mim* are probably remains of the rare Maphel formation with perhaps the sense of "instrumentation." The frequent duplication of final consonants seems to lend an intensive force to the root, but prefixing, inserting, or postfixing one of the five vowels appears to have little or no modifying value since the one biliteral root is frequently found triliteralized by any or all of the five, with little or no shade of meaning. This fact brings into still greater prominence the essential artificiality of that insistence upon triliteralism, and avoidance of all biliteral or multiliteral stems, that was one of the many obsessions of the Semitic mind.

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#### THE CHERRY MINE SETTLEMENT.

The settlement which has been arrived at between the owners of the Cherry mine and the families of the victims is very satisfactory all around.

It is practically based upon the English law according to the Compensation Act of 1906, and the case promises to become a precedent which will be followed in the future. It is noteworthy that the arrangements have been made so as to avoid loss by legal proceedings, and with few exceptions unprincipled lawyers have been prevented from preying upon the ignorance of the claimants. The man who attained this result by his common sense is Mr. J. E. Williams, manager of the Plumb Opera House, of Streator, once himself a miner. Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott has compiled the data of the affair under the title *An Epoch-Making Settlement Between Labor and Capital*, A compilation made from letters, reports and official statements regarding the Cherry Mine Disaster, published first in the *Forensic Quarterly*, June 1910, and reprinted by the press of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

Mr. Williams first looked into the matter as a mere outsider interested in the welfare of the sufferers. Miss Elliott says: "So quiet, so sane, so gentle, so patient was he that the crushed people, the wrecked corporation scarcely knew that he worked; not even the "Shyster" lawyers suspected in him an enemy; he, however, fully realized them, and guided himself accordingly. Back and forth between corporation and claimants he went; he listened, he questioned, he advised, until at last, after long and patient labor against seemingly overwhelming odds, he turned the destroying fire of the unfortunate mule-driver into a "Refiner's fire," where the dross of all evil contentions, all bitterness was burned away and only the pure gold of loving-kindness, of Christ-like compassion was left."

The Cherry mine is practically owned by the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad, and when Mr. Williams tried to discover a source from which he could satisfy the needs of the sufferers, President Earling met the problem squarely by answering, "We acknowledge a moral obligation." "And," said Mr. Williams, "this statement was the keynote of all the subsequent proceedings." Law-suits would have benefited a number of Shyster lawyers but would have left a mere pittance in the hands of the bereft families.

Mr. Williams was assisted in the mediation by the United Mine Workers of Illinois, who, through their Executive Board, gave the settlement their endorsement, and whose president, Mr. Duncan MacDonald, rendered valuable service. Without the ethical attitude of President Earling the many difficulties could not have been surmounted, and we have the spectacle of a railroad president, a trades union, and an ex-coal miner cooperating in the settlement on moral lines of one of the greatest mining disasters in history.

The sum paid by the Coal Company in this settlement will amount to nearly half a million dollars. In addition to this there has been subscribed from various sources for the relief of the Cherry sufferers about \$300,000. This sum will be disbursed by the Cherry Commission, a body composed of representatives of subscribers to the relief funds, such as the Red Cross, the United Mine Workers, the Illinois Coal Operators Association, the State of Illinois, and the general public. The money paid by the St. Paul Coal Company was given to all widows alike regardless of the number of children. The funds of the Cherry Commission will be devoted largely to the support of the children. Childless widows will receive \$300 to \$500 outright, while widows with children will receive a pension of from \$20 to \$40 per month, until the eldest children arrive at the age of fourteen.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

WHAT TO DO AT RECESS. By *George Ellsworth Johnson*. Boston: Ginn, 1910. Pp. 33, Price, 25 cents.

The author is the successful superintendent of playgrounds and parks and vacation schools in Pittsburg, Pa. In this little book, fully illustrated with attractive drawings of children at play, Mr. Johnson talks with chatty informality to teachers first of the primary departments, next, of the intermediate and finally of the grammar grades. To each group he mentions and describes large numbers of games particularly suited to the needs of its pupils, following their natural inclinations and aptitudes. The simple games require no apparatus, or only that of such a primitive character that no school yard is too limited in size or opportunity to provide it. His suggestions are eminently practical and helpful and can be easily utilized even by the teacher who is most untrained in kindergarten and gymnasium plays and practices. For the primary grades many favorite games of a generation ago, such as London Bridge and Prisoner's Base are advocated, while track and field athletics are encouraged to find a place in the intermediate grades. Mr. Johnson urges the revival of folk dances of all countries and asks the teachers to learn them at first hand of foreign mothers of the neighborhood whenever possible. At the end of each chapter there is a list of games classified in such obvious and suggestive divisions as dramatic games, ball games, running games, singing games, dances, track and field events. Speaking of Athens and comparing the result and methods of Athenian education with that of the most advanced nations of to-day, Mr. Johnson introduces his preface most pertinently as follows:

"Once upon a time the citizens of a certain city were greatly interested in the nurture and training of children, and when the question arose as to whether they should build a great public school or open a playground, it was decided to open a playground. Now it came to pass, in the course of years, that the children of that city advanced so far beyond the rest of the human race that, in all the centuries since, the nations that have gone on building public schools and neglecting to open playgrounds have not been able to catch up with them even to this day."

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THE CRIME OF THE CONGO. By *A. Conan Doyle*. New York: Doubleday, 1909.

King Leopold of Belgium can no longer receive complaints of his Congo administration, nor can he justify himself or change what has been done, but his successor has now an opportunity either to explain and defend the charges brought against his uncle or to work a great reform as the case may be. Sir A. Conan Doyle is very strongly convinced that the administration in the Congo lands is the greatest crime known to human history. He mentions important witnesses of the crime from all nations, and says there is no possibility of error concerning the facts thus reported. He hopes to arouse sympathy with his view and active cooperation so that the banner of humanity and civilization might be carried forward in such a cause by the two great English-speaking nations. From the details here given, which are incredibly revolting, it is clear that measures should be taken for thorough investigation. That many interested travelers have passed through the region and have seen nothing of the alleged outrages, the author says is owing to the

fact that the authorities know when strangers are coming and take pains to hide the atrocities. Conan Doyle writes with evident sincerity and depth of feeling; the proceeds of the book are to go towards the investigation and correction of the evils, and he is doing all in his power to arouse people to action. If even a part of what he describes is true, everything possible should be done in the interests of humanity. Still we must remember that there are other competent witnesses who find that the government of Belgium is not so culpable as this book would convince us, and when we read in its preface that "a perusal of all of these sources of information will show that there is not a grotesque, obscene or ferocious torture which human ingenuity could invent which has not been used against these harmless and helpless people," we cannot but feel that the author overlooks the provocation offered by natives which are among the most barbarous of existing tribes.

AN INTERVIEW. By *Daniel W. Church*. Chicago: The Berlin Carey Co., 1910. Pp. 163. Price \$1.00.

A rather remarkable little book and one which, in spite of a serious defect in its style, will have a wide appeal, in that it makes an attractive statement of the similarity in spirit between Abraham Lincoln and the chief character in the Christian religion.

The book begins with a picture of Lincoln's birth. There is delicacy of style in these few pages that amounts almost to homage for the child born amid surroundings so nearly like those of the Bethlehem babe, and the reader follows gladly, with increasing interest, while the author describes the "event which occurred in the little floorless cabin, in the State of Kentucky, the full result of which we have not yet seen nor shall we see for many years to come."

The first part of the book is so charming in its tender appeal to human sentiment that when the author takes up the serious part of his Interview, the reader's emotions suffer a distinct shock. The more or less confused statement of modern industrial problems creates a feeling almost of exasperation that the author did not take more time to clarify his ideas before attempting to prophesy a millennium. The book, however, contains plenty of insight into the true greatness and divinity of man.

Two recent publications of the *Dürr'sche Buchhandlung* of Leipsic are *Hegels Aesthetik im Verhältnis zu Schiller* (Price. 1.80 m.) in which the author, A. Lewkowitz, presents a contribution to the regeneration of German idealism; and *Gustav Freytags Kultur- und Geschichtspsychologie* by Dr. Georg Schridde (price 3 m.) which aims to show how Freytag's interpretation of history is mainly derived from Hegel's philosophy though it was greatly stimulated also by Humboldt's philosophy of language and the researches in mythology of Wilhelm and Jakob Grimm.

*Magic; the Magazine of Wonder*, published by Mr. Ernest Evangeline, of Kansas City, Mo., is a new candidate for public favor. It is a clever little journal, replete with novel and original ideas in magic and mystery, and will prove of interest to every amateur and professional conjurer who wishes to be up to date. The typography is artistic and the illustrations of a high order of merit.







FICHTE IN LATER YEARS.

From a drawing by Büry.

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 10.)      OCTOBER, 1910.

NO. 653.

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## FICHTE'S LIFE AND CHARACTER.\*

BY DR. JOHANNES VOGEL.

FICHTE was born in Rammenau, May 19, 1762. His remarkable intellectual endowment made the lad notable in his native village. His acute power of apprehension, enabling him to reproduce the sermons of the local divine, was the cause of a definite change in his life, for he was soon taken from the family circle to the school at Pforta. In 1780 Fichte began the study of theology at Jena, which he later continued at Leipsic. His leaning towards determinism, however, soon led him to philosophy. His interest in Spinoza's theories, in particular, estranged him from the ruling theological dogmas.

The interest with which Fichte applied himself to the occupation of private tutor is attested by his journal in which he entered the more noticeable mistakes in education that he observed during two years. He concerned himself not merely with the intellectual development of his charges but also took especial interest in their moral progress. In the years 1788-1790, while in a similar position in Zurich, he entered into friendly relations with Pestalozzi. Returning to Leipsic in 1790, he found opportunity to devote himself to the study of Kant's philosophy, fascinated especially by the theory of transcendental freedom. He was inspired to become personally acquainted with the great thinker of Königsberg, and in accordance with this purpose betook himself to that city in 1792. There he wrote his *Versuch einer Kritik aller Offenbarung* ("Attempt at a Critique of all Revelation"). In this work Fichte made revelation a postulate of practical reason, regarding it as God's reestablishment in a material way of the moral law from which mankind had been

\* Translated from the German by Carl H. Haessler.

alienated, but limiting its content to God, freedom, and immortality. The author, of whom Kant made mention in a public comment, at once became famous. It was to this that Fichte owed his call to



JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTE.  
(1762-1814.)

Jena as professor in ordinary (1793). Here he laid the foundation for his new system of idealism, an extension and further develop-

ment of the Kantian criticism, in a series of important works: *Ueber den Begriff der Wissenschaftslehre oder der sogenannten Philosophie*, 1794 ("On the Concept of the Theory of Science, or of Philosophy so-called"), and *Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre* ("Foundation of the Complete Theory of Science"). In order to influence the moral culture of the students he published his *Ueber die Bestimmung des Gelehrten* ("On the Vocation of the Scholar"), also in 1794.

Impelled by the same ethical purpose, Fichte delivered Sunday lectures on morality in Jena. Without any cooperation from other academic sources he remained loyal to his pedagogic ideal and bravely fought against the excesses of student life. For him the youth, especially the academic youth, were holy seed from which should spring a better development of the race. Throughout his lectures Fichte remained conscious of the fact that he was standing before young men "destined in their turn mightily to influence mankind; to spread some day in larger or smaller circles, through precept or practice or both, the culture they themselves have received: and on every side to raise our common brotherhood to a higher plane of culture—men through whom in all probability I am cultivating unborn millions of mankind."

Such activity in ethical reform was unfortunately misunderstood. It was imagined that Fichte worked not for the sake of the good cause itself but to curry favor at court. Twice at night in his own house he was grossly insulted from outside by members of fraternal societies, consequently the philosopher, with the duke's permission, forsook Jena and spent the summer of 1795 in Ossmannstedt to allow the excited young bloods to quiet down. Fichte utilized this period of involuntary leisure to complete his theory of science. On his return to Jena appeared *Die Grundlage des Naturrechts* ("The Foundation of Natural Law") and *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*<sup>1</sup> ("Commercial Protection for the State"), as well as the *System der Sittenlehre* ("System of Ethics"), 1798, which may be regarded as a companion work to "Natural Law."

An episode now occurred which was to have far-reaching results, namely, the controversy over atheism, which for the time being tore Fichte completely away from his fruitful field of labor. Since 1795 he had been literary associate on the *Philosophisches Journal*, that had been founded by Niethainer. Among other articles was to

<sup>1</sup>The original is almost untranslatable. *Geschlossen* here means "consolidated by a tariff line." It denotes a "closed door" policy in opposition to free trade.—Tr.

appear a treatise by Rector Forberg of Paalfeld entitled *Entwicklung des Begriffs der Religion* ("Development of the Concept of Religion"). Inasmuch as the author had expressly forbidden editorial notes in refutation, Fichte wrote an article *Ueber den Grund unseres Glaubens an eine göttliche Weltregierung* ("On the Basis of our Belief in a Divine Government of the World"), intended as a precursor to correct the other article and give his own views. Forberg was an atheist; Fichte a pantheist to whom the godhead was not a personal world-ruler but a moral world-order and belief therein ideal and practical, not dogmatic. Nevertheless, the religious viewpoints of the two were considered as identical in an anonymous essay that appeared soon after, entitled *Schreiben eines Vaters an seinen studierenden Sohn über den Fichteschen und Forbergschen Atheismus* ("A Father's Letter to His Son at College on the Atheism of Fichte and Forberg"). As a result both the electorate and the government at Weimar held Fichte responsible. Schiller wrote to Fichte on January 26, 1799: "The duke declared that no prejudice to your liberty would or could result even though it were desirable that certain things remain unsaid in the lecture room." In spite of this Fichte, believing that his academic liberty had been restricted and his honor as a university lecturer injured, threatened the government with his resignation. In Goethe's opinion a government might not brook a threat, and so the worthy philosopher suffered a rebuke and received his discharge.

People were broader-minded in Berlin. Frederick William III declared, "If it is true that Fichte is on terms of hostility with God, that is God's business, none of mine." Here in the Prussian capital, under the impression of his experience at Jena and in his intercourse with Schleiermacher, Schlegel and Tieck, Fichte's philosophical views became transformed. To this period belongs his work *Ueber die Bestimmung des Menschen*, 1800 ("On the Vocation of Man"). In 1805 Fichte temporarily accepted a call to Erlangen.

In the fall of the same year he returned to Berlin, coming once more into close contact with notable men. He now published the lectures he had delivered in Erlangen, *Die Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*, ("The Characteristic Features of the Present Age"), and also *Ueber das Wesen des Gelehrten* ("On the Nature of the Scholar"), both in 1806. After the stormy period following the catastrophe of 1806, Fichte was appointed professor in the newly established university at Berlin (1809). His *Plan einer in Berlin zu errichtenden Hochschule*, ("Plan for Establishing a University in Berlin") had proved unfeasible. Nevertheless his glowing en-

thusiasm in the interests of education can be observed from the fact that he conceived and sketched out this plan in the course of one week. In it he exposed the defects of current methods of teaching and erected in a practical way a great ideal structure for handsome reforms.

Fichte's last and most comprehensive educational activity was that of teacher to the entire German nation, and here he proved himself great indeed. Regardless of the French drums whose roll mingled with his words, regardless of the presence in his auditorium of hostile listeners, he delivered his Addresses (*Reden*, 1807-08) and discharged his duty as an outspoken patriot in accordance with his convictions and the dictates of his conscience. These addresses made an overwhelming impression on their hearers. Their central thought was the idea of a universal moral reform which would become practicable only under a new system of education. His earlier work, "The Characteristic Features," which defined the position of the present age in the general development of mankind, formed the basis of the addresses.

Fichte himself gave the best example of responding to the mighty appeal which he made to the nation in both of these works. It was his constant theme that the individual must be sacrificed to principle. "I know well what I am hazarding," he wrote to Herr Beyme, a friend of his, (January 2, 1808), "I know that like Palm,\* I may be hit with a bullet. But I am not afraid and would gladly die for my cause."

February 19, 1813, he turned his lecture into a strong appeal to the students who were hurrying to enlist. Once more as in 1806, in spite of his fifty-one years, he put himself at the service of the king in the capacity of chaplain in order that he might "baptize the belligerents in God" by his outspoken addresses. Since his request could not be granted he took part in the drills of the reserves at home under the motto, "A strong heart and no peace!" It was Fichte's sad fate to succumb to typhus on January 27, 1814, after hearing that Blucher had crossed the Rhine.

#### FICHTE'S CHARACTER.

From the life of this man to whom character building was in fact the chief purpose in life, we shall attempt to gain an idea of his character.

\*The bookseller Palm was a victim of Napoleonic tyranny. An anti-Napoleon pamphlet was traced to his store, and although Palm knew nothing about it he was shot by order of court martial without a fair trial and in flagrant violation of all rules of justice.

The fundamental feature of Fichte's nature was an imperious will of a moral tendency and inseparably bound up with bold thinking that delighted in speculation. His keenwitted thinking led him to study the essence of things and of men—above all the depths of his own heart, persisting until he had found the source of the entire stream of life. This source in his opinion was conscience in which, arising from hidden depths, appeared pure reason, the absolute, God himself. This Fichte regarded as truth, and his unshaken conviction that he possessed this truth constituted the strong backbone of his personality. It made him free; it gave him the imposing power of independence and invested him with a singular impulse toward spontaneity and expansion that did not even pale at martyrdom.

So Fichte was not a man of alternatives; he despised those who neither love nor hate anything, who do not take sides and refuse to make a decision *pro* or *con*. To him an armistice was cowardice; war to the death was his battle cry. It follows that from his love of the truth which was sacred to him, such a character might easily appear one-sided, hard and inconsiderate, involving the philosopher in frictions of which the controversy over atheism is a sad example.

Fichte was neither able nor willing to keep the truth selfishly to himself for contemplative enjoyment. In common with Pestalozzi, he felt within him the "missionary temperament" to which he thus gives expression: "I have but one passion, one want to satisfy, one complete happiness for myself, namely to exert an effective influence on those around me. . ."

This educational activity receives its explanation in the struggle to combine theoretical and practical reason, the most singular and therefore most interesting aspect of Fichte's character. Again and again he speaks of his "distinct preference for a speculative life." He says: "To live truly means to think truly"; "Where would life and its happiness find their element if not in thinking?" He loved unshackled thinkers like Leibnitz, Lessing and Kant who enter their characteristic paths without inquiring how they are to profit from their speculation, perhaps in the end gaining nothing further than the exercise of their powers. He found it very difficult to lecture about anything on which he had not continually reapplied the active power of his thought and inventive genius. It was his experience that "when the love of science and especially of speculative science has once seized a man, it fascinates him so that he will have no other desire than for leisure to occupy himself with it": "If I wished



to govern, my inclination would prompt me to do it in the kingdom of concepts."

On the other hand Fichte could well see that one must finally tire of barren speculation, that it is after all not the natural atmosphere for a man, that it is not an end in itself but only a means to be cast aside when the real end, the full development of the soul, the perfect inner harmony, has been attained.

Higher than thinking he valued activity and the power to influence with energetic and persevering strength of purpose all who were morally in need of it. Such moral activity in the interests of education was loyally practised by Fichte in the largest as well as the smallest circles, as teacher of the nation and in the university no less than as father and head of his household. As author too he manifests a pedagogic tendency, for all his works aim at human culture, human ennoblement and human welfare.

Accordingly Fichte's character appears as an ellipse with two foci: thinking and willing, the joy of speculation and the impulse to action. The two centers, however, are not in hostile opposition but in harmonious accord. Through the insight, clarity and order that thought affords, it supports the will; and the will protects thought, that is to say, the will alone consecrates it and makes it valid. "The whole ordering and shaping of actual life must spring from the higher, regulative concept"; "Independent unselfish love for the theoretical truth is the most fruitful preparation for ethical purity of character." However, "All science is a preparation for action; an empty science, having no application to practise, does not exist"; and Fichte bitterly reproaches scholars and authors for having advanced heedlessly in the domain of pure thought without troubling about the actual world. His will wears an intellectual garment, his thinking a volitional one; between the two centers may be formed the equation:

Thinking: Willing = Subjectivity: Objectivity.

"My free activity, as such, is will when objective, thought when subjective." Fichte did not speculate for the sake of becoming a philosopher and scholar, but that he might become a teacher and educator.

Herein lies the key to the understanding of Fichte's personality, life and teachings. It was his unceasing endeavor in the field of self-discipline to determine more certainly the periphery around the centers mentioned above; to bring head and heart, knowledge and faith into accord; to establish "harmony with himself" as long as possible in order to become to a larger extent a selfsufficient clari-

fied personality. This individual ethical endeavor of his furnishes the *a priori* of his pedagogic effort to build the whole man out of one piece, inasmuch as "the final determination of every finite rational being is absolute unity, fixed identity, complete harmony with itself."

Fichte was of a deeply religious as well as a truly philosophical nature. His religiousness had of course a positive no less than a negative side; but his opponents, seeing only the negative, grieved Fichte sorely with the charge of atheism. The fact is he had turned to philosophy only in order to supply himself with a tenable dogmatic theology, in order to clear up the higher questions of theology for himself by this round about way. It is characteristic of Fichte that in his later years he prized highly the Gospel According to John and strongly recommended it to the attention of his contemporaries.

Notwithstanding their different conceptions of God, Fichte and the writer of the Fourth Gospel stand in close spiritual relationship. In each an open religious nature has a pronounced leaning toward metaphysical speculation; both are theologians in philosophers' dress. Both are of choleric temperament. John, the "son of thunder," is more crushing when he frigidly ignores the Jews, the enemies of Jesus, than Paul with his most burning scorn in the Epistle to the Galatians. Fichte not only threatened the government but would even be brusque and domineering toward his friends in moments of forgetfulness. Both are cyclopædists; both have always solemnly before their eyes an absolute precious, final and supreme end.

In conclusion a little may be said of Fichte's sunny joyous optimism which would find a bright side even in the small annoyances of life. He wrote to Reinhold: "When my friends abroad feel sorry for me because of all the annoyance, all the bitter hours I must live through, I am much obliged to them for their good will, but it is misdirected. . . . During my lectures I lay aside the ponderous attacks against me, and when I get time during vacation to take them to heart I laugh enough while at this task to keep me in good health for the whole succeeding semester. It is possible to give me uncomfortable minutes, but I have yet to see the man who could keep it up for a quarter of an hour"; "I really don't know what hate is, for I have never hated anybody."

In Fichte appears a strong and purposeful manliness, true, clear, pure, high-souled in thinking, strong-willed in acting, humble in sight of the goal. His deeds were like his words, his words like his heart. He could offer himself to the nation as its reformer, because he had permanently reformed himself. His heart could go out

toward the youth, the future of the race, in educational endeavor because it was based on a straight and stern conscience. Fichte's nature is ethical and deductive throughout; barren erudition and inductive empirical research he valued little. Nature and natural science roused but small interest in him. His conviction of truth, his faith, assumed pedagogic form in the impulse to self-education, just as his thorough belief in the loftiness of the ethical will was the impulse to his self-activity and fulfilment of duty. His clearness qualified him for pedagogic diagnosis, for keen observation, for disclosing the sources of all diseases and administering safe remedies. No other German philosopher had Fichte's devoted enthusiasm for the national greatness and rebirth of the German people. His optimism would not permit him to doubt the possibility of a national advance through the medium of education. From poor family tutor to celebrated university teacher, nay to *praeceptor totius Germaniae* in the hardest period, he proved himself abundantly capable.

## CHRIST THE PHYSICIAN.

COMPILED FROM MATERIAL COLLECTED BY EDWARD KREMERS.

DR. Edward Kremers, professor of chemistry at the University of Wisconsin, has called our attention to a number of interesting old pictures he has collected in Europe, which represent Christ as an apothecary furnishing remedies to suffering mankind.

The idea of Christ as a physician is more usual, yet artistic representations of this notion are not so common as might be expected. Co-workers with Dr. Kremers in this line are Dr. C. E. Daniels of Amsterdam, and Dr. Hermann Peters, of Hanover. All three, Kremers, Daniels and Peters, have done original research work, and we here present extracts from their writings together with all the most pertinent illustrations.

By way of introduction, we will state that the idea of the Saviour as a healer was prominent in primitive Christianity. Vestiges of it are still to be found in the New Testament. Jesus is reported to have healed all sorts of diseases and even to have raised the dead by divine power in much the same way as we to-day have Faith Cure and Christian Science.

This ideal of the Saviour as a healer of bodily diseases is a continuation of a pre-Christian hope. In ancient Greece Æsculapius was worshiped as the god of physicians and was himself regarded as a divine healer. His temples were utilized as sanitariums where people slept to awaken cured of their ailments, and some were likewise centers of medical practice.

We know of a group of people called Therapeutes or "healers," but the description which Philo gives of them simply represents them as a religious sect, and not as healers in the sense of curing bodily diseases.

The idea of comparing a saviour to a healer is not limited to the Western world, but prevails also in the Orient. Buddha is called "the great physician" and to some extent we may say that he was

also regarded as an apothecary, for we read that he prepared simples for the sick.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest representations of Christ as a physician known to the authorities above cited, are two Dutch woodcuts. One shows Christ holding up a urinal flask. In the other he is hanging out his professional sign as a physician.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible, or rather probable, that Heinrich Solde of Brunswick, a man who wrote under the pseudonym Henricius Cordus,



CHRIST THE PHYSICIAN.

Dutch wood-cuts (1510). From *Janus*, V, facing p. 84.

magister of a medical school at Erfurt and professor at Marburg, later at Bremen, saw these or similar pictures and that they inspired him to write his satirical verses on the three faces of the physician. He thereby imparts another interpretation to the conception of Christ as a physician, for he inverts the position and speaks of the physician as Christ. He expresses the troubles of a physician's life by showing that when the physician is called he is an angel; when

<sup>1</sup> Buddha's healing is incidental. See, for instance, *The Gospel of Buddha*. Chapters LXIV, LXX, and LXXXIV.

<sup>2</sup> The Dutch inscriptions are quoted by Dr. Daniels in his series "Docteurs et Malades," in *Janus, Archives internationales pour l'histoire de la médecine et la géographie médicale*, 1900, p. 84, read as follows:

1. "Doctor Jhesus die meester principael  
Staet en siet in den orinael."
2. "Doctor Jhs hanct wt sinen orinael  
Tooghede datti meester es principael."

the patient is improved the one who performed the miracle becomes a god, but when he presents the bill for his services he is a devil. These verses were published in 1520 at Erfurt under the title *Epigrammata*, and were reprinted in 1892.\*

Additional epigrams appeared in 1525 and after his death in 1535 all were collected under the title *Enricii Cordi Epigrammatum Libri XIII*. We quote from them the following lines (*Janus, loc. cit.*, p. 85):

"Tres medicus facies habet: unam quando rogatur  
'Angelicam.' Mox est cum juvat esse 'Deus.'  
Post, ubi curato poscit sua præmia morbo,  
Horridus apparet terribilisque 'Satan.'"

Professor Daniels has come across an old English verse which is a literal translation of this Latin verse of Solde (*loc. cit.*, 85):

"Three faces the Phisition hath: first as an Angell he,  
When he is saught: next when he helps, a God he semes to be.  
And last of all, when he hath made the sicke diseased well,  
And askes his guerdon, then he semes, an ongly Fiend of hell."

A German rendering of the same epigram has been published by Dr. Sepp in a book entitled *Frustula* (Augsburg, 1890). Dr. Sepp does not give any reference of his source and simply calls it, "An Ancient Rhyme." Dr. Daniels suggests that it may have been the original of Solde's verse (*loc. cit.*, p. 106):

"Der Doktor is ein weiser Rat,  
Derselbe drei Gesichter hat;  
Das eines *Engels*: Patient  
Ersehnt, dass er die Krankheit wend';  
Hilft er den Kranken aus der Not,  
Verehrt man ihn wie einen *Gott*;  
Kommt er um den verdienten Lohn,  
Hält man ihn für den *Teufel* schon."

In the Print-Cabinets of the National Libraries of Paris and Berlin there exists the portrait (1556) of a Nuremberg surgeon, "Jacob Baumann, Wundarzt, Seines alters Im XXXVI Jar," attributed to Vergil Solis, which bears as an inscription another German version of the same idea:

"Der Arzt dem krancken geordnet ist  
Der darff keins artzts dem nichts gebrist,  
Ein artzt aber drei angesicht hat.  
*Engelisch*: so er dem krancken rhat."

\* In *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts.*



So sich bessert des krancken noth,  
 So sieht der artzt gleich wie ein Gott.  
 Wann nun der artzt umb lohn anspricht  
 Hat er ein Teufflisch angesicht."

A French verse, which for all we know may be as old or even older than the German and Latin, has been published by Dr. Edmond Dupouy in his pretty book *Medicine et mœurs de l'ancienne Rome d'après les poètes latins* (Paris, 1891):

"Le malade est partout un être bien étrange;  
 S'il appelle un docteur tout d'abord c'est *un ange*;  
 S'il guérit, c'est *un dieu*; plus tard, chose incroyable!  
 S'il aperçoit la note à payer, c'est *un diable*."

In the *Regimen Scholae Salernitanae* the same idea is expressed more freely in the medieval style of Latin poetry (*loc. cit.*, p. 110):

"Dum ægrotus visitatur,  
 Dum processus ventilatur,  
 Cura, te accipere.  
 Nam ægroto restituto  
 Et processu absoluto  
 Nemo curat solvere."

["While the sick you visit often,  
 While his grievous pain you soften,  
 Take heed that he pays to-day;  
 For when once he is recovered  
 And from dire attack delivered  
 No one then will care to pay."—*par.*]

The same thing is indicated in the prints of Goltzius, Gelle and Van Vianen in the words, *dum dolet, accipe*, and Dr. Gérard Goris, in his *Medicina Contempta* (1700) Chapter XI, "Taedia Medicorum," says also *Accipe cum dolet, post curam medicus olet*; "Take your fee while the patient is suffering, for after he is cured the doctor becomes offensive."

We quote from the same source (*ibid.* 110) a few proverbs which follow the same line of thought. A 17th century Scotch saying reads, "You shall take your fee whilst the tear is in the ee."

Wander's *Deutsches Sprichwörterbuch*, s. v. "zählen," quotes the old adage "*Lasst euch zahlen, wenn sie quelen*." ["See you're paid while they're afraid."]

Humanity is always the same. Is it not Tolstoy who tells us that charity and gratitude are never seen together here below?

\* \* \*

The prints of Hendrik Goltzius referred to above are known to collectors. We here reproduce the full series of them explained

by Dr. C. E. Daniels in the same article in *Janus*, V, 22-24 as follows in an English translation:

"Hendrik Goltzius, the celebrated designer, engraver and painter, published a series of four prints in 1587, which represent the relation of the physician to his patient in the different stages of disease, in the four different degrees of severity of the illness. They are founded on fact, both realistic and allegorical, and above all are



#### THE PHYSICIAN AS A GOD.

By Goltzius (1587). From *Janus*, V, facing p. 22.

true;—so true that after three centuries have passed, they remain true to life. This work might have been conceived to-day; the conception is agreeable and the execution most artistic. In four pictures the life of the physician is passed in review as it was in the time of Goltzius, as it is in 1900, and as it doubtless will continue to be for some centuries to come. It might be called a history of medical practice presented in the most objective form.

"Each of the four prints<sup>4</sup> represents two apartments separated by a large column which reaches to the top of the picture, and against which a colossal figure is leaning to which I shall again revert. At the left we see in each case the same sleeping-room with its bed and other furniture. The patient is in bed in the first two prints; in the third he is seated in an arm-chair before the fire, and in the last he is dressed for the street. The wife of the patient and other members of the family are always present in the room.



#### THE PHYSICIAN AS AN ANGEL.

By Goltzius (1587). From *Janus*, V, 22-23.

"The division at the right of the column likewise represents the same room each time; but as on the left hand the theme is that of internal ailments, so here we have a case of surgery. In the first print a broken limb is being reset; in the second the injured head of a woman is being dressed and a pack of ice is placed upon her

<sup>4</sup> Height including margin is 188 mm; without margin, 176 mm. Width including margin is 231 mm; without margin 228 mm.

head; in the third the man with the broken leg is trying to walk on crutches; and in the fourth both he and his wife are cured and they dance together before the doctor who has come to see them. Let us not forget to mention that objects used in medicine and surgery are grouped in the foreground on each side of the picture. These give an idea of the resources of this nature which were in use in the days of the engraver.

"Passing to the gigantic figure in the center of each print, we notice that in the first it is a Christ, examining a flask of urine which he holds in his right hand, and holding in the left two cauterizing irons, together with a portable furnace at which they may be heated. It is easy to guess by the anxious attitude of those present while the physician close by the bedside is feeling the pulse of the patient, that the sick man's condition is very serious. Under the feet of the Christ we read O ΘΕΟΣ [the god] and the following distichs at the right and left:

"Dum nigris ægrum prope Mors circumvolat alis,  
Funestamque aciem iam fera iamque parat,  
Tum me promissis beat et domus omnis adorat,  
Tum vocat immensum me venerata DEUM.

[While Death with sombre wings the sick man hovers o'er  
And straightway for his end prepares his direful scythe,  
Then am I blessed with pledges and adored by all,  
Then would they call me great, and praise me as a god.—*ppv.*]

"Below this is given the Dutch translation and the same arrangement is followed in the four prints.

"The large figure in the second print represents an angel holding a goblet in one hand and a spatula in the other. Below is written H TOY ΘΕΟΥ ΧΕΙΡ [the hand of God], and the verses,

"Paulum ubi convaluit: paulum de numine nostro  
Cessit, et in nostris auribus ista sonant:  
Tu coelo nobis demissus es ANGELUS alto,  
Praemia quae vestri et quanta laboris erunt.

[When some of health he has regained, then something too  
Of sway divine we lose; but now we hear:  
'An angel from Heaven's heights thou'rt sent to us,  
And great shall be thy boon as great thy labor is.'—*ppv.*]

"The allegorical figure of the third print is a man richly clad in cap and gown. In his right hand he holds a book and in his left a pair of opened shears upon which hangs a piece of bandage or plaster. Below stands Homer's flattering phrase on physicians.

ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΑΝΤΑΞΙΟΣ ΑΛΛΩΝ (one doctor is worth as much as many other men) and the verses:

"Tamque Machaonia magis et magis arte levatus,  
Cum sedet ante focum, progrediturve tripes,  
O HOMO non frustra tantos subiisse labores  
Nosces; quod restat tu modo tolle malum.

[When more recovered now through Machaonian skill  
He sits before his hearth or walks forth with his staff,  
Then, "Not in vain, great *Man*, hast learned much to endure,  
It but remaineth now that thou shalt cure our ills."—*par.*]



#### THE PHYSICIAN AS A MAN OF FAME.

By Goltzius (1587). From *Janus*, V, 22-23.

"Finally, the fourth print shows an almost nude figure against the central pillar, with powerful muscles, asses' ears, horns, goat's beard and wings. Around his waist hangs a leather surgeon's case not unlike the sheath of a butcher's knife. A small basket hangs

above his right hip, by a cord slung over his left shoulder. This unengaging personage advances in a theatrical pose, holding out his empty hands. The Greek inscription is: ΥΒΡΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΗΗ ΑΝΤΙ ΣΩΣΤΡΩΝ (insolence and blows for fees) and the Latin verses are:



#### THE PHYSICIAN AS SATAN.

By Goltzius (1587). From *Janus*, V, 22-23.

"Ast ego si penitus iam sanum praemia poscam,  
Ille Deus pridem mox CACODAEMON ero.  
Cautior exemplo tu dum dolet accipe nostro  
Qui Medicae exerces graviter artis opus.

[But if when wholly cured I ask for pay,  
Then I who was a god, a very *Devil* am.  
More cautious, thou who practicest the art to heal  
Mayst learn from me thy fee to ask ere pain has fled.—*par.*]





THE PHYSICIAN AS CHRIST.  
By Gelle (1609). From *Janus*, V, 24-25.



THE PHYSICIAN AS CHRIST.  
By Horemans (1752). From *Janus*, V, facing p. 80.

"In order to render still clearer the sage advice which he offered physicians by means of his engraving, the artist added some verses in Dutch which mean: 'Ye masters, and whosoever ye may be who apply yourselves to the noble art of healing, give heed to the warn-



THE PHYSICIAN AS CHRIST. By Van Vianen (1700). From Janus, V, facing p. 110.

ing which I set before your eyes. It is while people are in travail that they must be delivered. To "Help me," answer "Give me." Let the reasons why they should pay you be most emphatic.

"In this manner did Goltzius, who was himself in poor health,

give a lesson to his contemporaries with regard to their ingratitude for the medical care they received."

Goltzius has found imitators in Johannes Gelle and Jan van Vianen. Their ideas are the same and their style of painting may be seen from the reproduction of the first picture of the corresponding series of each, the physician as Christ, the former bearing the date 1609, the latter about 1700. We shall simply mention, in passing, an anonymous Dutch master of about 1620 who painted such a series, but the pictures as published in *Janus* (*ibid.* between pp. 26 and 27) are too dark to reproduce well. Jan Horemans (1752) has painted a similar series in a more modern style.

## THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

A STUDY IN THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHILE writing my little book *The Pleroma*, I felt the desirability of having a concise and clear résumé of the results of New Testament higher criticism, when I came across a useful little book by F. Crawford Burkitt on *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus*,<sup>1</sup> which in many respects seems to satisfy the purpose. I cannot say that I agree with all the conclusions of Professor Burkitt, nor do I accept his standpoint, but I must grant that he here sets forth in a lucid and popular way the present state of conclusions generally accepted by New Testament criticism. He is a professional theologian, with a deep reverence for Jesus as the Christ and the founder of Christianity, yet his Christian faith does not bias his scientific work; he is most punctilious and honest in his statements, although they are by no means always favorable to the traditional conception of the life of Jesus.

Professor Burkitt points out that the most historical and reliable as well as the oldest document is the Gospel of Mark. It is derived from an Aramaic original which goes far in proving the historicity of Jesus himself. Not only have Aramaic words such as *amen*, *Abba*, *Boanerges*, (a misspelling probably for *bene reges*), *Eli Eli sabachthani*, been retained in the Greek version, but also the entire atmosphere of the narrative is Jewish. This is true of Mark and also of Matthew and Luke. Says Professor Burkitt:

"Apart from questions of language and purely literary criticism, the three Synoptic Gospels might be translations from the Aramaic. The main ideas of the Synoptic Gospels, the fundamental phrases round which move the thoughts belonging to the Gospel, all have their explanation and illustration from contemporary Judaism. The Kingdom of God, the Christ or Messiah, the Day of Judgment, treasure in heaven, Abraham's bosom,—all these are

<sup>1</sup> Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1910.

Jewish ideas, entirely foreign to the native thought of the Græco-Roman world. We hear nothing in the Gospels about the Immortality of the Soul, much about Resurrection at the last day; nothing about 'Virtue,' much about 'Righteousness,' little about Purification, much about the Forgiveness of Sin. Even the polemic against heathenism is absent."

The picture of Jesus, however, which is presented by this oldest and most reliable document, the Gospel of Mark, is very different from the Christ ideal which later generations have formed:

"Undoubtedly there are many, coming from very different philosophical and theological camps, to whom the Gospel according to Mark appears to be an inadequate interpretation of our Lord. It does not satisfy the modern philosophical liberal, who would like to regard the mission of Jesus as 'purely religio-ethical and humanitarian.' The philosophical liberal finds fewer moral maxims in Mark than in Matthew and Luke, while at the same time he is shocked by the description of a number of miracles,—mostly, it is true, of healing,—the details of which he feels himself obliged to explain away. But the picture drawn in Mark is hardly more satisfactory from the orthodox conservative point of view. In Wellhausen's phrase, 'we hear of Disciples and we wonder how He comes to have them.' Till our eyes become accustomed to the atmosphere it is difficult to recognize the conventional Saviour, with the gentle unindividualized face, in the stormy and mysterious Personage portrayed in the second Gospel. 'And they were in the way, going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus was going before them, and they were amazed, and some as they followed were afraid'—as we read the story in Mark we follow Jesus on his way, and we hardly know why or whither."

The problem how to explain the many literal agreements of the three first Gospels has been solved by the united labors of many scholars during the last century. Prof. J. J. Griesbach started in the right direction by publishing a synopsis of their coincidences; further investigations furnished convincing evidence in favor of the priority of either Mark, or the original used by Mark, called by the Germans *Urmarkus*, i. e., Proto-Mark; and finally Professor Wellhausen completed the work by proving that Mark was known to the two other synoptic writers in the same shape as we now have it, both in text and contents.

Accordingly, Mark's Gospel is, historically considered, the most authentic account of the life of Jesus. This is not very convenient news for the traditional conception of Christianity. Says Professor Burkitt:

"The ultimate difficulty felt by so many modern critics about the Gospel of Mark is not the minor discrepancies in the narrative, though they are present, or the tales of miracle, for it is always possible to allow for unscientific description or exaggeration. The difficulty lies in its presentation of the actual contents of the 'Gospel' itself and the career of Jesus. According to these critics, Mark has not only put in features of the Ministry that he might have

left out, he has left out things, and those the most important, that he ought to have put in. Where, they say, is the Teaching of Jesus? Mark gives us neither the Sermon on the Mount nor the Parable of the Prodigal Son. One who considers that Mark used Q confesses that the use made of it is "by no means characterized by sympathetic and appreciative insight." And if, as tradition seems to assert, the ultimate source of the Evangelist's information be St. Peter himself, is it possible to suppose that the real characteristics of our Lord's career could have been thrown so completely out of focus?

"It may readily be granted that most of these objections are weighty, if only we can be sure of the foundation upon which they rest. But it is the foundation itself that is insecure. The objections all assume that Jesus was really and primarily an ethical teacher, or a social reformer or both."

Here Professor Burkitt touches upon a point which is crucial. Many theologians, and those of the liberal school are by no means excepted, keep in their mind an ideal of Christ and allow themselves to be influenced by it in their study of the historical Jesus. This is the *punctum saliens* where the personal equation of a scholar is apt to vitiate his whole work and we appreciate that Professor Burkitt himself, although he comes from orthodox quarters, is remarkably free from bias. He takes frequent occasion to criticise Prof. Benjamin Wisner Bacon of Yale, who in spite of his liberalism is hampered by his preconceived notion of Jesus as "purely religio-ethical and humanitarian," whose attitude he describes as "the sane and well-poised mind of the plain mechanic of Nazareth."

It becomes more and more evident that the historical Jesus was certainly not the philanthropic gentle preacher that he is frequently pictured in Unitarian pulpits, and we have reason to believe that he was an exorcist of evil spirits, a child of his narrow surroundings, a fanatic who was deeply tinged with the prejudices of his race and age.

That the historical Jesus was not the ideal teacher he is popularly believed to be, with a wide outlook into the future and broad humanitarian interests, is conceded even by Professor Bacon, who says:<sup>2</sup> "Jesus has no idea of founding a new religion"; and in another passage (p. 2) Professor Bacon insists that Jesus brought "glad tidings to men heavy laden with the legalism of the scribes." He says:

"Jesus perished as the champion of the plain men—the wage-earners, to whose class he belonged, the fishermen of Galilee, the 'publicans and sinners' who followed and trusted him; of the plain man's 'right to be called a son of

<sup>2</sup> Bacon, *Beginnings*, p. xx. That such a judgment has to be passed upon Mark's use of Q is an argument for disbelieving that Mark knew Q at all. [For an explanation of what Q means see pp. 603-609.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> *The Founding of the Church*, pp. 2-4.



God.' He was dubbed by the orthodox 'a friend of publicans and sinners,' and he was crucified in the attempt to vindicate for the common people the full right of 'son.'"

Doubtful as this interpretation of the lifework and the struggle of Jesus appears to be Professor Bacon concedes the horizon of Jesus was limited to Judea. He says:

"The battle was fought in the arena of Judaism. Its issues were drawn between the petty sects and cliques and castes of that race, which but for its religious genius and literature would be rated only as one of the lesser peoples of Syria. If Jesus ever thought of it as concerning all humanity in its issues, save as humanity might become a penumbra—an adjunct—of the Jewish empire to which the nation then looked forward, it certainly was not till after his death that his disciples extended their view to this broader horizon."

Professor Wellhausen has defined the historical significance of Mark, but he has done more; he has also proved that Matthew and Luke have used at least one other common source, which he calls "Q," an abbreviation for the German word *Quelle*, and the nature of this source of the first and third Gospels is admirably set forth by Professor Harnack in his book *The Sayings of Jesus*, so called because Professor Harnack identifies Q with the lost book called *Logia* by Papias. The facts are well summed up by Professor Burkitt thus:

"The Gospels of Matthew and Luke mainly differ from that of Mark in that they contain a large number of sayings of Jesus not given by Mark. Many of these sayings are peculiar to Matthew or peculiar to Luke, but others are given in both, and often with such coincidences of language and of order that they must have been derived from a common source. Thus, for instance, Matthew v.-vii. (the so-called "Sermon on the Mount") is parallel to Luke vi. 20-49, and Matthew xi. 2-19 is practically repeated in Luke vii. 18-35. A comparison of these passages leads us to infer that Matthew and Luke have made use of a common source, written in Greek, which must have contained, amongst other things, sayings of Jesus about John the Baptist, together with a collection of ethical saying which began with the Beatitudes and ended with the similitude of the houses built on the rock or on the river-bed. The common source, now lost, except so far as it is preserved in Matthew and Luke, it was formerly the fashion to call the '*Logia*,' from a belief that it was mentioned under that name by Papias of Hierapolis in Asia Minor about the middle of the second century.

"Papias (quoted by Eusebius, *Ch. History*, III, 39) says: 'Matthew indeed in the Hebrew language wrote down the *Logia*, and each interpreted them as he was able.' What the work was to which Papias alludes is very doubtful: it is certain that our Gospel according to Matthew is a Greek work, based upon Greek sources, one of them being in fact our Gospel according to Mark."

We will add one more quotation concerning Q:

"The common matter of Matthew and Luke, not shared by Mark, almost all consists of sayings of Jesus. We therefore assume that Q mainly con-

sisted of sayings. But the same arguments that prove Q to have contained the 'Sermon on the Mount,' or at least an earlier form of that collection of sayings, also prove Q to have contained the story of the healing of the centurion's boy. It is because Matthew (v. 3-vii 27) and Luke (vi. 20-49) each contains a collection of sayings, beginning with beatitudes and ending with the similitude of the House on the Rock, that we infer a similar collection to have existed in Q. But this collection is followed, both in Matthew (viii. 3-13) and in Luke (vii. 1-10), by the story of the centurion. If our first inference be valid, then the story of the centurion must also be assigned to Q. Q therefore was not a mere assembly of sayings of Jesus, but also contained anecdotes about his wonderful works."

While the Jesus of Mark is a mysterious personality, an exorcist who has power over demons, the Jesus of Q is a moralist and an inspired teacher. Here is Professor Burkitt's description:

"In any case, the material comprehended under the sign Q includes very many of the most precious jewels of the Gospel. When Justin Martyr in the second century wished to exhibit to the heathen Emperor the characteristic ethical teaching of Christ, nine-tenths of his examples came out of passages derived from Q. It is from Q that we have the blessing on the poor, the hungry, the reviled; from Q come 'Love your enemies,' 'Turn the other cheek,' 'Be like your Father who maketh His sun shine on the evil and the good,' 'Consider the lilies,' 'Be not anxious—your Father knoweth ye have need,' 'They shall come from east and west and sit down with Abraham in the kingdom of God.' It is Q that tells us that the adversaries of Jesus found him not ascetic enough and mocked at him as a friend of tax-gatherers and sinners. It is Q that tells us that Jesus said 'I thank thee, Father, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and revealed them to babes,—even so, Father, for so it was pleasing in thy sight.' If the work of Mark be more important to the historian, it is Q that supplies starting-points for the Christian moralist. Most important of all, it gives light and shade to the somewhat austere lines of the portrait of Jesus sketched in the Gospel of Mark."

The question of the relation between Mark and Q can not yet be regarded as definitely settled. Professor Wellhausen thinks he has proved the priority of Mark, but Harnack is confident of having upset his arguments and declares in favor of the priority at least of many passages of Q. Mark though following an Aramaic original was written in Rome, and abounds in Latinisms, but Q was not only originally written in Aramaic but was also written on the soil of Palestine and its topography was limited to Galilee; but that it should go back to the Apostolic age seems to me more a pious wish than a certainty. It is possible that Clement of Rome knew of Q, but we can not be sure of it. It is strange that Mark did not know it, but for all that we can not doubt that both Mark and the Aramaic Proto-Q have utilized a common source which may have been of an oral nature and had reference to John the Baptist and Christ's baptism by John, etc.

Professor Harnack describes Q in these terms:<sup>4</sup>

"We must accordingly judge that Q began with the preaching of the Baptist, that then there followed the story of the Temptation, then important parts of the so-called Sermon of the Mount, which concluded with the notice: 'After Jesus had spoken these words he entered into Capernaum,' and was immediately succeeded by the narrative of the centurion at Capernaum. The subject-matter in question in St. Luke, chaps. iii., iv., vi., vii., is found in its entirety (with the exception of St. Luke vi. 39, 40) in St. Matt., chaps. iii., iv., v, vii, and viii. with very few changes in order....

"The seven narratives comprise the Temptation story (2), the narrative concerning the centurion at Capernaum (13), the question sent by St. John from his prison and the answer of our Lord (14), the story of one who declared himself ready to follow Jesus, and of one who desired first to bury his father (17), the cure of a demoniac and the Beelzebub controversy (29), the demand for a sign, together with our Lord's command (54). There are thus only two stories of miracles and these miracles of healing in Q....

"It is important that (in 23) the towns Chorazin, Bethsaida, and especially Capernaum, appear as the chief scenes of our Lord's ministry. An equally important point is the strong emphasis laid upon the significance of St. John the Baptist. The discourse concerning him, which was suggested by his doubting question and which is continued in 15, is preceded by an account of his preaching of a baptism of repentance (1), and is followed by the testimony (50) that with him closes the epoch of the Law and the Prophets. No mention is made of the disciples of our Lord in these stories.

Q includes the following parables and similitudes: the Blind leaders of the blind (9), the Good and corrupt tree (11), the House on the rock and on the sand (12), the Querulous children at play (15), the Sheep and the wolves (19), the Light under the bushel (31), the Thief by night and the Faithful and unfaithful steward (37), Concerning the correct behaviour to the adversary (39), the Leaven and the Mustard seed (40), the Strait gate and the narrow way (41), the Lost sheep (48). Eight of these parables have an individual address without any closer definition—only two refer to the Kingdom of God, one to the present generation (15), and one to the disciples (19). This preponderance of the individual address is noteworthy, and it is also noteworthy that the two parables concerning the Kingdom of God are not eschatological, and are closely connected together. The parables 37, 39 (41) close with an outlook towards the end. Without anticipating a closer critical examination, a cursory glance suffices to inform us that the parables bear the impress of genuineness in a high degree.

"The thirteen collections of sayings (discourses)<sup>5</sup> may be grouped in regard to subject-matter as follows: The discourse of the Baptist, together with the reference to the Coming One (1); the Beatitudes (3); Love for enemies (6); against Judging, mote and beam (8); the Lord's Prayer and the power of Prayer (27, 28); Fear not, be not anxious, lay not up treasure (34\*, 35, 36); The great thanksgiving to the Father (25); The great denunciation

<sup>4</sup> Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 253-271. Translated from the German by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson as No. 2 of "New Testament Studies" (New York, Putnam, 1908).

<sup>5</sup> Besides these, it is very probable that sections 16 and 18-24 belong to one discourse.

of the scribes and Pharisees (33); Not peace but a sword (38); False Messiahs, the Parousia of the Son of Man (56).—In judging Q it is specially important to note that this source also contains a sermon of the Baptist, and further, that formal teaching concerning the better righteousness, and that exact directions concerning prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, are wanting, although an ethical code is imparted in sections 3, 6, 8, 27, 28, 34\*, 35, 36. In the discourses concerning our Lord's relationship to the Father, concerning His attitude towards the scribes and Pharisees and towards the world, and in the discourse concerning the Parousia, the most important relationships *ad extra* are dealt with, except the relationship to the Baptist, which has been explained in the narrative section 14 (and also beforehand in section 1).

"The twenty-nine shorter or longer sayings are less varied in content, as appears at the first glance; many of them may be regarded with more or less probability as parts of discourses in Q, the restoration of which must however remain problematical; in the case of others, it is possible at once to recognize that they are either related to one another or depend upon the larger groups of sayings. Nine of the sayings in subject-matter, and perhaps also in form, belong to the ethical code—namely, sections 4 (The blow upon the cheek, non-resistance when the coat is taken away), 5 (Give to him that asketh), 7 (The Golden Rule), 32 (The light of the body is the eye), 44 (He that exalteth himself), 49 (No man can serve two masters), 57 (He that findeth his life), 58 (Whosoever hath to him shall be given), 52 (Against divorce).—Fifteen sayings belong together as special directions and promises to the disciples—namely, 10 (The disciple is not above his master), 16 (Proclaim that the Kingdom of God is at hand), 18 (The harvest is great, the labourers few), 19 (I send you forth as sheep), 20, 21 (Conduct the mission from house to house), 22, 23 (The mission in the cities, sayings concerning the Galilean cities), 24 (He that receiveth you receiveth me), 26 (Blessed are your eyes and your ears), 55 (The faith which removes mountains), 45 (He that loveth father or mother), 46 (The bearing of the Cross), 47 (Ye are the salt of the earth), 59 (Ye will sit upon twelve thrones). Of the still remaining sayings, section 50 (The Law and the Prophets until John) connects with the narrative of section 14; the saying concerning Jerusalem (43), as well as the saying that the children of the kingdom would be cast out while the Gentiles would enter in (42), in their purport belong together, and can be connected with the Great Denunciation (33). Quite by themselves stand the sayings concerning the Son of Man and the Holy Spirit (34\*), concerning offenses (53) and the permanence of the Law (51).

"The first impression that one receives when one surveys the content of Q is twofold. For the most part, the subject-matter seems to fall asunder into disconnected parts, and this impression cannot be quite overcome; but as soon as one calls to mind the content of the three gospels and compares Q with it, then Q appears to be undoubtedly more homogeneous than any of the three. What varied material stands in peaceful juxtaposition in St. Matthew and St. Luke, and even in St. Mark! Even if one neglects the stories of the Infancy, what a multitude of varied interests, indeed of discrepancies, cross one another in those gospels! Who would ever have believed that all that St. Matthew or St. Luke or St. Mark narrate stood in one book, if in each case the book itself had not been handed down to us as a single complete whole? Compared with these gospels, the content which we have as-

signed to Q is simply homogeneous. Here a great number of points of view and tendencies which prevail in those gospels are absolutely wanting.

"It is characteristic of St. Mark that he emphasizes the supernatural in our Lord, the Son of God; of St. Matthew, that he treats a great part of the gospel material from the point of view of the primitive community, giving to his whole narrative a Jewish and yet anti-Judaistic tone in the interests of apologetics; and of St. Luke, that with the large-heartedness of a Greek he thrusts those traits, which display Jesus as the Great Healer, into the foreground. But in Q all these tendencies are absent. Here we receive rather the impression that the author is simply concerned with the commandments of our Lord, and aims at giving a description of His message, in which description he appears to be influenced by no special and particular bias. Perhaps we may not be mistaken in supposing that his selection was also determined by his desire to illustrate our Lord's message and His witness to Himself, in their main and characteristic features, by special striking examples. The Messiahship (Divine Sonship) having been established in the introduction, is in the body of the work presupposed as a fact that admits of no further controversy.

"Together with Jerusalem—which is thus never mentioned in Q except in the Woe against the Pharisees—the Passion and all references to the Passion are absent from Q. The single isolated saying concerning the taking up of one's own cross (46) would at the best, if it really stood in Q, only afford an indirect reference to the Passion, and the sign of the prophet Jonah (30), according to the account in Q, had absolutely nothing to do with the Passion. So far therefore as we can judge, all that after the precedent of St. Mark goes to form the main theme of the Synoptic Gospels—the Passion and the narratives and discourses leading up to the Passion—was completely wanting in Q. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the gospels and Q. The latter, in fact, was not a gospel at all in the sense that the Synoptics are. The narrative of this source must therefore have been wanting in historical climax—no thread of historical continuity could have run through it, binding the end to the beginning; for what climax or what thread of continuity could have existed where the Passion, and the thoughts connected with the Passion, were left out of consideration? Thus Q in the main could only have been a compilation of sayings and discourses of varied content."

When we compare the Gospel according to Mark to the fragments which we possess of Q, we are impressed with the superiority of Q as a devotional book. But the very superiority of Q casts the shadow of doubt upon its historical reliability, for it appears to have been a repository of devotional sentences of the age, a kind of anthology garnered from various sources, Jewish as well as Gentile, including the far East. It represents a stage considerably more advanced than Mark and must have had a wider currency among the Christian congregations. It furnished them the best matter for edification which is only equaled, perhaps even excelled, in the later Gospel according to St. John. Justin Martyr quotes with preference passages which belong to Q, and it is not impossible that it was



known to him. It may be the book to which he refers as the "Memoirs of the Apostles."

Whether or not this theory be true we may be assured that Q was the most popular book among the early Christians down to the time of Justin Martyr and became obsolete only when its main contents had been appropriated by Matthew and Luke. We are therefore confronted with the question how the original of a book of such value and wide circulation could be lost. Professor Harnack explains its disappearance in these words:

"The final blow to the independent existence of Q was dealt when it was incorporated in the gospels of St. Luke and St. Matthew. In Luke it exists, split up and dispersed throughout the gospel in subservience to the historical narrative; in St. Matthew it was treated in more conservative spirit, though in some important passages it has suffered more from revision and shows clearer traces of the particular bias of the evangelist. In most skilful fashion—often only by means of an accent or by an arrangement of the context which seems quite insignificant—the first evangelist has made this compilation of discourses subservient to his own special interest in the Christian community and its organization, while St. Luke, who has much more frequently altered the wording of his source, has nevertheless kept so closely to it in essential points that its original character is more clearly perceived in his reproduction."

For the same reason the Gospel of Mark ought to have been lost, and considering its crude character, a man like Professor Burkitt says: "It is not easy to understand how this Gospel came to be preserved at all."

We know that there were many rival documents at the beginning of the Christian era, and we also know that the leaders of the church did their best to remove objectionable literature. Therefore we have good reason to assume that in addition to its preserved passages Q contained some heretical matter, possibly an unorthodox conception of Christ and his resurrection, which made the continuance of the original book undesirable. We know that at first many notions were tolerated because their heretical character was only noticed when the doctrines of the church began to harden into dogmas.

The best authorities in higher criticism disagree on the question whether or not Q contained a story of the passion. At any rate no story of the passion from Q has been preserved. This indicates that if Q really did not contain such an account, it must have presented a Christ-conception which gradually became contradictory to the doctrine of vicarious atonement, and if it contained a story of the



passion, it must have been heretical and at variance with the orthodox view.

It is commonly assumed that the conclusion of Mark was lost for similar reasons. The reports of the resurrected Christ in the Fourth Gospel contradict the reports in the Synoptic Gospels, while Mark seems to have had still another report which clashed with both now preserved. In Q we may have still another story which, however, seems to have affected also the passion of Christ. It is impossible to make a guess that would have any value, but the passion may have been preserved in Q after the fashion of docetism, which was quite common in some quarters of the early Christian church. According to docetic views Christ did not suffer really but only went through the semblance of suffering. This is based on the idea that God was not subject to human frailties. He was assumed to be free from pain as well as sin. Another view quite common in the days of the early church, a trace of which is still preserved in the peculiar reading of Christ's baptism, consists in a belief that Jesus was purely man until in baptism the Holy Ghost descended upon him and he ceased to be the Saviour and an incarnation of God before the passion began, when the Holy Ghost was assumed to have left him. If the passion story in Q was obviously contradictory to the orthodox view it is quite natural that Matthew and Luke should have deemed that portion of their source irregular and selected only that which seemed to be in agreement with their belief as to the nature of Christ.

In order to understand the primitive Christianity of Palestine we must be acquainted with the hopes of the Jewish people of that age, and they are best studied in the terms "Kingdom of God," "Son of Man," and also the significance of the watch-word *Maranatha*. While in Greece the people were anxious to be assured of the immortality of their souls, the Jews expected the establishment of the Kingdom of God (or the Heavens) on earth. The history of this idea is deposited in the literature of the time in the book of Daniel, the Old Testament Apocrypha and in the Book of Enoch.

The Jews looked upon themselves as the elect people for whose sake God had created the world, but instead of ruling the nations they were trodden under foot and held in contempt. Their prophets comforted them with visions of a brighter future, when the Anointed One, the Messiah, the Christ, would establish his kingdom on earth.

We know that the Nazarenes, whoever they may have been, were filled with expectations of this kind. They were hostile to the Gentile culture which they knew only from distant hearsay, and

they believed that the kingdom was near at hand when their Lord would judge the world and rule the nations with a rod of iron.

The hope for this new order of things found nourishment in old Babylonian traditions of world cycles. The present world would pass away and a new earth and a new heaven would come in its place. Then Israel would take the place to which it was entitled. In this *milieu* the term "Son of Man" originated, which in Esdras changes off with "Son of Woman" and means originally "man" as the representative of mankind, gradually becoming identified with the man who would establish the Kingdom of God, the Messiah.

The oldest Christian literature is permeated by thoughts of this kind, and the slogan of the primitive church was *Maranatha* (found in the *Didache* and the Pauline Epistles) which is now interpreted to mean "the Lord come."

These views are all largely recognized as true even by orthodox theologians, and Professor Burkitt says:

"The church was in a special sense the heir of the Apocalyptists.

"The main idea of the Kingdom of God is found already in the Book of Daniel. The fundamental notion is that the Most High is indeed Autocrat, He alone has sovereignty, but He hands it over for a time and for His own inscrutable purposes to whomsoever He will. At any given moment there is a world-power, the Babylonian, the "Median," the Persian, the Seleucid Greek. But this will not be for ever. In the end the Most High Himself will take the dominion into His own hands. The Kingdom of God Himself will be inaugurated, and He will reign for ever, protecting His faithful people and rewarding them for all the trials they have undergone at the hands of the heathen.

"This is the apocalyptic hope....

"The Christ or Messiah, that is, the Anointed of God, is one of the features of the coming Kingdom. His function is to judge the heathen and to rule as God's Vicegerent over the Saints, when the Great Day arrives. The Christ does not bring in the Kingdom,—that is the work of God Himself; the Christ only enters on his office when all is ready. He is, in fact, one of the personages of the New Age, not the person through whom the New Age is brought in....

"The date of Enoch is a matter of dispute, and the accepted theory is that it is made up of several parts, of different dates. But it is certainly Palestinian, and it existed in its present form at the beginning of the Christian era. It is quoted by name in the Epistle of Jude, a letter that used to be dated much later than necessary, as long as apocalyptic ideas were out of fashion. It is certainly referred to in the First Epistle of Peter, whatever the date of that work may be; and it was long held in honor among the Christians, who took it for a genuine prophecy of Enoch, 'the seventh from Adam.' But it is especially in the Gospels that we see its influence, in Q as much as in Mark. The theory of demons and demoniacal possession, implied in Luke xi. 24-26 (Matthew xii. 43-45), a passage certainly drawn from Q, is exactly that set forth at length in Enoch; and the judgment scene in Matthew

xxv. 31 ff. ('the Sheep and the Goats') loses half its meaning, if the corresponding scene in Enoch lxii, where 'the Son of Man' is shown 'sitting on the throne of his glory,' be not presupposed. Enoch is crude and fierce, the corresponding words of the Gospel are instinct with spiritual power....

"In Daniel the Man is not individualized. He stands for the nation, not for the Messiah. But in the Similitudes of Enoch, the figure of Daniel, the Son of Man who was the Ancient of Days, is personified and individualized. From of old this Son of Man, this celestial human being, has been hidden with the Most High, but one day he will be revealed. The kings and the mighty, i. e., the heathen rulers of the world, will see and be terrified and beg for mercy in vain. The angels will drag them away to punishment, but the righteous will be saved and protected, and with that Son of Man they will rejoice for ever and ever.

"The Book of Enoch is a strange barbarous work, without poetry, without charm. It has long been rejected from the Bible by every branch of the church save the barbarian Christians of Abyssinia. Are we, it may be asked, really to seek the origin of the title of our Lord, round which so many pathetic associations have grown, in this fierce and narrow Jewish apocalypse? And if this was the hope of the Gospel, was it justified? In what sense can it be said that the Kingdom of God was at hand?

These are fundamental questions for our estimate of Christianity, but they are equally fundamental for the criticism and exegesis of the Gospels. To those who have learned to see the vital principle of the Christian movement in this expectation of the supernatural Kingdom of God, sentence after sentence of the Gospels, saying after saying, parable after parable, falls into its place. And in no document is this clearer than in the Gospel of Mark."

It appears that primitive Christianity did not look much like our present conception of it and so it is natural that the Christ of primitive Christians was different from the Christ of our twentieth century generation. How was this change effected? Professor Burkitt says:

"The New Age came in a form very different from what had been so confidently expected. The little companies of believers did not live to see their Lord appear visibly on the clouds of heaven. Instead of being caught up alive in clouds to meet the Lord in the air, they went one by one to their graves, leaving their successors to carry on the work and the traditions of the Christian Society. Naturally the changed conditions reacted upon Christian theology, upon the Christian view of the Church and of the dispensation in which it found itself."

From this standpoint Professor Burkitt defines the nature of Christianity in these words:

"Christianity is Judaism recreated in a form that could thrive in, and finally absorb, the civilization of Europe."

\* \* \*

Here I will interpose a word in defense of my own views. In the *Pleroma* I speak of Christianity as "paganism *redivivus*,"\* and

\*Here the reader is warned to bear in mind in this connection what I

I will here illustrate the truth of this proposition by contrasting it with the view of Professor Burkitt who says the opposite and means the same. Primitive Christianity was by no means Christianity in the proper sense of the term, nor did it bear the name; it was Judaism which had absorbed some Gentile notions. In the form in which it was preached by Paul to the Gentiles, it had sloughed off all its Judaism, circumcision and the law of Moses, in spite of Christ's vigorous declaration that "until heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law."

In its further development Christianity dropped its Jewish traditions more and more and absorbed in the same measure the culture of pagan antiquity. This progress is marked by the Gospels thus: first we have Mark, then Matthew, then Luke and finally John who introduces the idea of Christ as the Logos. The history of the church continues in the same line and there is scarcely a century which does not show a change of the Christ ideal in the same direction.

The Christ ideal is elastic and every age has manufactured for its own and special needs its own Christ. Yea, this is true even of every one who believes in a God-man. The Christ of a priest is different from that of a peasant. A professor sees in him the incarnation of truth while to a pious spinster he is all sweetness and love. The Kaiser has another Christ than a cab driver, and we can definitely determine the variations of the Christ type in St. John, in St. Paul, in Thomas Aquinas, in Anselm, in Bernard of Clairvaux, in Pope Leo XII and in Pope Pius X. Since the nature of the Christ type depends upon our wants and idiosyncrasies there is no way of deciding which is the right one.

The question as to Jesus is different. Whether or not there was a Jesus is a matter of evidence or perhaps probability; and if he existed, what beliefs he held, what motives stirred him, what he did and intended to do, are historical problems which within the limits of our material on hand can be solved, at least approximately.

understand by paganism which prepared Christianity in so far as it believed in a hero, the God-man, the saviour. Born of a human mother, he is the son of a god, and he devotes his life to the welfare of mankind. Finally he is slain by his enemies, but rises from death to new life. For further details see the *Pleroma*, pp. 20-24 and *passim*. See also the *Story of Samson*, pp. 137 ff.

<sup>1</sup> We purposely omit the clause, "till all be fulfilled." On a former occasion we have called attention to the double clause: either the law shall not perish until heaven and earth shall pass away, or until all shall be fulfilled. The clauses contradict one another. We notice also that in the reconstruction of Q, both Wellhausen and Harnack omit the former clause.

Critics agree, as stated above, that both Mark and Q are ultimately derived from Palestine. They are independent of each other but they have utilized common tradition, presumably oral. The question now is which of the two is of greater historical value, and it seems to me that even if we grant Q to be older than Mark we cannot attribute to it the same historical value. It contains no biographical data and pictures Jesus as an ideal ethical teacher. He has lost the marked characteristics of a definite human personality and has assumed the vagueness of the later Christ type. This lack of personality, of definite individual features, is a great advantage for practical purposes, because this vague Christ type lends itself more easily to idealization and will better suit many different and often contradictory purposes.

The Jesus of Mark is not so accommodative. He is a rugged and almost bizarre figure, viewed through the magnifying glass of deification which only serves to make him more grotesque if measured by the needs of a broader and more humanitarian age. Unless we have to give up the historical Jesus permanently, as Prof. William Benjamin Smith has done, we find in spite of the deification in Mark's Jesus a more realistic personality than in the noble and more spiritual generalization—the Jesus of Q.

It is a pity that neither Wellhausen, nor Harnack, nor Professor Burkitt, nor any other theologian of repute who has done work in New Testament criticism, is familiar with the Buddhist canon, for the time has come when the problem of the coincidences between the traditions of Buddhism and Christianity clamors for a solution. It is strange that a Persian historian of the fifteenth century, Mirkhond, describes the birth of Christ in the same way as the Buddhist canon describes the birth of Buddha.

There are the parables of the talents, of the blind leaders of the blind, of the prodigal son; there are the stories of Christ's nativity and the slaughter of the Innocents; further the tale of the widow's two mites, of Christ and Peter walking on the water, the beatitudes, and other coincidences with Buddhist scriptures, such as the reference to the mustard seed, a stray mention of the wheel of becoming\* in the epistle of James, the idea of abiding treasures, detail similarities in the temptation story, etc.

\* *τροχὸς γενέσεως*. The Wheel of Becoming is translated in the Vulgate *rota nativitatus* and in the English authorized version "course of nature." For details of this trace of Buddhism in the New Testament see the author's book on *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil*, pages 118 to 127 ff., where the Buddhist Wheel of Becoming is reproduced from several Buddhist pictures.



These parallels between Buddhism and Christianity agree too closely and are too numerous to be purely accidental, and it is remarkable that *Q* is full of them. Further we will call attention to the discovery made by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds that the Buddhist canon is quoted twice in the Fourth Gospel. One quotation in John viii. 38 is introduced by the words "as the Scripture hath said," and another in xii. 34, "We have heard out of the law." Neither can anywhere be found in the Old Testament, but both are contained in the Buddhist canon, the former in the *Patisamhida-maggo*, the latter in the *Maha-Parinibbana sutta*.<sup>9</sup>

Echoes of Buddhist thought had reached Hither Asia before or at the time of Christ. They left definite traces but they were too dim to constitute an independent religion. They only influenced the religious aspirations of the people and were assimilated to Western traditions. The oldest traces of Indian influence are perhaps Æsop's Fables. Further we can trace the history of the life of Buddha through all its stages and changes, until Buddha became a Roman Catholic saint under the name St. Josaphat. We can not doubt that some Buddhist parables entered into the fabric of the homiletics of Christianity at the very beginning of its career. We deem it not proven, but it is not improbable that Jesus himself made use of some of these striking similes.

Here the reader is referred to the theory set forth in *The Pls-roma* that a religious fermentation had set in after Alexander's conquest of the Orient, which caused a mingling of the different religious creeds, and resulted in an historical movement comprising all those tendencies of the gnostics which in their further development later on after the establishment of the Catholic Church were condemned as heretical. In its origin the Gnostic movement antedates Christianity.

Because of the great influence it exercised on the growth of Christianity one of the most important sects of this kind is the Zabian, the great representative of which in Palestine was John the Baptist. This sect, called in Greek the Baptizers, also the Disciples, the Disciples of St. John, or the Brethren, was not limited

<sup>9</sup> In John vii, 38, Christ says: "He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water"; and this curious prophecy quoted from "the Scriptures" is found literally in the Buddhist canon. The same is true of the passage that the Christ abideth forever, or literally, according to the Greek, for the æon. This strange expression is better understood when read in its original context in the *Maha-parinibbana Suttanta*, the Book of the Great Decease, that if the Tathagata choose he could stay longer on earth, for "The Tathagata could remain for the æon." See Edmunds, *Buddhist Texts in John*, Philadelphia, 1906; and also his larger work *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, Philadelphia, 1908.



to Palestine, and we have good reason to assume that the main impulse for its foundation came from foreign countries, especially from Persia. The leaders of the Jews, the Pharisees, Sadducees and scribes, held aloof, and they were vigorously denounced by John the Baptist as a "generation of vipers." On the other hand it is noteworthy that the Zabians found adherents among the outcast classes of the people (Matt. xxi. 32; Luke vii. 29-30).

That Jesus proceeded from this movement is the most definite statement of the New Testament, though we grant that this could be upset on the theory that the passages on John the Baptist were written in order to gain the support of the Zabians. From the reports in the Acts of the Apostles it is apparent that Paul was well received in their circles; he gained his first converts from the disciples of John the Baptist, and the difference seems to have been regarded at that time as inconsiderable. It is stated that their baptism was that of John and not in the name of Jesus, and in another passage the difference was reduced to the notion that they had not yet received the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands.

We will not enter here into a discussion of the nature of kindred sects such as the Nazarenes, Ebionites and Essenes, and whether or not they were different names of the same movement. Certain it is they were similar and originated under the influence of kindred aspirations.

Considering the foreign influence which showed itself in Zabanism and other sects, we must assume that echoes from the Far East played an important part, although we can not doubt that the Semitic world-conception formed the bottom rock. The expectation of an approaching world-catastrophe may be traced back to Babylonian sources, but it was overlaid by the religious notions of the Persians so similar in many details to later Christianity, and upon this again we find a layer of Indian traditions among which Buddhist doctrines may have constituted a significant portion.

Though the intermediate links of this development are no longer accessible, we can be sure that in this way the Nazarene movement shaped itself as a parallel formation to similar religious movements in the world of the Gentiles. When this Palestinian gnosticism made a missionary propaganda in the Hellenistic world under the Apostle Paul, it found the soil prepared. Similar ideas prevailed everywhere but Paul offered them in a systematic form, and was backed by the formidable array of Hebrew literature so mysterious to the Greeks and so venerable by age and the mode of its tradition. The concreteness with which St. Paul endowed the hazy gnostic notions

prevalent throughout the empire, the systematic unity which he gave them, the humaneness of the Christ as a historical figure, the plausibility of his proposition that it was a premeditated plan of God to prepare mankind for universal religion through the people of Israel—all these and some additional reasons secured the victory for Christianity in its competition with other Gentile gnostic movements.

It will be of interest to see how an orthodox scholar like Professor Burkitt adjusts his relation to the results of his studies. The Jesus of Mark is not what Professor Burkitt would naturally have wished him to be, yet the evidence before him compels him to accept Mark as historically most authentic. He feels inclined to believe that it was written by the nameless "certain young man" mentioned in Mark xiv. 51, who with his immature mind left us this document as a picture of Jesus as he saw him, and so, says Professor Burkitt (p. 57), "The office of Mark is rather to be a witness of what men saw and heard." As to what appears to us the narrowness of the Jesus in Mark, his exclusiveness as a Jew, and the limitation of his vision, Professor Burkitt makes the following comment:

"The first necessity is to place him [Jesus] in due relation to the strange and far-off time in which he lived among men. The first thing we have to account for is the enthusiasm and the devotion of those who claimed to be his followers and apostles. 'Let the children first be filled'; we must first of all think of our Lord in connection with the aspirations of his own time and his own country, and be ourselves content with the crumbs that have fallen down into our very different world. After all, the table was spread for the lost sheep of the House of Israel, not for us."

It is a serious drawback for this explanation that the hopes of the "lost sheep of the House of Israel" were so little fulfilled, and if the table was spread for them while the Gentiles received the crumbs, it almost appears that Jesus gave them a stone when they asked for bread. The "kingdom of heaven" as it was understood by them ended in utter desolation.

Professor Burkitt's view will recommend itself to those Christians who are anxious to preserve their ideal conception of Jesus as the Christ, yet even if the high conception of the historical Jesus has to be surrendered Christianity retains its Christ ideal which remains serviceable whether or not the historical Jesus was worthy of being worshiped as the incarnation of God. Christianity is not without good reasons named after Christ instead of after Jesus.

We will grant that those Christians who are accustomed to the

traditional conception of Christianity will find it hard to surrender their belief in the historical Jesus as an example for imitation, and this will apply mainly to Unitarians and kindred liberals who have discarded the Christ in the hope of preserving the ideal of a high-minded, gentle and noble Jesus. It will take them some time to become accustomed to the other view that the Christ ideal is more important than the historical Jesus, that the latter can go if the former remains, and that an ideal is not an empty non-existence, but a superpersonal presence which is of a more significant reality than any actual person of bone and flesh.

## THE GOSPEL SOURCE Q.

[Professor Wellhausen has discovered that both Matthew and Luke have used in addition to the Gospel of Mark another source (*Quelle*) which he designates by the initial Q, a name which has been generally adopted by theologians. The reconstruction here presented is according to Harnack.

The numbers which appear at the beginning of each fragment are the designations by which they are now referred to in theological literature. They follow upon the whole the order of Luke.]

### I.<sup>1</sup>

(Matt. iii. 5, 7-12; Luke iii. 3, 7-9, 16-17.)

(When from all the region around Jordan John saw many [or: the multitudes] coming to baptism, he said unto them): O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance; and think not [begin not] to say within yourselves: We have Abraham to our father; for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And now the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire. I baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with (the [Holy] Ghost and) with fire; whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner, but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

(The baptism of Jesus, together with the descent of the Spirit and the voice from heaven.)

### 2.

(Matt. iv. 1-11; Luke iv. 1-13.)

Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, and when he had fasted forty days and forty nights he was afterward an hungered, and the tempter said to him: If

<sup>1</sup> Passages about which there is doubt whether or not they belong to Q, are here inserted in parentheses.

thou be the Son of God, command that these stones become bread, and he answered: It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone. Then he taketh him up to Jerusalem and setteth him on the pinnacle of the temple, and saith to him: If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down; for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone. Jesus said to him: Again it is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. Again he taketh him up unto an exceeding high mountain and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and said unto him: All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt worship me. And Jesus saith unto him: It is written, The Lord thy God shalt thou worship and him only shalt thou serve. And the devil leaveth him.

## 3.

(Matt. v. 1-4, 6, 11, 12; Luke vi. 17, 20-23.)

(...multitudes...he taught his disciples, saying...)

Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God;

Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted;

Blessed are they that hunger, for they shall be filled;

Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

## 4.

(Matt. v. 39-40; Luke vi. 29.)

Whosoever shall smite thee on the (thy right) cheek turn to him the other also; and if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also.

## 5.

(Matt. v. 42; Luke vi. 30.)

Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

## 6.

(Matt. v. 44-48; Luke vi. 27, 28, 35b, 32, 33, 36.)

I say unto you: Love your enemies and pray for them which persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father, for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good (and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust). For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if ye

salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the Gentiles the same? Be ye therefore merciful as your Father is merciful.

## 7.

(Matt. vii. 12; Luke vi. 31.)

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.

## 8.

(Matt. vii. 1-5; Luke, vi. 37, 38, 41, 42.)

Judge not, that ye be not judged; for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother: Let me cast out the mote out of thine eye; and behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

## 11.

(Matt. vii. 16-18; xii. 33; Luke vi. 43-44.)

The tree is known by the fruit. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

## 12.

(Matt. vii. 21, 24-27; Luke vi. 46-49.)

(Not everyone that saith unto me: Lord, Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doeth the will of the Father.) Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them. I will shew you whom he is like. He is like (or in place of the last twelve words: He shall be likened) unto a man which built his house upon a rock. And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a man which built his house upon the sand. And the rain descended and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it.



9.

(Matt. xv. 14; Luke vi. 39.)

If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.

27.

(Matt. vi. 9, 11-13; Luke xi. 2-4.)

(Father, give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors, and lead us not into temptation.)

28.

(Matt. vii. 7-11; Luke xi. 9-13.)

Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask for fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good things (gifts) to your children, how much more will the Father from heaven give good things to them that ask him.

31.

(Matt. v. 15; Luke xi. 33.)

Men do not light a candle and place it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.

32.

(Matt. vi. 22, 23; Luke xi. 34-35.)

The light of the body is the (thine) eye; if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light; but if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkened, how great is that darkness [*scil.* in the whole]!

35.

(Matt. vi. 25-33; Luke xii. 22-31.)

Therefore I say unto you: Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat and the body more than raiment? Behold the ravens (or: the fowls of the air); for they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns, yet God feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought can add one

cubit unto his stature? and why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies, how they grow? They toil not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you (that) even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore if God so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore take no thought saying: What shall we eat? or What shall we drink? or Wherewithall shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the nations (of the world) seek; for your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye his kingdom, and all these things shall be added unto you.

## 36.

(Matt. vi. 19-21; Luke xii. 33-34.)

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal; for where thy (your) treasure is, there will thy (your) heart be also.

## 39.

(Matt. v. 25-26; Luke xii. 58-59.)

Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge and the judge to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. (Verily) I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

## 41.

(Matt. vii. 13-14; Luke xiii. 24.)

Enter ye in at the strait gate; for wide (is the gate) and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat. Because strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

## 47.

(Matt. v. 13; Luke xiv. 34-35.)

Ye are the salt (of the earth); but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out and to be trodden under foot of men.

49.

(Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13.)

No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

51.

(Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17.)

(Verily I say unto you) : Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law.

52.

(Matt. v. 32; Luke xvi. 18.)

(I say unto you: Whosoever shall put away his wife causeth her to commit adultery, and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

13.

(Matt. vii. 28; viii. 5-10, 13; Luke vii. 1-10.)

He entered into Capernaum, and there came unto him a centurion beseeching him and saying: Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, grievously tormented. He saith unto him: I will come and heal him. The centurion answered and said: Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but speak the word only and my servant shall be healed. For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me, and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my slave: Do this, and he doeth it. When Jesus heard it he marvelled and said to them that followed, (Verily) I say unto you, Not even in Israel have I found such faith. (And Jesus said to the centurion: [Go thy way;] as thou hast believed, be it done unto thee. And the servant was healed in the selfsame hour.)

\* \* \*

17.

(Matt. viii. 19-22; Luke ix. 57-60.)

(Someone said to him) : I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest; and Jesus saith unto him: The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head. Another said to him: Suffer me first to go and bury my father; but he saith unto him: Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead.

18.

(Matt. ix. 37-38; Luke x. 2.)

He saith unto them (or: to his disciples): The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth labourers into his harvest.

16.

(Matt. x. 7; Luke ix. 2; x. 9-11.)

As ye go, preach, saying that the kingdom of God is at hand.

20.

(Matt. x. 12-13; Luke x. 4-6.)

(Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes, and salute no man by the way)... And when ye come into a house, salute it; and if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it; but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.

21.

(Matt. x. 10b; Luke x. 7.)

(And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give); for the labourer is worthy of his hire.

22.

(Matt. x. 15; Luke x. 8-12.)

(...Into whatsoever city ye enter and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you and say unto them: The kingdom of God is at hand. But into whatsoever city ye enter and they receive you not, go your ways out into the streets of the same and say: Even the very dust of your city which cleaveth to our feet do we wipe off against you). (Verily) I say unto you: It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha (or in place of the last six words: Sodom) in that day (or: in the day of judgment) than for that city.

19.

(Matt. v. 16a; Luke x. 3.)

Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves.

34a.

(Matt. x. 26-33; Luke xii. 2-9.)

There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and hid that shall not be known. What I tell you in darkness that speak ye in

light; and what ye hear in the ear that preach ye upon the house-tops. And fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. Are not two (five) sparrows sold for a farthing (two farthings)? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without God. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not (therefore), ye are of (much) more value than (many) sparrows. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will the Son of man (or: I) confess also before the angels of God; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before the angels of God.

34b.

(Matt. xii. 32; Luke xii. 10.)

...And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh (a word) against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him.

38.

(Matt. x. 34-36; Luke xii. 51, 53.)

Think ye that I came to send peace on earth? I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. (And a man's foes shall be they of his own household.)

45.

(Matt. x. 37; Luke xiv. 26.)

(He that loveth father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me.)

46.

(Matt. x. 38; Luke xiv. 27.)

He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me.

57.

(Matt. x. 39; Luke xvii. 33.)

He that findeth his soul<sup>2</sup> shall lose it, and he that loseth his soul shall find it.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew here has  $\tau\eta\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  as in Q, but it is translated "life" in the A.V.

## 10.

(Matt. 24-25; Luke vi. 40.)

The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord.

## [24.]

(Matt. x. 40; Luke x. 16)

(He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.)

\* \* \*

## 14.

(Matt. xi. 2-11; Luke vii. 18-28.)

Now when John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent his disciples and said unto him: Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another? And he answered and said unto them: Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see, the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them; and blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me. And as they departed, he began to say unto the multitudes concerning John: What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind? But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold they that wear soft clothing are in kings' houses! But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet! For this is he of whom it is written: Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. (Verily) I say unto you among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John (the Baptist); notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he...

## 50.

(Matt. xi. 12-13; Luke xvi. 16.)

The prophets and the law were until John; since that time the kingdom of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force (or: From the days of John until now the kingdom of God, etc.: for all the prophets and the law prophesied until John)...

## 15.

(Matt. xi. 16-10; Luke vii. 31-35.)

Whereunto shall I liken this generation (and to what is it like)? It is like unto children sitting in the markets and calling unto their



fellows, saying: We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented. For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say: He hath a devil! The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners! But wisdom is justified of her children.

## 23.

(Matt. xi. 21-23; Luke x. 13-15.)

Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! For if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But (I say unto you) it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon (at the day of judgment, or: at the judgment) than for you. And thou Capernaum shalt thou have been exalted to heaven? To hell shalt thou be cast down!<sup>3</sup>

## 25.

(Matt. xi. 25-27; Luke x. 21-22.)

At that time he said: I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes; even so [I thank thee] Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father, and no man knoweth (the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man) the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.

## 26.

(Matt. xiii. 16-17; Luke x. 23b-24.)

Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and (your) ears, for they hear; (for verily) I say unto you that many prophets (and kings) have desired to see those things which ye see and have not seen them, and to hear those things which ye hear and have not heard them.

## 29.

(Matt. xii. 22-23, 25, 27-28, 30, 43-45; Luke xi. 14, 17, 19, 20, 23-26.)

(He healed) a dumb man possessed with a devil, (insomuch that) the dumb spake and the multitudes (all) were amazed, . . . every

<sup>3</sup> Here Matt. as well as Q uses the form of query and exclamation though the A. V. uses a complex declaratory sentence.

kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation...and if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges. But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you... He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad...When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man he walketh through dry places seeking rest and findeth none. (Then) he saith, I will return into my house from whence I came out; and when he is come he findeth it empty (and) swept and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there, and the last state of that man is worse than the first.

## 30.

(Matt. xii. 38-39, 41-42; Luke xi. 16, 29-32.)

We would see a sign from thee. But he said: An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah. For as Jonah was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation. The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and behold a greater than Jonah is here. The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation and shall condemn it, for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold a greater than Solomon is here.

## 40.

(Matt. xiii. 31-33; Luke xiii. 18-21.)

(Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and to what shall I liken it? It is like to a grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in his field, and it grew and becometh a tree, and the birds of the air lodged in the branches thereof.)

(And again he said): To what shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal till the whole was leavened.

## 44.

Matt. xxiii. 12; Luke xiv. 11.)

Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

42.

(Matt. viii. 11-12; Luke xiii. 28-29.)

I say unto you: They shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

48.

(Matt. xviii. 12-13; Luke xv. 4-7.)

How think ye? If a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine upon the mountains, and go and seek that which has gone astray? And if so be that he find it, (verily) I say unto you he rejoiceth more of it than of the ninety and nine which went not astray.

53.

(Matt. xviii. 7; Luke xvii. 1.)

It must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.

54.

(Matt. xviii. 15, 21-22; Luke, xvii. 3-4.)

If thy brother shall trespass against thee, tell him his fault; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. . . . How oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? till seven times? Jesus saith unto him: I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, Until seventy times seven.

55.

(Matt. xvii. 20b; Luke xvii. 6.)

If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain: Remove from hence to yonder place, and it shall remove.

33.

(Matt. xxiii. 4, 13, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30-32, 34-36; Luke xi. 46, 52, 42, 39, 44, 47-52.)

. . . They bind heavy burdens and lay them on men's shoulders, and they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.

Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye shut up the kingdom of God against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.

Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy.

...Now ye Pharisees! ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.

(Luke xi. 44.) Woe unto you, for ye are as sepulchers which appear not, and the men that walk over them are not aware of them.

(Matt. xxiii. 27.) (Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye are like unto whited sepulchers, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness.)

Woe unto you! because ye build the tombs of the prophets and say: If we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses against yourselves that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets, (and now fulfil the measure of your fathers)!

Wherefore also the Wisdom of God said: I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes; some of them ye shall kill and persecute; that upon you may come all the blood shed upon the earth from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation.

## 43.

(Matt. xxiii. 37-39; Luke xiii. 34-35.)

O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee! How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen (gathereth) her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold your house is left unto you desolate. (For) I say unto you: Ye shall not see me henceforth till (it shall come when) ye shall say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

## 56.

(Matt. xxiv. 26-28, 37-41; Luke xvii. 23-24, 37, 26-27, 34-35.)

Wherefore if they shall say unto you: Behold, he is in the desert! Go ye not forth. Behold, he is in the secret chambers! Believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.

As the days of Noah were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came and took them all away, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. There shall be two in the field, one shall be taken and the other left; two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken and the other left.

## 37.

(Matt. xxiv. 43-51; Luke xii. 39-40, 42-46.)

But know this, that if the goodman of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched and would not have suffered his house to be broken up. (Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh.) Who then is a faithful and wise servant whom his lord hath made ruler over his household to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that servant whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he shall make him rule over all his goods. But and if that (evil) servant shall say in his heart: My lord delayeth his coming, and shall begin to smite his fellow servants, and to eat and drink with the drunken, the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites.

## 58.

(Matt. xxv. 29; Luke xix. 26.)

Unto him (everyone) that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath.

## 59.

(Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 28, 30.)

Ye who have followed me...shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

(Perhaps also the parables of the Great Supper and the Talents stood in Q.)

## THE THEORY OF THE PRE-CHRISTIAN JESUS.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

INASMUCH as the examination of Professor Haupt's arguments<sup>1</sup> for the Aryan descent of the Jesus has legitimately led to a discussion of the origin of the Cult of the Jesus and to a concise indication of my own views on that matter, it seems good to make a very brief summary of the theses in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, in which the proof will be found detailed.

### I.

A. The phrase τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, four times recurrent in the New Testament, means the *Cult (or Doctrine) of the Jesus*, which was zealously preached and taught round the Mediterranean by missionaries entirely independent of Jerusalem and ignorant of any human life of the Jesus as presented in the Gospels (Acts xviii. 24-28).

B. Numerous other evidences in Acts attest unmistakably that the Christian movement did not proceed originally from Jerusalem or even from Palestine as from a unique focus, but simultaneously from many geographically independent foci. Thus the new religion was established in Damascus before Paul went thither (Acts ix. 10-22); thus Aquila and Priscilla were apparently Christians just from Rome (Acts xviii. 1-4). Similarly Elymas (in Paphos) was called Bar-Jesus (son or disciple of Jesus) and was a "pseudo-prophet," which in the New Testament always means a more or less heretical *Christian* teacher.

C. The accounts in Acts ii. 5-13 and viii. 1 ff. confirm the foregoing conclusions as to the practically simultaneous outburst of the propaganda all around the Mediterranean.

D. This becomes intelligible only on the supposition of a widespread secret cult of a Deity, the Jesus (the Saviour-God). The

<sup>1</sup> Haupt, "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus," *Open Court*, April, 1909.



organizations worshipping this Deity were variously named in various places, but were everywhere intent upon the Kingdom of God or of the Heavens, which accordingly appears frequently in the Gospels as a *secret* organization.

[In the present writer's forthcoming book, *Ecce Deus*, this capital matter of the primitive secrecy of the cult receives full treatment, not only the fact but also its reason and necessity being set forth, along with the related fact that the current diction of the Proto-christians was symbolic, as copiously illustrated in the Gospels. It is a misconstruction of this symbolism (by second century ecclesiasticism) that has for 1800 years concealed the true nature of Proto-christianity, which was an organized crusade of Greek-Jewish monotheism against the prevalent polytheism. These early crusaders called their doctrine the *Gnosis*, the knowledge of the one true God "in the person of Christ," under the aspect of the Saviour or Healer (Jesus), who healed humanity of the foul disease of idolatry, described especially as possession by a legion of *demons*, that is, of heathen gods, whose expulsion or overthrow was the mission of the Jesus, as even Justin Martyr bears witness.]

## II.

*A.* The epithet Nazoræus (variously spelled, the oldest spelling being most likely NASARÆUS) is not derived from a "city called Nazareth"; there was in fact no such city at the beginning of our era. The epithet is an appellation primarily of a Deity; it is formed after the analogy of Hebrew proper names ending in *iah*, as Zachariah, the *iah* representing *Jehovah* (pronounced Yahveh, Yahu, or Yah), and is derived from the familiar Old Semitic *nazar* meaning *keep*, *guard*, *protect*, so that the Syriac Nazarya' is very nearly *Guardian-Yah*. The names Jesus and Nazaræus differ about as *Salvator* and *Servator*.

*B.* The Nazarenes (or Nasarees) were in all likelihood the worshipers of Nazarya' and according to Epiphanius were "before Christ and knew not Christ." They are mentioned in Acts xxiv. 5, and Paul was one of them. They seem to have been hardly distinguishable from the *Jessees* also mentioned by Epiphanius, apparently an early name for the worshipers of the Jesus. Amid some uncertainty of detail the ground-fact that Nazaree is derived from the Hebrew stem N-z-r, meaning *protect*, remains indubitable.

*C.* The name "Jesus" as "the God of the Hebrews" is invoked in a very old "Hebraic word" derived from the Essenes and with

practical certainty uninfluenced by Christianity and dating from before our era.

D. The name Nazaria occurs in a very old magic papyrus copied from an extremely old original, which we have no reason for dating below the beginning of our era.

### III.

A. The primitive reference of the term *Anastasis* (upraising) was not to any resurrection from the dead but to establishment, installation in authority and power. The expression "God hath raised up Jesus," a slogan of the primitive propaganda, was originally exactly parallel both in Greek and in Hebrew with "God hath raised up David," "God hath raised up a prophet," and referred to the induction of the Jesus into the functions of world-ruler, vice-Jehovah, plenipotentiary delegate of Deity. This primal sense is still preserved in certain passages in Acts, as v. 30, xiii. 23 (where *ἤγειρε* is attested by many very old witnesses). The reference to a resurrection from the dead is a later turn given to the ambiguous phrase, as indicated by the loose connection and uncertain textual warrant of the words "from the dead" (*ἐκ νεκρῶν*).

B. The "Coming of the Kingdom," or the "Parousia of the Coming One," referred primarily to the establishment of the new Deity (the Jesus) in power on earth, as already established (by decree of God, Rom. i. 4) in heaven (Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, as in heaven also on earth). There was only *one* such Coming. The notion of a *second* Coming crept in late and formed no part of the primitive preaching. It was superinduced upon the original framework to glaze over a disagreeable contradiction of history (2 Peter iii. 4).

C. Similarly the primitive conception of the sudden instantaneous and catastrophic Coming was transformed into the later notion of gradual development, like the fermentation of leaven;—the germ of this notion was given in the original secrecy of the propaganda.

### IV.

The Parable of the Sower in its original form contained only three classes (those choked by the weeds being a later insertion) and referred not to any preaching of the Word but to the creation of the human race. The Sower was God himself, the Word sown was the spermatoc or seminal Logos so frequent in the Stoics and Philo and even in the New Testament and Justin Martyr, the active

Principle of history, which was in gnostic theory sown down into the world and which sprang up in three classes of men: the "choic" or earthly, the "psychic" or animal, and the "pneumatic" or spiritual. These "psychics (men of soul) who have not spirit" meet us in Jude xix., and the *psychic* as opposed to the *pneumatic* body in 1 Cor. xv. 44-46.

## V.

The Epistle to the Romans in its present form was a comparatively late addition to the New Testament, as attested and certified by a great variety of facts. It was never cited by the early Christian writers, even where citation was most urgently indicated, and seems to have been unknown (even in Rome) for nearly one hundred years after its supposed composition by St. Paul. But much of the material out of which it was set together was much older, some of it dating perhaps from a time prior to the beginning of our era. In this connection the reader's attention may be called to the writer's three memoirs on this epistle in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1901, 1902); to one on the same epistle in the *Hibbert Journal*, No. 2, and to two memoirs on the Pauline manuscripts F and G, in the *American Journal of Theology*, July and October, 1903.

## IN REPLY TO A CRITIC.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE EDITOR.

IN criticizing my little book *The Pleroma*, Dr. Benjamin Wisner Bacon, Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Yale University, speaks of my "superficiality and inaccuracy," and to prove his contention picks out four sentences, designating them "as egregious misstatements of facts and unwarranted inferences." The first quotation (made from the footnote on page 44) is this:

"Justin Martyr wrote a book *on Simon Magus* entitled *Syntagma*."

What we know of Simon Magus is based first upon the Acts of the Apostles viii. 9-10; then upon passages in the Church Fathers, mainly Origen and Justin Martyr. The latter mentions Simon Magus *passim* in several of his extant writings but he gave the most complete account of him in a book entitled the *Syntagma*, which is now lost. This is a fact which has never been questioned, and it is attested by Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Tertullian, pseudo-Tertullian, Epiphanius and Philastrius, who in their references to Simon Magus and the Simonians have preserved in extracts much of the contents of this book. It is therefore no mere hypothesis to assume that the bulk of the book was devoted to this arch heretic.

The italics "*on Simon Magus*" in the quoted sentence are not mine. They were made by Professor Bacon and are misleading because they give the impression that I had thought the *Syntagma* was entitled "*On Simon Magus*," or at least that it treated of him alone, not of his sect nor any kindred heretics. I cannot believe that Professor Bacon questions Justin Martyr's authorship of the *Syntagma*, but if he means to say that the book treated, not only of Simon Magus, but also of the Simonians and kindred heretics he is quibbling.

The second quotation (taken from page 45) reads thus:

<sup>1</sup> The review to which this article refers appeared in the *Yale Divinity Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 4, pp. 131-132.

"The genuineness of his (Philo's) reports (in the *De Vita Contemplativa*) has been questioned by Eusebius."

Here I gladly own that Professor Bacon put his finger on a passage which is somehow twisted. I acknowledge my mistake and do so gladly, because it affords me an opportunity to prove to my critic that I am grateful for corrections. I do not mind criticism, but I do resent the spirit in which he administers his censures.

In reading the passage over I find that there is something wrong with it. I have discussed the same problem in *Monist*, VIII, 510, where the facts have been stated correctly, although Eusebius is not mentioned. In the present case the word Therapeuts<sup>2</sup> is misspelled and "authority" should read "authorship." It appears that a few words have fallen out which has twisted the sense. What I intended to write is really this:

"In his *De vita contemplativa*, Philo tells us of the Therapeuts in Egypt who led a life of holiness, religious contemplation and divine worship, anticipating so much that is commonly regarded as Christian, that the date and authorship of the book have been questioned by Graetz, Lucius and others. Eusebius discusses Philo's report at length (*Eccl. Hist.*, II, 17) and comes to the conclusion that the Therapeuts must have been Christians. His view, however, rests upon a weak foundation, etc."

I am quite dumfounded that Professor Bacon can find any objection to the third sentence, which he quotes from page 45:

"We have still the Scriptural evidence that Christianity has developed from the Zabian movement."

What possible fault can be found in this statement is inconceivable to me. The average public may not know that the Zabians<sup>3</sup> are called by the Greek writers and in the New Testament "baptizers," and the leader of the Zabians in Palestine was John the Baptist. I have explained the name Zabian on page 35, and I have used it in preference to the Greek name *baptistes*<sup>4</sup> for good reasons. This is no mere whim of mine but I follow in this the well-established authority of the good old orthodox professor Neander. What, then, can Professor Bacon's objection be? Would he really deny that the Christianity of Jesus himself, and of the congregation at Jerusalem, developed from the Baptizers or Zabians, and do we not have scrip-

<sup>2</sup> The common transcription of the name "Therapeutae, *fcm.* Therapeutides," is so awkward that I prefer to anglicize the name. The form "Therapeuts" commends itself for the same reason that "Heraclids" is better than "Heraclidae."

<sup>3</sup> From צבאי. *tsaba'*, the Z is to be pronounced *ts* as *z* in German.

<sup>4</sup> Βαπτιστής.

tural evidence that Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist, i. e., the Baptizer or Zabian?

The fourth and last quotation, culled from page 46, reads thus:

"It is absolutely excluded that Nazarenes can mean men born in Nazareth."

Please consider the context of this sentence. Since we know that early Christians were called Nazarenes and that the Apostle Paul, who was born in Tarsus, is called in Acts xxiv. 5 "a ringleader of the sect of Nazarenes," the name Nazarene designates the *sect* from which Christianity sprang and can not mean men of Nazareth. Does Professor Bacon intimate that Paul as well as all the Nazarenes in Jerusalem were natives of Nazareth?<sup>5</sup> Of course I do not mean to deny that the word can be wrongly used to mean anything.

There are some further comments in Professor Bacon's review which are unfair. He speaks of "misprints which occur with almost every line of Greek quotation." The truth is that there are three typographical mistakes in the whole book, and they are so slight that they can not mislead any one who is familiar with the elements of Greek. They are (p. 29) ἀρχηὸς for ἀρχηγός; τελευθεῖς ἀγένετο for τελευθεῖς ἐγένετο; and on page 38, ὁφει for ὅφει. There are two other words in which the spacing is poor.<sup>6</sup> If in the whole book there are any further mistakes, Professor Bacon should be kind enough to point them out.

Considering the trivial character of the Greek misprints we feel justified in saying that Professor Bacon makes a mountain of a molehill, and his statement that "misprints occur with almost every line of Greek quotations" insinuates that the Greek quotations are unreliable and that the author does not know Greek. Since Professor Bacon must know enough Greek to see that all other Greek quotations are correct and assuming that he is not guilty of intentional exaggeration, there seems to be something wrong with his arithmetic.

Another statement which produces on the reader a wrong impression of the book is the following sentence:

"Dr. Carus puts in striking and popular form much that might escape the general reader in Gunkel, Pflleiderer, Cumont, Dieterich,<sup>7</sup> Rohde, Friedlander and Reitzenstein."

<sup>5</sup> I have discussed the subject of Nazarenes, Nazirs and Nazareth in a small pamphlet entitled *The Age of Christ*, pp. 8-17.

<sup>6</sup> On page 44 there ought to be a space before ἡ and on page 39 there ought to be no space in ἀγαθοδαίμων.

<sup>7</sup> I would naturally pass over in silence this misprint of an additional *cr*, but it strikes me that one who so severely criticizes a few wrong accents in Greek quotations ought to be a better proofreader himself.



Professor Bacon gives me too much credit here for breadth of reading. Of this list I have utilized in my theological labors only Gunkel and Cumont. Professor Pfeiderer was a personal friend of mine. I have his books and am generally familiar with his views, but on some essential points it is not probable that he would have accepted my conclusions. The other authors have not found a place in my library.

I will make only one further statement. Professor Bacon characterizes me thus:

"He is deeply interested in the results of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule and promptly convinced that everything in Christianity has been explained by the data of comparative religion."

I will say that the authorities on which I rely in my own investigations are mostly the old and well-established orthodox standard works, and I fall back on what Professor Bacon calls *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* mainly where new data are to be considered, such as the lessons of Babylonian excavations, of Mithraistic documents, and other comparatively recent studies of the religions of Further Asia which were unknown in former days. I consider it even a shortcoming of mine that in certain lines I neglect the younger generation. I state most positively that my views are not taken from them, nor do I anticipate that they have anywhere set forth the same views. But that I should be "promptly convinced that everything in Christianity can be explained by the data of comparative religion" is an assumption for which Professor Bacon has no warrant. He simply imagines that this ought to be the position of a heretic such as he seems to consider me. I believe that Christianity as well as any other religion can be explained only from a philosophical and psychological point of view. The historical data are of great importance, yea they are indispensable for a comprehension of the historical development of Christianity, but no historian will have a sound judgment, unless he is well grounded in philosophy, and in its main branch, psychology, the latter in the widest sense of the word, including the psychology of historic movements. Without a general scientific education every attempt at explaining religion and the phenomena of religious belief will be futile.

I would have ignored Professor Bacon's criticism did he not enunciate his verdicts with so much assurance and in so high-handed a manner, and were he not "Professor of New Testament criticism and interpretation," which lends authority to his contentions.

I have so far limited my comments on Professor Bacon's criticisms to replies to his remarks, but I ought to refer to his own book

on *The Founding of the Church*, which supplies me with enough illustrative matter to explain the psychology of his attitude toward my own views.

This book has been reviewed in most glowing terms in the *Yale Divinity Quarterly* by Prof. A. C. McGiffert, and as an antidote to my own remarks I will quote from it this passage: "He has set forth the primitive Christian situation in a most clarifying fashion. The importance of his labors in the New Testament field is recognized on both sides of the Atlantic, and, in discussing such a subject as the founding of the Church he speaks with an authority born of long and familiar acquaintance."

The *Yale Divinity Quarterly* is "published by the students of the Divinity School of Yale University," and to the editors Professor Bacon, being a member of the faculty, is naturally a welcome contributor and great authority. We gladly believe that Professor Bacon's views are recognized on both sides of the Atlantic, but the praise on the other side is not quite so universally unqualified as Professor McGiffert says, as is borne out by some reviews in English periodicals which have happened to come to our notice.

Professor McGiffert grants that many matters are still in controversy, and so he declares it "impossible to enter upon a discussion of disputed points" with his colleague, but he characterizes the book in a number of quotations from which I copy the following: "Thus the exemplification in Jesus's life and teaching of the principle of self-denying service, followed by the manifestation of Him as the Son of God with power... supplied a complete gospel, a perfect revelation of human duty and destiny. It was in the assured possession of that common twofold gospel, the gospel of Jesus and the gospel about Jesus, that Paul could write: 'There is one body, and one Spirit,' etc. (p. 62).—"Peter was the founder of the Church, as Jesus was the founder of the Kingdom of God. The humbler the originator, the more sure we are that his work was just what it has always purported to be; the awakening, the reincarnation, of the spirit of Jesus. If anything has been made clear by our study, it is that nothing went to the building of the Church which was not placed there in loyal perpetuation of the teaching and example of Jesus. Its faith, its principle of order, its institutions, its work, were all from him. Even its leaders and its members were his old-time companions and fellow-workers in the gathering of the lost sheep. What else could they do? Other foundation could no man lay than that was laid, which was Christ Jesus" (p. 86).

I do not blame Professor Bacon for taking another view of the

problem; but I believe it is the duty of every scholar to treat with charity those who approach a problem from a different standpoint. This charity is lacking in Professor Bacon, and where he ought to see the results of a different viewpoint he reproaches me with superficiality and inaccuracy. I find many details in Professor Bacon's book for which I could take him to task as he has done me.

I hope that an impartial reader will find in my little book *The Pleroma* a refutation of his one-sided view, and perhaps I ought not to blame Professor Bacon for the irritated tone of his criticism. I will quote from his book one more passage which, as Professor McGiffert rightly says, clearly states the author's opinion. Professor Bacon says:

"But there is one definite critical moment which marks the founding of the Church, if by that we mean the emergence of the Christian brotherhood into a consciousness of its separate existence and mission to the world. It is the 'turning again' of Simon Peter. Down to the moment when the risen Lord appeared to Cephas, the cause of Jesus never rose before the world as its day-star. Even as Israel's, it had set in utter darkness. Not a follower remained. There was nothing whatever to justify the hope that Jesus' words would not pass away as scribe and priest were convinced they would—nothing but the prayer: 'Simon, I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not. And when thou art turned again, stablish thy brethren.' The rock foundation of the Church was the faith of Simon Peter" (p. 23).

To characterize the difference in our views I will quote only one paragraph from *The Pleroma* (p. 126):

"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,"—or, I may add, "the faith of Simon Peter."

Christianity is like a great stream which gathers tributaries from many quarters. It focuses the essential ideas of pre-Christian religions into a new and higher unity and so I see in Christianity the *pleroma* or fulfilment of the times. It is the result of the sum total of historical conditions according to the cosmic law, the Logos,

which dominates the religious development, not of the Jews alone, but of mankind.

Professor Bacon makes a one horse shay of this great movement in saying that if Simon Peter had not "turned again," or if thereupon he had not "stablished the brethren," there would be no Christianity to-day. If we would only stop the source of the Mississippi the harbor in New Orleans would dry up.

Professor Bacon's ultimate test of historical truth is his conception of Jesus as "the champion of the plain men" whose sane mind is reflected in the Sermon on the Mount. We see a pre-Christian Christ conception originate and develop according to the views of successive ages, and the biographical data of Jesus are more and more made to correspond to this ideal.

Jesus has become a superpersonality<sup>a</sup> in the history of the Christian church and as such he is a presence in the minds of the people possessing a decided educational influence. Superpersonalities may be powers of nature personified by mythology as gods or by the legend lore of a nation as heroes, as was Heracles for instance in ancient Greece, Osiris in Egypt, Tammuz in Syria, etc., and the supreme superpersonality of the Christian church is Jesus Christ. It is not necessary for a superpersonality to be founded upon an historical character, but they often are, and it is not infrequent that historical personages change at death into superpersonalities.

For the sake of solving the Christ problem of Christian theology it is most essential for us to understand the nature of superpersonality, and we must remember that Jesus the man is less important in the efficiency of this ideal than Christ as a living presence of a superpersonal nature.

The main mistake of theologians in approaching the Christ problem consists in their lack of appreciation of Christ as a superpersonality. It gives rise on the one hand to the fear of losing Christ if the historical Jesus be lost, and it hampers both the orthodox and liberal camps in judging of the spiritual needs of Christian believers as well as the actual part played by Christ in satisfying this need in both the life of individuals and the history of the world.

I have only to add that if Professor Bacon wishes to make a reply, the columns of *The Open Court* shall be open to him. I assure him that I shall be grateful for every error he will point out in my writings and he need not suppress even his reflections.

<sup>a</sup> In explanation of the meaning of this expression we refer our readers to an article "Person and Personality" in the July *Monist* in which the nature of superpersonality has been discussed on pp. 389 ff.





CHRIST THE PHYSICIAN.

By Gabriel Max.

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 11.)

NOVEMBER, 1910.

NO. 654.

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## THE BIBLE AND THE FUTURE PULPIT.

BY NATHANIEL I. RUBINKAM, PH. D.

ABOUT twenty years ago a professor in a German University asked me why it was that America, which had forged ahead in scientific inventions and industrial activities, had developed so slowly in its religious interpretations. I replied that when America should make a start in the forward religious movement it would proceed very rapidly.

This prophecy has been more than fulfilled during the past two decades. The so-called heresies of Professor Swing, Dr. Thomas and others, rejected a short generation ago, would be regarded as conservatism to-day. The right, in this age, to challenge time-honored ideas has emboldened our oldest institutions. Young men are being ordained by the most conservative churches, though they openly deny the very doctrines which a generation ago were taught us, and were declared to be the very cornerstones of Christianity. The church has chosen between the Bible as an infallible guide to faith, and the young men, and has accepted the latter, whereas, formerly it had taken the opposite course.

A hundred years ago, the poet Shelley, an undergraduate student of Oxford, was expelled from the university because of his "atheism." Browning thinks of Shelley's spirit as essentially Christian, because "so unlimited are his ideals and so imaginary his paradises." And yet so radical was his mental protest against the anthropomorphic theism of the Christian theology about him, and against the "aspirants to fat livings and ecclesiastical dignities," that he wrote himself down an atheist. No thinking man is, of course, an atheist in the strict sense of the term, when facing the fundamental

problems concerning life and the universe about him. But myriads have developed sincere atheistic views with regard to the ancient national gods, the triune deity of Medievalism, and all the pantheons constructed by religious imagination.

The treatment of Shelley by the dons of his day stands in sharp contrast with the judgment of our great American universities a century later, which declare that an interference with the intellectual liberty of even our professors is no longer tolerable.

It is but natural that the great thought-movements of the world should be controlled by the universities. Our institutions of learning move slowly with respect to radical changes, and are our bulwarks of conservatism. The newer conceptions generally originate with the laity, and with the poets. A deep feeling, an appreciation of an inner world-impulse, finds here and there an expression and an apostle. It is, however, only when such ideas are appropriated by the conservative university centers, and are clothed with the authority of scholarly sanction, that they become a pillar of light to lead the masses out of the darkness, and out of intellectual bondage.

This is the stage which is being reached in our American world. Our universities are fast becoming the champions of education untrammelled by tradition. It is one of the signs of our times and an evangel of national progress.

What an age-long tragedy that faith and religion, these great virtues of the human race, should have been fettered by a compulsion to a belief in incredibilities! This has resulted in the paradox that the most religious men—a Julian, a Spinoza, a Shelley—have been branded as the greatest of "infidels." Their infidelity has no reference to the universe but is directed against the common melodramatic verbiage of religious books, and against evanescent popular beliefs. Since the earliest Christian centuries it has consisted mainly in the protest of honest minds against lordship over faith.

Myriads of men who have loved the church because it is their foster mother, have withdrawn from its fold because their minds have come into absolute and complete revolt against the doctrines it has imposed.

The church to-day is learning that doctrinal confessions are not an integral part of religion. Essentially religion is a higher esthetic. It is the outcry of the soul for recognition in the universe, just as it craves beauty through art, harmony through the musical instinct; an outcry as needful to the soul as the ethical craving for the true and pure. The essential principle in religion is the *ἀγαθή*.

the love which is the greatest thing in the world, the love which aspires and inspires, which gives, labors, suffers, endures, triumphs. When the church learns this fully, its doors may again be opened and its lost children return, perhaps to save it and link it in completest accord with democracy and modern science. It is sincerely to be hoped that religion will not always remain a separating force, but will become a unifying principle in the human race.

We take it for granted that the pulpit aspires to be an uplifting and educative power in future society; that it will not submit to become simply *passé* and forceless in the modern world. But if it is not to die, its prophets must show by their work that they are a part of this age. They must deal with the live present as their text, rather than with a dead past. They must propagate truth in terms of present day needs. The task of the future pulpit must be no less than to teach men *how to live*.

Under whatever designation the coming religious community will act, its theme will be life. God will be interpreted in terms of life. The pulpit will discuss questions which immediately affect humanity. The present-world issues will be contemplated as eminently religious. A minister who has just abandoned his pulpit makes the following plaint:

"The church has undeniably lost its hold on the people, because for many years it has had no definite policy on any vital problem. It has been interested in its theology, discussing its creeds and attempting to build up its denominations rather than to minister to the real needs of men."

I do not think this can be successfully disputed. In fact, in an editorial, evidently from a Catholic point of view, this minister is called an "infidel," and is declared to have no place in the Christian pulpit, because he does not look upon "all vices of the social system as a part of our inheritance from Adam," and "does not regard life as a preparation for eternity." A prominent Cardinal is startled that the world to-day, struggling for the freedom of woman, is not following the literal views of Jesus with respect to divorce. Every needed political and social reform has to contend with an array of objections based on Biblical quotations. By this persistent method of making the theory or dictum of a far-distant past the final solution of contemporary problems, the pulpit, in the public consciousness, has lost its message to the modern man.

In the light of the hypothesis of evolution, which teaches that we are in the center of an infinite world-struggle, that man must cure his life-evils by unselfishness; and midst the constant bettering

of conditions, the pulpit with only the past dogmatic message, sinks in importance and loses its hold upon the race.

Modern progress is offering to the pulpit a new gospel. If it will accept it, it will again attain to one of the world's great forces. The central theme that our *Zeitgeist* compels is: How to live so as to fulfil the best individual and social destiny.

\* \* \*

1. Its most rudimentary, fundamental and vital problems center around man's physical well-being—how to live the best *physical life*. The life of the body is the basis of the life of the spirit. The health of the body is a condition of spiritual health. Formerly sickness and suffering were thought of as a punishment for sin, or a discipline from a father above who chastens whom he loves. Consumption has been seriously discussed as a desirable disease, as it is the least painful and leaves the mind clear to prepare for another world. But all this is opposed to the genius of the modern age in its war upon bodily ills.

Professor Huxley prophesied the day when illness would be considered a crime. To-day the fact is upon us that a sound body is the best condition of a sound mind. The best medical science teaches the duty of stamping out the disastrous maladies which formerly swept away vast multitudes. Physicians agree that "physical health is the basis of mental and moral integrity," and that "the question of public health is the vital question connected with social and moral progress." A community's health is its force. A nation's physique is the first requisite of its strength and effectiveness.

Why is it that the modern pulpit has taken so little interest in the health movement, and even, in instances, warns its hearers against "the danger of the gospel of the body"?

Recently a three months' tour through our middle West, devoted largely to a study of these problems, furnished evidence not entirely encouraging to one who still has faith in the possibilities of the pulpit.

In a town of two hundred thousand people, there was a meeting of the "Health League," which was one of the most interesting of gatherings. Physicians and philanthropic citizens were assembled. Only one minister was there, the Reformed Hebrew Rabbi, who made the main address. It seemed to the writer that every clergyman of the city who was disengaged should have been present. He could not understand why the League should hire a hall when the

numerous churches in the neighborhood stood closed. The strangest fact was that when the sentiment of the evening alluded to the city pulpit, if it showed not a direct enmity on the part of the clergy, there was a reflection upon the indifference of the men of the cloth to the work of the League; and yet, any clergyman could have gained there a splendid text for his next Sunday's sermon. The unsanitary environments of school buildings, the immorality consequent upon the indiscriminate mingling of the sexes at the outhouses were reported. These conditions lie at the basis of the religious and ethical life of the community.

Then was discussed the question of food, its preparation, the evils of high living, the care of the body, the teeth, etc., as fundamental to the higher life. No pulpit which is keenly discerning the signs of the times, and is awake to conditions which are moulding this generation, can afford to slight such themes.

In another city a Wednesday evening was given to an observation of the working of this principle. A Christian Science meeting was the first attended. On the very hot night the little church building was almost filled with a very interested group, and at least half the audience were young people. In the testimonies each speaker had some "manifestation" to relate. Since they had taken up Christian Science they had been able to lay aside their eye glasses; and other physical weaknesses and diseases had fallen away, because their existence had been denied. While not accepting their philosophy, we recognized the theme as eminently practical.

Next a great church in the immediate neighborhood was visited, and in a musty basement a very few old men and women with their pastor had for an hour been trying to measure up their spiritual life with some familiar Biblical ideal three thousand years back, and seemed to have had a rather dismal time with the process. To the writer they seemed to be wrestling with a problem disconnected from the present struggles of this world. This seemed to be the difference between the two meetings. It could not be denied that the first gathering had to do with a live theme—the health of the body.

The great Grecian tragedian Sophocles became a priest of Æsculapius, because this god of health was supposed to be his physician and to keep his body in order down to a good old age. The reaction against the old church methods by Christian Science and the systems of Psycho-therapeutics arising everywhere are a sign of the times—a reaction toward the treatment of the contemporary and tangible in life.

We do not mean that the preacher is called on to be a professional physician. Dr. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, received the degree of M. D. from his university, not because the great educator is a trained physician, but because he is a patron of the medical science, and finding "the medical institution brick, he left it marble."

All religions began with the gospel of the body. Every early prophet must prove his call to preach because he was a healer. Both Jesus and Æsculapius were healers, and both were reputed by their followers, also to raise the dead to life. Bodily health is the condition of spiritual health, and in all communities the preacher can have a theme of present vital and eternal interest as the guardian of the physical well being of individuals and of the community.

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2. The future pulpit will teach the people how to live *mentally*.

Pres. Nicolas Murray Butler, in a noted address before the National Educational assembly at Denver, in July, said:

"There are only two really deep-seated and influential enemies of human happiness, and human order—ignorance and selfishness."

The pulpit in the past has not been noted for dispelling ignorance. In fact there has been a deep-seated historical conviction that the purpose of religion has been to keep the people in ignorance. President White's great book on *The Warfare of Science with Theology* has become a classic. Every scientific discovery in the Christian ages has had its most determined foe in the church, because the new thought was supposed to negative some dogma in "revealed" religion.

In the writer's diligent visits to the churches during a long vacation, he found almost no mental value to him in the pulpit utterances. The traditional habit of taking a text from a pre-Copernican and pre-evolutionary volume and making it the basis of a homily and exhortation is too arid for the edification of a modern man. In one of our cities, after listening for a week to a series of most instructive lectures by a professor, in a schoolteachers' convention, the contrast, when Sunday came, with the dearth of ideas from the pulpit, was positively painful in its effect. To my mind the cause is in the fact that the pulpit message was not inspired with a contemporaneous spirit.

Mr. Hugh C. Weir, in an article in *Putnam's Magazine* for July, on "The Church Crisis" commends the modern institutional church, in its advance over the old church methods. The old church



sought to compress the world within the circle of the Bible. Instead of this, he approves the method of the institutional church, which makes the Bible the center of a great human circle of activities.

But we need a bolder analysis. One cannot successfully use a book two thousand years old as a central *motif* in modern thinking.

The writer well remembers the shock which came to him years ago when he was started out from the theological seminary with the Bible as a text-book. He was soon confronted by a very intelligent young man of his congregation who had been reading archeological and other scientific works and asked a question involving the chronology of the Bible, in comparison with the results of modern research. I did not call him an "infidel." He was my friend, and I kept him so. Then began the examination of religious documents, and the revision of beliefs, which led the writer outside of all his theological training, and finally out of the boundaries of the ordinary pulpit, and beyond the pale of "revealed" religions.

The subject of any message truly prophetic must be contemporaneous. For this we have the sanction of all successful prophets of the past. What ancient prophet took his theme from a document crystallized into a text-book milleniums prior to his day? He made the facts of life at the moment of his utterance the basis of his teaching. The future pulpit untrammelled by the past will endeavor, on the foundations of known science, to keep the people on a correct psychic balance upon those questions of life the import of which is self-evident.

\* \* \*

3. The future pulpit will teach men how to live *socially, economically, politically*.

We have gone far enough for our argument to be perfectly plain. To say nothing of the early world of the Greeks, Hindus, Chinese, Egyptians, we all know that the great Hebrew prophets were practical sociologists, economists, politicians, according to their light and their day. Hosea, Amos, Isaiah and Micah took no texts from past history. They were absorbed with the present social, economic and political problems with which every one of their contemporaries was conversant. They made their age and its issues their text and theme and plunged into the task of their solution. To-day they would choose for their subject the burning questions of the hour and care very little for ancient Hebrew history, except for occasional illustration. The habits of the people before their eyes, the excesses, the ornaments, the extravagances of the rich,

also the relation of the nation to the surrounding world-powers—these and similar live themes were those with which the effective prophet dealt. The plaint of a minister who left his pulpit in order to come into contact with the present world, has a serious indictment:

"The church is neither for nor against the enforcement of law; it has no opinion whatever on the labor problem. It is not back of any organization of men to get their rights, etc., etc. The minister must not preach about socialism. He must withdraw himself from the active affairs which should claim the attention of a clergyman, as well as every other man."

It is indisputable that the ordinary minister either lacks opinion or the courage and energy to express it. Some ministers, and this is the temptation of the professorial preacher, often hide their opinion behind some ancient Biblical chapter, which describes similar conditions, and thus make the Bible voice the opinions which would give offense if uttered from the standpoint of the personal present prophet. This is better than nothing, but it is cowardly, ineffective and lacks the true courage of the live teacher.

There are here and there exceptions. One minister gave up his Sunday evenings to social, economic and political subjects, making these, instead of the ancient text, the central theme. His audience soon increased from sixty to six hundred. Socialists, trades-unionists and other interested modern minds, trooped in to learn, and immediately a vast opportunity was opened to him. He was, however, severely criticised for using "world-methods," as sensational and as apart from his spiritual calling; and it is a question how soon he will be forced to sacrifice his post. But the pulpit is to learn that *right thinking*, as well as good health are necessary to the higher life, and are the legitimate and true method of prophetic work.

The old method of text-taking, often led to genuine jugglery. A pulpit orator of the past generation became a great adept at choosing a text. Desiring to preach on the relation of the Blue and the Gray, he had only to look in his concordance to find the words of Isaiah xliii. 6: "I will say to the North, give up, and to the South, keep not back." Such choices of text were looked on as ingenious. But in reality a true exegesis of the text would make it inappropriate, and at best the method is tricky and undignified.

There is a realm in higher sociology, economics, and also in politics both national and international, where society needs competent guides. This is a great field for the pulpit. The writer will yield to no man his respect for the Bible as an ancient literary

document. He has given to it more years of study than to any other one book. It is, however, because of its antiquity, a book for the scholars to dispute over, and not a book in whose thought, habit and environment the people are living and thinking to-day. Long scientific study of the ancient Scripture teaches that it can not be understood except by life-enduring critical work, and that when you have finished your life-task you will find that other scholars as diligent, sincere and efficient as yourself will differ radically with your conclusions. For this reason the man who is not a specialist and has no time for investigation is not in a position to subscribe to any special theory of the Bible.

But I was impressed with the themes in which the masses of the American people are interested to-day. At eight o'clock in the morning, in the cars which skirt the west bank of the Mississippi river, I saw the men and women devouring the contents of our Chicago Newspapers, hurried to them with such astounding enterprise—the news of divorce courts, the automobile accidents, the growing skill in air-ships, the sport world, the markets, the tariff problem, the latest scientific discovery, reports of travel, national and international politics—these are the themes which are riveting the people's attention. They need wise interpreters to understand their meaning. In these complex and strenuous times the eight million women of the International Union are even abandoning the solution of the obscurities of Browning, for the cleaning up of our world, the education, sanitation, exercise of children, and the betterment of society. The people need wise readers of the signs of the times, and this, in our view, is the call of the modern pulpit. Religion is the cry for satisfaction, which rises to our ears from the world's children. Sin, in this age, is looked upon as a pathological condition—a hurt of the mind—to be healed not by any ancient world-saviours, but by present-day altruism, by education, and this is the opportunity of the wise and advantaged classes.

As has been said in regard to the Old Testament, so I would say of the character of Jesus—I yield to no man in reverence for the exalted picture which has been painted upon the antique sky. But the average man or woman to-day has no possibility of judging its reality. The problem of Jesus is becoming more and more the dispute of scholars, and it is most tragic and pathetic to make any opinion of it a test in religion.

"Who is Jesus?" was asked of a savant who had spent a lifetime in studying the original historic foundations of Christianity. His reply was: "He is the very God, the second person of the

divine Trinity." "Who is Jesus?" was asked of another specialist in a long study of Christology. He answered promptly: "He is a mere man, born not supernaturally at Bethlehem, but the natural son of Joseph and Mary at Nazareth." "Who is Jesus?" was asked of a third life-delver in ancient histories, documents, languages, criticisms of evidence. Still more earnest came his answer: "Jesus is a myth. He never existed. There is no place for him in history. He is the creation of the imagination of the early centuries of our era."

These answers, we must admit, are all sincere, by equally earnest and trustworthy students. They each come to the modern pulpit and advocate their claims between which there is an impassable gulf. What is the merchant, the professional man absorbed in present-day problems, or the busy housewife to do, except to judge by the character of the advocates or the eloquence of their arguments, or else resign the entire question as valueless, so far as the essential, or test of religion, is concerned?

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4. The pulpit has also a mission to help the people to live *esthetically*. A smaller but an important number of persons in refined communities are interested in art, in music, in literature. Here also the preacher should serve as a guide. Within this realm is included the Bible as art and literature—its poetry, mythology, its world-views, its prophetic messages, its narratives, its epistolary utterances. But it is only one of the world's books. It is one of the best of the antique witnesses to the cry of the soul. The Hebrews adopted and adapted the ideas of the further Orient, as well as of the Egyptian and Greek thought, and were adepts in their exclusions. The translation of Jahwe by "The Lord" in our English version has peculiarly singled out the national Hebrew divinity from all the old-world pantheons as the one object of universal worship, in the liturgies of our Western world.

The New Testament writers mingled Greek philosophy with Hebrew mysticism. The stories of Jesus, written after the Pauline epistles, and according to the most conservative estimate a half century to two centuries after the character existed, present as nearly a perfect personality as it was possible for the pens of the age to construct. They even made John the Baptist declare that not he but his successor was the Messiah. The preacher has here a critical and delicate task. If he interprets all this character-perfection as an evidence of deity, the people may be kept in ignorance.

To make this body of ancient writings, admirable but misunderstood, disputed at every point by scholars, authoritative in religion, a rule of faith, or a test of piety, is one of the tragedies of the ages!

The question is asked: "What will take the place of the Bible?" Who in modern days can write a new Bible to substitute for the old? We answer: No one book need hold such a place, and no one could compose or compile such a book. The entire past and present, and each new day in the fast growing world, each fact and object, adds a new verse to the world's Bible. No other department of human inquiry has crystallized into one book, and surely the idea of one book in religion limits and stifles this most universal aspiration.

It is evident that this conception will enlarge the sphere of studies in the training of students for the pulpit. All such students should have the benefit of the post graduate work in the university. Young men who are to cope with the present age must be adequately prepared. Some will specialize in the ancient and classical languages, documents and the books of past religions, in preparation for scholastic research and teaching. Those intending to enter the pulpit should specialize in sociology, in economics, in international politics, in literature and in the interpretation of world events. The mind of each man will be left free to formulate its own ideas, new every day, different, higher as the years grow on. The constant cry of the soul is the religion, the hunger which can only be satisfied with an ever newer higher supply.

Two veteran Americans, as representative as any two men on our continent, have recently outlined the negative and positive elements of the religion which the thinking Western world has long cherished, and to which the future pulpit may find its effective appeal: The eminent ex-president of Harvard, the conservative university man, the teacher of American teachers, says: "In the new religion there will be no supernatural element. In all its theory and in all its practice, it will be completely natural." And Mark Twain, the veteran American humorist, also the practical American philosopher, gives a sound religious formula, with which every preacher may begin: "Diligently train your ideals upward toward a summit where you will find your chiefest pleasure in conduct which while contenting you, will be sure to confer benefits upon your neighbors and the community."

## THE LOYALTY OF CLERGYMEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

DR. N. I. Rubinkam was a clergyman who for many years attended to the duties of preacher and pastor in faithful allegiance to his church. As he grew more liberal he felt less and less at home in the pulpit. He realized that he was expected to stand for a world-conception which was antiquated, and finally he severed the tie which, at the beginning of his career, was so dear to him. He felt in honor bound to relinquish the charge which he could no longer honestly fulfil, and since he hated prevarication of any kind he gave up his position and left the church.

In the course of time the churches have grown more liberal, and no one can deny that they are now willing to hear the truth. A periodical which, as we understand, is devoted to a special church organization, invited Dr. Rubinkam to write frankly concerning the pulpit of to-day, and to state what reforms he would suggest. In reply to this invitation he wrote an article which, however, proved unacceptable. The editor, while fulfilling his business obligations toward the author, deemed it unwise to let this statement appear in his columns, and so he returned the manuscript which Dr. Rubinkam thereupon offered to *The Open Court*.

While we do not quite agree with Dr. Rubinkam, we publish the article in the present number because it is well worth reading. It offers us an opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the feelings of a clergyman who, during the course of his development, has become alienated from the doctrines of his church.

Clergymen who grow broader in their views are apt to become unjust in judging their surroundings. They feel their freedom of speech curtailed, they have to mind traditional beliefs and they resent the restraint imposed upon them.

I myself, who, though destined for the pulpit, have never held a position in the church, can be more impartial in estimating the



conditions of church life and the clergy's duty of allegiance. I feel that Dr. Rubinkam's position is based on a prejudice engendered by the very experience which he had while growing beyond the dogmatic demands once common to all churches and still demanded by some of them.

The message of Christianity, so wonderfully dramatized in the story of Christ conveying the belief in God as a Father "in whom we live, and move, and have our being," is in its real meaning completely and fully true; and the underlying principle is not less true when we understand that the expressions "fatherhood of God," "sonship of man," "atonement," "inheriting the kingdom of God," etc., etc., are allegories and parables. In the stammering of transient dogma, we receive a message enabling us to assume an attitude in this great All, which is the only proper one to take. We ought to feel at ease in misfortune, in tribulation and suffering and even in the agony of death. We ought, instinctively, to find the right direction in which we must press forward. We ought to be attuned to the harmony of the whole and cherish the panagapic sentiment, the universal love. Our heart should go out to all our fellow beings with the same spirit as prevails in the divinity that encompasses with impartial beneficence the whole cosmic universe.

Myth, parable and dogma are attempts to express the religious sentiment back of them, but religious sentiment is independent of all dogma and has been expressed by the sages of China, India, Greece and Palestine—in truth "there is no speech nor language where its voice is not heard."

Many, who are accustomed to symbols, think that the truths would be lost if the literal meaning of the symbol could be proved untenable. They are apt to look upon devotees of other religions as infidels, though cherishing the same sentiments. These pious souls are like people whose linguistic knowledge is limited to their mother tongue, and who insist that the speech of other nations is mere gibberish—like the good old Scotch woman who, when praying for the victory of the British forces, thought that the good Lord would not understand French and so the prayers of the French could have no effect.

Among our correspondence we have received a letter which may be fitly reproduced here to elucidate the truth of this statement. Our friend writes as follows:

"I feel as confident of a personal Heavenly Father, as I do of my earthly parents; and have unutterably more satisfaction in Him and in my own certain knowledge of Him, than even in my earthly parents, though they were of the best.

"I feel as sure of the Divine authority of reason, conscience (I like Kant's name for it, 'categorical imperative'), of the Bible, of the Deity of Christ, and of the present guidance of the Holy Ghost (even Socrates said he was guided by a *δαίμωνιον*) as I do of my own existence; and I find immeasurable comfort in these beliefs and in voluntarily leaning upon Divine Personal support. Thirty-four years ago to-day I lost a son, of unutterable sweetness to me, nearly ten years old. The loss is as real now as then, but the support given has corresponded to the loss.

"I suppose you would not write exactly so, but you will not be uninterested in these personal facts, as I am interested in Spencer's Autobiography and *all* personal testimonies, especially of men so able, and so able to express their thoughts,

"We can all meet, I hope, at least on the platform that we all profess to desire to know the *truth* which is one for all."

The scoffer may come and tell a man of this attitude that he is mistaken; that there is no father in heaven; that Christianity is like a house built on sand; that the higher criticism has destroyed the reliability of the Bible; that dogmas are untenable and self-contradictory, and what not. All these arguments may be granted point by point, and yet the meaning conveyed in the Christian doctrines is an eternal truth which we need for the daily bread of our spiritual life, and woe unto him who goes without it. Who would deliberately deprive himself of its blessing makes a very fatal move. He who has not grown strong enough to hold fast to the eternal trust underlying dogmas, would better retain his childlike faith in the mythology of his religion.

We are at present living in a period of transition when mankind, or at least the elect of mankind, those who are destined to actualize the higher aims of the race, are developing a higher conception of religion, and it may seem to them that progress is too slow. I have long been watching the course of events not without concern, and sometimes it seems to me that progress is almost too quick. Most liberals are impatient and would fain sweep out all at once the leaven of old conceptions. But there is danger lest with a too sudden surrender of the symbols we lose our grasp of underlying principles; lest in our anxiety to dispose of the husk we throw away the precious grain before it has ripened.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The subject is of great importance and we have discussed it frequently from different standpoints and for different purposes. See *The Monist*, II, 278; also "Pious Frauds" by the Rev. A. Kampmeier, *Open Court*, XXI, 53, and the discussions following on pp. 179, 185, especially "Modern Theology,"

Back of all phenomena of life there is an eternity. Man, as the rational type of being, is conditioned by some feature in the world-constitution which everywhere under various conditions makes it possible to formulate the laws of thinking, such as logic, arithmetic, mathematics and other sciences of pure thought. In a similar way there is also an eternal prototype of our legal institutions, of religion, of art, and the social interrelations of rational beings. These eternalities, however, which are part and parcel of the cosmic constitution of the world-order, of God, are not revealed in a sudden flash, but in this world of time they come to light in a temporal way, in a sort of procession of events in the development of what we now call evolution.

Religions are formulated under definite historical conditions. Hence it follows that as in all cases of actualities, many incidental features make their appearance, and it is but natural that the incidental features are insisted on by devotees as the most essential part of their religion. But the philosophers of each successive age dig down to the eternalities behind the doctrines, and their comprehension, too, appears in the successive phases of evolution, i. e., in the history of philosophy.

The religious development of all faiths, therefore, shows a strange mixture of specialized conceptions with definite and, to a great extent, accidental formulations of doctrines, of symbols, of rituals, and other methods of giving expression to religious sentiments which are subjected in successive stages to successive philosophic interpretations; and while the accidental characteristics of two or several faiths may be very different, even to contradiction, the historian will observe a parallelism in the successive stages of their philosophical conceptions.

The most interesting parallelism of this kind appears between Buddhism and Christianity, where we notice in either religion all shades of dualistic and monistic philosophy holding successive sway, expounding the traditional doctrines which sometimes produce close analogies even in details. In this connection we mention as a striking instance the Buddhist and Christian docetism, the doctrine that the ideal man, the Christ, the Buddha, retains his divinity even during his human life so as to render his bodily existence a mere semblance, we might almost say, a sham.

The docetists, both Buddhist and Christian, have disappeared, but both, in an independent development, have left us documents

p. 684. Compare also *Open Court*, XXII, "Who Is to Blame?" 135; "Problems of Modern Theology," 234; "Tendencies of Modern Theology," 407.

stating with great insistency that the Buddha and the Christ did not really suffer; the Christ *seemed* to pass through agonies on the cross, the Buddha *seemed* to eat and to feel pain as he took his last meal; and this parallelism of a special doctrine is due to a parallelism of philosophy, tried at a definite period of the philosophical development of both religions and later abandoned.

Another strange parallelism is the development of the idea of salvation by faith alone, vigorously preached in Christianity by Luther, and in Buddhism by the Shinshu sect, a kind of Protestant Buddhism in which the clergy, as in Christian Protestant denominations, are allowed to marry and are no longer obliged to follow the strict rules of abstinence from meat, etc. These incidental and yet striking parallels which make their appearance without historical connections teach us a lesson and show that all religious development is subject to historical law. They point to the significance of a philosophical interpretation of religion, which was frequently changed from age to age within the very same creed, and proves the kinship of all faiths upon earth—nay in the entire stellar universe if we could but have a glimpse into the life of other planets.

The philosophy of a religion forms its substratum, and though the very same religion may exhibit successive interpretations which seem to be secondary, we insist that the philosophical interpretation, though not always appearing on the surface, is the more important part of religion; it grasps the essence. The philosophy of an age or a nation is a powerful undercurrent determining the character of that age and nation and producing the general atmosphere which affects even that class of people who are incapable of comprehending its principles.

We are approaching an age of science. The superior man, the *Uebermensch* of the future, is not Nietzsche's ruthless brute who tramples under foot the rights of his fellow beings. He is the man to whom scientific insight is no longer an aim to be attained, but rather a tool, an organ which brings forth blessings in abundance to the many, and consideration to the multitude of those who are incapable of grasping the loftiness of his position. Instead of enslaving men, the scientific man will lift them to his own level.

The age of science will be a period of superior mankind. It will not come by an oppression of the weak, nor by crushing the herd and sacrificing their interests for the interests of the few; but rather by transfiguring all human life and fulfilling the religious idea of compassion, of Christian and Buddhist love and universal brotherhood.

There are many among us, especially those who have been active ministers in the church, who grow impatient for the realization of this ideal. They have come in contact with much hypocrisy, with human frailty and with the smallness which mortals everywhere are heir to, and they grow impatient. They are blind to the fact that these human shortcomings are sometimes due to the fear of losing a livelihood; and again what may seem hypocrisy is often consideration for others, the natural duty of not hurting the religious feeling of narrower brethren; while frequently it is the result of sheer pusillanimity. But, in spite of all this, there are many men in the church who fearlessly seek the truth and often show their manhood under trying conditions.

Though fully aware of all these drawbacks, I do not feel pessimistic or gloomy about the future of the church. I believe that the spirit of truth is working out the salvation of mankind in religion not less than in the general progress of civilization. We may pass through critical phases, but upon the whole progress is steady and wholesome; and as regards church life it is rather to be feared that its pace is too rapid rather than too slow. We all have reasons to hope that the harvest time is at hand when the full grain will be garnered into overflowing granaries of spiritual nourishment for future generations.

## CHRIST THE APOTHECARY.

COMPILED FROM MATERIAL COLLECTED BY EDWARD KREMERS.

CONCERNING pictures of Jesus as an apothecary, which are quite rare, Dr. Hermann Peters gives an account in *Janus*, V. 438-440, which translated from the German reads as follows:

"In the Berlin *Pharmazeutische Zeitung* some time ago it was pointed out that Jesus is also very frequently represented symbolically as an apothecary. Paintings in oil of this character occur in the Evangelical Church at Werder on the Havel and in Lehnin. More recently the Hanover *Courier* called attention to a similar painting in the court chapel at Wittgenstein near Laasche. The artist of none of these pictures is known, but the last one mentioned bears in the upper left-hand corner the inscription, 'Well-Appointed Pharmacy of Souls,' and at the right on a white ribbon, 'The blood of Jesus Christ which cleanseth us from all sin.'

"The Germanic Museum at Nuremburg possesses a painting which likewise bears the inscription, 'Well-Appointed Pharmacy of Souls.' The year 1731 is given and the picture owes its existence to the brush of the artist Maria Appeli. As motto it bears the verse from Matt. xi, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." The subject of the picture is a well-equipped dispensary in which Jesus is represented as the apothecary. In one hand he holds a balance and in the other a banner with the inscription, 'Come and buy without money and without price,' (Is. lv. 1). On the jars which stand in the foreground of the picture the labels do not indicate names of drugs, but instead may be read the remedies of the Christian religion, such as faith, love, hope, long suffering, constancy. The jars on the shelves in the background bear mostly the notation of actual *materia medica* whose names have some reference to the Christian religion, such as Christ-flower (hellebore), Benedict-root (bennet), crosswort (groundsel), etc. A large number of jars were labeled with the



names of materials which found their special application in the cult of superstition. Such are the mandrake, *rhiz*, *polygoni* (*Siegunurz*), springwort, all of which were famous for their magical powers even in antiquity. Perhaps this pious picture originated in some cloister cell. An "S." before the name Marie Appeli makes it probable that the artist was a sister in some convent.

"In the National Swiss Museum at Zurich there are two glass pictures from Thurgau in the windows of the historic pharmacy,



CHRIST AS APOTHECARY.

Stained glass window by unknown artist (1630). Original in the Swiss National Museum at Zurich. From original photograph in the possession of Dr. Edward Kremers.

and these are here reproduced. In both the Christian Saviour is shown as a physician dispensing medical remedies, characterized by the scales he holds in his hand and by the jars of medicine surrounding him. The circular painting is executed mostly on leaded panes of red and blue glass. At the left appears the heraldic device of the donor's family with the inscription: *Michael Weltz, Maria*

*Zündlini seel. sein erste Ehefrau und Sussanna Federlinn, sein andere Ehefrau, 1630. ("Michael Wetz, the late Maria Zündlini his first wife, and Susanna Federlinn, his second wife, 1630.")* In the gar-



#### CHRIST AS APOTHECARY.

Stained glass window by unknown artist. Original in the Swiss National Museum at Zurich. From original photograph in possession of Dr. Edward Kremers.

land which frames the picture are the words: *Wer glaubt, vertraut und hofft in mich, des rechter, wahrer Arzt bin ich*

[To whoso trusts and hopes in me,  
A true physician I will be.]

"For a legend on the ribbon above the Saviour, passages from Is. lv. 1 and Matt. xi. 28, have been selected. The pharmaceutical jars on the table behind which Jesus is standing bear on their labels the names of Christian remedies for the soul, such as truth, justice, faith, love, hope, mercy, constancy, patience, etc. Of the *materia medica* of earlier centuries only the crosswort (groundsel, Lat. *senecio*) is included. This doubtless owes its mention on the picture more to its name than to its effect, of which Becher says in his *Parnassus Medicinalis Illustratus* (1662):

"Creutzwurtz heilt, tödt die Würm, stellt ein das Blutausspeien,  
Die Leber thut sie auch von grosser Hitz befreien.  
Den weissen Weiber-Fluss, das Gliederreisen auch  
Curieret Creutzwurtz, ist in Wunden in Gebrauch.

[Crosswort heals: kills worms and stops the spitting out of blood,  
The liver too it frees from heat and cures it as it should;  
Neuralgia in the joints and many other ills  
Including wounds, are cured by crosswort, herb or pills.—*par.*]

"The unknown artist who shows us Jesus as an apothecary on the second square stained glass, has used almost the same Biblical passages for his purpose and has embodied the same ideas and thoughts. He especially emphasizes faith as a Christian remedy, symbolizing it by the eucharist cup in the foreground. This of course corresponds to the modern attempt to cure by means of suggestion. The effects thus attained rest mainly upon the patient's faith in the treatment and in its divine representative (*geistlichen Träger*)."

The year preceding the appearance of the articles by Dr. Daniels and Dr. Peters, Professor Kremers, who is editor of the *Pharmaceutical Review*, published an editorial account in that periodical (August 1899) of the picture at Werder of which Dr. Peters barely makes mention. We here quote Dr. Kremers's brief article in full, and reproduce the illustration which has been taken from an original photograph of the painting in Dr. Kremers's possession:

"That Moses and his sister Miriam, also other representatives of the sacred scriptures have figured in alchemistic writings, is generally known to students of the history of chemistry. That the person of Christ should have been used in similar capacity to lend dignity to a calling may not be commonly known. Indeed very few apothecaries may have known that their calling has thus been idealized in painting, inartistic though it may be in execution. The painting referred to has recently been rescued from oblivion by Mr. W. L. Schreiber of Potsdam. The original is to be found in the

church at Werder where it was discovered, one might well say, by Mr. Schreiber in a very dusty condition, wellnigh forgotten. At his instigation it was cleansed and restored. Before being put back in position he had it photographed. It is due to his kindness in remembering the writer with a copy of the photograph, that we are able to reproduce it for the benefit of the readers of the *Review*.



CHRIST AS APOTHECARY.

Painting by unknown artist in the Evangelical church in Werder on the Havel. From original photograph in the possession of Dr. Edward Kremers.

A copy of the painting is to be found in the church at Plötzin, near Werder. Mr. Schreiber is of the opinion that the painting belongs to the beginning of the eighteenth century. That the painter was no great artist becomes apparent, for instance, from the left arm which is misdrawn. The colors, however, are said to be good. It

is supposed that some pious apothecary donated both paintings. Though no artistic treasure, the painting is one that must naturally appeal to every pharmacist whose "love of profession" is not solely influenced by the almighty dollar.

"Christ is represented in a conventional manner as far as features and dress are concerned, but is surrounded by a number of apothecary's containers and in the act of weighing. In the left hand he holds a pair of hand scales. The one scale pan evidently contains a weight or weights. Whether these are of the conventional form or whether they are symbolized does not become apparent even from the original photograph. The other scale pan contains small crosses which have been taken with the right hand from a jar marked "*Kreutz Mintz*," (cross mint).

"The containers bear the labels "*Geduldt*" (patience), "*Hoffnung*" (hope), "*Liebe*" (love), "*Bestendigkeit*" (steadfastness), "*Hülffe*" (help), "*Friede*" (peace); the one to the extreme right, "*Gnade*" (grace) and the small flask on the center block, "*Glaube*" (faith), evidently containing the most precious drug of all.

"The three scriptural passages quoted on the standard are here reproduced in the English of King James's Version.

"'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.' (Is. lv. 1.)

"'Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near.' (Is. lv. 6.)

"'And call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.' (Ps. l. 15.)

"Whereas the above are taken from the Old Testament, the following scriptural passages inscribed on the block are taken from the New:

"'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' (Matt. xi. 28.)

"The fourth line on the painting is taken from the last part of the twenty-ninth verse:

.... "and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

"The last quotation is made up of the second half of each of verses 12 and 13 of Chapter IX of the Gospel According to St. Matthew.

.... "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick."

.... "for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."

Two years later referring again to this picture, the *Pharmaceutical Review* quotes from Theodor Fontane in *Havelland* (p. 462) a description which we repeat in full in English translation:

"Here there is among others an ancient altar-piece which bears the very surprising but significant title, 'Christ as Apothecary.' It is so exceptional, so unique of its kind that a brief description of it will not be amiss here at the end of our chapter. Christ, clad in a red robe, if we are not mistaken, is standing behind a prescription desk, an apothecary's scale in his hands. In front of him in a straight line stand eight canisters which bear the following inscriptions: Mercy, Aid, Love, Patience, Peace Constancy, Hope and Faith. The canister with Faith is the largest of all.<sup>5</sup> In each container there is a spoon. In front of the canisters, as the most important thing lies an open sack of crosswort. Christ is represented as taking a handful of it in order to bring the scale into equilibrium one pan of which is laden with guilt.

"The inhabitants of Werder, probably on Schönmann's authority, have dated this picture back to Catholic times. This is a great mistake. The Catholic period displayed no such want of taste. Such trifles were indulged in under the after effects of the second period of Silesian poetry at the beginning of the last century when it became the fashion to work a thought or picture to death, carrying it out with relentless consistency to the end. Moreover if the theme should cause a doubt to be raised the technique would at once set it at rest.

"In 1734, the year in which the church of the Cistercians was renovated, a pharmacy was opened in Werder. It is extremely probable that its fortunate possessor took upon himself the privilege of gratefully and hopefully donating this curiosity of art which has just been described."

Together with this report of Fontane's, Dr. Kremers reviews Dr. Peters's description of the two stained glass representations of Christ as apothecary which had in the meantime appeared in *Janus*, incorporating the illustrations of them also. Comparing the art of these paintings and of that at Werder, Dr. Kremers says: "Whereas the painting in Werder is very poorly executed, these two represent some artistic skill even if they may not be regarded as masterpieces. Of the two here reproduced the second is the more dramatic both in

<sup>5</sup>This is not correct. The container is the smallest of all; neither is it a *Büchse*, but a flask. However, it occupies the most prominent position. Fontane evidently wrote the above from insufficient notes or from memory.—E. K.



its conception and execution. The first reflects somewhat too strongly the 'well-to-do' apothecary, whereas the second represents Christ as the man with a mission. Though at first sight it makes the ap-



#### CHRIST AS APOTHECARY.

From the collection of the late Dr. A. P. Hellmann, of Vienna, founder of the *Pharm. Post* and late honorary secretary of the Austrian Pharmaceutical Society.

pearance of being rather carelessly sketched, its significance grows upon more careful study. This can hardly be said of the first."

Besides these three pictures so fully described, Dr. Peters mentions three others; the one at Lehnin, which is probably a copy or the original of the one at Werder; the one at Nuremberg painted by S.[ister] Maria Appeli; one in the castle of Wittgenstein by Låasche. To these Dr. Kremers adds a seventh in the possession of Alois Hellmann, a prominent apothecary of Vienna. Evidently Dr. Kremers had not at that time seen a copy of this picture since he gives no details concerning it. However, in the first number of the *Pharmazeutische Post* for 1905, the editor, Dr. Hans Heger, refers to Dr. Kremers's article in the *Pharm. Rev.*, gives a résumé of the seven paintings of Christ as apothecary there enumerated, and adds a reproduction and full description of the painting which had belonged to Dr. Hellmann, late honorary president of the Austrian Pharmaceutical Society, who had died since the publication of Dr. Kremers's article in 1902. The description of this interesting painting as given by the editor of the *Pharm. Post* reads in an English translation as follows:

"Some years before Dr. Hellmann's death he inherited this picture from his wife's uncle, Mr. P. Willim, the beneficed curate of the church of St. Peters at Vienna, who loved him and respected him greatly as a connoisseur. The painting probably originated in some ancient cloister and is not so remarkable for artistic value as for its originality and antiquity.

"Jesus is represented as standing before a prescription desk in a dispensary, with a pair of hand scales in his left hand. The shelves behind him are filled with antique apothecary jars, canisters, and flasks whose inscriptions are still for the most part legible. The following labels have been deciphered:

"a. In the top row: liberality, purity, righteousness, fear of God, obedience, holiness, constancy.

"b. In the middle row: liberality, mercy, cheerfulness, fervency, good nature, openheartedness.

"c. In the lowest row: heart-water, eye-water, power-water, etc.

"This pharmacy evidently boasts of none of the remedies known to *Materia medica*, but virtues which are considered remedies of the soul, whereas in other pictures medicinal drugs are also mentioned.

"On the prescription desk lies an open book in which may be read *Selig sind die Gottes Wort hören und dasselbe halten*. [Blessed are they who hear God's word and keep it]. In front of the book we see the three divine virtues, faith, hope, and love, symbolized in the chalice, anchor and heart; and upon a paper lying beneath them may be read in German the inscription: "Come to me, all ye that are

heavy laden and I will give you rest; call to me and I shall hear you; seek and ye shall find; ask and ye shall receive, knock and it shall be opened unto you."

Dr. Heger made a special effort to obtain some reproduction



CHRIST AS APOTHECARY.

From the collection of Adolphe Grimus at Vienna.

of the Nuremberg painting by Maria Appeli, and that at Wittgenstein by Laasche which were passed over lightly by Dr. Kremers and Dr. Peters, but without success. Of the former he received

word from the Museum that "the attempt to photograph the picture. 'Christ as Apothecary,' has been made time and again. It has proved,



#### CHRIST AS APOTHECARY.

An antique painting in the Nuremberg Museum. From a photograph in the possession of Mr. Joseph Jacobs of Atlanta, Georgia.

however, that the picture is in such condition that it can no longer be photographed. Its artistic value is very slight." Dr. Peters wrote

him also in the same connection, "The painting has become very dark, so that it is only clearly distinguishable when moistened with water. My attempt to procure a photograph of it also failed because of the dark hues of the painting." Dr. Heger was likewise unsuccessful in obtaining a photograph of the Laasche painting.

A. Brykczynski, who holds a high place in French art circles, contributed to *Revue de l'art chrétien*, of May 1907, an article on the subject in hand in which he quotes largely from the *Pharm. Post* and indirectly from Dr. Kremers, but also records another painting



PANACEA.

After a copper engraving of the 16th century in the Germanic Museum of Nuremberg.

of Jesus as an apothecary which belongs to the fine private collection of Adolphe Grimus, of Vienna, who purchased it in a poor pharmacy in Upper Austria. The picture which dates from about 1650 is thus described:

"Christ's face is young and his hair is long and black. The garment he wears is black and red. Jesus is standing before a table and holds a scale in his left hand, while his right hand is raised. A chalice with the host stands in the center of the table and bears the

inscription. "Faith." On either side of the chalice are canisters with the inscriptions: constance, prudence, hope, compassion, moderation. The labels on the flasks are illegible except one which reads "eyes." Under the scale may be seen the word "justice," and below the table the text from Matt. xi. 28, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest."

In addition to these eight instances in which Christ has been represented as an apothecary we know of but one more. This also comes from Nuremberg, an antique painting found in the *Pharmaceutical Museum* there by Joseph Jacobs of Atlanta, Georgia. The painting is not mentioned in the official catalogue of the Museum and is not dated.

It is instructive to note how in former centuries people believed in the all-curative power of medicine. An engraving of the sixteenth century by an unknown artist represents medical science as Panacea, the all-healing one. Furthermore it was a common notion of the day that people expected to cure their bodily ailments by soothing them with spiritual means, and we cannot doubt that in this way much suffering has been assuaged although scarcely obliterated. Thus we learn that what we now call Faith Cure, Mental Healing, or Christian Science, is not so new as to deserve the name of New Thought. It is based upon an ancient belief and has been practiced through centuries. Indeed we cannot doubt that even in periods of which we have not sufficient historical documents, it existed and was utilized both in religion and in popular medicine.



## MODERNISM.

BY FREDERICK K. HOWARD.

SINCE words in the English language, at best, convey different meanings to all sorts and conditions of men, it may be well to explain one's use of the comparatively new terms "modernist" and "modernism."

Established, if not invented, by its opponents, as the prejudicial designation of a party in the Roman communion, it has come to be synonymous for liberal Catholics. Father Tyrrell, its ablest English exponent, says: "It means the acknowledgment on the part of religion, of the rights of modern thought; of the need of effecting a synthesis, not between the old and the new indiscriminately, but between what, after due criticism, is found to be solid in the old and in the new. Its opposite is medievalism which, as a fact, is only the synthesis offered between the Christian faith and the culture of the late Middle Ages, but which erroneously supposes itself to be of apostolic antiquity; which denies that the work of synthesis is necessary and must endure as long as man's intellectual, moral, and social education endures; which therefore makes the medieval expression of Catholicism its primitive and its final expression.

"Medievalism is an absolute, modernism a relative term. The former will always stand for the same ideas and institutions; the meaning of the latter slides on with the times."

Modernism, then, in this paper, will be considered as a relative attitude of mind toward life and truth and as a temporary working hypothesis, in unifying the thought and action of to-day.

As an attitude of mind, modernism is only the modern label for the openmindedness that has ever characterized the truth-loving nature in its desire to explain experience in terms of thought and action.

This attitude of mind has characterized Christian thinkers from the first attempt of Clement and the Alexandrian school to express the unique Christian experience in the Greek concepts of thought

and life, down to the present when their psychic children are trying to form a synthesis between that same unique experience, preserved in the records and life of Christianity, and modern culture.

To such openmindedness, scholarship is a welcome stimulant to faith, enabling its possessor to give to every man that asks him, a reason for the hope that is in him.

In its corporate life and growth from the small seed planted firmly in human nature, through all the centuries of growth into the tree whose branches and leaves are for the sheltering and healing of the nations, the modernist observes the putting forth of fresh shoots and twigs and the shedding of old bark and withered branches.

At times great branches have been cut off because they were dead, and sometimes the very trunk seemed to die down and new life spring out of its crumbled dust. But careful, intelligent cultivation and pruning by faithful and loving servants of the Lord, has ever caused the tree of life to be as one of the cedars of Lebanon. While differing in expression and often diametrically opposed in the letter, the Christian apologists of Alexandria, the scholastic logicians of the Middle Ages, and the modernists were and are moved by the desire to express the ineffable experience of Christians in terms of contemporary knowledge.

In this living faith that a synthesis can be formed between faith and knowledge, between the intuitions of the human spirit and the evidence of our senses, the modernists share with those who have died in the hope, without seeing the consummation devoutly desired.

In their modest disclaimer to be forming or to have succeeded in forming anything more than a relative synthesis, a temporary working hypothesis, a concordat between faith and knowledge, the modernists share with their predecessors who have endeavored "to prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good."

To a sympathetic critic modernism is a serious attempt to "rightly divide the word of truth" by interpreting the Christian religion in terms of modern learning, so as neither to offend one of the little ones who believe in Christ, nor needlessly to alienate any seeker after truth.

The extreme delicacy of such a task is enough to keep one from the presumption of thinking that he has succeeded, and from the despair of doubting if it ever can be accomplished. The proverbial difficulty of steering between Scylla and Charybdis is only a challenge to the deeper faith of the pilot to find a channel through which he may steer safely to the haven where he would be.

As a tendency modernism is thus seen to exhibit the open-minded characteristic of "every scribe instructed into the Kingdom of Heaven, who brings out of his treasures things old and new," confident that He who hath begun the good work will continue it until the day of Jesus Christ, with the aid of the servants who fearlessly and faithfully employ their talents in the service of the Master, in the Kingdom where

"None but the Master can praise us  
And none but the Master blame."

\* \* \*

As a working hypothesis the synthesis requiring construction by modern Christians is demanded by the rise of the scientific and democratic movements of this age.

Because the scholastic conception of theology and ecclesiastical history has been most strongly entrenched in the Latin communion, the stress of modern learning has been more acutely felt therein, but, in so far as the scholastic postulates and assumed facts of history have been accepted by Christian students, the pressure upon received dogmas and institutions has been felt in greater or less degree in every communion.

This fact is recognized by Protestants and Catholics, Anglican and Roman, alike, as shown in Smythe's *Passing Protestantism*, Lillie's *Modernism*, and Tyrrell's *Medievalism*.

Since the thinkers of all schools and communions recognize the breach between traditional Christianity and modern learning, and the modernists are calling for a restatement all along the line, it may be asked (1) How has it come to pass? (2) How is the new synthesis to be formed to restore theology and the church to that proud eminence among sciences and institutions that was theirs in the hey-day of Alexandrian and scholastic thinkers?

The scholastic synthesis conceived the existence of God and His manifestation in the world as transcendent and assumed that the sacred Scriptures were historical records whose narratives could be taken at their proper or face value. So long as authority held sway, all philosophical and political thoughts, as well as natural science, was bound by these assumptions.

The fact that readers of *The Open Court* are familiar with the process by which modern science and philosophy obtained their freedom from the necessity of agreeing with the transcendent view of God and the biblical records, relieves me of the necessity of dwelling upon the subject of how modern science obtained its free-

dom from any other obligation than to seek and speak the truth, bound only by loyalty to its own subject matter.

One by one the sciences obtained their freedom from the control of theology, until now theology asserts its own freedom from obedience to any authority save loyalty to its own subject matter; that is to say, living experience of the God "in whom we live, and move, and have our being."

With the development of the organic sciences in the last century under the stimulus of the evolutionary theory, the transcendental view of God's relation to the world gave way to the present immanent conception, and the individual and collective mind of the human race was explored for evidence of the divine.

It may be well to recall one or two phases in the long conflict between the medieval and modern view as traced in a book like Andrew D. White's *Warfare of Science and Theology*.

First, the progressive view of one generation, where it has survived, has become the conservative view of the next, coming gradually to be the accepted view.

Next, while we repeat the same formulas, use the same symbols, and read the same Scriptures as our forefathers, we do not understand them in the same way, and unconsciously translate them into harmony with the scientific and democratic spirit of the age.

Such being the fact, and I assume that it is fact, modernists have set themselves to answer the question, "How can the Catholic faith and modern learning dwell together in unity in the individual Christian and in the collective mind of the church?"

"For modernism stands for belief in the church and the age and is endeavoring to construct a synthesis which shall be for the enrichment of both, the impoverishment of neither."

It is easier for the radical or reactionary to sacrifice one to the other and henceforth "pass by on the other side," but to do so is to abandon the modernist program.

In the "Programme of Modernism," written by Roman Catholic scholars after their condemnation of the Roman curia, is stated truly the experience of the Christian student of scientific and democratic education. Not that we will not, but we can not accept the requirements of the papal encyclical—its positions are unthinkable.

Does any student to-day take the account of creation in Genesis as literal history?

Can the historical critic accept the traditional order of the Old Testament as real history? Are not many narratives of the Old Testament legendary and allegorical?

Were not the beliefs, institutions and developments of later Judaism read back into its primitive stage?

Modernists accept what used to be called the positions of destructive criticism as assured results and assure us that their position is simply a return to certain half-forgotten principles of which Christian apologetic, in its golden age and prior to scholasticism, had always made use.

As Father Tyrrell (page 366 *S. and C.*) says: "It is no longer difficult for us to believe that 'no man hath seen God at any time,' seen Him, that is, as something external and apart from the world and humanity, or that no man has heard God at any time calling out from the clouds, or from the burning bush, or upon the summit of Sinai. We have long since resigned ourselves to a silent and a hidden God, but have come to recognize our seeming loss as a priceless gain. For now we have learned to seek Him where he is to be found, and seen and heard; near and not far, within and not without; in the very heart of His creation, in the center of man's spirit, in the life of each; still more, in the life of all. It is from the Sinai of conscience (individual and collective) that He thunders forth His commandments and judgments; it is from the heights of His holiness that he looks down in pity upon our earthliness and sinfulness; it is in His Christ, in His Saints and Prophets, that He becomes incarnate and manifest and that He tabernacles with the children of men."

If, in an uncritical age, God's revelation of Himself is conceived as external and described in the language of transcendence, must not such language be consciously or unconsciously transformed to mean anything to minds that in a critical age are filled with the conception of God as immanent in His world? In fact has not such adapting of the language and symbols of the Bible been characteristic of the critical and mystical mind in every age?

All recall how in due time higher criticism applied to the New Testament revealed much the same phenomena as had been discovered in the construction of the Old Testament. As the Pentateuch was composed of four main documents, so the critics found four main sources of the Gospel, only not woven together as in the Pentateuch. From St. Mark's to St. John's presentation of the Christ is shown a progress of belief that requires years of growth from the view of the primitive disciples to the retrospect of developed faith portraying the same life. Being versed neither in natural science nor historical criticism, I am not competent to decide how far the higher critics are justified in claiming similar strata in the growth of the Old and New Testament alike; or whether the dates of the

composition of the New Testament books are late enough for their narratives to be work of developed tradition; but one may be permitted to inquire why the language and symbols of the New Testament may not be interpreted as prophetic, symbolic, allegorical and legendary, if those of the Old Testament are so understood.

The modernists maintain that breathing an atmosphere of immanence and possessing scientifically educated minds renders it an impossibility for intelligent Christians to accept the language of the Bible as scientific or literal revelation.

They also maintain that instead of weakening their hold on the Faith or their devotion to the church, their attitude alone allows faith and knowledge to dwell together in unity, by so modifying theology as to avoid conflict with science.

They claim that, like intelligent defenders of Christianity in every age of transition, they deserve praise instead of blame because they "aim at transferring the rational defense of the faith from the tottering basis of what has proved to be an anti-critical exegesis to the solid because unassailable basis offered by the deeper exigencies of the human soul, and by those spiritual life-needs which have given birth to the whole process of Christianity" (Page 16, *Programme of Modernism*). How the Roman curia repulsed, proscribed and is now trying utterly to extirpate the modernists, needs no telling. That liberal Catholics everywhere have given them aid and comfort and gloried in their refusal to be driven into infidelity or schism is only natural.

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If the controversy of modernism with medievalism were only a family affair of our Latin brethren, it might have no more relation to us than the strife between the conservatives and insurgents of the Republican party in our political life. But while the Latin modernists have some problems peculiar to the Roman communion, Anglicans confront, with their Roman brethren, a situation that requires learning, discrimination, judgment, and above all, sympathy with the best aspirations of our own age.

Modern criticism, in "proving all things" inquires of the church and her traditions, "Are these things from Heaven or of men?" The man of modern learning without faith, replies, "These are of men." The man of ancient faith, without modern learning, affirms, "These are from Heaven!"

The liberal Catholic or modernist replies, "In one sense, from Heaven and not of men; in another, of men and not from Heaven.



The sensible and natural, i. e., the outward and visible, of the Jewish and Christian religion, are of men and constitute the realities of history. The super-sensible and super-natural, i. e., the inward and invisible, are from Heaven and constitute the realities of faith. Both the realities of history and of faith are equally objective but belong to different orders of truth.

"In the Bible there are, strictly speaking, no historical books, but only sacred narratives shaped in great part by the faith in whose service they are written. Even in the Gospels we must distinguish two elements, one corresponding to historical reality, the other to the supernatural reality of faith: Here, as in other parts of the Bible, truth is not always historical truth, but often only historical fiction.

"While in Himself Christ is one, yet He can be considered as the object of history and the object of faith.

"What is revealed by flesh and blood is history; what is revealed by the Father is faith.

"Primitive Christianity was a life lived intensely. The attempt to apprehend the meaning of this life and convey it to others is the course of Christian tradition developed in history and theology.

"In this life of Christ in us, manifested internally by the communication to us of His Holy Spirit, and externally by our fulfilment of His commandments, stands the whole essence of Christianity.

"Because they believed that the unseen Christ inspired them with His own spirit the Evangelists, to better signify the dependence of the developed institution, symbols and sacraments of the church upon His inspiration and guidance, threw back their origin into the very history of the mortal life of Jesus.

"By means of history we see in Him a man who has taught us by word and example; by means of faith we experience in Him the Saviour whose death and resurrection have given us new life.

"Criticism shows us the Christ of history, of legend, and of theology. Faith reveals to us through all 'Christ according to the Spirit.'"

It is evident that this mystical certainty of modernism rests upon that unreasoned and unformulated experience that is the strength of religion in general and of Christianity in particular.

Accordingly it finds itself in harmony with one of the fundamental tendencies of modern philosophy, in fact with its basic inference—the immanent tendency which assumes that nothing can enter into and get hold of man's spirit that does not spring from it and in some way correspond to its need of self-expansion. The Bible is the book of life because the individual and collective religious

experience of the race has been so narrated therein that each may find it an anticipation and reflection of his own experience. Its authority is that of truth and life and it lives, not because it records a message from without, but because it is the revelation of God in nature and man. Given the experience to reveal, men uttered it in song, picture and story best fitted to convey the truth. The historical truth of their narratives, the proper value of their words and symbols were probably of no concern to the inspired revealers.

Not the form but the spirit was the essence of revelation. The stories in Daniel, for instance, which are romance to the eye of historical criticism (and probably were so to the writers) are real truth to the eye of faith.

Modernists maintain that "it matters little to faith whether or no criticism can prove the virgin-birth of Christ, His more striking miracles, or even His resurrection; whether or no it sanction the attribution to Christ of certain dogmas, or of the direct institution of the church."

"As ultra-phenomenal, these former facts evade the grasp of experimental and historical criticism, while of the latter it finds, as a fact, no proof.

"But both these and those possess a reality for faith superior to that of physical facts.

"Criticism has destroyed the belief in the formal transmission of a primitive revelation."

While early Christianity may have known nothing of such formal transmission, scholastic theology passed it on to our age and thereby brought on the conflict between science and theology.

Modernism requires us, in the light of modern learning, to reconsider our conception of the letter, not the spirit of revelation.

The Catholic tradition of the faith, once for all delivered, is simply freed by modernism of that view of its transmission which has brought it into conflict with modern science.

The Vincentian test of Catholicity, in the modernist interpretation, harmonizes with democracy when it requires that tradition shall not only be everywhere, at all times and by all, but shall be for the people, by the people and of the people, like the Son of Man, who "came not to be ministered unto but to minister."

This can only be true of the spirit of Christianity which is absolute; not of the letter, which is relative, subject in the past, present and future to development and change to meet the needs of the ever-living spirit.

What is everywhere, at all times and by all can manifestly never

be entirely determined till the Kingdom be fully come and time shall be no more.

To the Catholic mind it seems self-evident that, as Loisy says, "Whatever we think theologically of tradition, whether we trust it or regard it with suspicion, we know Christ only by the tradition, across the tradition, and in the tradition of the primitive Christians."

The Catholic concept that the function of the church, to hand on "the faith once for all delivered," has not been and can not be affected by the critical showing of its evolution.

Modernism, to the Catholic scholar, spells evolution by life shedding the old and useless and putting forth the new and vigorous. To him, Erasmus stands for the true and lasting type of reformer, whose aim is to purge and prune the tree of life that it may bring forth more fruit; not to set out shoots and slips from the old tree to raise a new variety. From first to last he sees phenomena as the manifestation of the Spirit of God working His purpose out until "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea" and "God shall be all in all."

If modernism were only an academic movement in the world of thought and action it would call for no practical consideration. But since it offers itself as a very radical reform of the traditional attitude of the church toward the current forms of philosophy and social organization, its claim to freedom of thought and action raises the question of liberty and authority all along the line. For the modernist position extends to the whole general attitude to be taken toward the traditional idea of revelation and of the supernatural and the whole complex Catholic heritage.

Educated as the vast majority have been to consider Christianity and its scholastic interpretation as identical, modernism may well seem, in its critical and anti-scholastic attitude, a grave danger to the integrity of the Christian tradition.

Shall the Anglican Church suppress it by juridical authority as the Roman has done; or, if not by law, shall she lay it on the individual conscience that inability to accept certain articles of the creed and a particular conception of the church as historical is equivalent to renunciation of Christianity and denial of Christ?

Since neither the crisis nor the question are new but have been faced in at least two previous times of transition when new scientific and social conditions required the construction of a synthesis by Christian theologians, let us learn of them!

One only need recall how the work of Clement and the Alexandrian school at the close of the second century, after the usual oppo-

sition and condemnation by zealous but unlearned and ignorant men, became the official apologetic of Catholicism.

Saint Thomas and kindred spirits met with the same experience of opposition and success when, at the close of the thirteenth century, scholasticism was accepted as the official statement of Catholicism.

Of modernism calling for a restatement of Christian experience in harmony with the scientific learning and democratic aspirations of our age, should not authority be content to require fidelity to the faith but allow freedom of understanding of the value of the formulas and symbols?

The unchanging faith of Catholic tradition has ever been in her Founder. "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we have believed and know that Thou art the Holy One of God!" So long as this was believed, the church, in times of transition, has allowed open-mindedness as to its historical mirroring and symbolic formulation.

When one in his heart no longer believes in the Christ nor takes Him for his Guide he ought, in conscience bound, to forsake the communion of the church, as he has abandoned the faith of his forefathers. Since, then, the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; since confessing Christ before men is primarily a matter of Christian living, and denying Him before men is primarily a matter of unchristian living; and since Christian character is the result of "Christ in us the hope of glory"—so that we know by experience that we live, yet not we but Christ in us,—is not the function of authority to guard well and hand on whole and undefiled the unchanging faith in the Christ who ever liveth?

Should we not sympathize with the claim of modernism that one who accepts the Christ of the living present confesses Him before men, even if he cannot accept as historic facts the virgin birth, the resurrection and ascension; and one may assent to every article of the creed and yet have no more faith than a dog?

If past experience has shown us the truth of the second statement, may not future experience establish the truth of the first?

For they rest upon the same law of our nature, namely, that rationalism can neither create nor destroy faith; it can only help or hinder its growth as it frees or hampers the mind in its attempt to apprehend and explain the things which we see through a glass darkly, and so can express only in relative formulas and symbols that have prophetic but not historical values. By requiring loyalty to the essence of the faith and maintaining liberty that shall allow

and encourage open-mindedness in its intellectual formulation, the church will show herself, as in past periods of transition, to be "a social organism gifted with the infallible instinct of every living thing by which, after a period of hesitation and experiment, she discovers those solutions which are essential for her existence."

The modernist Catholic being free from any sectarian desire to have his own way, save as modernism may express the corporate mind of the church, is willing to labor and wait until his movement shall quietly absorb and be absorbed by the church. Shall not the authorities of the church meet them in a similar Catholic spirit, strong in the faith that "if it be not of God it will come to naught?"

Be it understood that this is no plea for wilful arrogance of the son of the church who will not respect the feelings or wishes of his mother but would, in defiant disobedience, assert liberty to do and teach according to his own sweet will. But it is an attempt to sympathetically portray modernism as the reform movement of loyal sons of the church who love her too much to rejoice or be indifferent to anything human being alien from her fold; who would so conceive and teach the faith that no intellectual difficulty in itself may be a bar to the Kingdom from which they would exclude only those "who love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil."

"In preaching Christianity to others or in living it himself, the modernist apprehends and presents it under the same inspired and imaginative symbols as the medievalist." But as philosophers and theologians, the modernist considers all theological formulas as relative and subject to change like any other human hypothesis. Not that he is indifferent to theology but he believes that so long as one lives the life, its correct formulation is a secondary matter, which may well be left to specialists.

This paper may well close with the illuminating words of Saint Augustine (*De Vera Religione*) with which, untroubled in conscience, the condemned modernists of the Roman communion concluded their own "Programme of Modernism":

"Divine Providence often allows even good men to be driven out of the church by the turbulence and intrigues of the carnal-minded, and if they bear this insult and injury patiently, for the peace of the church, and do not start some new schism or heresy, they will teach men with what affection and sincerity of love God is to be served. The fixed purpose of such men is to return as soon as ever the storm is over; or, if that is not possible—either because the same tempest continues, or because their return would raise another as bad, or worse—they resolve to work for the good of those very men of whose

turbulence they are the victims, never forming a separate congregation, defending unto death and sealing by their testimony that faith which they know to be preached in the Catholic church. These the Father, who sees in secret, crowns in secret. It seems a rare case, but examples are not wanting—nay, they are more numerous than commonly supposed."



## DEUS PROVIDEBIT.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHENEVER the course of events brings disappointments, Pius X, so the report goes, is in the habit of saying, *Deus providebit*, "God will provide." The world knows that he is a man of pure heart and genuine piety, and that the reactionary tendency of his rule is due to his sincere belief in the old traditional dogmatism. He is not versed in the ways of the world and has not been touched overmuch with science or modern ideas. His horizon is limited by the traditional beliefs of his mediæval Christinanity, and the strength of his faith fortifies him in his attitude. If the Catholic church needed a leader of pure heart and of honest conviction Pius X was undoubtedly the right man to fill the place of Leo XIII. A statesman like his predecessor would certainly have avoided what the world calls mistakes, for the present pope lacks the diplomatic cunning of a politician and simply obeys the behest of his conscience. This is a virtue, and we ask, can goodness ever be counted as a fault? Perhaps the very limitations of Pius X may be the means of providence to accomplish results otherwise impossible.

In our opinion the views of Pius X are antiquated, and we deem it desirable in the interest of the Roman Catholic church that this great institution should progress with the times and that it should not narrow itself to the mediæval conception which stunts its growth and alienates from it the best minds of its own fold, such as Mivart, Loyson, Loisy, Tyrrell and others. In answer to the complaints of the men who surround him, over the increase of infidelity and waywardness of the world, the pope offers his confidence in God, and after all there is much comfort in his words, *Deus providebit*.

There is an infallibility in the development of the world's history, and the very attitude of the present pope which has implicated the church in many problems and has caused the loss of prestige and of many political advantages, appears after all to be a part in

the dispensations of a higher will that unfailing, like any law of nature, dominates the growth of all institutions, among them also the Church of Rome.

Thinkers whose vision is not dimmed by the traditional view prevalent among the supporters of the old regime in Europe, will understand that a free church will be as much more powerful and influential than the mediæval system of keeping people in bondage, as for instance the king of England, in spite of all the constitutional limitations of his government, is more powerful than the most autocratic savage chief of Africa who owns his subjects body and soul.

The world is ready for a new phase in its religious development, and the question is whether or not the Roman Catholic church shall participate in the benefits thereof. We believe that its adherents can as well adapt themselves to the modern world conception, as their Protestant brethren. But the conditions are liberty of conscience for all, freedom of inquiry for science, and a brotherly tolerance for those who differ even though they may be Protestants or infidels.

The Catholic church as a matter of principle has always opposed such demands by its rigid *non possumus* and as a result has suffered by being left behind in the progress of the times. The present pope does not see and does not want to see the rocks ahead. Being blind to the change in the times, he is unwilling to alter his course so as to circumnavigate the danger. May we not now interpret the several steps which he has taken as being providential in compelling the church to give up the old concordats with the states, to stand on its own footing and after wrecking the Curia itself, permanently to abandon politics so that forthwith it will become what it ought to have been from the beginning, a purely spiritual power?

There are Roman Catholics, both reactionary and liberal, who are inclined to interpret the policy of the Curia as steps which might have been avoided by diplomacy. But should we not rather take the view of Pius X himself, when he finds comfort in the words *Deus providebit*?

The Roman Catholic church is the most conservative Christian institution. It has maintained the old ritual more faithfully than any one of the Protestant denominations and has developed Christian art in its most beautiful and classical form. There is much that is admirable and great in its traditions if only the shackles of mediævalism could be broken. In our opinion this is possible, and there are some of her devout sons who take this view and would fain attempt to do the work of reform. But they have so far been thwarted

in their aspirations, and have been branded as the worst enemies of the church, and fully as bad as Luther. We would therefore ask our Catholic brethren to bear with us for a while and understand the grand opportunity which now faces their church, and we wish them to be convinced that our suggestions are made in the spirit of genuine sympathy. If we allow modernists to say a word of criticism it is not because of ill will, nor spite, nor hostility on our part, but in the hope that it will serve a higher purpose.

His Holiness is a good Catholic and he tries to be a good Romanist, because he thinks that that is his duty. But here he fails. He has not the Romanist's temper nor has he been trained in Romanist diplomacy.

We distinguish between Romanism and Catholicism and while we sympathize with Catholicism, we make no secret of the fact that we are opposed to Romanism. Romanism dominates the Roman Catholic church to-day and both the Curia and its abettors identify both. They state that no one can be a good Catholic without submitting to Romanist principles by which the church happens to be governed. But we demur. We believe it to be possible that Catholicism can exist without Romanism. We would be sorry if we had said one word against Catholicism; and knowing that Romanists will interpret the criticism of Romanism as a hostility to Catholicism, we warn the reader, especially the Catholic reader, not to misunderstand our attitude.

The present Pope commands our highest esteem on account of his sincere honesty, his genuine piety, and the pure simplicity of his life. He has all the qualities of a reformer and indeed he has done some reform work in abolishing the ceremonial, as well as in the papal household many too worldly customs. His personality is unostentatious and so he prefers to prove the dignity of his office not by pomp but by holiness and faith. What an excellent man he would be if his faith were broad enough to see the significance of science so as to understand the dawn that indicates the new era. However, though this talent has not been given to him, he still retains the nobility of soul as a man of conviction who tries to do his duty, and that may be providential.

Where a man of his type does not see his way clearly, he is yet convinced that he serves as an instrument in the hands of God, and he does so serve, for finally all will come out right. It may not be in the sense that he intends, but certainly in the sense of God—the God of history.

We can understand that Catholics are devoted to Catholicism

but we fail to see how truly religious people can support Romanism. Catholicism is vitiated by Romanism ; yet Catholicism could be cured of its ills if it would only abandon Romanism. But this is no easy task. The Curia has governed the church so long that it will not give up its prey, and there is only one chance left, namely that the Curia will overreach itself by living up to the principles of Romanism. If the pope continues his present policy the time may come when Romanism will be wrecked, and if it be wrecked we shall see whether Catholicism will not be better off without it. *Deus prozidebit.*

## THE CRISIS IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

ACCORDING TO ABBÉ HOUTIN.

BY THE EDITOR.

SINCE The Open Court Publishing Company brought out the *Letters to His Holiness, Pope Pius X*, a good many answers have been received from Roman Catholic quarters that there is no such a thing as modernism, that the author of the book is a Judas, a renegade, a Lutheran, a Protestant, and that probably the whole book is a fake. We respect their standpoint although we would treat adversaries in a different way. A few of the protests, albeit emphatic, are gentlemanly. There is no need of answering every one of them, but we will in this connection call attention to a book of a kindred type written by Abbé Houtin, of France, entitled *The Crisis Among the French Clergy*, translated by E. Thorold Dickson, and published by David Nutt, London. The French abbot is very different from the American priest. While the latter is emotional the former is calm, and his expositions consist of impartial statements. He diagnoses a disease and considers the case extremely serious. In the face of the facts collected by Abbé Houtin it will be difficult to uphold the contention which our correspondents proclaim almost in unison that there is no crisis in the Roman Catholic Church. We present here a number of extracts.

In the preface Abbé Houtin emphasizes his belief "that light is the most powerful agent of health and progress" and having "something to relate about the clergy of France" . . . he will "attempt to give information to a certain number of his coreligionists who suffer profoundly in their own hearts and who argue without knowing very well what is the real question in dispute." He does not preach apostacy nor does he attack any dogma. He expects criticism only from those people, individuals or institutions, "who fish in muddy waters." He says, "Priests in large numbers each year

quit the Church to return to ordinary life," and it is common to explain their motives as apostasies, and the majority of ecclesiastics say disdainfully, "it is to go out by Luther's gate." According to Abbé Houtin "the special character of numerous special crises consists in their arising from the intellect, and not from character and morality; they are mental tragedies." He assures his readers that although his evidence is not as complete as it might be, everything "rests upon a solid basis." He had published the substance of the book in articles under pseudonym signatures, which, however, made no secret of the authorship to those who were posted.

He divides the priests who are disturbed in their faith into three classes. He says:

"Some, on leaving the seminary, have given their energies to good works, benevolent societies and associations, and orphanages, and they devote themselves unselfishly to a cause whose titles they do not investigate....

"Others do not reflect, because at the seminary they have yielded themselves up so entirely that that faculty has been cut away. Objections rain down upon them in vain—these will not affect them. They do not appear to understand them, or, indeed, they see in them a temptation which they are happy and proud to despise, just like that of 'concupiscence.'

"From the intellectual point of view, they remain for ever big children, not knowing searching problems or bitter disillusiones. Their life is eminently respectable owing to their charity and their unselfishness. They do good simply and joyously. Inspired by the generosity of their hearts and the purity of their spirit, they repel as a disgrace everything which could detach them from the Church or even so much as diminish the filial confidence which they yield to her.

"Some know nothing because they wish to know nothing. When leaving the seminary they think that they have nothing more to learn, and with the exception of their breviary, which they do not in the least understand, they read nothing....

"Some priests rest on it [faith] softly, as on 'a soft pillow'; others seek to advance their interests, as in a career giving an honest income. Do not speak to them of the rights of truth; for them it is either presumption or *naïveté*. They will take very good care not to know 'the fatal thought,' which Jouffroy cursed with so much bitterness. Sons of practical and cautious peasants, they understand what the hierarchy demands of them: a certain correctness of life; if it be possible, the outward evidence of some good work: the building or restoration of a church, the foundation or maintenance of a school or vicarage; after which there is every liberty to play, to drink, to kill the time as may seem well to them, and, above all, to save a little money. This is the character of their duties, and they conform to it. Faults are compensated by a noisy and militant orthodoxy.

"Such are the categories of priests who have hitherto, more or less, escaped the crisis....

"The desertions which, for ten years, have arisen more and more frequently among the clergy show the extent of the crisis. To estimate it with



some accuracy, it would be useful to know the details. But, as many of those who depart retire without an open declaration, the diocesan authorities can alone furnish the statistics. They draw them up perhaps, they have excellent reasons for not publishing them.

"Moreover, such lists would give incomplete information as to the true situation. In one diocese where Liberal-Catholicism, Americanism, Loisyism count many partisans, the desertions are very few. People desire the reform of the Church, they think that it ought to operate from within. All work for it, while remaining at their post. In another diocese, however, where a bishop, during a long reign, or even a series of bishops, have fought with all their strength to preserve their clergy from modern errors, that is to say, from scientific knowledge, from five to eight apostasies are recorded every year. . . .

"But the priests of truly enlightened intelligence number only some hundreds. It is very little, relatively to the mass of the clergy, and nevertheless it is already much, relatively to the density of its benightedness. What otherwise renders the affair more interesting, and of serious consequence, is that their number increases."

Those who remain faithful to the Church are classified as the ambitious and the sincere. As to the former, Abbé Houtin says:

"Ambitious priests smother their true feelings, and take no pity on souls troubled and eager for knowledge, but seek solely to distinguish themselves in controversies in order to reap a reward."

When speaking of the sincere, the Abbot grows pathetic:

"The day on which the priest discovers this accumulation of ruins is a terrible day. Theologians have taught him that in matters of dogma he could not doubt without committing a crime, and now he feels himself on the road to lose his faith completely. He had been told that to reject a single dogma makes him heretical and damned, and now he discovers several points of error! Does not the system itself in its entirety explain itself on natural lines?

"Poor priest! In thus seeing all his beliefs overwhelmed, he seems to himself to be going mad. He throws himself back upon prayer, he implores of God a miracle. . . . if a miracle be possible. In the morning, at Mass, holding between his hands that which faith teaches him to be God made man, he tells Him that he one day believed that he heard His appeal, and that he replied by sacrificing his whole life. He begs Him not to permit his apostasy; he asks of Him a miracle to rekindle his faith, such as often happened, it would seem, during the Middle Ages, such as a drop of blood in the wine or on the consecrated wafer, which are the body and blood of Christ.

"Alas! his faith is no longer strong enough to produce the illusion, and it is still too strong for him not to tremble at the thought of profaning so great a mystery. . . .

"While the intellectual priest laboriously classifies his beliefs, the faith often dies without a crisis in the case of other priests, sincere indeed but incapable of learned researches. It dies like a lamp whose oil becomes exhausted day by day. They observe, they reflect. The observations which they make unceasingly on the clergy, and on the world, convince them that the theological system which they teach cannot be true. . . .

"The crisis may be prolonged, but in the present state of the sciences its result is henceforth certain for any one who sees the questions in all their severity.

"In so far as she assumes herself to be established by God incarnate in a man, in an infallible Jesus, 'orthodox' Christianity is contradicted by history. The principles and the methods of this science are sure enough, the explanations which it gives of the evolution of Christian society, and of the elaboration of its beliefs, are sufficiently proved to enable one to declare that doubt is no longer possible.

"He who knows the proof is no more free to turn away from it than to refuse acquiescence in the solution of a problem of mathematics."

Concerning doctrines which are impossible to accept, Abbé Houtin refers only to one single instance. He says in a footnote:

"The objections to all Christian dogmas may be more or less long or more or less clear. There is one which is brief and peremptory—the saying which the three synoptic gospels attribute to Christ in a discourse on the signs preceding the end of the world: 'Verily I say unto you that this generation shall not pass away until all these things are fulfilled.' These words are an explicit error, and this error is the very basis of the Gospels. Whether this prophecy was made by Christ, or only by the apostles who misunderstood Him, the conclusion for orthodox religion is the same. Never have orthodox theologians been able to extricate themselves from this objection, which is a matter of fact. See *Question biblique au XXe siècle* (chap. II)."

Discussing the psychology of those who remain, the Abbot cites the case of Professor Renan, who, though a liberal, held on to the Church in spite of his apostasy, as a remarkable instance which deserves to be quoted.

Renan says:

"Shame upon him who becomes converted to vulgar common sense after having tasted the divine madness. The vow of holy insanity is the only one from which one ought not to be released!

"There are people riveted, to some extent, to absolute faith; I am speaking of men engaged in holy orders or clothed with a pastoral office. Even then, a beautiful soul knows how to find an outlet. A worthy country priest, through his solitary studies and the purity of his life, gradually sees the impossibilities of literal dogma; must he therefore sadden those whom he has hitherto consoled, and explain to simple souls changes which they cannot well understand? God forbid! There are not two men in the world who have exactly the same duties. The good Bishop Colenso performed an honest act such as the Church has not seen since its foundation in writing down his doubts as soon as they came to him. But the humble Catholic priest, in a country whose spirit is restricted and timid, must keep silence. Oh! how many discreet tombs, around village churches, cover thus a poetic reserve, angelic silences! Those whose duty it has been to speak, will they equal the merit of these secrets known to God alone?"

At the same time we must consider that the fate of a priest who leaves the Church is sad, for he is mostly incapable of earning

his livelihood. "Spinoza was able to polish spectacle glasses while philosophizing...the priest can do nothing. If he philosophizes, or wishes to continue to meditate upon religion without still living by the altar, he condemns himself to die of hunger." Thus many remain in the Church in spite of their tragic fate. Intellectual and moral constraint sometimes leads its victims to madness or suicide. Thus the priest who has lost his faith is in a bad dilemma. One of them bewailed his fate in these terms:

"The unfrocked priest is one who laments for ever the irreparable misfortune of having deceived himself; he is one who has only despair as his friend and eternal oblivion as his tomb.

"O! illusions of my youth, where are you?...O! golden dreams of my twentieth year, dreams of devotion and generous deeds, where are you?"

Lamennais, hoping for a reform, clung to the Church to the bitter end, and here is the confession of his plight:

"I am, and I can henceforward only be, extraordinarily unhappy...Thirty-four years of my life are gone, I have seen life under all its aspects, and in future I could not be a dupe of the illusions with which people would seek to soothe me still. I do not mean to reproach any one as regards this; there are some inevitable destinies; but if I had been less confident and less weak, my position would be very different. Well, it is what it is, and all that remains to me is to arrange things for myself as well as possible, and if possible go to sleep at the foot of the stake to which they have riveted my chain, happy if I can bring it to pass that they do not come, under a thousand wearisome pretexts, to trouble my sleep.' (To Abbé Jean, June 25, 1816.)—'Of what use are books? I only know of one bright, consoling book, which one always sees with pleasure, it is a registry of deaths. All the rest is vain, and does not correspond with reality.' (To Abbé Jean, March 18, 1817.)—'Never in my life have I been so unhappy as during the last two years. What I suffer is inexpressible. Before that, I could still hope for a little peace in the world; now, never. I look at death, and embrace it with all my desire.' (To Abbé Jean, March 3, 1818.) That was the priesthood, with its 'painful duties,' most opposed to his 'character.' (To Benoit d'Azy, April 7, 1819.)—'Sadness weakens me and takes away all my energy...Everything is hateful to me; I am bowed down by life.' (To Abbé Jean, August 14, 1818.)—'I drag along down here a mutilated life.' (To Benoit d'Azy, between February 11 and 14, 1819.)—'I have no longer any taste for anything on the earth; all my heart almost is already beyond the grave.' (To Mlle. de Trémereuc, April 5, 1822.)—'I confess to you that the earth weighs me down, I have need to look above. I am weary of this passing life which lacerates us in passing. Oh! you who do not pass away, you the only perfect good and for ever immutable, O! my God, when shall I see you? when shall I enter into your holy joy and your eternal repose?' (To Mlle. de Trémereuc, April 26, 1822.) Cf. *Correspondance* (Edition Forgnés, 1863); *Œuvres inédites* (published by A. Blaize, 1866); Auguste Laveille, *Un Lamennais inconnu* (1898); F. Duine, *Lamennais écrivain* (1904)."

The hope of reform is in the hearts of many, and one of them

addressed himself to Professor Renan, who answered under April 20, 1884, as follows:

"The extremely honest tone of your letter makes it a duty and a pleasure to reply to it. I know by experience how painful are the states of mind such as that through which you are passing. But you can have one very consoling thought, namely, that when one suffers inwardly for the truth, it is the great sign that one loves it, the true mark of election. You are too good a theologian not to see that so many points upon which Catholicism has pledged itself, and which find themselves in contradiction to the development of modern science, are points of faith, so much so that a consistent Catholic cannot yield upon any one of these points. When one has gone through the theological course at Saint-Sulpice, one cannot admit so false a position as was, for example, that of the Jansenists, Catholics in spite of the Church, members of a religious community which rejected them. But the Catholic Church is so great a thing, its present situation is so extraordinary, so tragic, that our century will see perhaps one of those crises where the logic of the scholastics is at fault. I persist in believing that our old mother is still fruitful, and that from her, in spite of appearances, there will issue the form of religion in which the human conscience will find repose. The Catholic Church will never be able to confess that she changes, but she will be able to allow a good deal to lapse.

"It is from souls lofty and sincere like yours that the first cry will arise, and it will soon be followed by a thousand others. Two things are certain: Catholicism cannot perish; Catholicism cannot remain what it is. It is true also that we cannot imagine in what way it could change. These hours when all the outlets appear barred are the great hours of Providence; but the agony at such times is great, and the lot of those who are reserved for this hour is cruel.

"Accept, sir, the assurance of my kindest and highest regards."

The only chance of reform seems to be the surrender of the letter for the sake of retaining the spirit, and this view is expressed by Renan in a letter to Father Hyacinthe Loyson (March 15, 1872). He said:

"The most desirable issue for the religious crisis of our time would have been a broadening of Catholicism, sacrificing upon many points the letter, and the material dogma, in order to save the spirit, resigning the contest against the ultimate results of science, and proclaiming without fear that none of these results would touch it in its true sanctuary, which is the acquiescence of the heart. You are right to hope against hope, and to regard this solution as still possible. The future has in reserve for us so many unknown situations, and the Papacy by its latest exaggerations has prepared for itself a destiny impossible to forecast!"

But all attempts at reform were crushed by the Church. Abbé Houtin relates how efforts of the Abbé Duilhé and Mgr. D'Hulst were wasted by the intrigues of the operandist party at Rome. It is a peculiar fact that many priests who have left the Church feel homesick after the mysticism to which they have become accustomed and to the old surroundings. Says Father Houtin:

"Sometimes the mystic temperament of him who has left her makes him suffer from home-sickness. Lay society appears to him atheistic, materialist, or sceptical. Modern light hurts his eyes, accustomed to veils drawn before them. He does not know how to make use of liberty. Among the clergy he might pass for an intelligent man of advanced views. Put back into the contemporary world, he feels himself, and appears, behind the times upon a number of points. He is like one returned from the dead. Moreover, his heart and all the fibres of his being are still impregnated with belief. His sensitiveness takes its revenge and throws him back into the Church. He wishes to believe, and he can succeed in doing so—at least for some time."

And yet the most prominent men could not be enticed to return although the Church tried to win them back by promises and distinctions. In former centuries the Church could ruin an apostate priest, the state lent its hand and an apostate was an outcast who found it impossible to earn an honest living and was ostracized in society. During the last thirty years, however, the hierarchy has lost both power and social influence, and adds Abbé Houtin:

"In default of energetic measures, the Church uses mildness. She easily finds negotiators among parents or friends. The greater the value attaching to the person whom it is a question of bringing back, the greater the condescension displayed. Assuredly one cannot cite a more important, or even a more honorable, example of its capacity in affairs of this kind than the proposition made on the part of the Vatican to M. Hyacinthe Loyson.

"Having learnt that he was passing the winter 1896-97 at Rome with his family, Leo XIII wished to profit by his visit to regain for the Church the orator who was one of its last glories, and who, while never ceasing to preach God, showed that he had always been, and was always, a true apostle. The Sovereign Pontiff therefore sent a mutual friend to approach him, Prince Baldassare Odescalchi, and a distinguished theologian, the Capuchin José Calazancio de Llevaneras, since become the Cardinal Vivès y Tuto. Permission was offered to the old friar to resume his sacerdotal functions, while retaining his wife and his son, but, naturally enough, upon condition of recognizing the dogma of pontifical infallibility, the definition of which was the cause of the rupture. In order to regularize the union contracted by Father Hyacinthe, the Pope would have associated him with an Oriental Church where the priests are married. This proposed combination fell through in the face of the uncompromising and conscientious scruples of the friar."

Abbé Houtin does not preach apostasy, and he himself has so far remained in the Church, although he has been bitterly attacked in some Roman clerical papers, especially by Father Condamin and Father Fontaine, and we have looked in vain for a plan of reform or a mode of redressing the evil. He only suggests a return of the priesthood to simplicity and admonishes bishops to renounce pomp which neither Christ nor the Apostles knew. Christ was a carpenter and St. Paul made tents, and he reminds us that the duty to earn a living for themselves was imposed upon the clergy at the general

council of Carthage in 398. Yet even if the habits of the clergy were improved by the introduction of the simple life, would the crisis thereby be averted? M. Houtin concludes his chapter entitled "Money" in these words, "Will the Gospels thereby become more authentic? And the old faith, the faith which your reformed clergy will still wish to teach, will it thereby become more true?"

These samples suffice to characterize the book of a Roman Catholic Abbot of Paris. To one not acquainted with such conditions as pictured in this book, it may appear doubtful whether it is right to disturb the peace of a large Church by a reading of Abbé Houtin's book, which it seems to me proves the need of reform. Whether a reform will be accomplished is another question, but let the men who are discontented have a chance to speak their minds, and for the rest leave the outcome to that divinity which shapes our ends rough-hew them though we may.



## CRITICS OF A MODERNIST BOOK.

BY THE EDITOR.

THERE is a great difference between Catholicism and Romanism. We have a Greek Catholic church, we have a Roman Catholic church, we have an Anglican Catholic church, and every Protestant church claims to be an exponent of the true Catholic church which is or should be the communion of all faithful Christians.

Protestantism is commonly regarded as a great progress in history, and there is no question that it marks a new epoch in the development of mankind. The intellectual horizon is widened by discovery and invention, and a future of still greater promise is prepared which we may call the age of science. Nevertheless there are some features in the Catholic church which speak in its favor, and this is true especially so far as art and the glamor of ritual are concerned. We deem it a pity that the reformation has swept away so many beautiful customs out of the churches and has left the religious life prosaic and monotonous. This is true mostly of the Puritans whose house of worship is ostentatiously unattractive and compares very unfavorably with the Roman Catholic churches.

The American traveler through Europe is strongly advised to visit Roman Catholic churches, for none of them so poor or small but contains something of interest,—the picture of a great artist, a marble statue, stained glass windows, or some rare monument or historic relic. Protestants may criticize this very feature as foreign to religion proper, nevertheless these things possess a peculiar charm and reflect the heart of the people to whom the church belongs.

Catholic churches are open all day during the week and on Sunday. They are for the people, and people flock there. The humble worshiper sits in a corner to find respite amid the stress of life, and even the horrible sights of people stricken with disease are evidence that the lowliest are not refused. There is something

human and humane about it and it certainly serves certain needs of all, even of the downtrodden, for which the Protestant churches have little consideration.

Even the most artistic Protestant churches are cold and forbidding in comparison to Roman Catholic sanctuaries. It may be true that in Protestant countries there is less need to care for people of this kind, for there is less poverty in the United States, England and Germany than in Spain and Italy, and the sick are taken to hospitals, but Protestants might bear in mind that their religious life is cold when compared to Roman Catholicism, which is more sympathetic with the lower strata of human society.

Catholicism is an ideal. A church that claims to be Catholic welcomes people of all nations and the very claim of Catholicity in a church is a promise that its doctrines shall be universal truths and also that nationality shall be of no consequence and shall play no part in its administration or policy.

That the Roman Catholic church is not universal but that it is Italian, is a well-known fact which even the most faithful Catholics do not deny. Care is taken that an overwhelming number of cardinals shall be Italians, and the chances of having any other than an Italian as Pope is extremely small. In itself this would be of little importance, but it is an indication that the entire church government is in the hands of a clique which is first of all bent on perpetuating its privileges.

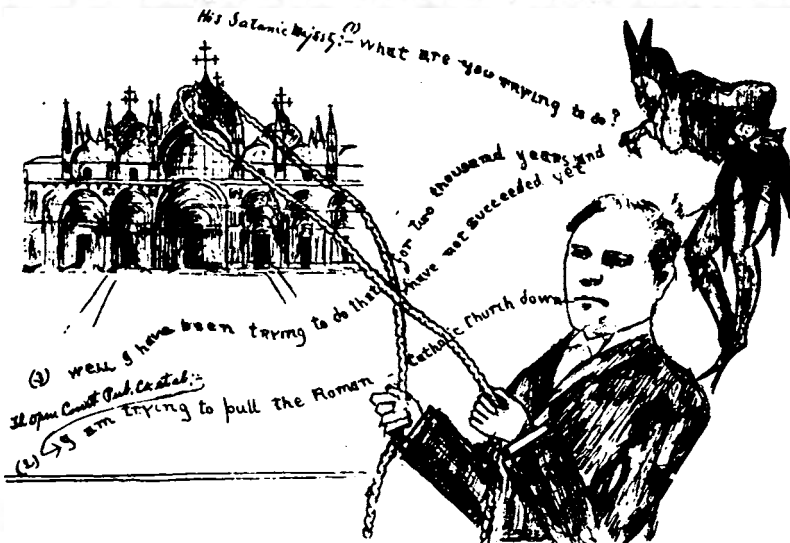
We must therefore distinguish between the Catholic faith as a religion and the Romanism of the Roman Catholic church, the latter at the present time the dominating spirit in its government. There is no contradiction therefore in the statement that we may be sympathizers with the Catholic faith while we criticise the Romanism of the Roman Catholic church.

The Catholic faith contains much that is beautiful. The ceremonial is more artistic than Protestant worship, with the possible exception of Episcopalianism, which however does not attain the same mystic glamour to be found in the mass at St. Peters or other great Roman Catholic cathedrals. The mind of the scientist is not made to indulge in the intoxicating enjoyment of this form of worship, but scientists are not the only people in the world that count, and we can very well understand that there are many minds who are in need of the poetry, the grandeur and solemn symbolism of a worship such as is found in Catholicism.

With all our appreciation of the significance of such forms of worship, we are aware of great shortcomings in the Roman Catholic

church and so far as we can see, all of them are due to the political management of the church which in one word we have called Romanism. If the church could be reformed so as to keep in check the spirit of Romanism, the Catholic church could be one of the grandest institutions recorded in history, and there would be no need of its being a brake on the wheel of progress, a menace to liberty and a bane to science.

From this point of view the Open Court Publishing Company accepted for publication the book of "A Modernist," entitled *Letters to His Holiness, Pope Pius X*, and we will repeat here that we regard this book as an eye-opener to Catholics. We hope that in the long run it will produce good effects. That our good intentions would be misinterpreted was to be foreseen, but upon the whole we



feel gratified that recent public events as well as the individual responses we have received justify our action. Even condemnatory letters which have been written to us by Roman Catholic priests to whom circulars were sent, are, in our opinion, strong evidence of the need of a reform within the pale of the Roman Catholic church. We propose to publish a selection from them for the purpose of characterizing the situation. Most of these letters are signed by full names, and others not signed can be traced to their authors through the postmarks, but we deem it proper not to make them public. Wherever they are anonymous the fact will be stated.

The letters which use strong language are in the majority and naturally they are the most amusing. We open the series with

a pretty picture which brings out the artistic spirit that still animates the church. In the original, the anonymous artist drew Satan in red ink standing above the shoulder of the infidel representing the Open Court Publishing Company. The words issuing from his mouth are also in red, while the crosses on the spires of the church are in gold. Accompanying is the following text:

"The Church laughs, because fools like you always existed, and because Christ has said to His Church: Behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world. It would be well for you poor fools to read Matt. x. 16-42 and Matt. xviii. 19, 20, and see by the first how you and your ilk are exemplifying, consciously or unconsciously, the words of Christ. Why did you not give the name of the author? He is either some fellow who does not know what he is talking about, or else he is some poor unfortunate, who through his love for "Punch" or "Judy" caused him to fall from grace, and he is working the gullible unchristian fools like yourself. I say unchristian, for Protestantism has passed away with not a shred of the original Christianity that characterized it. Poor fellows!"

A Jesuit from a northwestern state was thus affected:

"Now I want to tell you the impression made on me by it all. Have you ever conversed with a maniac? If you have, recollect the pity you ought to have felt for the poor fellow; and your utter disgust at his wild, incoherent and absolutely laughable statements. Now that is just how I felt after I had perused those pages."

A Texas priest finds in the *Letters of a Modernist*, "the voice of nobody saying nothing," but betrays his own incredulity as to established facts by continuing: "If the *Open Court* thinks that any intelligent American is green and gullible enough to think that any priest is so ignorant and stupid as to be the author of some of the things set down in the book they must be living in a fools' paradise. Most of it we have heard before. Some of it is true but that is part of the game, nevertheless it does not justify the charge of \$1.25 for such a stupendous fraud. The book is returned under different cover. Hope some of its authors will go to Lourdes."

A Spanish priest writes these simple words: "*Modernista otro Respiradero del Infierno.*"

A Dominican father writes: "Pray give me the author's name, a short sketch of his life, a properly endorsed certificate of his intellectual, moral and religious standing, and I will immediately order a number of copies. If not, I will denounce Author and Publisher as Liars and Humbugs, and your work as one of *shameless falsehood* and of *portentous deviltry.*"

An adherent of the old school is sweeping in his condemnation of modernism. He writes: "To let you know that you need no more molest me with your heretical literature, I inform you that I consider every Modernist an enemy of God and the first born of the devil."

We regret to have shocked a pious priest who sees in us the incarnation of the Evil One. He says:

"It is a shocking publication and as false as if it came from Hell and Satan was its author. Why publish such a fabrication? In God's name quit doing the Devil's work. 'Letters to His Holiness, Pope Pius X!' 'Springes to Catch woodcocks' as Shakspeare would say. You may as well save your wind as address a letter to His Holiness. Throwing stones at the moon is more practical. You will make no money on the business and evidently this is the object in view. Of course there are fools who swallow your silly stuff, but prey not on them like—."

One of our anonymous correspondents promises that sometime in the future we shall pay dearly for our "rebellious spirit of pride." Another speaking in the name of common sense claims that priests know more about "Biblical criticism, comparative religion, history of dogma, the Church's relation to social progress" than heretics. He adds: "You must think us ignoramuses. It would pay you gentlemen to learn something about our seminary courses and also to make the acquaintance of some of our priests. They will talk to you. You will see how ignorant they are."

The Superior of a Catholic Hospital believes also in the high educational mission of the Catholic church and writes as follows with reference to a corresponding article which appeared in the May *Open Court*:

"In face of the fact that the Catholic church, through the Popes, has been the founder of all the great Universities of Europe,—Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Paris, Salamanca, etc., etc., etc.; that she is running more institutions of learning, Academies, Univ. Schools, at the present day, than all other 'churches' combined; that she has been the patron of more fine art, sculpture, painting and literature, than all the world besides, that her literature has been the inspiration of all the greatest geniuses of Christianity, Columbus, Aquinas, Dante, Mozart, Shakespeare, Milton, Longfellow (whose finest veins are all Catholic), that she gave, at the cost of the blood of her sons and daughters, Christianity and civilization to all the nations of Europe, England, Germany, Russia, France, etc., etc., that her sons and daughters are now distributed by the ten thousand





Still another is even more forceful simply because it is condensed.

\_\_\_\_\_ for \$1.25.  
*To hell*  
 Name \_\_\_\_\_  
*with*  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
*Love*

Many good priests are more Roman than Catholic and they betray their spirit by an outspoken hostility to Protestantism. A representative of this class writes: "Protestant *ministers* and all other *fakers* are the only ones interested in modernism." He adds: "Modernism has been condemned as far as Catholics are concerned." The same sentiment is expressed almost literally in other letters.

More dignified is the following letter from a priest who is apparently of Spanish extraction: "Allow me to say that I consider it as an insult to offer to a Catholic Priest a book as per pamphlet. Your idea about a Catholic priest must be a very low one. Our faith has been modern enough for about 2000 years and ever shall be. A fool can tear down but it needs more than a fool's strength to uphold the truth."

The best and in fact the noblest reply comes from a devout Roman Catholic layman who writes as follows:

"Is the writer a Catholic priest? My answer is that if so he was not reared in a Catholic family and is probably a convert. This is important in accounting for his point of view.<sup>1</sup> The Massachusetts priest took the matter too seriously.<sup>2</sup> He belongs to the type of men of times gone by when people were quartered for not sharing the same views as the dominant party in both the political and religious world. The writer of the letters is in evident trouble and needs sympathy, not abuse. However, he is a poet and not practical. There are some abuses in the human side of church government. This is true of all monarchies, and republics are not free from them.

<sup>1</sup>The author of *Letters to His Holiness* is a born Catholic of Irish extraction.

<sup>2</sup>This has reference to a communication formerly received in re "Letters to His Holiness." See *Open Court*, April, 1910, p. 385.

Time will do much to modify them. Fifty years of the Papal Court in the United States would change the whole human side of church management without altering one truth the Church teaches. This, however, will never be, for many, many reasons. Under present conditions it may take centuries, not half centuries, to work the change. This poor distracted writer will I think eventually find mental peace when he feels less keenly his personal burden in righting things."

An Episcopalian sympathizes with the author in these words:

"I am glad that an American Roman Catholic has had the courage to speak out on the subject as he has. I cannot help wishing that a copy of the book were in the hands of all intelligent persons. I have in my library *Modernism* by Sabatier; *Medievalism* by Tyrrell; and *The Gospel and the Church* by Loisy, and must say that, to my mind, the writer of *Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X* need not 'take a back seat.'"

A converted Catholic expresses his appreciation of the Modernist's struggle for liberty, but he is not satisfied with the negativism of the book. He says: "We want something constructive, the lack of which has been the weakness of Tyrrell and the Italian and French fine spirits. I think this can be attained by adherence to Christ not only as Teacher, but also as Saviour. I hope and pray your Modernist will see in the New Testament a testimony of the Holy Spirit, and not a creed of contentious Godless theologians. To the humble and contrite of heart, the patient, loving, serving, God reveals himself in Christ Jesus."

We conclude our selection with the following anonymous letter:

"I wonder how such men as 'Modernist' have the courage to attempt to fight the great institution of the church of Rome. All attempts at undermining its existence, or even effecting its reform must be vain, for it is built upon the solidest foundation, i. e., the ineradicable stupidity of mankind. This is so universal that the claim of the church to Catholicity cannot be disputed. The majority of our kin belong to the great sheep-fold where they should be properly attended to and fleeced. There are plenty of Modernists in the church, but they are wiser than your author, and keep peace. The writer is one of them, and so you will please excuse him if he signs himself, merely,  
Another."

There is no need of making extracts from the comments of the Catholic and non-Catholic press on the Modernist's book, because they have been well summed up in the advertisement which accom-

panies the present number of *The Open Court*. There is only one paper from which we will quote in this connection.

We are much obliged to the *New World*, a Catholic organ of Chicago, for calling our attention to a mistake in the Preface where by some inadvertence Leo X, the Pope of the Reformation, is called Gregory X. This slip does not invalidate the statement of this pope's love of pagan art which has impressed itself upon the church and is its glory still. Worse mistakes are made than this harmless substitution of a wrong name, nor does it change the fact that Modernist has been recommended to us as a sincere and deeply religious man. And we believe the statement, for men who are religiously and morally indifferent do not write books of this kind. But the reviewer, a former brother of the cloth of Modernist, is sure that Modernist is an outcast, "wallowing among the weeds" that any kind word spoken in his favor is "a lie or deception." What shall we think of the reviewer who in the *New World* writes thus: "We are quite justified, we think, in challenging every fact in a book where its foreword is *a lie or deception*."<sup>3</sup> We aver and we know whereof we speak that the author of these letters addressed to our Holy Father is no longer a priest in good standing in the Catholic Church nor is he 'devoted to his pastoral work.' Rather does he stand outside the wall *where the weeds are thrown over*<sup>3</sup> . . . . Indeed the author practically disposes of himself. He writes himself down in every page of his 'Letters' not as an honest and sincere thinker, but rather as a man pressed down by the nightmare of a grievance and he seeks consolation in the fact that he is wallowing among the 'weeds' wherein slumber the memory of Gratry, Montefeltro, Gioberti, Lamennais, Döllinger, Schell and Tyrrell."

This style of disposing of an enemy is not wise. It may have been successful in the days of the massacre of St. Bartholomew but to-day it only refreshes unpleasant memories of the past. Yet it is still characteristic of the typical Romanist to vilify Luther and men kin to his spirit such as Döllinger, Loisy, Tyrrell and other independent thinkers and herein His Holiness himself in his naive outspokenness is not an exception. However the Curia found out that the world has moved and it may pay the Vatican in the future to have more respect for the views of heretics. These modes of arguing have lost power and those who employ them simply prove that they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

We repeat that in many respects we do not endorse the position of Modernist, author of *Letters to His Holiness*, but we have pub-

<sup>3</sup> Italics are ours.

lished his book because we believe that his attitude is honestly taken and that his criticism will pave the way for a much needed reform. That Modernist does not stand alone appears from other publications of a similar type, some of which are reviewed in this number; and there are many more symptoms of the time which prove that the Roman Catholic church is now standing "At the cross roads." We wish heartily that she would choose aright.

\* \* \*

In conclusion we wish to state that in spite of these protests against Modernism and in spite of the declaration that Modernism is a dead issue, the Catholic church is stirred to its foundation in almost all countries where it exists. In Germany the Reichstag has protested against the Pope's encyclical and even the Catholic King of Saxony has expressed his disapproval. In France the separation of church and state is now perfectly assured, and Spain rebels while continuing to wear the yoke.

What will be the outcome of all this? Is the existence of Catholicism endangered? Certainly not. But it is not improbable that Romanism which held an absolute sway over the Catholic church will lose much of its power, and we heartily wish that in the long run it may be entirely overcome. The conquest of Romanism will not mean the end of Catholicism but its purification, its reform, and a renewed lease of life.





THE ROUND TABLE OF FREDERIC THE GREAT.

From a painting of Adolf Menzel.

*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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VOL. XXIV. (No. 12.)      DECEMBER, 1910.

NO. 655

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## FREDERIC THE GREAT'S BIOGRAPHY OF JULIEN OFFRAY DE LA METTRIE.

TRANSLATED BY GERTRUDE CARMAN BUSSEY.

[The University of Berlin was anticipated by Frederic the Great in a Royal Academy of Science which he had founded and in the transactions of which he took a personal interest. One of his contributions was a eulogy on La Mettrie, a French physician and philosopher who on account of his book *L'homme machine* had been banished from Holland and was received with honor at the Prussian court. The eulogy written by Frederic the Great was read by his secretary Darget at a public meeting of the Academy of Berlin, to which on Frederic's initiative La Mettrie had been admitted. So far as we know this eulogy has never been translated into English and even the French original is almost inaccessible. Under these circumstances we deem it desirable to bring it before the English speaking public. Adolf Menzel has portrayed the royal philosopher surrounded by a circle of savants in his castle at Sans Souci. La Mettrie is seated at the extreme right hand of the picture, a reproduction of which serves as a frontispiece to the present number.]

JULIEN Offray de la Mettrie was born in Saint Malo, on the twenty-fifth of December, 1709, to Julien Offray de la Mettrie and Marie Gaudron, who were living by a trade which was large enough to procure a good education for their son. They sent him to the college of Coutances to study the humanities; he went from there to Paris, to the college of Plessis; he studied his rhetoric at Caen, and since he had much genius and imagination, he won all the prizes for eloquence. He was a born orator, and was passionately fond of poetry and *belles-lettres*, but his father thought that he would earn more as an ecclesiastic than as a poet, and destined him for the church. He sent him, the following year, to the college of Plessis where he studied logic under M. Cordier, who was more a Jansenist than a logician.

It is characteristic of an ardent imagination to seize forcefully the objects presented to it, as it is characteristic of youth to be prejudiced in favor of the first opinions that are inculcated. Any other scholar would have adopted the opinions of his teacher but that was not enough for young La Mettrie; he became a Jansenist, and wrote a work which had great vogue in that party.

In 1725, he studied natural philosophy at the college of Harcourt, and made great progress there. On his return to his country, M. Hunault, a doctor of Saint Malo, advised him to adopt the medical profession. They persuaded his father, assuring him that the remedies of a mediocre physician would pay better than the absolutions of a good priest. At first young La Mettrie applied himself to the study of anatomy: he dissected for two years. After this, in 1725, he took the degree of doctor at Rheims, and was there received as a physician.

In 1733, he went to Leyden to study under the famous Boerhaave. The master was worthy of the scholar and the scholar soon became worthy of the master. M. La Mettrie devoted all the acuteness of his mind to the knowledge and to the healing of human infirmities; and he soon became a great physician.

In the year 1734, during his leisure moments, he translated the treatise of the late M. Boerhaave, his *Aphrodisiacus*, and joined to it a dissertation on the venereal maladies, of which he himself was the author. The old physicians in France rose up against a scholar who committed the affront of knowing as much as they. One of the most celebrated doctors of Paris did him the honor of criticizing his work (a sure proof that it was good). La Mettrie replied; and, to confound his adversary still more, he composed in 1736, a treatise on vertigo, esteemed by all impartial physicians.

By an unfortunate effect of human imperfection a certain base jealousy has become one of the characteristics of men of letters. It inflames the mind of those who have reputations, against the progress of budding geniuses. This blight often fastens on talents without destroying them, but it sometimes injures them. M. La Mettrie, who was advancing in the career of science at a giant's pace, suffered from this jealousy, and his quick temper made him too susceptible to it.

In Saint Malo, he translated the "Aphorisms" of Boerhaave, the "Materia Medica," the "Chemical Proceedings," the "Chemical Theory," and the "Institutions," by this same author. About the same time, he published an abstract of Sydenham. The young doctor had learned by premature experience, that if he wished to live

in peace, it was better to translate than to compose; but it is characteristic of genius to escape from reflection. Counting on himself



JULIEN OFFRAY DE LA METTRIE.

alone, if I may speak thus, and filled with the knowledge he had gained from researches into nature, he wished to communicate to the public the useful discoveries which he had made. He wrote

his treatise on smallpox, his "Practical Medicine," and six volumes of commentary on the physiology of Boerhaave. All these works appeared at Paris, although the author had written them at Saint Malo. He joined to the theory of his art an always successful practice, which is no small recommendation for a physician.

In 1742, La Mettrie came to Paris, led there by the death of M. Hunault, his old teacher. Morand and Sidobre introduced him to the Duke of Gramont, and a few days after, this lord obtained for him the commission of physician of the guards. He accompanied the Duke to war, and was with him at the battle of Dettingen, at the siege of Freiburg, and at the battle of Fontenoi, where he lost his patron, who was killed by a cannon shot.

La Mettrie felt this loss all the more keenly, because it was at the same time the reef on which his fortune was wrecked. This is what took place. During the campaign of Freiburg, La Mettrie had an attack of violent fever. For a philosopher an illness is a school of physiology; he thought that he perceived that thought is but a consequence of the organization of the machine, and that the disturbance of the springs has considerable influence on that part of us which the metaphysicians call soul. Filled with these ideas during his convalescence, he boldly bore the torch of experience into the night of metaphysics; he tried to explain by the aid of anatomy the thin texture of understanding, and he found only mechanism where others had supposed an essence superior to matter. He had his philosophic conjectures printed under the title of "The Natural History of the Soul." The chaplain of the regiment sounded the tocsin against him, and at first sight all the devotees cried out against him.

The common ecclesiastic is like Don Quixote, who found marvellous adventures in commonplace events, or like the famous soldier, so engrossed with his system that he found columns in all the books that he read. The majority of priests examine all works of literature as if they were treatises on theology, and filled with this one aim, they discover heresies everywhere. To this fact are due so many false judgments, so many accusations, formed, for the most part, in an ill timed manner against the authors. A book of natural philosophy should be read in the spirit of a physician; nature, the truth, is its sole judge, and should absolve or condemn it. A book of astronomy should be read in the same manner. If a poor physician proves that the blow of a stick smartly rapped on the skull disturbs the mind, or that at a certain degree of heat, reason wanders, one must either prove the contrary or keep quiet. If a skilful

astronomer proves, in spite of Joshua, that the earth and all the celestial globes revolve around the sun, one must either calculate better than he, or admit that the earth revolves.

But the theologians, who might make the weak believe, by their continual apprehension, that their cause is bad, are not troubled by such a small matter. They insisted on finding seeds of heresy in a work dealing with physic. The author underwent a frightful persecution, and the priests claimed that a doctor accused of heresy could not cure the French guards.

To the hatred of the devotees was joined that of his rivals for glory. This was rekindled by a work of La Mettrie's entitled "*The Politics of Physicians*." A man full of cunning, and carried away by ambition, aspired to the place, then vacant, of first physician to the king of France. He thought that he could gain it by throwing ridicule upon those of his contemporaries who might lay claim to this position. He wrote a libel against them, and abusing the easy friendship of La Mettrie, he enticed him to lend him the volubility of his pen, and the richness of his imagination. Nothing was needed to complete the downfall of a man little known, against whom were all appearances, and whose only protection was his merit.

La Mettrie, having been too sincere as a philosopher and too obliging as a friend, was compelled to leave his country. The Duke of Duras and the Viscount of Chaila advised him to flee from the hatred of the priests and the revenge of the physicians. Therefore, in 1746, he left the hospitals of the army where he had been placed by M. Sechelles, and came to Leyden to philosophize in peace. He there composed his "*Penelope*," a polemical work, in which, after the fashion of Democritus, he made fun of the vanity of the physicians, whose quackery was painted in true colors. The curious result was that they themselves could not help laughing when they read it, and that is a sure sign that they found more wit than malice in it.

M. La Mettrie having lost sight of his hospitals and his patients, gave himself up completely to speculative philosophy; he wrote his "*Man as Machine*" or rather he put on paper some fine thoughts about materialism, which he doubtless planned to rewrite. This work, which was bound to displease men who by their estate were declared enemies of human reason, roused all the priests of Leyden against its author. Calvinists, Catholics and Lutherans forgot for the time that consubstantiation, free will, mass for the dead, and the infallibility of the pope divided them: they all united

again to persecute a philosopher who was moreover unfortunate enough to be French, at a time when that monarchy was waging a successful war against their High Powers.

That he was a philosopher and at the same time unfortunate was enough to procure for La Mettrie a refuge in Prussia with a pension from the king. He came to Berlin in the month of February in the year 1748; he was there received and made a member of the Royal Academy of Science. Medicine reclaimed him from metaphysics, and he wrote a treatise on dysentery, another on asthma, the best that had then been written on these cruel diseases. He sketched works on a variety of philosophical subjects which he had proposed to look into. By a sequence of accidents which befel him these works were stolen, but he demanded their suppression as soon as they appeared.

La Mettrie died in the house of Milord Tirconnel, minister plenipotentiary of France, whose life he had saved. It seems that the disease, knowing with whom it had to deal, was clever enough to attack his brain first, so that it would more surely confound him. He had a burning fever, and was violently delirious. The invalid was obliged to have recourse to the science of his colleagues, and he did not find there the resources which he had so often found in his own, both for himself and for the public.

He died on the eleventh of November, 1751, at the age of forty-three years. He had married Louise Charlotte Dré Anna, by whom he left only a daughter, five years and a few months old.

La Mettrie was born with a fund of natural and inexhaustible gaiety, he had a quick mind, and such a fertile imagination that it made flowers grow in the arid field of medicine. Nature had made him an orator and a philosopher; but a yet more precious gift which he received from her, was a pure soul and an obliging heart. All those who are not imposed upon by the pious insults of the theologians mourn in La Mettrie a good man and a wise physician.



## THE AVESTA AND THE VEDA.<sup>1</sup>

### THE ESTRANGEMENT AND THE BREAK.

BY PROF. LAWRENCE H. MILLS.

**B**UT amidst this mass of unquestioned evidence of unity we come upon a phenomenon which, at the first sight upon it, undoes it all. Internal differences, as we are all too well aware, have everywhere lowered religious names, and holy offices once held most sacred fall to less repute. "Unpreaching prelates," let us recall for instance, were once not approved by Puritans, and the chief titular Christian Bishop is openly called "Antichrist" by a large fraction of those who profess to worship the same great Lord. Many also who exalt the "saints" with conscientious devotion are termed "idolaters" by their co-religionists, while they, in their turn, hurl back the retort of "heretic," each party to the conflict being doubtless both serious and fervent, while each also consigns the other without hesitation to the flames of an eternal future.

It was still more natural in the first struggles of the Faith with the classic heathenism for the early Christians to find "Jupiter" a possessing devil, or to withdraw "Apollo" through the nostril of the neophyte. No facts, indeed, would seem to be more cruel than such as these which show the dearest gods of one race made the very demons of the next.

#### *The Great Dethronement.*

But where—to resume—in the wide history of religions or religious peoples, will you find the gods whom the very men involved themselves once worshipped,—nay the supreme chief one of them, long regarded as creator and at last dethroned, a god still adored by their own close kindred,<sup>2</sup> those of their present defamers;

<sup>1</sup> Completed from the issue of July, 1910, being a revised and second edition from *East and West* of 1902, February and March.

<sup>2</sup> The kindred of the very men who now condemn them.

may not alone dethroned,—*transformed* like any foreign god to *fiend*. and this not only in spite of their kinsmen's unchanging belief, but in fact possibly, if not probably, *because* of it. Yet this is what stares at us from every folio of Avesta, as from many a section of the Veda. Not only have some of the subordinate divinities turned upon their *alter-egos*, but the very name of Heaven itself is violated; and this, as I regret to say, upon the side of Iran. No name more fitted to beneficial spiritual powers could ever, as one would think, have fastened itself upon the receptive sensibilities of happy worshippers, than that name of the "shining sky"; and *Deva* (*to div*) is, indeed, still used by several branches at the great Indo-Germanic family as *deus*, *Deity*, and the like, a household word in Eastern and South Europe (more book-word with the Teutons). And what sounds could really be more appropriate as the tonic signs to mark our recognition of the God-head!

And so in classic times as well *Zeus pater* is *Jupiter*, as *divas pater* was Heaven's father, and yet it was this "Heaven" itself, *Zeus-divas*, which Iran used for the gods of Hell! A great pity, as we may well concede; it might indeed even shock us, but so it remains the fact! From the very Gathas on, throughout the old, the intermediate, and the new Avesta, throughout the period of *Pahlavi*, through that of the exquisite Persian literature (early, middle and late), down to this very day hardly the very smallest trace of a serious deviation has been discovered or reported. *D(a)eva* and *Dev* have never been made use of prominently, if at all,—so far as I have observed, or can remember,—in all our surviving Iranian to designate those holy beings whom the ancestors of both Indian and Iranian once worshiped with the word (so fitted for such a use)!

#### *Its Cause.*

And how did this sad change occur, as we must in due course inquire? It might assist our answer if we first look for a moment at a still greater profanity, if not, indeed, still greater blasphemy,—as we might so term it, and this time still quite as unhappily if, as was the fact, upon the other side. *Asura* became displaced. The Indian Aryans, and some of them at an excessively early period, themselves dragged down this once honored name for the Supreme Spirit whom their own still earlier seers adored. *Asura* itself was changed by the ancestors of Indians, as by Indians themselves, and not only changed but inverted in its turn, as in the other case of *Deva* a generic name was degraded; but this was worse than de-

grading a mere generic name. "Deva," however glorious, seldom meant an individual deity till later days,<sup>3</sup> while Asura was seemingly at times beyond all doubt a distinct person, or at least rhetorically so used, and as such he had his name taken horribly in vain,—at all events as the great *god-class*. He was once the believer's father,<sup>4</sup> not only "Heaven's Deva"<sup>5</sup> as in the older Veda, but father of the heroes that bear the earth,<sup>6</sup> and even of the infinite "eternals." And not man alone, but "gods" bore hymns to him,<sup>7</sup>—"the offerers of the great race of *Angirases* are his servants, sons of Heaven,"<sup>8</sup> so three of the First *Adityas* are his champions.<sup>9</sup> Even Agni, dearest of the gods, is born of him.<sup>10</sup>

"Seven-priested from of old forth, forth he beameth  
As in the mother's womb apart he shines,—  
Eye hath he never closed, the watchful, joyful,  
Since from Asura's loins he issued child."

One would think that Asura's place as a god—so far as he was so signally a person—was safe, if ever a deity's possessions were. But he begins to lose it, and before a redoubted rival, who is found indeed uniting with Heaven itself and the wide Earth against him, Asura—for all bow down before the rising Indra (R. V., I, 131, 1). The full celestial civil conflict at length breaks out:<sup>11</sup>

"O Lord of prayer, Brihaspati, O Indra,  
With thy hot bolt split through Asura's men  
As thou of old didst smite with daring fury—  
So smite to-day, O Indra, that fell fiend!"

And this of Asura, erstwhile the father of both gods and men!<sup>12</sup>

"O Indra, Vishnu, all Sambara's strongholds  
Ninety and nine, ye smote, though fastened tight  
A *varchin's* hundred, yea a thousand foemen  
Ye slew them all, Asura's thousand might."

At last he is totally "ungodded" (called "no-god," *adeva*)<sup>13</sup> with his once peerless hosts:

<sup>3</sup> Cicero's *deus* was often merely "the divine," as was also the Greek *theos* often.

<sup>4</sup> Or "the dead father" was called *Asura*. R. V., X, 124, 3.

<sup>5</sup> R. V., V, 41, 3. *Asura* of heaven.

<sup>6</sup> R. V., X, 10, 2.

<sup>7</sup> R. V., V, 41, 3.

<sup>8</sup> R. V., III, 7, and X, 67, 2, etc.

<sup>9</sup> R. V., III, 56, 8.

<sup>10</sup> R. V., III, 29, 14 (so reading, and not *Dyaus*).

<sup>11</sup> R. V., II, 30, 4.

<sup>12</sup> So also retrospectively, R. V., VII, 99, 5.

<sup>13</sup> R. V., VIII, 85 (96), 9; literally "with thy wheel."

"Bladeless the non-gods Asuras oppose thee,—  
With hurling spear, O headlong, drive them hence!"

And this goes back as early as R. V., IV, 23, 5. The *Rishis* foil their tricks,—and in R. V., VI, 7, 2, defeat them, considered as a class. Several of the gods claim to overshadow him—Asura—as an individual (R. V., X, 53, 4). No fall could be more signal. Even the *Dasa*, the "scorcher," (see above) is coupled with him (R. V., X, 22, 4).

It is a very remarkable phenomenon, look at it in whatever light we may. And this occurred in hymns sung by *Rishis* of the same people, in the same meters, and in the self-same line of priests (apparently). Here then is a god, spiritually supreme in one century, or perhaps even in one decade, and yet not only degraded but reviled in another closely succeeding period,—and in the same country, by the same people.

And so, again, we have the question, as of the *D(a)eva* name, though *Asura* is somewhat less familiar. Let us now ask more closely, How did this happen? The great name *Ahura*, as *Asura*, held itself unrivalled in the other land from one end of the Iranian territory and history to the other; it never lost its supremacy. Why did it not likewise continue to be supreme in India as well? And why did the like—only approximately—parallel reverse take place with the name of *D(a)eva*<sup>14</sup> as we have seen: *adored* in one accidentally far separated lore—territorially separated, and *execrated* with dynamic fury in the other. Was theology alone the evil cause in both cases of lost sovereignty?

That the once twin peoples later quarreled theologically on the matters of ritual and creed none can doubt; and that their religious quarrels had something, as of course, to do with their mere geographical division seems certain. In the case of *Asura* this took place not with the division between Indian and Iranian alone, but with the jarrings between school and school among the Indians; there were such bickerings beyond a doubt, and as usual, and this even between *shrine* and *shrine*. To explain this deplorable, but too often recurring, mishap, we must, as so often now, go back to the pettiest of all small causes. Some poet in a favored center had made too brilliant illustrations—this was the difficulty; or some woes predicted by one priesthood there had turned out too strikingly, though perhaps accidentally, correct; or again, more simply and as a familiar case, one community had become too prosperous, so that

<sup>14</sup> I. e., *Deva*.

their especial patron deity must be a little taken down. Such were beyond all doubt the far-back secrets of the thing.

So, low and deep, the mutterings began against the prestige of the now alas! too loudly praised Asura: "Those vaunted deeds of that especial deity, or class, *give flocks and herds* across yon river, or yon border;" "This is the very cause, perhaps, why flocks and herds *are dwindling here*;" "*Asura*, once supreme for all of us, is turning out to be a party-god to the great profit of *those* rivals." And as the negro first neglects and later pounds his fetish, so the Indians began to drop Asura hymns, then to murmur in undertone some fragments in a hostile strain; till at last after some savage struggle they cast off all reserve and openly reviled the god who could so help the hated neighbor and so forgot the days when they too raised his name in song as sweet as any.

This was the true motive of the change, we may depend upon it, as between Indian and Indian; and—take my word for it—it is the secret of half the changes in opinions since. Could things like this have failed to help on, if not actually to cause as well, the differences also between the men of Veda and men of Avesta (and this while they, the future Indians and the original Iranians, still touched each other in their homes), as such like things most certainly brought on the same sort of differences between Indians and Indians in their Southern settlements also *still later on*? The contrary seems hardly possible; things like these must have been the causes here at work. That these grave, and ultimately fatal, differences, with all their mournful but inevitable consequences, had their actual origin from anything like simple and clear differing radical *intellectual* convictions, stirring the very soul and conscience, is unlikely to the very last degree. Why, even the precipitation in some of our own great modern reformatations had their impetus from the smallest of all trivial hopes or fears. No, it is extremely foolish to suppose that a purely rational theological antagonism in opinion was really at that early period, the moving cause of the harsh events which followed upon these sub-divisions in either case. Theological rancor,—as indeed to some degree of old, as I have conceded—deepened, and become embittered by every selfish instinct fermenting in the minds of the great leaders; and this to some degree and as a thing of course kept them, as they intended, active both in the stream and at the helm, and more sincere fanatical convictions must have helped on the conflict everywhere and throughout,—but the mainspring of the conflict lay, as ever, in *brute jealousies*.

As the Indo-Iranian tribes extended, the advanced settlements

became somewhat too far off from the chief centers, and the bands of inter-racial connection became at times attenuated. Differing interests,—if only in the great markets in the wider meaning of the term—could not fail to stir up discord. Unequal fortunes nourished hatred; greed grew furious as wealth grew insolent; border friction became more constant as the country's sections grew personally more and more estranged; bloody brawls led on to still more bloody raids, and these to remorseless, inextinguishable feud, until the long fratricidal wars themselves began, and the battle-shouts were deities. As Moslim cried "Allah, Allah," with terrible effect, so each side in murderous affrays called on its favored name. "Deva, Deva," was shouted along the one line, and "Ahura, Ahura," rose fiercely from the other; and in the roar of the chorus the keener wit and the nimbler tongues<sup>15</sup> of the future Rishis too often wove the better words, and silence sank upon the ranks of Iran. And when victory came, with its known atrocities, we can well perceive how "Deva, Deva," became more feared, and if possible more hated (though it was once to both a name endeared), while Ahura as Asura was correspondingly despised by the southern throngs.

The one side in desperate fury cried:

"Your kindred, O ye D(a)evas, are a seed from the mind polluted;  
Who praise unto you most offers, with the deed of the lie deceiveth;  
Advanced your stratagems are, renowned in the sevenfold earth."<sup>16</sup>

I am convinced that this was the explanation of the strange changes as regards the gods of each.

### *The Results, or Some of Them.*

Victory was not always on the Deva's side, and with victory captives were divided; many a Northwestern was carried off towards India, beyond a doubt, and some from amongst future Indians were dragged back to Iran. There, after the sullen peace, these D(a)eva-worshippers became a servile caste amid the subjects of Ahura, and we actually find them mentioned in the Gatha prominently, and in the New Avesta incidentally. There, in the New Avesta, they are at home, domesticated, and to a degree assimilated, but with such scanty civil rights that their very lives were lightly risked. A grim while the other side thundered back with hymns such as I have quoted.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The short shouts went back on battle hymns; recall the soul-stirring hymns of modern civil war.

<sup>16</sup> Yasna, XXXII, 3. Something such like, or parts of it in short cries.

<sup>17</sup> The hymns behind the battle-shouts.



smile forces itself upon us as our eye runs down the pages; the form of cruelty is as quaint as it is merciless. The tyro-surgeon might try his virgin knife on them, these D(a)eva worshipers, but on no account could he begin his practice on a believer in full credit. If he "cuts" three times, and all three times his patient dies, his knife must rest for ever. Only if he cuts three times, and all three times his D(a)eva-worshiper survives,—then only may he proceed and "cut" the orthodox.<sup>18</sup>

*These Differences and Inversions Only the More Acutely Point  
the Facts of Unity First Noticed.*

Such murderous estrangements—as is often elsewhere too clearly seen—only heighten still more the singular effect of the phenomenon of the agreements on which we set such store, and they set the last seal to our convictions. The ancient, but alas! now too often spiteful, sisters, were once almost one, as members of a family. If the chief gods (see above) lost their hold among the Indian-Aryans themselves, how much more was it to be expected that brother deities of lesser magnitude in the two great race divisions, should lose their caste, and that even some leading—if still, also somewhat sub-chieftain gods should suffer similarly after they have become the pet saviours of one or of the other of the angry sides?<sup>19</sup> *Mainyu*, "spirit," is indifferent—as a word—in Avesta, needing an adjective to define it more closely as the "evil," though it sometimes occurs alone, and often, to designate a "good" deity. And so, at the first in the Veda; it was "good" enough—though standing quite alone—as "zeal" or "forceful passion" not yet personified, but, like the name above, it became at last, not mere "spirit" as in the other lore, but "spirit anger"; and so also at times personified, while in Avesta it is never the Supreme Devil without its adjunct *angra*.

Then there were the *Nasatyas*, who were, under a still higher name, the *Asvins* of the Veda; but *Nanhaithya* (the same) is a demon in Avesta. Whether the *Angirases* of Veda are the *Angra* of Avesta is much more doubtful.<sup>20</sup>

Then the *Gadharvas*, gods of sheen-mist, are so high in the Veda that they even put the stimulating power into *soma* (sacred

<sup>18</sup> Vend, VIII, 36 (94) f.

<sup>19</sup> If "D(a)evas" carried havoc among the Iranians in conflict with Indians, no better reason could be furnished for their neglect and final detestation, and so of Asura among the future Indians, not only in civil war between the neighboring Indian tribes, but in some frontier battles with Iranians. Of course, as I have said, the matter by no means stopped at this.

<sup>20</sup> For the Angirases some think are mentioned in a good sense in early Persian; but see below as to changes in the same old usage.

drink)<sup>21</sup> beside very many other mighty functions,—but in Avesta *Ga(n)darva* actually attacks the *haoma* (which is *soma*), as a *D(a)eva*—demon attacks a sacred object in an opposing book.

*Kalpa* is the holy rite, among many other momentous items in Veda, but the *Karpanas* are a hated band in the Avesta. Even great Indra was a devil in the Iranian lore, and little wonder, though he fights the *Drajon* just as the Avesta champions did.

*Ithyejah* is a demon in Avesta, but *tyajas* (the same) is often not an evil in the Veda. *Buiti* is a demon in the one lore, but *bhuti* means "plenty" in the other; so *Bujin* is a demon in the one, and *bhuji* means "enjoyment" in the other. So other sub-gods and sub-devils fall, or rise, on one side or the other, but the list would tire us. Among the heroes too are many changes. *Krcanu* shoots to save the *soma*, bringing down its keen foe the hawk; but in Avesta *Keresani* is an enemy of *H(a)oma*, which is *soma*. *Gotema*, and his progeny, are singers and heroes in the Veda, but *G(a)otema* is cursed in the *Fravardin Yasht*, etc.

One item aside from personalities should be noticed. Curiously enough *Dahyu*, the marked name for the provinces in the Avesta, is *Dasyu*, which is used for hostile tribes in the Rik, and here, indeed, we are so startled by the coincidence that we are almost forced to see in the one a pointed reference to the other. These *Dasyus* mentioned in the Veda were tribes that did not worship *Devas*, and they are supposed to have been the savage aborigines whom the Aryan Indians forced further back, as the advancing white man drove the red man elsewhere.

But were those who formed this opinion aware of the familiar Iranian name? Those *Dasyus* were not only unbelievers, and non-sacrificers, but "people with other rites." What rites had savages which could raise them to the rank of rival worshippers?<sup>22</sup>

To finish with analogies. As *Asura* turned demon among the Indians (or future Indians) and *Manyu* with him; as *D(a)evas* were once gods in Iran, in times before the *Gathas*, so in the same lore we have from the same cause, a good and evil *Vayu*, and among heroes with their families a good and evil *Kavi*, and the like.

These crossings and recrossing of gods and sub-gods, heroes and head-knives, from one side to the other in the celestial or in-

<sup>21</sup> Apparently the first there discovered intoxicating liquid, and from that quality deemed to be supernatural.

<sup>22</sup> Some doubt that the etymology here is identical with that of *Dasyu*. If the Indian's *dasyu* had an evil origin in India itself this may have been overlooked by the Iranians. If Indian enemies called Iranian regions *Dasyu* like their own evil *dasyu*, this may have been sufficient cause for Iran to accept the name.

fernal minuet, do not affect the argument. Let me again assert Veda and Avesta *are almost one*; and, to clinch the matter, I will add the chief item here, as perhaps the most unexpected of them all.

*The Languages Themselves Almost Identical.*<sup>23</sup>

Not only are the gods the same, with the history, and the mythologies, but the very languages are nearer to one another than the several dialects of Greece are to each other. Indeed the distinguished Professor Oldenberg of Kiel asserted that these Aryan languages are more closely related to each other than the very dialects of Indians are near to one another,<sup>24</sup> than the very Vedic is near to its own Sanskrit epic.

This seems to us, at the first hearing of it, to be hardly credible, but what is really more wonderful is that it is so little known. It is actually the fact that we have a mass of documents from the remote northwest which are verily twin-sister to the south and southeast Sanskrit,—and not to the later type of it but the earlier, to the Vedic rather than to the post-Vedic; and this is true also even of the later parts of the late Avesta. There is one main feature of identity to which we should never allow ourselves to grow accustomed; the *meters are the same*, and the most beautiful of all the trishtubh predominates in the hymns of the original united home.

*Which Holds the Claim to Be the Most Original?*

As to which side bears the fullest traces of their common origin is not so easy to decide. Now the older forms seem to gather in the Avesta, now in the Indian, but that all are remotely ancient as terms in Indo-Germanic speech no expert anywhere has doubted.

I refrain from further items. It seems clear, indeed, without more said that Avesta is nearly Veda in history, features, meter and language.

*The Impossibility of Later Fabrication.*

If so, to return to our first question, how can its greatest and oldest part be the cunning product of the Augustan age? and on Persian soil where the Avesta language had been dead for centuries? A dead speech can live in literature, and Kalidasa<sup>25</sup> could speak no Sanskrit, writing in a left-off lingo, but it would be hazardous to

<sup>23</sup> See my letter to the *Times of India* of July 28, 1909.

<sup>24</sup> See my communication to the *Times of India* under date of July 28, 1909. This gentleman was quoting a chapter of my own in Roth's *Festgruss*, in which I had endeavored to turn the forms of Zend into those of Sanskrit; see his *Religion des Weda*, p. 27.

<sup>25</sup> As some think.

postulate too suddenly the same conditions of things for ancient Iran as for less ancient India. The scenes presented in the old Avesta, the Gathic, teem with intellectual life indeed, rough and severe, and they do not show a hyper-cultivated finesse. The Gathas almost surpass the credible in sublimity of tone, their age and place considered; but in view of the later over-elaborated ideas of India, they betray a too unsuspicious view of life, and we doubt whether the men that wrote them knew the modern world too well. Not even in the latest Avesta, or post-Avesta fragments down to the time when Avesta could have been no longer written<sup>26</sup> do we see the smallest trace of any such malign capacity as could forge the old hymns, working up a mass of broken allusions which depict, in passing, scenes too often far from pleasing, scowling with party passions and all directed to one single aim.<sup>27</sup>

*If Genuine, a Later Date for Them Is Unthinkable.*

The fabrication of such productions as the Gathas would betray its origin in every line, while as to the seemingly still open possibility that they were late and still *genuine*, it hardly deserves to be discussed. If there was a *Vishtaspa* at the time of Christ, a *Frashashtra* and a *Zarathushtra*, they could not possibly have then written pure old Aryan with the very names still perfect, and with the whole cast and coloring such as it lies before us.

Either—entirely unlike the rest of the Avesta—they describe in their vehemence scenes which were actually transpiring and sentiments that were personally felt; or else somebody made them up to imitate the half-baffled fury of a group of leaders struggling with a religious-political crisis. This last would call for a letter-miracle, as said above, and the age for this is past (or never was).<sup>28</sup> Nobody living high up in the hills of sparse Iran could well have worked up a fiction such as that. It would have been a masterpiece immense. Such is the state of the case. There is, however, always the one main result indeed which nothing here affects.

We can offer to inquiring applicants in the Avesta some of the most delicate, as well as momentous, suggestions in ancient literature. With the exception of a frequent solecism, the passages are all, one after the other, but little disputed as to literal terms in their primal sense. It is here the last step which costs as to the last exact point, and not the first. Our doubts are great indeed as to the precise

<sup>26</sup> As a vernacular.

<sup>27</sup> The victory of a bold political-religious party in the struggle for a throne.

<sup>28</sup> See in the previous communication.

turn of the detailed ideas intended by the composer to be expressed; and it is here that we specialists consume each other. But they are next to nil as to preliminary elucidations, and the cruces often fall in dependent parts of sentences, which might actually often be left unrendered with little loss to the main theme.

No one, as I suppose, has ever denied in any tongue the extraordinary elevation of the sentiment in the most ancient pieces of the Avesta, silly as its later excrescences may be, nor does any one question the subtlety of their distinctions as "to thought, and word and deed." The grouping of the Ameshaspenta alone is a marvel, for they mean God's attributes now personified as the Archangels, and again, still denoting characteristics implanted in His people, with the result of healthful weal and deathless long-life (also much personified), but resulting in an especially subjective future state. And all the elements, instinct as they are with religious vitality, have, strange, and again not so strange to say, their traces in the Veda.

We may remember the man in the fiction<sup>29</sup> who objected to "Semitism" as too much immortality, etc. Little did he know that it was far more Aryan than Semitic. While the Hebrew exile had a Sadusaic faith with few glimpses towards the "other side," he came back from his Persion East with a soul all moved by futurity. His God took closer notice,<sup>30</sup> and his Devil had more form. His Judgment was to be forensic, and he came prepared to write the Daniel piece with many more. His spirit, the Iranian's, was to be lashed indeed (if bad), hereafter, but it was by his own evil personal emotions, and his pangs were to be "bad thoughts and deeds," while zephyrs of aromatic fragrance were to meet his soul if blest, as it left the lifeless clay for the Bridge of the Discriminator and the Last Assize. In the approach to these a beautiful form was to appear which was declared to be "his own religious nature," or, as some would read, "himself"; and she would answer to his bewildered question, "I am thy conscience, thy good thoughts and words and deeds, thy very own." Still dazed, though not alarmed, the soul would proceed under her benediction, till it came before the "Throne all golden" where Vohumanah, like the Son of God, arises to hail and reassure it; souls of the holy dead throng to meet it; the Almighty intervenes to spare it painful reminiscences; and it enters a Heaven of "good thoughts and words and deeds." But this is Avesta, and by no means Veda.

<sup>29</sup> Cp. Mr. Disraeli's *Lothair*, i. e., see my letter to the *Times of India* of September 24, 1909.

<sup>30</sup> Spiritual notice.

## THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT GAUL AND CÆSAR WORSHIP.

BY THE EDITOR.

**H**ISTORY as taught in schools gives us much information concerning the progress of political events. We learn how Rome conquered one country after another and we are told even the details of the battles through which the fate of nations was decided. But our sources as to the economical and cultural history of the world are very few and we have to piece together our knowledge concerning the development of religious institutions from stray bits of information incidentally mentioned in connection with political events. Thus our comprehension of the gradual progress of religious, economical and social conditions remains to a great extent a matter of conjecture. Nevertheless some facts of history stand out clearly and allow us to note the changes which have set in from time to time, and the most important transformation of the old religions is what might be called the foundation of an official state religion in the reign of Augustus. This transformation of the local worship in the several provinces was accomplished with great discretion and it was of extraordinary importance because it gave stability to the empire by adding a religious sanction to the order established by conquest.

Religion played a greater part in ancient history than we are commonly aware of, and the office of Pontifex Maximus, or high priest, was more significant than it might seem, judging from our usual treatment of history.

When the empire was established the Pontifex Maximus of Rome became superior also to the Roman priests in the provinces, and especially in the colonies and municipal towns. His authority from what might be called a bishop of Rome changed into that of a bishop of bishops, or pope, and we can here clearly understand how the religious rites and institutions of pagan Rome prepared the way for the superiority of Christian Rome.





STATUE OF AUGUSTUS.

The first great province which added an untold increase of power to the Roman empire was Gaul. Sicily, Africa, Macédonia, Greece, Spain and Pergamon were prosperous and rich countries, but none

of them possessed a population of such native vigor as this northern province which had been added by Cæsar to the sway of Rome's dominion. Italy had lost its warlike strength to a great extent, and Gaul offered new resources for recruiting soldiers and officers. Cæsar had understood how to turn the capabilities of the Gauls to use, and we must assume that great as he was in the field he was still greater in statesmanship. He must have known how to gain the confidence and friendship of those Gallic people who saw their own advantage in a connection with their more civilized, richer and more powerful southern neighbors. He must have established trade and commerce, and the cities were satisfied with the new government not only because it was firmly established through Roman victories, but also because the old misrule of local aristocracies was superseded by a wider outlook and the hope of establishing peaceful connections with countries beyond their own borders. The Gallic youths of rural districts enlisted in the Roman legions for love of booty as well as the expectation of a comfortable life after retirement in some military colony, and such well organized conditions must have done more than victories on the battle-field to establish Roman authority in this large country of a restless population.

The most important step, however, which finished the conquest definitely was the religious change which gradually abrogated ancient Gallic religion, and replaced it by the political institution of Cæsar worship.

We must assume that the introduction of this Cæsar worship was no difficult matter because the idea of a god-man, of a hero, of a saviour, was common among all the pre-Christian nations, and it appears to have been an essential feature of the faith also of ancient Gaul. To replace the language was even less difficult probably through the fact that the ancient Celtic dialects belonged to a family next in kin to Latin, and so the change was in some degree the establishment of a literary dialect over those which had not yet been fixed in writing. Briefly stated, Roman power and civilization were organized while the languages as well as the religious cults of the provinces were not organized and so it was easy for Roman institutions to replace those of native origin.

The ancient religion of Gaul has practically disappeared, and we know only a little of it through some monuments that have been discovered in various parts of France. A few of these relics are purely Celtic, but most of them show the influence of Greco-Roman civilization. Some Gallic gods have been changed into their analogous Greco-Roman figures, to Apollo, Mercury, Vulcan, Jupiter,

Hercules, etc., but others have preserved their original barbarian form. Among the latter we find a god with horns called Cernannos,



THE GALLIC GOD CERNANNOS.



ALTAR SCULPTURE OF THE GALLIC WHEEL-GOD.

Found at Theley, district Ottweiler, and preserved in the Museum at Treves. The other three sides show Hygeia, Minerva and Hercules.



ALTAR OF THE GALLIC WHEEL-GOD.

In the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.



BRONZE FIGURE OF THE GALLIC WHEEL-GOD.

About four inches high found at Châtelet, Haute Marne, and preserved in the Louvre.

presumably a god of vegetation, or a personification of all nourishing nature. Another god represents a trinity, and this seems to have



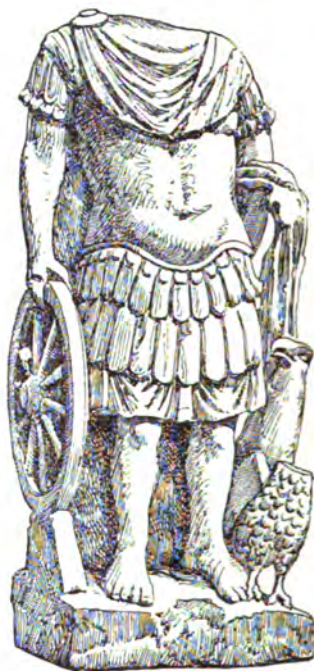
been the chief deity of Gaul, which may have been one reason why he resisted longest the Romanizing influence.

Jupiter, the Greek Zeus, has been identified with the Gallic god of the wheel who must have been very popular all over Gaul, for there are innumerable statues of him found on the left bank of the Rhine. He carries a wheel in one hand and sometimes a thunderbolt in the other, which proves that he was a sun god and at the same time the thunderer. An altar now in the *Maison Carrée* at Nîmes



AN ARCHAIC STATUE OF THE  
WHEEL-GOD.

Reconstructed from fragments in terra cotta by M. Bertrand of Moulins.



COLOSSAL STATUE OF THE  
WHEEL-GOD.

Found at Séguret, Vaucluse, and now in the Museum at Avignon.

must have been dedicated to him, for on the front it bears his two symbols.

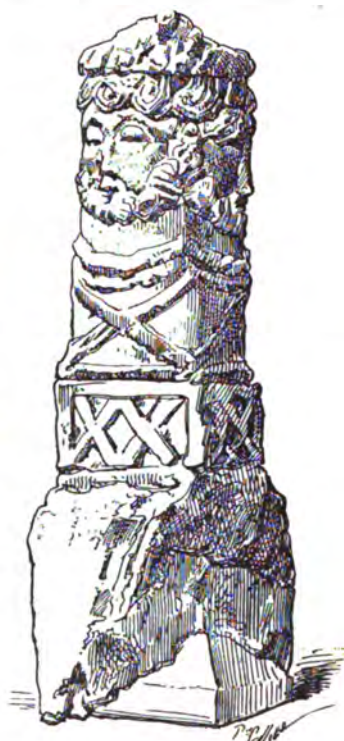
The trinitarian god of Gaul has been preserved in several monuments, of which perhaps the oldest is the altar of Beaune, where he sits between two other gods of whom the one is horned while the other, a plain human figure, is assumed to be the Gallic Apollo. Another monument to the old trinitarian deity is a short pillar found at Rheims representing him with three faces looking in three differ-

ent directions. The least archaic form of this same deity has been found at Autun which minimizes the two heads. It seems to be a concession to the more artistic and cultured taste that spread after the Roman conquest, for it shows one face in front which is normal, while the other faces on either side are not made prominent, which arrangement takes away the ugliness of a three-faced monstrosity.

An interesting account of the Gallic Hercules so called, is preserved by Lucian who under this name describes a Celtic divinity of eloquence. He says:



ALTAR OF BEAUNE.



TRICEPHALUS AT RHEIMS.

"The Gauls call Hercules in their own language Ogmios, but they picture him quite different than the Greeks and indeed strange enough. I have seen his portraiture once where he is represented as an old bald-headed man, his hair gray as much as there is left of it, his face full of wrinkles and of as swarthy a complexion as that of old sailors. One might have taken him for Charon or Iapetus or some other inhabitant of Tartarus, indeed for anything but for Hercules. But his dress was quite Herculean, for he carried the lion

skin on his back, a club in his right hand, a bow in his left and a quiver over his shoulder. In this respect he was a true Hercules. My first thought was that this burlesque figure had been drawn for the purpose of ridiculing the Greek gods, perhaps in revenge for the robberies which Hercules had committed in Gaul, when he was searching for the oxen of Geryon.

"The most peculiar feature of this picture I have not yet told, for this old Hercules drew after him a great number of people who were fettered to him by their ears, the chains being made of gold



STATUETTE AT AUTUN.

and amber as light and delicate as are the necklaces of our ladies. It might have been easy for his prisoners to break their brittle fetters and run away, but they never thought of it. There was not one who resisted or tried to free himself and they all followed their leader joyfully and praised him highly. Some of them were so delighted with their state that they ran ahead of him so long as their chain permitted in order to be near him. Yea, I could see that they would have been very sorry if they had been set at liberty. But the most nonsensical part of this picture appeared to me this that the artist in his perplexity how this Hercules should hold the chains



since he had his hands full, attached them to the tongue of the god which for this purpose had been perforated at its tip, and he turned his head towards his prisoners with a bland smile."

It is obvious that Ogmios is not Hercules, but some deity which represents the power of persuasion or the superiority of mind, but neither the heroism of the Greek Heracles nor the rustic sportiveness of the Italian Hercules.

The Celtic god Esus seems to correspond to the Teutonic Bal-



GALLIC TRIAD ON AN ALTAR AT RHEIMS.

The three-headed god has divided; Esus-Jupiter is attended by his Roman family Apollo and Mercury.

dur, for he is represented as cutting the mistletoe, the sacred plant which was assumed to have grown from seed that fell from heaven. As such he has been identified by an inscription on the bas-relief of an altar, the fragments of which have been found on the site of Notre Dame of Paris. Baldur was the god of light who at the summer solstice was killed through the intrigue of the winter god Hödur, but the festival of his return to life was celebrated in the winter solstice at Yule tide. The mistletoe, the innocent cause of

his death, appears green in midwinter giving promise in the darkest days of the year of the return of spring and a resurrection of Baldur.

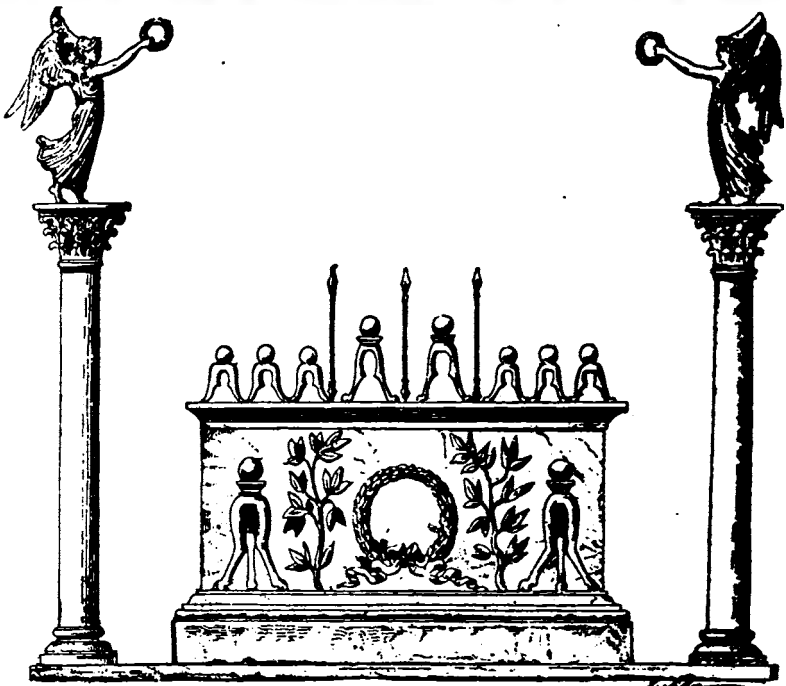
The details of Celtic mythology have been lost, but we may be sure that the Gauls possessed in Esus a similar if not the very same



ALTAR AT LYONS ON COIN.



TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS ON COIN.



ALTAR OF ROME AND AUGUSTUS AT LYONS.

(Reconstruction.)

figure as the Teutonic Baldur, and we notice the strange though unquestionably accidental similarity in sound with the personal name of the Christian Saviour, Jesus.



GALLIC ADAPTATIONS OF ROMAN GODS.



That the Gauls believed in an immortality of some kind is considered as assured, but the relics we find indicate that Greco-Roman ideas must have supplanted their aboriginal custom at a very early

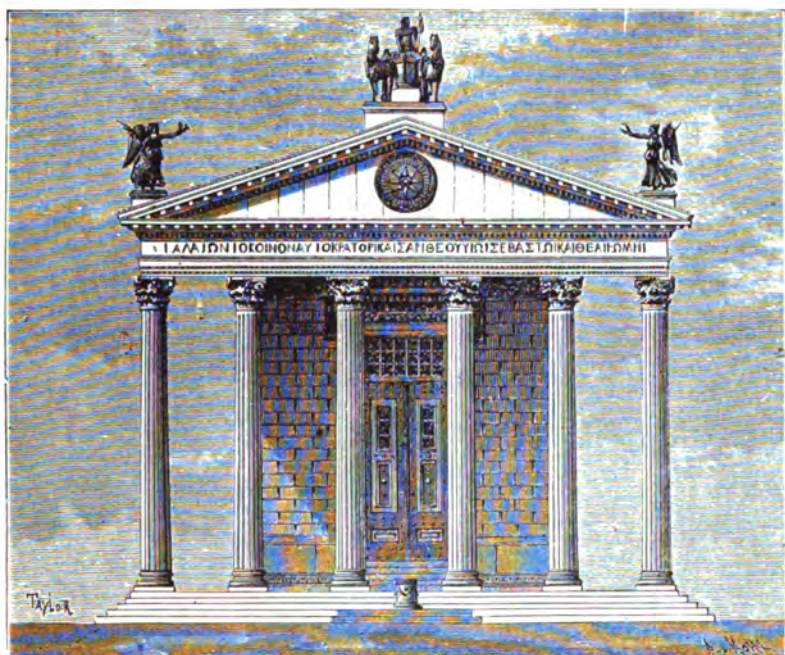


FUNERAL URN OF MYRRHINA.

date, at least among the aristocratic classes. A vase, containing the ashes of a certain Myrrhina, now preserved in the Louvre, shows the typical picture of the dead being led by Mercury after the prototype of the Orpheus basreliefs, and so we learn that views similar

to those of the Orpheus cult which was still unforgotten in the times of Christianity, had a hold upon Gallic imagination. We may well assume that the ancient Gauls had practically the same ideas of immortality and that Mercury and Orpheus took the place of some more primitive Gallic divinities, who had charge of the souls in the land of the dead.

And how did the Romans deal with these deities, who, as we learn, were worshiped by a regular priestly class, called the Druids? How did Rome succeed in avoiding a religious conflict between her



TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS RESTORED.

own religious system and the conservative Gallic orthodoxy? In the Augustan age the Romans simply introduced into Gaul the worship of Rome and Augustus, and left the old clergy alone. There was no suppression of the old faith, no antagonism, no persecution, and yet the druidic religion was doomed to merge into Roman Cæsar worship simply by discontinuing the influence of the Gallic clergy with their primitive superstitions. The barbaric rites of the druidic worship, such as human sacrifices, were forbidden by a decree of the Roman Senate. Otherwise no one was hindered or



disturbed in his religious faith. On the other hand the new priests of Rome were favored by the government and enjoyed the advantage of having political connection with the capital. The ceremonies were brilliant and in the form of public festivities that attracted the crowds and appealed to popular imagination, while the ancient druidic rites, so far as we can judge, were gloomy and quite incompatible with the spirit of a progressive civilization.

The decisive step of laying the foundation of the new religion was taken in the year 12 B. C., when upon the invitation of Drusus deputies of the three Gallic provinces assembled at Lyons to erect



PRAETORIAN GUARDS.

an altar dedicated to Rome and to Augustus, and a nobleman of the Aeduan tribe was elected by the assembly to officiate as high priest at the inauguration of the new temple.

This institution of Cæsar worship in the shape of a religious faith, believing in a saviour who was the representative of God on earth, and the incarnation of all authority, became the cement which rendered the foundation of the Roman Empire enduring for several centuries. The organization that resulted therefrom, the institution of imperial priests inspected and controlled by their provincial high priest, who in his turn was subject to the Pontifex Maximus at



Rome, became the prototype of the political institution of the Roman Catholic Church.

Rome had conquered the world by the sword, but the immortal city became naturally the victim of its own method. He who wielded the sword became the master of Rome, and this lot, after several

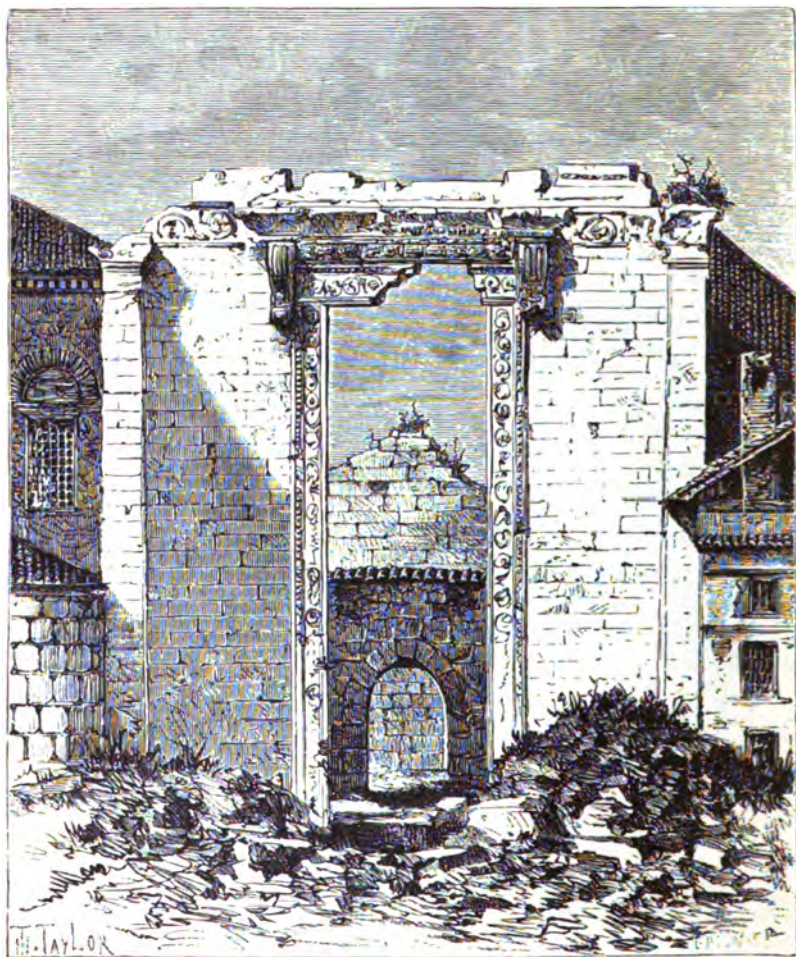


AUGUSTUS AS OFFICIATING PRIEST.

vain attempts by Marius, Sulla, and others, fell into the hands of Cæsar. Cæsar had trained his army in Gaul and though the officers were Romans, many of his men were native Gauls. It was thus possible that they could be used as well for the cause of Rome as against it.

Cæsar's successor Augustus had reorganized the army and made

it a permanent institution, on the one hand subjecting it to a severe discipline, on the other hand holding out to the veterans the promise of an honorable retirement. He established the rule that recruits should first serve in the regular army and not until they had been



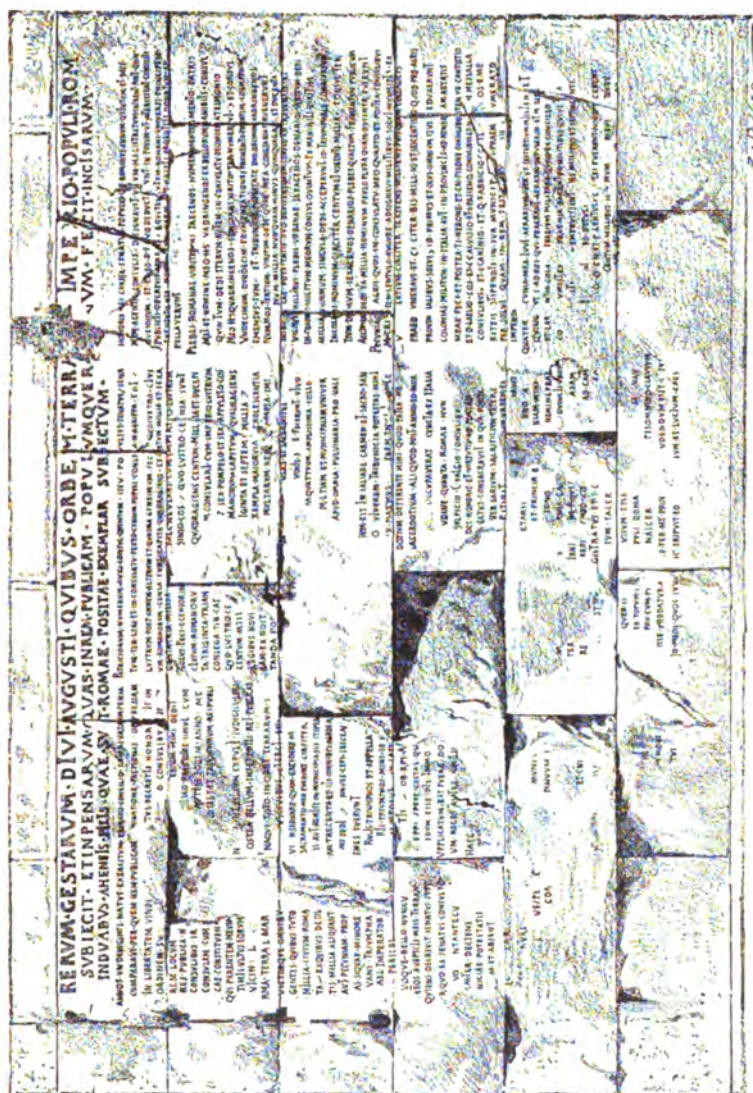
RUINS OF AUGUSTAN TEMPLE.

tried and found reliable were they transferred to the Praetorian guards. The Emperor had more than twenty-five legions recruited from countries outside of Italy, and this arrangement gave him absolute control over the army which depended solely upon him, and



had no bonds of allegiance to either the Roman senate, the Roman senate, or the Roman people.

Republican Rome had conquered the provinces, but it is very



WALL OF THE TEMPLE OF ANCYRA BEARING THE LATIN TEXT OF THE TESTAMENT OF AUGUSTUS.

doubtful whether she could have continued to hold them. Foreign nations had been subjugated and were governed by proconsuls who in the name of Rome committed all kinds of extortions and robberies enriching themselves at the cost of their provinces. This unfair

method of government changed under Augustus who systematized the administration and strengthened his hold on the provinces by abolishing the prerogative of Rome to be exempt from taxation.

When Augustus died the tradition of the worship of a vicegerent on earth did not die with him. On the contrary, it continued to be a factor in the consolidation of the Empire and laid the foundation of the belief in a monarchy by God's grace, which is still upheld in the opinion of the conservatives of Europe.



LIVIA AS CYBELE.

We must remember that the word Augustus is not a name but a title, and it means the August One, which is equivalent to His Holiness, or the Sacred One, or the Venerable One. In his will which has been inscribed on bronze tablets and is preserved in the Augusteum built for that purpose in Rome and in other temples all over the Roman Empire, Augustus narrates not only his deeds and the acts of his generosity, but also his priestly honors. Indeed he dwells on them with evident satisfaction. In the tenth section we read:

"My name, by a decree of the Senate, has been inserted in the Salian Hymn, and a law made that I should be sacrosanct and that I should possess for life the office of tribune. The people offered me the supreme pontificate held by my father before me; but I would not replace any living man in this office. So only some years afterwards when this priesthood became vacant by the death of him who had seized it in our civil dissensions, was I installed in its possession, and so great a crowd gathered from all Italy to attend the meeting on this occasion as had never before been seen; this was during the consulate of P. Sulpicius and C. Volgius."



PRINCESS JULIA.

Augustus further points out with pride that he was the man who restored peace to the Empire. He says in Section XIII:

"The temple of Janus Quirinus, which, according to the command of our fathers, is never closed except when peace prevails over all lands and seas subject to the Romans, had been closed, as our annals attest, but twice since the foundation of Rome; but under my government thrice has the Senate proclaimed that it should be closed."

A second copy of this testament was discovered by M. G. Perrot

on an expedition dispatched to Asia Minor by Emperor Napoleon III.<sup>1</sup>

The senate decreed the apotheosis of Augustus, and the worship of him as the guardian of imperial Rome was kept up throughout the



LIVIA IN PRAYER.

Empire. By the decree of the senate an Augustan Flamen was installed in all large cities, and at Rome a college of 21 pontiffs was established who were chosen by lot from the foremost families.

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the Augusteum of Ancyra where the will of Augustus had been preserved intact together with the Greek translation, is published in Perrot's book *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie*.



The first members were Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius and Germanicus, all belonging to the imperial family. Patriotic Romans introduced the worship of the *divus Augustus* in their own household, and Livia,<sup>2</sup> the widow of Augustus, was created priestess of her deified husband. In a subterranean passage which is still in existence she went every morning from her own house to the Emperor's former residence, which had been changed by a decree of the Senate into a sanctuary, a kind of museum, and there she attended to her sacerdotal duties, burning incense before his image.

While the idea of a saviour, a god-man, a prince of peace, became fully established over the whole empire, the successors of Augustus proved very little worthy of this ideal and the result was that the people no longer associated it with a man wielding temporal power. The early Christians believed that the kingdom of Christ was not of this world, but of the world to come, and only later on when Rome ceased to be the capital of Italy, when for a time Ravenna, and again for a time Verona, had taken the place of Rome, when Germanic conquerors quarreled among themselves for the possession of the countries that once constituted the Roman Empire, then only the old institution of a highest pontiff in Rome, which had never been entirely forgotten, rose to new life in the shape of papacy and found a ready supporter in Pepin, the Franconian *Major domus* who in dispossessing the weak legitimate King acquired through his alliance with the church a new legitimacy which henceforth was styled "by the grace of God."

<sup>2</sup>Livia was an ideal wife, and her advice often proved helpful to her husband. Ovid says of her that she had the beauty of Venus and the morals of Juno. Augustus, whose third wife she was, extolled her deportment and recommended her as a model to the Roman matrons. From Claudius Nero, her first husband, she had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, but she had no children from Augustus. The daughter of Augustus, his only child, Julia, was born to him by Scribonia, his second wife, who had been first married to Agrippa, the old trusted general of Augustus, and after Agrippa's death to Tiberius, the son of Livia. The princess Julia was very different from Livia, who was at the same time her step-mother and her mother-in-law. Julia gave so much offense by frivolity that the Emperor finally banished her to the island Pandataria.

## THE RELIGION OF ROSA BONHEUR.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

THE religious beliefs of Rosa Bonheur were unquestionably moulded by the religion of the Saint Simonians, both directly and through her father, Raymond Bonheur, who, himself an artist, was an earnest member of this transcendentalist sect.

It is through his letters, four of which I have been able to discover in the Saint Simonian archives in the Arsenal Library, that the noble and generous character of Raymond Bonheur comes out strongly and in its true light. No sooner had he become a Saint Simonian and believed that he had found on earth the peace of soul and mind so earnestly desired than he longs to share his supreme happiness with his friends, and thereupon displays a characteristic tenderness of sentiment by turning first to his old teacher at Bordeaux, Pierre Lacour. The printed letterhead reads: "St. Simonian Religion," and the letter is dated "Paris, March 1, 1831." It begins as follows, to his "dear and former master":

"I little ever imagined that I, moved by a religious sentiment, would address myself to you. But, unknown to you, I received from you other benefits than those of learning the arts of painting and drawing—arts to-day so poor and unreligious. You will pardon my confidence, my hope, that I may be able to give you something in exchange for your lessons, and as it was due to you that I turned my back on the dangerous doctrines of Boulanger and company, I like to believe that you will at least permit me to thank you and proclaim the wisdom of your course."

The writer then goes on, in a closely-written, four-page, commercial-size sheet, to develop the doctrines of Saint Simonianism, the aim being to convert Lacour; and the wordy and rather wandering epistle ends with this postscriptum: "You may communicate this letter to the members of the Philanthropic Society, of which

I have the honor to be a corresponding member, bearing in mind the purpose of the letter and overlooking its shortcomings."

On the same day and on the same large-size paper he writes another letter, this time six pages in length, addressed to a former fellow pupil of Lacour. He tells how he was converted to Saint Simonianism and paints a dark picture of the society of the time, "where neither kings nor presidents, congresses nor ministers, deputies nor journals, nobody, either of the Right or the Left, knows what remedy to propose." He then continues:

"Like you, my dear Durand, and with the greatest energy, I have cried in the desert—cries of imprecation and sorrow against a blind power which seems cruelly to conduct everything into the yawning mouth of fatality, the fiend of ruin and destruction, which tears us to pieces all the more unmercifully because we are generous and tender! I revolted and strongly protested against every belief except that of my own individual conscience. But consolation could I find nowhere. I was in a state of despairing scepticism, when a friendly voice having directed my attention to the doctrines of Saint Simon, I soon found my hopes the more thoroughly realized because, at first, I was wrong in thinking myself deceived at the reunions in counting on the sympathies of those who acted on impulses like my own. Well, my dear friend, I read much, I meditated long on the works explaining the doctrine, and I attended lectures on the subject. One evening I argued with all my force against everything which appeared to me utopian or visionary, or anarchical, or Jesuitical; for it seemed to me that I saw on all sides contradictory tendencies. But I finally came to recognize that the apparent confusion emanated from myself. I perceived it in the strongest opponent of the doctrine, who, like myself, in the end honestly surrendered."

This letter is signed "James Raimond Bonheur," being the only instance I have found of Raymond Bonheur using the name James. Later he spelled Raymond with an *i*.

In a fourth letter from Ménilmontant Raymond Bonheur refers to "this society which is dissolved by individualism," and thus disposes of the criticism that the Saint Simonians were intolerant: "Scepticism, doubt, can alone tolerate. To tolerate is to abandon, to be indifferent. The man who loves virtue, can he tolerate brigandage?"

The language of Raymond Bonheur's letters written from Ménilmontant is not always clear. But this was peculiar to the writings of the whole sect, the printed and spoken speech of the Father

being especially so; in which respect they again resembled our own transcendentalists. Both these French and New England illuminati had an exasperating way of twisting words away from their ordinary meaning. Curiously enough, this same defect stands out glaringly in many of the letters of Rosa Bonheur, where it is often impossible to guess what she means. A friend once showed her one of her letters and asked her what an obscure passage signified, when she replied: "In the first place, I can't read it, and even if I could, I probably would not know now what I was driving at then. In fact, perhaps I did not know even then!" But probably it is too much to attribute this singularity to Saint Simonian influence, which, however, manifested itself frequently throughout her life and remained with her to the end.

On November 13, 1897, about a year and a half before her death, Rosa Bonheur wrote as follows from By to her friend Venancio Deslandes of Lisbon:

"I have the honor to hold the same views as Mme. George Sand concerning the brief sojourn we make in this world, and, though I never enjoyed the personal acquaintance of, nor saw, this genius, I have read with pleasure the extract herewith enclosed. It was copied out by a distinguished woman well known in the world of art and a friend of one of my men-friends to whom she sent it from New York. Please read it."

The extract referred to above is stated by the copyist to be taken from "an exquisite philosophical book by George Sand," and is a rather remarkable presentation of the novelist's belief in reincarnation; remarkable inasmuch as it anticipates in form much of what is taught to-day by the accredited leaders of theosophy. The salient passage of the extract is the following:

"We are allowed by reason and we are bidden by the heart to count on a series of progressive existences proportioned to our good desires. And certainly the first of all our legitimate aspirations, since it is noble, is to find in this future life the faculty of recollecting in a certain measure our previous lives. It would not be very agreeable to trace back all our pains and sorrows in detail. Even in the present life, such a remembrance would be a nightmare. But the luminous points, the salutary trials wherein we have triumphed, would be a reward, and the celestial crown would be the embracing of our friends and their recognizing us in their turn."

Another proof that such was Rosa Bonheur's acknowledged view of the future life is furnished in these lines sent me by Henri Cain:

"Rosa was always glad to have my brother and me bring her books. She read rather advanced ones. I am interested in occultism and she shared my interest. The doctrine must not be confounded, however, with modern spiritualism or magnetism. The occultism which held our attention was a philosophical form of the conception of the migration of souls, of the survival of the spirit in us after death. Towards the end of her life, Rosa Bonheur gave much thought to these questions and read all she could find on the subject. She began with volumes of Figuiet and Flammarion, and did not hesitate to tackle more solid works, if I may so express myself; treatises that went into the details of the whole complex question. Though she may have had a leaning toward spiritualism, I can affirm only that she believed thoroughly in our occult theory."

It should be pointed out that many of these ideas, such, for example, as that of the migration of the soul, are found in the metaphysical speculations of the Saint Simonians, where Rosa Bonheur probably first made their acquaintance.

All her friends agree in the essential facts which show that Rosa Bonheur was a free thinker in the right acceptance of the term. In proof of this assertion I may give these further attestations from some of those who knew her best and longest.

Alexandre Jacob has said to me:

"Of religion, Rosa Bonheur rarely spoke. She was not a member of the Church, never attended mass and probably inherited from her father her thoroughly independent attitude toward catholicism. Yet, while so little attached to ordinary religious observance, she was punctilious as regards the rites of marriage, baptism and burial, and when her friend Nathalie Micas died, she was careful to have performed all the Church requires from the devout."

Louis Passy has said to me, and I noted down his statement in his presence:

"As regards Rosa Bonheur's religious convictions, my opinion is that she was an agnostic. I do not think she ever gave her mind to an examination of those questions. She worked from morning till night, and had no time to study such serious matters. Why, even when on visits, she was sketching all the time. This is my view of the religious mentality of Rosa Bonheur."

Princess Stirbey has written me:

"To hear Rosa Bonheur talk, some people would have considered her an enemy of religion. She certainly did fulminate against many tenets of catholicism, criticising the Church with frankness and at the same time with a popular coloring of expression and

vigor that one would have expected rather in a man. And yet, when Nathalie Micas died, she consented to all the funeral rites being celebrated without a single omission, and was herself present at the whole of them both at the church near By and at the Père Lachaise cemetery, in Paris, where Nathalie was buried. During all this sad day I was with Rosa, who, amid her sobs, kept repeating: 'What will become of me?' She was quite prostrated by the blow, but yet remained devout."

In a conversation with Prince Georges Stirbey, I made these notes while with him:

"When Mlle. Micas died, Rosa Bonheur suffered great grief. It was as if she had been struck by a thunderbolt. She was so upset by her great loss that she could not work. The cruel blow awakened in her thoughts of religion. One day she turned suddenly on me and put this question:

"Do you believe in a future life? The thought has troubled me a great deal of late. My spirit is refractory to all ideas of the life to come, and the immortality of the soul. I do not understand these things; but my heart seems to tell me that I will see again my Nathalie."

"And as I talked with her, I saw that she had a certain sense of religion. Hers was the religion of the artists who see God everywhere and in all nature. But if you spoke to her of complex dogmas, she was no longer able to follow you. It was her heart rather than her mind which governed her in these matters."

In a letter written in April, 1867, to Paul Chardin, occurs this passage: "To my mind, my good Rapin, death does not exist. It is a transformation in the physical as in the moral world." M. Chardin makes the following comment thereon:

"It is quite true that Rosa Bonheur was not a practising Catholic, and her religious ideas were, I think, very vague. But it is certain from this letter that she believed in the immortality of the soul, that she held that there is another life and that there is a moral transformation of the spiritual part of our being tending toward perfection."

Rosa Bonheur's pantheistic conception of the unknown was well expressed in these words of Tennyson, which she warmly approved when they were translated to her by a dear friend: "It is inconceivable that the whole universe was merely created for us who live in this third-rate planet of a third-rate sun." Nor was she one of those "persons who are afraid of holy water while they are living and of the devil when they are dying."



## THE DOUBLE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME..

BY THE EDITOR.

BEFORE me lies a little book entitled *The Double Doctrine of the Church of Rome* by Baroness von Zedtwitz, one of the Caldwell sisters who founded and endowed the Catholic university at Washington. It contains an account of the author's reasons for renouncing her allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church to which she and her sister from their early childhood had been zealously devoted. In addition to the general interest of such a statement we have a private reason which claims our attention because about twenty-five years ago the editor of *The Open Court* happened to know these ladies and could not help admiring the earnestness of their faith which shone through all their words and acts. At that time they showed an anxiety to procure for the Roman Catholic Church an institution of learning that would be of the same high standing as the best of any Protestant denomination. They furnished the funds for a university of which the first rector was the scholarly and liberal Bishop Kane, one of the most prominent figures in the Religious Parliament, but he was not suffered long in his position, for he was called to Rome and the administration of the university passed into other hands.

Since then years have passed, and in the meantime both sisters have turned Protestants, first Baroness Zedtwitz and then the Marquise des Monstiers Merinville, and the little book before me proves that they took this step after due consideration—in fact after a great struggle and very reluctantly.

The bulk of the book is rather historical and shows much acquaintance with theological literature. Its arguments would perhaps not be considered of great importance, for similar statements have often been made by critics of the Catholic Church, but the

preface is more impressive and proves that we have to deal here with a strong personality who, with the best intentions to accept the Roman Catholic faith, was obliged to rebel against ecclesiastical authority and work her way out into freedom. If the two Caldwell sisters had lived in obscurity, if they had not been thrown into intimate association with the prelates of the church, if they had never gone to Rome and become acquainted with the inner ring of church politics, or as Baroness Zedtwitz calls it, "esoteric catholicism," they might both have remained good Catholics to this day. The Baroness says: "I found myself at last an admitted member in church politics, and at the source and heart of esoteric catholicism."

But she was disappointed. Her own case reminds her of Luther who lost his implicit confidence in the papacy after he had been in Rome (p. 12).

The author's reasons for publishing the book in the United States are stated as follows:

"Owing to the extreme hostile attitude assumed by the Roman church in this country, towards my decision, and its persistent efforts to, at first, deny, and then belittle the sincerity of my renunciation of their system, I have found it necessary to resort to the only way of silencing the voices of those who persistently spread the report that I have never completely severed my connection with the church of Rome." And she adds (p. 16), "my decision is irrevocable."

In her younger years she must have seen much that was irreconcilable with the lofty principles of Christianity, yet she clung to the Catholic church. She says: "In childhood and early girlhood, without palliating the unchristian conduct of almost all the prelates with whom I came in contact, I never ceased to hope and believe that when womanhood had ripened my judgment, the apparent inconsistencies would be fully explained and the truth become evident to me."

Her sojourn in Rome tended to confirm the change in her opinion of that church which she had "always believed 'Holy,' " but, she says, "the voice of conscience became ever louder, and finally drowned the superstitious fear which held me back from the step I knew I must take. . . . Revolt was the inevitable result of my search for enlightenment, and I struggled to be free; but from the desert waste of esoteric catholicism but few can find the true path back to Christianity, and mine was a long and dreary search."

Baroness Zedtwitz has not become an unbeliever. On the contrary it is her Christianity which has asserted itself, but she has come to the conviction that Catholicism and Christianity are not the same. She is well aware of the fact that there are many pious souls in the

fold of the church but they become tools in the hands of the curia and are cunningly used to deceive the world about the real character of Rome. She says: "It were folly to suppose Rome so blind to her own interests as not to perceive the need of saintliness within her fold, and amongst the uninitiated members of the church, numbering both humble priests and laymen, are to be found types of the truest, purest Christians. Such make unconsciously the propaganda of Rome. They nurse the sick, dispense charity to the poor, profess and know of no other doctrine than the Gospels of Jesus Christ. Of the corruptions in Roman ecclesiastical administration, and in church politics they are wholly unaware. It is to them that Rome points as living proofs of the work she is achieving for humanity, knowing well that through ignorance alone they remain in her communion."

In a similar tone the Baroness speaks of the priests. She recognizes that there is "a restricted class of men who have, through a highly developed spirituality, reached that level where they can begin to realize the possibilities of the super-man." They are the exceptions, for, says our author, "It will scarcely be maintained by the most partisan Roman Catholic, that the obligations placed on the priesthood are never violated."

She discusses in her book the quarrel of the Jesuits with the Jansenists and criticises the perverted moral teachings of the officially recognized doctors of the church among whom Alphonsus de Liguori with his work on moral theology ranges very high; and yet this man justifies equivocation or quibbling which just falls short of direct lying, if the deceiving be done for "a just cause." As an instance of a trick by which a lie may be justified through a mental reservation she selects the following: "A man asked if a particular thing be true, which he knows to be true, but does not wish to admit, may lawfully reply: 'I say, No,' meaning thereby only, 'I utter the word, No,' and not, 'I declare that the thing did not happen.'"

We will not enter into further details because similar instances of Liguori and other theologians have frequently been collected and published.

An important point which our author has made, is that the principles of Rome do not encourage the building up of a strong character. They prefer what has been called "moral adaptability" which would be lenient to those who show love of power and wealth and allow an elastic conscience. Even simony is tolerated on the condition that spiritual motives are decisive and that the motive of bribery should not be in the foreground. Baroness Zedtwitz believes that the influence of Romanism is baneful. She says:

"Wherever Rome has had preponderant influence in a country or is gaining in power, a certain specific type of mind and character is developed, however different the races who assume it may be in other respects from one another. It is characterized by a large "moral adaptability," for there is nothing so detestable to Rome as a cast-iron character and an inflexible moral code. . . . The love of power and wealth are motives which Rome can use and manipulate. Liberty in any form she is impotent to handle."

The book of Baroness Zedtwitz is certainly a remarkable document written by one who has sincerely tried to live up to and continue in the faith of the Roman Catholic church and yet has failed. The question is whether Rome will heed the signs of the time and whether Romanism<sup>1</sup> will by and by die out and let the spirit of true catholicism prevail in the church. Among the prelates whom Baroness Zedtwitz has met there are those also who feel that there is something wrong, and some of them long for a reform. She says:

"Disaffection is already found even amongst the members of the hierarchy; men of learning, some of them sincere, zealous, earnest in the cause of humanity, are awakening from their delusions."

We have no doubt whatever that the Pope himself is honest and that he tries his best to fill the high office to which he has been called. But the great question is, Does he possess the insight and is he truly aware of the gravity of the situation.

It is reported that when he is confronted with an unexpected reversal of his plans which now and then happens to him, he is in the habit of exclaiming *Deus providebit*, "God will dispose of it"; and the Pope's confidence in God is perhaps well founded, though it may be in another and a broader sense than he thinks. The God of history leads mankind onward, and the very mistakes men make must often serve to bring about the ends which he has in view and which his worshipers in their blindness try to avoid.

<sup>1</sup> The distinction between Romanism and catholicism has been brought out in an editorial in the November number under the title "*Deus Providebit*."

## THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF A MODERN JAPANESE.

BY SAKYO KANDA.

[It will be interesting and instructive from both a psychological and a religious standpoint to read the autobiography of this Japanese Christian, who here addresses a Western audience. He has passed through the period of the Westernization of his country, and we notice that the influence of the former periods of its history is not obliterated. They are antagonized to a great extent by Western ideas, but after all they continue to exercise a powerful influence. Accordingly we must not expect that the Christianity of a Japanese convert should be our own Christianity. It has practically assumed a new form, just as the Christianity of Northern Europe, now known as Protestantism, is quite different from the religion of the old Roman empire known as Roman Catholicism. It will be noticed also that the Christianity of our Japanese writer has been considerably affected by science, whether we call it materialism or infidelity or rationalism.—ED.]

I AM the descendant of thirty-seven generations of Shinto priests. My father, who died a few years ago, was adopted from another old lineage of Shinto priests. So the hereditary blood flowing through my veins, destined me to worship the gods from my cradle.

You will ask me what Shintoism is. *Shinto* is a Chinese word. In the Japanese language it is *Kami no michi*, which translated into English is "The Way of the Gods." Then what is Shintoism? This question is extremely complicated. Shintoism has a long history of at least twenty centuries. During this long period, both Confucianism and Buddhism have influenced it. It has changed and developed. Moreover its origin is veiled even at the present time. There are two widely separate opinions among scholars: one considers Shintoism as ancestor-worship, the other as nature-worship. From the evolutionary point of view we must agree with the latter. We cannot deny at the same time that Shintoism has more and more adopted elements of ancestor-worship during the later times. Fortunately, however, our purpose is neither to speculate upon the origin of Shintoism, nor to settle the philosophy of it. We shall be content to investigate what Shintoism is in modern Japanese minds and what relation it has to Japanese life at the present time. This is a vital question.

I was taught sacred dancing from my fifth or sixth year. I was taken to ceremonies and rituals by my father and was obliged to dance. On the other hand, I was taught the works of Confucius only by reading them aloud without any explanation. Unfortunately I was a skeptical youth. I came to dislike sacred dancing and the ritual. I asked the reason of the dancing and the worship at the shrines. My parents were glad to explain the origin of the dance and the worship of the gods. Their reasons were very simple: the gods created Japan; the gods were our ancestors; we are the sons and daughters of the gods; the gods guard and guide both people and country day and night. We must, therefore, worship the gods, love their country and be loyal to the Emperor who is the direct descendant of the gods.

Evolution, however, shows us evidence to the contrary. Men's ancestors were not gods but lower animals. Their conceptions of Shintoism and patriotism are curiously mingled. And the "essential fact in Shintoism is religious patriotism" and loyalty. Indeed their faith is very simple. They hold strictly to the traditions repeated from generation to generation. This is true not only of the Shinto priests, but also of the majority of the Japanese.

After the Russo-Japanese war, our Emperor went down to Ise, about 250 miles from Tokyo, the capital, where the sun-goddess has a shrine, and gave thanks to her for victory in the war. Princes, admirals, generals, and other officers did the same. This reminds us that Socrates often prayed to the sun.

You may have heard that the Japanese hold ideas about several things quite opposed to yours; for instance, we turn the page of a book from the right while you turn from the left. Your signal for "Good-bye" is ours for "come here." Then the sun is a male and the moon a female for you, but in Japan they are just the opposite, the sun is a female or goddess, and the moon is a male or a god. The sun-goddess is selected as the ancestor from whom the emperors derive their descent and authority. Thus "she is the most eminent of the Shinto deities" and the center of Shintoism, the state religion of Japan at present.

American and European writers has discussed the cause of the victory of Japan over Russia. Some said it was due to *Bushido*, the way of warriors, and some said to military drill; while the English thought that it was owing to national education. Therefore, the University of London invited Baron Kikuchi, who is now the President of the Kyoto Imperial University, to give lectures on the educational system of Japan. This may have been one of the factors.



but the majority of the Japanese believe that the victory depends on the guardianship of the gods, the ancestors. According to the popular idea, Japan is a divine land and the people are the descendants of the gods. The country is, therefore, far more important than individuals. This idea is interesting from the psychological point of view. The development of the race-consciousness is pre-eminent in Japanese minds. On the other hand, the idea of self-consciousness or personality is poorly developed. This fact is often found among people who are in lower stages of development. For this reason you may judge the Japanese people to be in a lower stage of development. Indeed Japan is populated by people of greatly different stages, ranging from one extreme to another. If one wants to study the history of civilization, he will find his raw materials in Japan. There is no doubt that this phenomenon is the effect of the caste system of old Japan according to which the people were divided into classes: warriors, peasants, artisans and merchants. The warrior class, which included the priests and comprised about one per cent of the people, was the only soul of Japan. The rest had scarcely any moral and mental culture. In new Japan for forty-two years these four classes have had equal rank. Jewels and pebbles are mixed together. It is not at all strange, therefore, that the American and European travelers and visitors take note of the pebbles that comprise 99 per cent, instead of the jewels that are only one per cent. They speak to their countrymen and write many books about the Japanese, maintaining that the Japanese are liars, dishonest people and so forth. Moreover, the Christian missionaries often report their poor and false observations consciously and unconsciously. Of course, I don't deny that the majority of the Japanese, who belonged to the last three classes, are by heredity inferior in moral and mental culture compared to the persons who belonged to the warrior class. We must discriminate, therefore, these conditions very carefully. In this sense, we Japanese may be primitive and uncultured people. Nevertheless the race-consciousness is equally developed throughout the higher and the lower classes. From the biological point of view, it is quite natural that the isolated location of Japan has favored this very much and we may say that this is the characteristic development of Japan. To my mind this psychological factor played a most important rôle in the Russo-Japanese war. You may easily understand from this reason why the Japanese often claim nationalism.

At any rate, the attitude of our people about Shintoism was all nonsense to me, even when I was only thirteen or fourteen years of

age, though of course I had no deep reason for the feeling. At this time I often escaped from the rituals, and at last when I was sixteen years of age I left home, not only because of my dislike for the Shinto priest, but from a certain family trouble. I had seen my elder sister, who is since deceased, and she had tried to persuade me to become a priest, because my mother, while alive, had been anxious for my future and ambitious for me to be a great Shinto priest. I am sorry to say that my ambition was far greater than hers.

By the way I must call attention to the motherhood of the Japanese woman. We have often heard Western people criticise the Japanese women, saying that they are restricted, and from your point of view it may be true. But it must not be forgotten that to the Japanese mind the country and the nation are far more important than an individual, either a man or a woman. If, however, you ask any of the Japanese about the influence of home, they will tell you about the great influence of their mothers without the slightest hesitation. You all know how the Spartan mothers took care of their children. In the background of every Japanese hero, great man or learned scholar, there stands a mother. If you open the biography of a hero, you cannot go far without finding some statements of the mother's influence upon him. Japanese mothers have their rich and honorable traditions. On this point we really do not know whether Japanese women are more restricted than American women.

Mrs. Motora, who is the wife of Dr. Motora, a professor of the Tokyo Imperial University, wrote me a letter dated last Oct. 7th. She is a highly educated, intellectual, Christian lady. I may also call attention to the fact that Dr. Motora was a pupil of President G. Stanley Hall at Johns Hopkins University about twenty years ago. In the letter she writes as follows: "The American fleet has not arrived as yet. The wives of the officers of the fleet have arrived already. They are welcomed here and there. If they were Japanese ladies they would stay at home, and by taking care of the old people and children would remove from their husbands all anxiety about home during their long trip abroad. There is a great difference between the customs of the East and the West. The American ladies are active and the Japanese are obedient!"

Now your people understand this as restriction, but the restriction is, as it were, the very life—a noble life—of the Japanese women. Your customs are very good for you, but not so good for us; our customs are good for us, but not for you. That is all. These customs are greatly influenced by the teachings of Confucius. I

mentioned before, however, that "the most eminent of the Shinto deities is the sun-goddess." And young women, especially virgins, shared the services at the Shinto shrines, and so it is at present at the big Shinto shrines. We see such customs in the ancient histories of Greece and Egypt.

A certain European writer says, "Women held a far more important and independent position in ancient Japan than they did at a later time when the Chinese ideas of their subjection became prevalent. Old Chinese books call Japan the 'Queen Country.' Women chieftains are frequently mentioned in the history of Japan." But I don't know what he means by subjection. In old Japan, empresses also have often governed the country. "Some of the most important monuments of the old literature were the works of women." Ancient Shintoism recognized the equality of man and woman. Where there is ancestor-worship, there is hero-worship. Sometimes we cannot distinguish which is the older. This is especially true of Shintoism. For instance the Japanese word *Kami*, in English "God" or "gods," means literally "above, superior," and is applied to many other things besides deified beings, such as nobles, the authorities, the hair of the head, the upper water of a river, etc. In the ancient Japanese mind the higher or superior qualities were the attributes of gods and goddesses and of the ancestors. There was no difference, therefore, between a god or a man, and a goddess or a woman. If there was a woman superior to a man, she was respected or even worshiped and *vice versa*. This was not only true in olden times but is also true in the present. The only standard of respect is the higher or superior quality of character, but not the sex.

The so-called restriction does not mean non-respect at least in the Japanese minds. I am proud to say that Japanese mothers, especially educated Japanese mothers, are very anxious to educate their children and make them great. They do not concern themselves about external affairs so much as you do, but about domestic matters. The mothers' greatness and strength, and also their reputation, appear through their children. The child is the only crucible to test the mother. I was only ten years old when my mother died, but I still feel her great influence upon me.

In this connection I will say a few words on the education of Japan, especially that of the girls. The school system is chiefly adopted from the German—primary schools for six years, middle schools for five years, high schools for three years and colleges for three or four years. This makes a seventeen or eighteen years'

course. But the private schools of the missionaries are one or two years less in length than those of the government. Girls' education is somewhat low. After the graduation from primary schools girls go to girls' high schools for a five years' course which corresponds to the boys' middle schools. At present about 87% of Japanese children go to primary schools, while this is true of only 70.26% of American children. Besides these we have normal schools of four years for both boys and girls after graduation from primary schools. The graduates of normal schools become primary school-teachers, and we have higher normal courses of four years for both sexes. Their students are generally the graduates of normal schools, and of middle schools. They are selected by an entrance examination. This course is in preparation for teachers of the middle schools, normal schools, and girls' higher schools. There are several industrial schools and technical colleges, but very few girls' colleges. Two higher normal schools for girls—one founded 19 years ago and the other about to start this coming April—are supported by the government. Besides these, there are private girls' colleges, most of them founded by Christian missionary enterprise. The greatest institution for girls in Tokyo is organized by Mr. Naruso who was a student of Clark University for a short time. This includes a kindergarten, primary school, girls' high school and college.

In Japan they strongly disapprove of co-education, which is confined to the primary schools only. They even announce that they will soon abolish the co-educational system in the primary schools also. One of the most characteristic ideals for the education of Japanese girls over the whole country, is to bring up each girl to become a "good wife and wise mother." In other words, wisdom and a good character are a girl's preparation for becoming a wife and mother.

When Japanese girls marry, they must enter their husbands' family as a new member of it. There the husband's parents, sisters and brothers, and even grandparents may all live together. They watch every deed and word of the bride, the new member of their family, with keen eyes. They severely criticise her whenever she is absent. She must assimilate the customs of the new family as soon as possible. If she fails, there sometimes occurs the tragedy of divorce, even though there may be warm affection between her and her husband. None the less, every Japanese girl, educated or uneducated, has to marry. Thus you will see that in Japan family, race and country are far more important than individuals.

Next I would like to speak to you very briefly of my religious

experience as a Christian. I left my home when I was sixteen years old and experienced much that is bitter in human life. At the age of eighteen I spent about one month at a certain Catholic monastery at Nagasaki, but did not become a convert. Nevertheless, my relatives and friends persecuted me as a Christian. After four years of hard and unpleasant experiences I became a Christian. I was baptized by Dr. J. C. C. Newton, who was one of the students of President Hall at Johns Hopkins University. I then entered a missionary school of the Southern Methodists of America at Kobe, which has two courses, academic and collegiate. I was the oldest of the pupils, because most of my own age had graduated from the academic course. At any rate, I studied for six years there, without receiving any help from others. I worked for my living and studied for my ambition. During the first four or five years at the school, however, my studying was but secondary, because I devoted most of my time to my religious struggle. I was already a Christian, but without knowing what true Christianity is. I began to feel my inner experiences different from the missionaries' interpretation of Christianity. First, I doubted the doctrine of salvation. They taught us that if we believe in Jesus Christ we are saved, but according to my inner experiences, I was not quite free from my sinful feelings so called. If I am saved by Jesus's blood, I felt at that time, I must be entirely free from my sinful feelings. I questioned, therefore, several missionaries and native ministers about my skepticism. None of them could give me any satisfactory explanation at all; they only repeated, "Believe, then you are saved." I tried, of course, to believe so, but all in vain. I asked earnestly, but I was not given any satisfaction. I sought with thirst, but I could not find any enlightenment. I ate the fruit of knowledge. It troubled me very much. At last, I came to a conclusion.

My idea was this: If I am saved, I must have a pure character; if I have it not, I am not saved. In other words, by building up my character better and nobler, I am saved. This is not done suddenly, but by gradual training. To do so, therefore, I must imitate a greater character and follow his steps: then I need Jesus as well as all other great teachers. This is salvation by character, but not by faith. For this purpose, Jesus is one of the greatest teachers and leaders, but not a fantastic divine person.

Later I found I was a Unitarian, but I did not know that there was such a thought as mine at that time and did not read any of Emerson's or Channing's works. I read the Bible over and over again and thought on. The Bible taught me my Unitarianism!



I have been a member of the Japanese Unitarian church in Tokyo for about seven years, but still my Unitarianism is different from yours. It sounds better to say Humanitarianism; or, if you like, you might call it Materialism.

For four years I have been studying Buddhism,—I mean the teaching of Buddha, the greatest sage of ancient India. I am very glad to say that Buddhism gives me satisfactory explanations which Christianity could not give. It never teaches venerable myths such as the existence of a personal God and the immortality of an immaterial soul. It seems to me at least that Buddhism is far greater, more comprehensive, and more scientific than Christianity. Nevertheless, I am neither a Buddhist, nor a Christian, nor a Confucianist, nor a Shintoist. I have outgrown every one of them. My religion is the unity of Shintoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and science. I lay most stress on science.

To avoid misunderstanding, let us consider the relations among Shintoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity. It is reasonable to think that Japanese patriotism is greatly influenced by Confucianism in a moral sense. In other words, the moral ideas of Shintoism are enriched by Confucianism, because Shintoism is too simple in its moral teaching; on the other hand Confucianism is strong in its moral teaching and weak as a religion, and therefore, the two are easily combined. But it is a very striking fact that Shintoism, the way of the gods, and Buddhism or Butsido, the way of the Buddhas, are related to each other. The believers in Shintoism are at the same time believers in Buddhism, especially among the common people. There was a time when Shintoists and Buddhists fought against each other severely. After a while wise Buddhists tried to reconcile Buddhism with Shintoism and also Confucianism, accepting the three. At last Buddhism with its religious meaning won the Japanese hearts, while Shintoism became more and more the religion of patriotism and loyalty combined or joined with Confucianism. So the Japanese worship gods at the Shinto shrines and Buddhas at Buddhistic temples.

I must call attention to the fact that the three religions—Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism—are mingled or interwoven in the Japanese mind. Moreover we now have Christianity, and Christianity has found a fertile soil in the Japanese mind, but it is doubtful whether it can grow up as such.

Let us take an illustration. Your people are fond of tea which is imported from Japan and China or home made. When you drink it, you put some sugar and milk in it. It seems to be quite



natural to you, because when you drink coffee and cocoa you have the same habit, and, in doing so, it will taste better to you. But the Japanese never do so. To us it thereby loses the pure taste. Tea is the same thing, but the esthetic tastes of the Americans and Japanese are different. Now then, we Japanese import Christianity from your country and Europe. When we take it as our religion, we put Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism into it. Your people are, however, quite satisfied with Christianity alone, as we are in the case of tea. But we are not satisfied without putting Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism into Christianity, as you are in the case of tea. Are we to be blamed?

We often hear missionaries complain that the Japanese are defective in religious instinct. Poor missionaries! When I left the missionary college, I called on one of my teachers, a missionary who is now a Methodist minister in St. Louis. He said to me: "You have degraded yourself." My answer was: "No, I have greatly improved myself."

This reminds me of a very interesting story about a hen. The hen hatched the eggs of a duck. She loved the duck-chicks very much. One day, when they grew strong enough, all of them went into a near pond. Looking at them swim happily there, the poor mother-hen on the shore was very anxious for them and wanted to get them out, but they never minded her anxiety at all. The hen could not understand the hereditary tendency of the duck-chicks. The missionaries and the Japanese Christians are exactly in the same condition. The missionaries hatched the eggs of a duck just as the hen did.

This is a very interesting psychological problem. If missionaries understood this secret thoroughly, they could surely do more fruitful work for Japanese Christianity. But please do not misunderstand me. We Japanese, of course, never forget the missionaries' contribution to the education of both men and women in our country. About their attitude of religion, however, I can not quite agree with them. They are too narrow-minded. Suppose again that I tried to propagate Shintoism as such in this country. Would you become a convert? No? Then am I right in saying that your people are not religious? The Japanese have a mind to taste the sweetness of religion, but not creeds and dogmas.

Are we wrong to assume that the result of the mixture of these four religions—Shintoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity will produce something new?

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### THE MODERNIST'S REPLY TO HIS CRITICS.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

As the author of the *Letters to His Holiness, Pius X*, I may interest a certain number of the readers of *The Open Court* if I briefly state the impression made on me by the more severe criticisms cited in the November number of this magazine from devoted members and leaders of the Roman Catholic church. If those criticisms fail to take account of the crisis produced by modernism, or to give any consideration to the good faith or even to the sufferings of modernists, I make no complaint. If some of them are ignorant I will not call them so. If others are even vulgar I prefer not to score them as such. It will be more becoming and more just to pass over in silence the unamiable and more personal aspects of these comments, and to regard them as expressing a state of mind and as indicating a process of education which in substance we may treat with tolerance, however little we can admire them.

It must be remembered that to the men who have thus written of the book, their theology and the Truth-Ideal are coterminous and identical. They look upon that theology both in its principles and in its history as the very thought and mind of Deity revealed to man for man's salvation. They have inherited the idea, and have never broken loose from it, that whosoever points out the historical blemishes and the intellectual and spiritual deficiencies of this theology is a falsifier doomed to perdition. For when Deity speaks who can gainsay Him but the black Adversary of double tongue and cloven foot himself? Primitive as this conception appears, destructive of intellectual liberty, and fatal to every form of progress, it is yet connatural to all theologies, and is as prompt among Mohammedans to visit condemnation on the higher critic of the Koran as among Catholics on the critical student of the Judeo-Christian Scriptures or the history of dogma. It requires a high degree of independence in one addicted or vowed to a particular theology to put to himself such fundamental questions as these: Are my theology and eternal Truth absolutely one after all? Ought I to examine the basis of my theory of the Ultimate with open mind and fearless scrutiny? What am I submitting to, the voice of God or the venerable conjectures of men who like myself groped through darkness for the Inscrutable? Have I any right to call a faith my own when I have never yet gone beyond taking it on bended knees and with closed mind from the teachers who transmitted it to me?

As long as such self-respecting questions as these either never drift into the mind of a man, or if they do, are flouted and buffeted away as sins, sins which lead the soul within hearing distance of the roaring furnaces of hell,

we need not be astonished that the innovator is anathematized and his sincere convictions set down as the raving of a deluded mind and the clamor of a corrupted heart. "He blasphemeth!" is an old cry, and we shall cease to hear it only when men keep sequestered in their hearts a clean altar to the most austere of divinities which is Truth, and understand that though tongues cease and prophecies are made void, this God remains as authoritative as immortal. When that day comes we shall see too that of all the handmaidens of Truth the chief is Charity. Until then it behooves us to have much patience and make few remonstrances; to work steadfastly and endure nobly; to hasten as we can the coming day, and if our eyes shall not see it, to die content. It will come in its season despite our weakness and our adversaries' strength.

### MY RELIGIOUS CONFESSION.

BY DR. NATHANIEL I. RUBINKAM.

[On returning the proofs of his article "The Bible and the Future Pulpit," together with the editorial reply entitled "The Loyalty of Clergymen" published in the November number of *The Open Court*, Dr. Rubinkam sends the following communication which we publish in justice to him.—Ed.]

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

Many thanks for your courtesy in sending me your reply to my article on "The Bible and the Future Pulpit." You are at full liberty to publish it in case you, at the same time, print this rejoinder which amounts to a religious confession.

When you assert that the churches are now willing to hear the truth, I would ask, what truth? Would they listen to what I regard the truth, that a "revealed" religion is a thing simply of the imagination; the truth that the Bible has no authority above other books; the truth that the church has no calling superior to any other human institution?

As to my "prejudice" it was originally, and is still, apart from dogma, in favor of the institution in which both myself and my ancestors were deeply imbedded. I was born in the lap of the old orthodoxy. I was educated at the University of Princeton under President James McCosh. After a year in the household of the great German pietist, Dr. August Tholuck, I came back to America and graduated at the Princeton Theological Seminary under Dr. Charles Hodge.

During twenty years of service in the orthodox pulpit, I made one long persistent study of the evidences of what I was preaching. I left no stone unturned. I went to the Orient, studied "holy" places, and the "sacred" persons who were the alleged vehicles of revelation.

Still dissatisfied I returned to Germany and gave long years to research, and took my doctor's degree in Oriental philology and the historical criticism of the Old Testament. My conviction became well grounded, absolute and incontrovertible, that the Bible is a book for the study and dispute of scholars, but in no sense a revelation to the modern man. As to the dogmas founded upon it, I became thoroughly convinced that the idea of the "second person of the Trinity," a child of the "third person," dying to appease a "first person" angered at the human race, was the merest theological drivel.

In spite of all my ancestral and personal prejudices for the church, in spite of all family and social influences, I was deeply imbued with the conclusion that the Christian's devil in hell and Father in heaven were pure theological fictions.

My historical critical studies of the Bible showed me that no miracle has occurred in the course of human time.

In spite of my prejudice for the pastoral relation, in spite of a good salary, ten years ago I walked out of one of the best of the Chicago churches.

I was at that time nearing middle life, and did not know whence financial support would come.

In the ten years since I left the ministry, I have come to a world-view as complete and satisfactory, I believe, as it is possible for a man to obtain.

I am not an atheist, for atheism as well as theism in any theological sense, has been wiped from my vocabulary. I believe that every effect has a cause, and if we could reach the author of the vast and wonderful universe, he too must be an effect, requiring a cause, and hence we come simply to an infinite series of causes. I am not an infidel, as we have no national revelation to deny, and as I am, I trust, true to myself. I am not an agnostic. I dislike the phrase manufactured by Huxley. I am open to all the knowledge which may be discovered by the indefatigable endeavors of science, psychical research included.

I am none of the *ites* following the *isms* which the inquiring religious minds of the world have formulated. I am simply a child of vast, glorious, baffling nature, and belong to the race of humanity still in the evolutionary struggle.

To be explicit: In my opinion, all of the world's "revealed religions," all heavens and all hells, and all supernaturalism, are simply and wholly the products of the imagination.

It is the privilege and duty of every intelligent man and nation, improving upon the past, from present experience and knowledge of nature, to formulate a new ethics and religion. These should be taught our children in the public schools, not as dogma but as present knowledge, leaving to the unfolding wisdom of the future to do the same. This is the only logical attitude toward the thought of evolution.

I am a lover of nature, and my religion consists in a love of nature in its widest, all-enfolding sense. You quote a friend who has a satisfaction in a personal Heavenly Father, and who has a certain knowledge of Him. I have no objection to this view, for your friend. I too am an idealist and believe in the power of the human mind to create ideals, and to commune with them. I know of another who talks with Jesus, of one who communes with the Virgin Mary, of another who converses with his dead friends, and still another holds friendly intercourse with "the devil"; one acquaintance, of the baser sort, actually sees snakes and demons prowling and crawling about in his room. I have a friend in the Christian pulpit whose god is simply his higher life ideals. In my view these phenomena are all in "the mind's eye."

To me there is sufficient in wide nature to satisfy all religious aspiration, to give all possible comfort. In other words I am thoroughly happy in this religion of the natural universe, as happy as I think it possible for a man to be in this world, so far as religion is concerned.

I sympathize with Rostand's blackbird who cannot believe that the chanter's crow makes the sun to rise, and says: "It is not my fault that I am no gull."

The professors who are the editors of the religious magazine and a year ago asked me to write for them the article, could not publish it on account of their readers. They are holding down their positions, and I do not blame

them; for a church that educates young men and starts them to preach and teach its system, is in an important sense responsible—and after wife and children are added to life's expenses, the church owes them a living.

But I could not retain such a position. In spite of all the sacrifices that were involved in leaving the church, in spite of all the neglect and obloquy which follow in the train of such an action, I have been content and to a degree successful in obtaining a living in the line of my ideals.

While I continually cherish a love and a charity toward all who differ from me in opinion, I have each day the glory of possessing a completely free, unbiased, untrammelled mind.

#### THE BERLIN CENTENNIAL TO FICHTE.

The University of Berlin has this year celebrated the centennial anniversary of its existence. It was founded during the most trying days of Prussia when Germany lay prostrate at the feet of the French conqueror and when patriotic men despaired of the future of their country. We must remember that in spite of their deep humiliation these days were glorious times in the history of Germany, for then German genius celebrated its greatest triumphs in philosophy, literature and music. This was the period in which Kant and Fichte, Goethe and Schiller, Mozart and Beethoven, created their immortal works. In the year 1810 the great naturalist Humboldt suggested to the King of Prussia the foundation of a university, and Fichte, the most brilliant disciple of Kant, was selected as its rector.

Fichte's philosophy is considered a most thorough-going idealism, to some extent resembling Berkeley and having analogies in the Vedantism of ancient India. The only realities we know of are the feelings, ideas and volitions of the ego, and the absolute ego is God. It would be difficult to explain, defend or criticise Fichte's philosophy without entering into details, and so we rest satisfied with the bare statement, for we deem it out of place to discuss the subject in this connection.

Whatever we may think of his philosophy, Fichte stands out as a gigantic figure in the history of the German people, for he distinguished himself by moral courage evinced in the presence of the foreign usurper. He appealed to the patriotism of the citizens of Berlin through his *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, though he knew that he risked his life. It is well known that Napoleon had Herr Palm, a harmless bookseller, shot on a much slighter provocation.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte was born at Rammenau in 1762; he entered upon the theological course at the University of Jena in 1780. Financial troubles required him to become tutor in 1784, and in 1788 he accepted a similar position in Zurich where he met his future wife, a niece of Klopstock. In 1790 he gave private instruction in Leipsic, and here he became acquainted with Kant's philosophy. In 1791 he sought and found a position as tutor in Königsberg in order to be near Kant and to know him personally. He introduced himself to Kant by sending him a pamphlet on "The Critique of all Revelation," which appeared anonymously the next year and was thought to be written by Kant. As a result of this pamphlet he was offered the chair of philosophy at Jena in 1793 and was married the same year. His "Theory of Science" appeared in 1794; "Natural Law" (*Naturrecht*) in 1796; and "The Theory of Morals" in 1798. Accused of atheism, he resigned his chair in 1799, and finally took refuge in Berlin. His "Vocation of Man" appeared in

1800, the "Nature of the Scholar" in 1805, and the "Doctrine of Religion" in 1806. Then came his stirring addresses to the German nation to which is



FICHTE AS A PATRIOT.

largely attributed the German uprising against Napoleon, and his appointment as rector of the Berlin University. He died of typhoid fever in 1814.

#### THE STORY OF TABI-UTUL-BEL AND NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

BY CLARA BEWICK COLBY.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

In your August issue you published a poem translated by Professor Jastrow under the title, "A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job." Is not that



poem rather a parallel to the story of Nebuchadnezzar? Nebuchadnezzar was the greatest of Babylonian kings, and his history is closely connected with that of the Hebrews. It is expressly stated that he was used by God to punish the nations and that Egypt was given to him as his reward, and also that he was given power over the beasts of the field and they should serve him. At one time Nebuchadnezzar gave credit to the God of the Hebrews for what he had accomplished, saying "It hath seemed good unto me to show the signs and wonders that the Most High God hath wrought toward me." But when he became arrogant and said, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built," disregarding the warning of Daniel to "break off his iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor," he was smitten with a peculiar disease which bent him so that he seemed to be walking on all fours, and it was so loathsome that he was driven out from among men and had to subsist on the herbs of the field.

In the poem, Tabi-Utul-Bel has a similar experience. His ears were stopped, his eyes holden; instead of being a king he becomes a slave; he said he was under a ban from which his priest could not release him, and which threw him to the ground and bent his high stature like a poplar; his members became powerless and his feet were entangled in their own fetters. In all this there is a close and remarkable parallel to the downfall and sufferings of Nebuchadnezzar. But there is a more remarkable coincidence still. Nebuchadnezzar has "to dwell with the beasts of the field and to eat grass like the oxen." Tabi-Utul-Bel says:

"In my stall I passed the night like an ox;

I was saturated like a sheep in my excrements."

When released from the ban Nebuchadnezzar becomes able to lift up his eyes unto heaven, and he praises and blesses the Most High. Tabi-Utul-Bel regained his hearing and sight:

"The neck which had been bent downwards and worn,

He raised erect like a cedar."

Then burst forth the song of praise to the "Lord of Wisdom."

The whole setting is Babylonish and there is as perfect a parallel between the two stories as one could expect when related by different authors. The Babylonian king of the Bible story and of the poem was in both cases pious and taught his subjects "to commemorate the name of God." In each story he becomes proud, and is punished for it—justly as afterwards recognized—by being cast down from his high estate. In each story he suffers from a strange malady which produces the same results for a period of time. Then without human intervention and when companions were estranged and priests were powerless, the king becomes able to recognize God in the affliction and is restored. After this both stories give the prayer of thankfulness to the divinity, and the warning to others not to sin in the same way, "for those that walk in pride he is able to abase" and "He who sins against E-sagila, through me let him see."

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT.

It is true enough that the story of Tabi-Utul-Bel describes a monarch who was deeply humiliated and rose to power again through the grace of God, but the interest of the story does not center in the idea that a great man is humiliated, but rather that a pious man is tried in the furnace of dire affliction and is finally found patient and submissive to the divine will.

The theme of the story of Nebuchadnezzar in the Old Testament conveys

the idea that God will humiliate the haughty. If this story has a prototype in Babylonian legend it has not been discovered. Incidentally we will add that the biblical characterization of Nebuchadnezzar has not the slightest foundation in fact. Neither did he commit the iniquities attributed to him in Daniel iii and iv, nor may we assume that he was ever punished by a spell of insanity. The story appears to have been fixed upon him more by the narrow-minded patriot who saw in Nebuchadnezzar the conqueror of Jerusalem and vented his hate in this fictitious tale.

Nebuchadnezzar was the founder of the Babylonian kingdom and in fact he made it great. When he passed away its glory faded rapidly, for twenty-three years after his death Babylon passed into the hands of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian kingdom. Professor Cornill offers us a brief description of this king in his *Prophets of Israel*, p. 128:

"Nebuchadnezzar is styled by modern historians, not unjustly, 'the great.' He is the most towering personality in the whole history of the ancient Orient, and a new era begins with him. The greatness of the man consists in the manner in which he conceived his vocation as monarch. Nebuchadnezzar was a warrior as great as any that had previously existed. He had gained victories and made conquests equal to those of the mightiest rulers before him. But he never mentions a word of his brilliant achievement in any of the numerous inscriptions we have of him. We know of his deeds only through the accounts given by those whom he conquered, and from strangers who admired him. He himself tells us only of buildings and of works of peace, which he completed with the help of the gods, whom he worshiped with genuine reverence. The gods bestowed on him sovereignty, that he might become the benefactor of his people and subjects. He rebuilt destroyed cities, restored ruined temples, laid out canals and ponds, regulated the course of rivers, and established harbors, so as to open safe ways and new roads for commerce and traffic. We see in this a clear conception of the moral duties of the state, where its primary object is to become a power for civilization."

#### CONFESSIONS OF A CLERGYMAN.

An anonymous book written by a priest of the Anglican church under the title of *Confessions of a Clergyman* (London, Geo. Bell & Sons, 1910) is worthy of careful perusal and is sure to be a comfort to his brethren who have grown liberal after their ordination and feel the discomfiture of no longer being in harmony with the creed to which they have been pledged. The paper wrapper bears the following characteristic publishers note: "This book is an attempt to relieve distressed faith by a restatement of the Christian position in terms acceptable to modern thought and knowledge. It is the record of a personal mental experience very common in these days, but rarely recorded with a like sincerity and freedom."

Through his *Confessions* we become acquainted with the author and the result of his struggle which very strongly resembles the case of Robert Elsmere. He resents the Catholicity of the Apostles creed, for he believes in an individual adherence to primal truth. He does not want to promulgate any strange new doctrine, nor does he desire the uprising of a new sect or cult (p. 83). He expresses his dislike for certain doctrines, such as the Apostolic succession and eternal punishment. He has come to the conclusion

that bishops are "presbyters exalted by their own body and derive their authority from below" (p. 87). He has set himself free from the dread of the unseen powers of evil, of fear of hell and devils. He says (p. 89):

"Thank God we have put away these things now, and surely the devil himself may take his departure with them. Long ago we were told that he was full of wrath because his time was short. Truly the time is come when he should be flung aside—not, alas, with derisive laughter, for his reign has been too cruel and too terrible for that, but with the furious scorn of men who have been long deceived."

"The world of demons has ceased to exist save in the lurid imagination of the bigot and the insane; the horrible night of dread apparitions is passed away, never to return, and we who are children of day, may now see more clearly the Father's face."

Science has demolished and exposed many similar idols of the church, and he asks himself if this negativism goes on, "What is it we would destroy? The Church, or a false ideal of the Church?" (p. 91) and his answer is obvious. Without imposing his views on others he has formulated a creed of his own which satisfies him and reads as follows:

"What then is our refuge? to whom or to what shall we then turn? I hold that still God is our refuge; but of that God we know less than the theologians suppose. In one sense, in one direction, we know more. The vastness of the universe, the infinite number of its years, convince man that his God is no local deity with any peculiar love for a peculiar people: trivial details of ritual and ceremonial, the yearly round of fast and festival, the innumerable legal restrictions of an ecclesiastical system, cannot affect in the slightest degree His relation with His creatures. We recoil from these, and in the recoil we fall back upon those primal instincts from which religion took its birth. The sense of the Unseen, the craving for immortality."

He rejoices that the passage in Mark relating to the story of the Ascension has been cut out by higher criticism so that it will no longer trouble a distressed faith. He has not much relish for miracles, for he declares that the purpose of Jesus was to teach men, not to astonish them (p. 100), and he calls attention to the fact that miracles are absent in the more awful and significant events in the life of Jesus. "There were no dramatic scenes of an extraordinary character at the crucifixion." He believes in the resurrection, though his conception does not define the traditional details and its mode. He says:

"The evidence for the Resurrection grows in volume from age to age, like the thunder among the hills; the enthusiasm, the hopes, the strivings of generations of men, bear witness to the truth that he who was dead is now alive for evermore—the Living One. What more shall I say? The influence of Jesus over men for nineteen centuries is the real and adequate proof of the Resurrection, and appears to me a more stupendous miracle than any recorded in the Gospels. I may question those lesser miracles because I am by no means satisfied with the evidence which supports them; but I believe with all my heart in the miracle of the Resurrection because the evidence for it is irresistible and not to be gainsaid. My conscience rejects the one; the other my conscience dare not refuse."

The author considers his case as typical, and so he feels "fully justified in publishing these Confessions, that the thoughts of many hearts may be

revealed." He expects that his book "will find a responsive echo in the hearts of many," and we hope in addition that it will lead to a revision of the ordination pledge in all those denominations which still believe in the wisdom of restricting the intellectual growth of both clergy and laity. In this connection we wish to call attention to an editorial article published some time ago in *The Monist*, entitled "The Clergy's Duty of Allegiance." It contains suggestions for solving this problem bewildering to many clergymen in a most conservative way which would yet allow liberty of conscience.

### THE TEMPLE LIBRARY OF NIPPUR.

BY ALAN S. HAWKESWORTH.

Dr. Hugo Radau, Ph. D., of the University of Pennsylvania, closes the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* with three essays upon "Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur," profusely illustrated by 30 full-page engraved plates, and 22 halftone reproductions.

He points out, first, in an introductory essay, the excessive difficulty and labor involved in adequately cataloguing these texts, written, as most of them are in one of the two Sumerian dialects, in a confused and nearly illegible script. This illegibility has been deliberately added to, in too many cases, by their wanton mutilation during the sack of the city and temple thirty-five centuries ago.

"The Age of the Older Temple Library of Nippur" is next considered, and proofs are advanced that all the tablets from the said library date from the times of the second dynasty of Ur, and the first of Isin (2700-2400 B. C.).

The transliteration and translation of, and critical notes upon, a long hymn of 77 lines is given, the text itself being shown in 3 half-tone plates. A colophon on the tablet dedicates it to the goddess Nin-an-si-an-na [i. e., Gestinna, Bau, or Ishtar]; and states that it was composed for, and chanted in the sanctuary of Nippur by Idin-Dagan, King of Isin [2400 B. C.]

That the king of a rival city should thus go to Nippur to perform ritual acts, is a striking example of the religious sovereignty inherited by En-lil of Nippur, a thesis elaborated in the third and last essay upon "En-lil and His Temple E-Kur; the Chief God and Chief Sanctuary of Babylonia."

Dr. Radau divides the religious history of Babylonia into three great epochs. There is, first, the primitive Sumerian era, lasting from perhaps 5700 to 2200 B. C. and having En-lil in his temple "E-Kur" at Nippur as the chief of the gods, so that these texts from the Older Temple Library mark merely the closing 500 years of En-lil's acknowledged supremacy.

The second period, that of the "Canaanitish" or Semitic conquerors, from 2200 to 600 B. C., has Marduk as its supreme divinity, with his throne at the temple "E-Sagilla" of Babylon; while the third Assyrian period, synchronous with the second, honors Ash-shur.

Lastly, there is a 12-page "Description of the Tablets," shown in the 30 full-page engraved plates, and 22 half-tones upon 15 full-page plates, that complete and close the Anniversary Volume. Dr. Radau and all concerned are to be warmly congratulated upon the thoroughness and scholarly acumen displayed throughout the volume.

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