

# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.

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VOL. XXXIII (No. 5)

MAY, 1919

NO. 756

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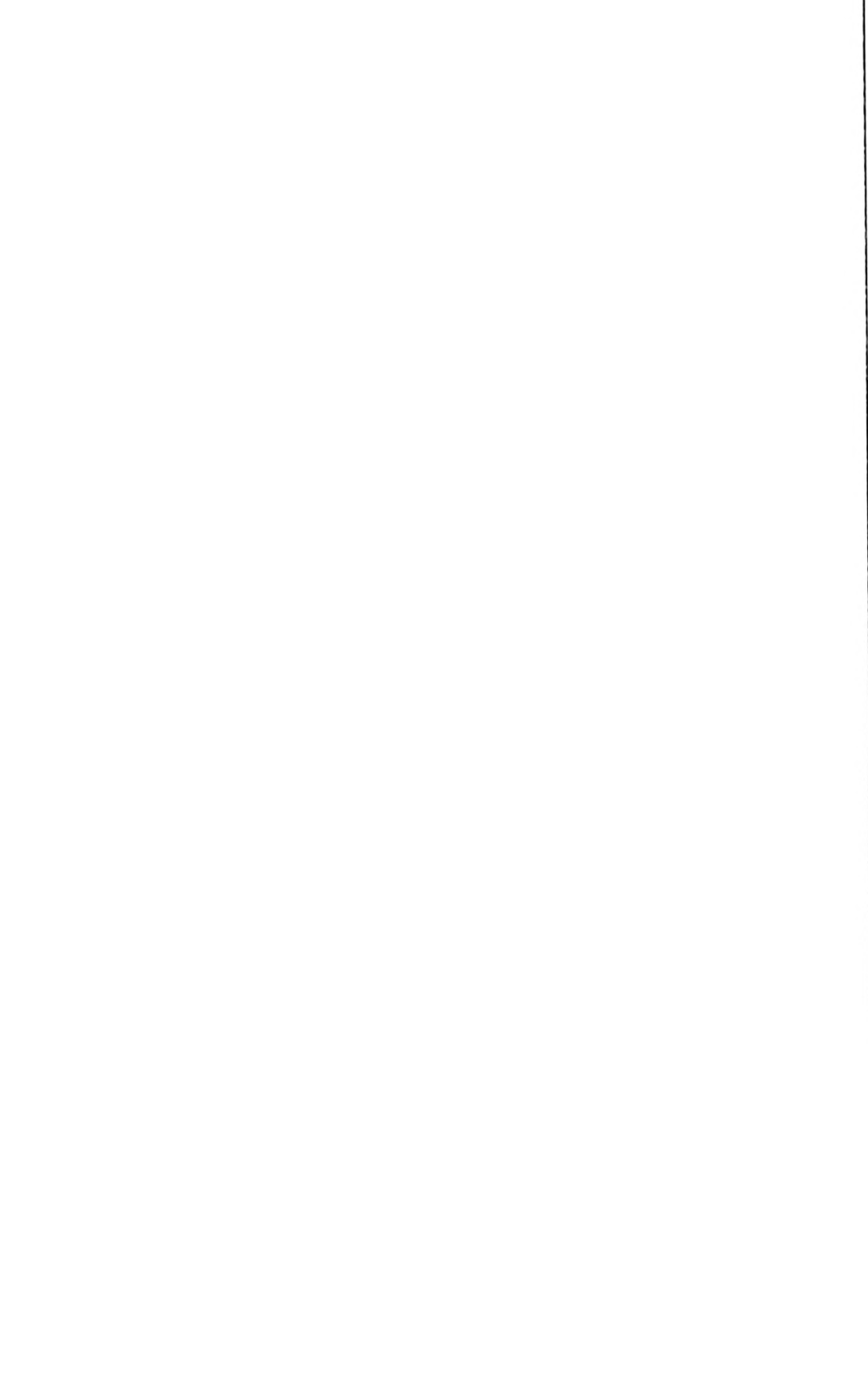
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# The Philosophy of B\*rr\*nd R\*ss\*ll

With an Appendix of Leading Passages From Certain Other works.

Edited by Philip E. B. Jourdain.

Price \$1.00.

There is a great deal to be said for any philosophy that can stand a joke. Philosophies are usually too dignified for that; and for dignity Mr. B\*rr\*nd R\*ss\*ll has little reverence (see Chap. XX, "On Dignity"). It is a method of hiding hollow ignorance under a pasteboard covering of pomposity. Laughter would shake down the house of cards.

Now what has given rise to much solemn humbug in philosophy is the vice of system-making. This vice the great contemporary of Mr. B\*rr\*nd R\*ss\*ll—Mr. Bertrand Russell—has avoided by a frank and frequent disavowal of any of his views as soon as later consideration has rendered them untenable without philosophic contortions. But such a characteristic is a little disconcerting to those of his admirers whose loyalty exceeds their powers of criticism. Thus one of them, referring to *The Problems of Philosophy* when it first appeared, wrote: "I feel in Mr. Russell's book the interest that a curate would feel in the publications of an archbishop who made important modifications in Christian doctrine every year."

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The views of Mr. Russell offer a valuable study for people who are interested in knowing something about the causes of war, and probable rivalry which the future may bring about, the prospects of permanent peace, America's policy, etc. It is important that, after peace, the nations should feel that degree of mutual respect which will make co-operation possible.

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THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY  
CHICAGO — — — — — LONDON





MATERIALIZATION OF A DIAKKA.  
(From Photograph.)

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## SPIRITUALISTIC MATERIALIZATION AND OTHER MEDIUMISTIC PHENOMENA.

BY DAVID P. ABBOTT.

**M**ATERIALIZATION! Can it be that in this advanced age intelligent people believe in such things? you ask. There are those who most certainly do; and they are by no means the ignorant class. A few years ago there were over eighteen million spiritualists in the world. There are to-day, especially in Europe, many of the greatest scientists who are leaders in the investigation of the phenomena of spiritualism. I will not attempt to name more than a few of them.

The published report of Sir William Crookes, on the materialization of the spirit of "Katie King" at his home, is to-day widely circulated and believed. The story is very pretty; and the account of the visits of "Katie" to the Crookes home on many occasions, until her final leave-taking, when she bade them all good-bye and left this world for the last time, makes interesting reading. The scene at her last visit was dramatic and pathetic, for during her many visits they had all learned to love her. She sat in the middle of the room on the floor, with her beautiful hair falling about her, and tearfully bade her friends a last good-bye. All knew it was their last meeting this side of eternity. The reader will remember that this is not a report of some ignorant person, but that of Sir William Crookes, the great scientist, and inventor of the Crookes tube, which invention later led to the discovery of the X-rays. Thus investigations were opened that led to the discovery of radium, the disintegration of matter, and all of the late knowledge of its constitution.

Then there were the materializations at the "Villa Carmen" in Algiers, where Professor Richet of Paris journeyed and spent considerable time in investigating and photographing the spirit "Bien Boa." His book, giving an account of these investigations together with photographs, is quite interesting. But such cases are too numerous for me to attempt to name them all.

People who believe in mediumistic phenomena also believe in Diakka, or evil spirits, not necessarily of human origin, who make all the trouble at seances and who impersonate the spirits of mortals and bring them into disrepute by their conduct. There also is a belief that when a spirit is "grabbed," the spirit substitutes the medium in its place, in order to save the medium's life, etc., etc.

Probably the greatest case of materialization in the world at the present time is in Europe. Just before the war, the Baron von Schrenck-Notzing, of the University of Munich, Bavaria, a hitherto pronounced skeptic, held some experiments with a lady medium and published an account of the same. Many photographs were taken also.

Mme. Juliette Alexandre-Bisson published an account in French which received the endorsement of the above-named gentleman and also of Dr. J. Maxwell, a judge in the higher courts of France. A few extremely brief extracts from a translation of this will be given here.

First we shall state that the medium, Mlle. Eva C., was always undressed before each seance and then dressed in dancers' tights. These were sewed around the wrists, making it impossible for her to introduce her hands under her clothing. At each seance she sat in a cabinet formed by curtains stretched across the corner of a room. Then, most of the time during the seances, her hands and feet were controlled or held by the investigating scientists. I may also state that she underwent a medical examination before each seance to prove that she had not concealed upon her person appliances of any kind with which to produce phenomena. A subdued light was used, and sometimes a net was stretched about her, separating her from the apparitions. She was generally entranced by hypnotism before each seance. I now quote mere fragments from the translation, selected at intervals without regard to the dates, merely to illustrate the type of phenomena.

*Phenomena of Mlle. Eva C.*

"After waiting perhaps a dozen minutes, a white form appeared and manifested itself several times. It was photographed.



It was a human form with bright eyes and a tall turban-like hat, and a rather clear black spot covering the nose. The form appeared beyond the netting which separated the medium from it."

Again, "After waiting an hour, some white substance appeared over the medium at her right side. Immediately a figure covered by the same substance appeared and disappeared. Some seconds after, the medium appeared to be entirely covered by this matter. This formed into something like a turban on her head and fell down on each side. Baron P. went into the cabinet. When he resumed his place there followed him an apparition which came from the left side of the medium and was immediately reabsorbed in her.

"Baron von Schrenck-Notzing went into the cabinet and sat beside the medium and took one of her hands. The other hand of the medium held the curtain. A mass of substance came from the mouth of the medium and enlarged. It was gray in color and seemed to be living matter. It moved slowly and disappeared behind the curtains. Baron von Schrenck-Notzing resumed his seat without letting go the hand of the medium and Dr. Vi took the other hand. Thus controlled, the medium appeared to be entirely covered by a white substance which fell down to her knees.

"Some substance appeared extending from the medium's chin to her stomach, seeming to flow from the mouth. It detached itself and fell on her knees, leaving the impression of folding itself up. Some seconds later the same phenomenon was repeated and then vanished. Some matter coming from about the cabinet fell on the medium. This matter seemed to be animated by motion. The medium held the curtains, took hold of the hands of Baron von Schrenck-Notzing, let them go a few seconds, and immediately a figure of a woman appeared enveloped in white substance. It disappeared at once.

"Luminous appearances occurred, especially on the stomach and knees of the medium. One of these manifestations consisted of a long ribbon which seemed to issue from the middle of the face and extend to the medium's feet, which supported it. The doctor said in a whisper to Mme. B. that the ribbon, which was undulating, had the appearance of issuing from the mouth of the medium. Immediately the medium took the doctor's hand between her teeth, and he reported that there was nothing in her mouth. Two little white balls appeared and moved about each foot of the medium. One round figure appeared above her. This was an apparition of a man's head.

"We asked for a hand, earnestly. A hand formed on the right and close to the arm of the medium, which was held by Dr. B.

"The apparition advanced toward Mme. B., who called it. As far as it came forward you could see the forearm. The hand and forearm were about five to ten centimeters distant from the body of the medium. The fingers were large and knotted, and moved. It was the right hand whose thumb was on the right side of the medium's body. The color was white like mother-of-pearl and resembled that of other manifestations, and that which was not white took on the yellow color of the chair. The hand reached to touch that of Mme. B., lingered a few moments and then disappeared.

"We took hold of her hands. After some minutes a large mass of white substance appeared which covered the whole of the medium's stomach. Gradually it took the form of a foot and the end of the leg. The toes were slow in forming. The medium drew her hand from the doctor who was holding it. He felt the substance, and it was cold and moist. The apparition then vanished.

"The medium raised herself, and a long train of white substance hung from her head to the floor. Mme. B. (without letting go the hand of the medium) seized this substance and drew it gently outside the curtains. She had the sensation of holding something living. The medium was groaning, and the doctor asserted that the phenomenon so produced was formed from the same stuff as the cloak which covered the arm of the medium. This substance was humid, viscous, heavy, and cold.

"A head immediately appeared by the side of the medium's head, united with it by a rigid cord of substance. Both heads came forward to Mme. B. The face of the apparition was veiled. You could distinguish the features only imperfectly.

"There was then a respite. The medium opened the curtains wider. We could see a head develop some distance from the medium's head. This figure, heavy and solid, fell on Mme. B.'s head. The shock was brutal. The phenomenon disappeared, no one knows how, into the body of the medium.

"Some minutes later, a hand with the forearm appeared moving forward. It was small, thick, and moved the fingers. The fingers were bound together as if webbed. The hands of the medium were on her knees in full light during the whole of the phenomena. A fourth time a hand presented itself, and at the request of Dr. B. it beat his head hard. The medium then gave her hands. Almost immediately a third hand with the forearm appeared on her belly.

The forearm was placed across the arm of the medium. The hand moved, but it seemed soft and imperfectly formed."

Again, "Almost immediately on being entranced, some matter appeared over the medium. The hands which appeared were ill formed, and then the medium appeared to be covered with the substance. On her brow was a bandage which appeared brilliant, and hanging from her mouth was a mass of matter which fell over her. It was photographed.

"Immediately on her knees and then on her head came a form. Near her head there was the profile of a woman which was photographed. Above the light of magnesium there came a face rather flat and imperfectly formed between the curtains near Mme. B.

"On the 5th of August the figure of a man appeared immediately, but it remained but a short time. A woman appeared and was photographed. After the flash of the light for taking the picture the same woman reappeared and was photographed a second time. The face showed itself in a new form, and a third photograph was taken of it. We could then see the mass of material roll over on the medium and then disappear."

I could give many more of the same sort of occurrences, but space forbids. Necessarily I have had greatly to curtail these reports and omit much more than I have given; but the reader can gain a fair idea of the best materializing of the day, and of a case that so far as I know has not yet been rationally explained. Not having witnessed it, I make no attempt to explain it but shall explain some other materializing.

#### *Other Experiments.*

I have never been a medium; but I am a performer of occult mysteries, and for years I have been personally acquainted with many of the best mediums in the land. In most cases they have been willing to trade their secrets for mine. This has enabled me to produce nearly all of their effects, but afterward I always explain to my guests that my performance is simply art. I shall now describe some of the materializing that I have seen, and some that I myself produce, together with other phenomena. I shall further on explain the methods used.

Cabinets are nearly always used for materializing. Subdued light or darkness is always required. Sometimes the medium is searched and given perfect freedom. Sometimes her hands and feet are held or controlled. Sometimes the medium is tied and sometimes other means are employed.

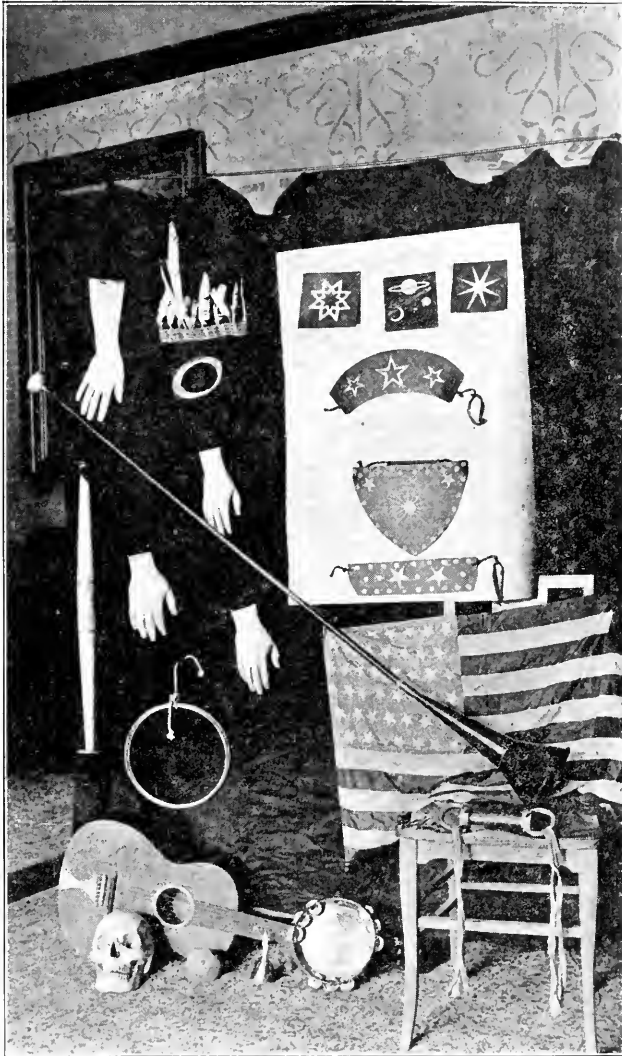
In my case I use a cabinet, and the effect is always in proportion to the thoroughness with which the guests or a committee examine everything. So I let them erect the cabinet for me.



CABINET, PERFORMER, AND APPLIANCES.

A glance at the photograph will show the solid floor, with the solid upright attached by braces, and with curtains on a frame. The reader may also see the hands tied and sewed to the big solid

steel bolt, and the knots are both sewed and sealed with sealing-wax. The end ring of the big bolt is first removed with a wrench



MEDIUMISTIC PARAPHERNALIA.

by the committee, and it is passed through the solid upright; and then the ring is solidly fastened on with the wrench. In the next photograph, the big bolt may be seen on the chair before it is in-

serted. The feet are sewed, tied, and sealed to the big floor rings, and the neck is tied to the screw-eye in the top of the post.

A chair may be seen on the above photograph, on which the committee have placed a guitar, tambourine, bell, ball, small trumpet, glass of water, hoop, and a flag without a staff. That is all.

The committee, after fastening all thoroughly, examine everything and satisfy themselves that for the performer to manipulate or to reach any of the articles is a physical impossibility. Then they take their seats in front, and the assistant draws the curtain. The curtain scarcely reaches the side, when pandemonium breaks loose in the cabinet. The guitar is twanged, the bell rung, the tambourine played, the flag waved above the cabinet, the ball thrown out, and in the midst of this racket I cry "Curtain!" The assistant, who has been standing at some distance, fairly leaps for the curtain and throws it open in a flash. As this is done, the bell goes up over the cabinet, the tambourine falls to the floor; but I am sitting as in the first place, all tied and sealed, and apparently I have not moved. The committee or guests now examine me thoroughly and find everything, including the seals, intact; but upon my arm is the hoop, thus proving that matter has penetrated matter. Also the water is found to be gone from the glass. The articles are replaced, the guests reseated, and the curtain drawn. As before, instantly bedlam begins to reign, and the whole performance is repeated, the bell and tambourine falling over the cabinet curtain as it opens; but I am sitting as before.

Again I am examined very thoroughly; the sewing and seals are all found intact, and the things are replaced. This time I announce that I shall attempt materialization, and that I do not want the curtain closed; but that I must have absolute darkness, and that each guest must continuously hold his neighbor's hand in order to develop magnetism and to give me psychic strength; that no guest must permit his neighbor to withdraw his hand. All of this is deeply impressed on my guests. The room is now examined, the door locked, and the guests seated. *My assistant is seated among them, and his hands held, so that no living being in the room is at liberty*, and there is no chance to produce phenomena by ordinary physical means.

#### *The Phenomena.*

Soon a faintly luminous spot is seen on the floor. It moves about slowly and then vanishes. Again it is seen in the air in front of the guests but entirely out of the cabinet. Now it floats about, first here, then there, like a firefly. It looks like something white;

but as it comes nearer the eyes it is seen to be a beautiful star. It floats up to the ceiling and then vanishes.

What is that white thing over there in the corner on the floor? All look. It seems to move up the wall, then it comes floating toward the guests. It is seen to be the hand of a lady, a very beautiful hand and forearm, with bright, shining jewels on the bracelet which it wears. It passes the guests and it seems that it will touch them. Then it floats up to the ceiling and vanishes.

Next, a ribbon of white substance creeps along the floor, up the wall, and then moves out through the air, undulating. Then it falls to the floor, folding itself into a ball of something white. Again it elongates, and moving toward me, is absorbed by my organism.

Now a ball, faintly seen, is perceptible. It floats from me toward the guests. Soon a face may be seen. It is the head and face of a beautiful girl, with faintly shining hair. It moves in front of the guests and gazes at them sadly, and a faint sigh comes from it. I may be heard at the same time, in the cabinet, moving restlessly and moaning faintly. Then it floats back to me and is reabsorbed into my body. Then there is a wait, and the trumpet may be dimly seen floating in the air over the guests' heads. It seems to be visible by spiritual light, and lo, from out of it a whispering voice issues and talks softly to the guests! There is no mistake. The trumpet is over their heads and goes up to the ceiling with the voice still in it. While this takes place I may again be heard in the cabinet, as I move restlessly. The guests each assert that no one is loose, and my assistant is still tightly held by them.

After the trumpet-talking, the trumpet floats back into the cabinet. Soon on the floor may be seen a luminous patch of light which moves about and advances in front of the cabinet, when lo, what is it doing? Surely it is slowly growing upward and assuming human form. It may now be seen that it is a beautiful girl. Her dress is beautifully embroidered and her garments are somewhat shining, as is also her face; but she moves in front of the guests and seems to breathe and be alive, as her face comes near them. They actually feel her breath on their faces and hear her sigh; then she floats upward to the ceiling and then down to the floor, and then settles down, into a formless thing, and disappears.

My assistant now asks for some one to come fresh from the grave. The guests usually insist. Then there is a repetition of the gradual appearance of the luminous thing on the floor, and its growing upward until it is seen to be a hideous skeleton. It floats

about and up and down, settles into a shapeless mass of white substance, and vanishes into my body.

The philosophy of the Diakka being understood by the guests, I am asked to summon one of these beings from the unseen realm. Soon again a shapeless thing appears which rises into a very giant; but oh, such a hideous face and mouth and such awful eyes! It approaches each face as closely as the guests will permit, and seems to breathe and be alive; but as they usually scream, it rises up, and its awful, shining beard and terrible visage may be seen; then it, too, vanishes like the rest.

Then there is some twanging of the guitar in the cabinet and some restless moving about; and as I am very weak, I ask for lights. The lights are turned on. I am sitting as in the beginning, all tied and sealed, and there is nothing in the cabinet but what was left on the chair in the beginning. The guests break the seals, untie me, rip the stitches, and I am free. Everything is examined, but nothing suspicious can be found.

I am going to explain the secret of how I accomplish all of this in every detail; but before going into the explanation I shall first describe some materializing done by a professional medium which is passed for reality.

#### *Professional Materialization.*

In this seance, subdued light is used and soft strains of music are furnished by a phonograph or music-box. First the committee stretch a curtain across the corner of the room, enclosing the corner in a kind of closet or cabinet. The room is perfectly bare except for plain chairs for the guests and the medium, and its one door is locked and guarded by the guests. The curtain extends from the ceiling of the room entirely to the floor; and the space enclosed, which is about ten feet wide and five deep, is perfectly empty and is bounded by solid walls of the building, which may be of brick, with no window or opening.

Sometimes the medium sits in the cabinet while the guests hold each other's hands securely. Spirits come out of the cabinet in the very dim light, and approach and even whisper to the guests. Frequently they are recognized by some tearful guest as a dead relative.

It is at such times that spirits of little ones, completely formed and beautiful, come out on the floor in front of the guests; sometimes fragments of bodies appear. Even the Diakka are materialized, which are usually small sprites or demons. I reproduce some



photographs I made of these. The one forming the frontispiece of this number of *The Open Court* is from the same collection.



PHOTOGRAPH OF A DIAKKA.

They look very weird and grotesque when moving and whining and talking. They are no larger than a big doll, and with one is shown a human hand to give an idea of its size.

Sometimes ancient personages are materialized. One of these was the materialization of the Witch of Endor. I here reproduce



PHOTOGRAPH OF A DIAKKA.

some of her poses; but the pictures give only the faintest idea of the awful feeling that comes over all when this hideous specter is seen to be alive, to move, to moan, and to whine, as it talks.

The awful death-like pallor in the subdued light produces an effect on the weak-nerved that is not for their good. I have seen women



MATERIALIZATION OF AN ANCIENT WITCH.

and children almost thrown into hysteria and even men badly frightened when this hideous living thing was right against them.

Necessarily, using light strong enough to photograph this crea-

ture, brings it into light of day, showing every detail distinctly which, in subdued light, is left largely to the imagination. This,



THE SAME WITCH.

Other Pose.

with the dim light and surroundings, produces an effect that can hardly be imagined when viewing the photographs in full light.

In this seance, before it finishes, the medium comes among the

guests and they hold his hands. At the same time a number of living spirits emerge from the cabinet and move about the room.



THE SAME WITCH, OTHER POSE.

*"Where is my golden hair?  
It's all moldering away."*

Upon retiring to the cabinet the lights are raised and the room is searched. Not a thing suspicious is found. Nothing living but the

guests and the medium are in the room. The door has never been disturbed.



THE BOLT EXPLAINED.

*The Explanation of the Mysteries.*

First, as to my own performances, I must have free use of my hands to do these things, and the bolt is a trick affair of very fine

workmanship. It seems solid, even under a jeweler's eye-glass; but upon twisting it very hard, the reverse from the way you unscrew a nut from a bolt, it separates in the center and is seen to be held by reverse threads on the projecting portion. The lathe work is extremely accurate, and the joint is further obscured by twisting the bolt when joined, in the hands, one holding and encircling it with a piece of emery-cloth. This entirely obliterates the faintest sign of the joint. I also have rubber bands in my cuffs, under which to tuck the dangling ends of tapes while I work.

In the first part of the act, after producing the noisy manifestations, and when nearly through, I keep up the noises and get the bell in one hand and the tambourine in the other. Keeping up the sounds, I insert the bolt and give it a reverse twist, relocking it in position. I now rattle the tambourine and ring the bell and at the same time cry "curtain." As my assistant leaps, I drop the tambourine and throw the bell over the cabinet. Of course I drink the water and place the hoop on my arm before doing this. I can untie my neck, as it is not sealed, and stand up to wave the flag above the cabinet. I can upset the rear chair and do all kinds of things which pass for manifestations.

But now you will ask about the materializations. Where do I get the spirits? Simply from within the guitar. It is specially made, and by twisting the button on the end, and pressing at the same time, the end piece separates and comes off. A cavity is disclosed in which the luminous things are packed, also a piece of black cloth with which to cover them when out and not in use, and a reaching-tube which is nothing but the leg of a kodak tripod with the plug removed from the big end and the solid rod from the small end. This tube, as most know, is telescoping. I insert a mouthpiece in the small end and then place the trumpet, which has a small amount of luminous paint on it, on the big end. In the darkness I can now reach it out over the heads of the guests and talk softly into the mouthpiece and produce all the effects as described. This trumpet and tube, partly extended, may be seen in the photograph "Mediumistic Paraphernalia." The first head and also the hand and forearm are painted on flat, tough, tan-colored press-board, with luminous paint made by mixing luminous calcium sulphide in dammar varnish. They are blackened on the reverse side. They have a small tube attached, into which I push the small end of the reaching-tube. I can then float them out in the darkness; and by giving the tube a half turn, the black side faces the guests, and the apparition becomes invisible and seems to vanish. It can

again appear elsewhere by giving another half turn to the tube. The luminous star and other figures are floated and vanished the



FIGURES OF SKELETON, GIANT DIAKKA, AND LADY.

same way, and this tube is used for a staff when waving the flag. It collapses and is packed secretly in the guitar when not in use.

When spirit forms are being floated in front of the guests, I simply have slipped the end of the tube into a short tube in the



back of the figure's head and can then move it about as desired. It shines faintly from the luminous paint on it, and is visible in a kind of spectral light. By blowing my breath into the tube, it passes out upon the guests, and is felt as the breath of the spirit. I can sigh faintly, also, with success. The hair on the cardboard head and the other figures of a lady consist of a long piece of very fine silk gauze which is saturated with a weak solution of the luminous preparation. I pin it on the head before floating it out. It thus looks like a vapor, it is so thin, gauzy, and ghostly. When the luminous figures approach near one, and he can hear sighs, feel the warm breath, and even hear faint words, the effect is pronounced.

All of the more prominent parts that are most distinct, such as the jewels, embroidery, flowers, etc., are painted with pure paint applied thickly; while the body of dresses, skirts, etc., have only a weak solution on them. They are thus quite dim and vapory.

I use luminous calcium sulphide, which comes in ounce bottles, for the chief ingredient of my luminous paints or mixtures. For a powerful luminosity, I mix the powder in ordinary banana oil, or in Lowe Brothers' preparation of dammar varnish. It does not smell. This dries so that the cloth is flexible. The amount of sulphide determines the degree of luminosity. For the fine silk gauze I prefer to mix the sulphide in some starch or sizing, such as is used on new silk, and thus fasten the powder into the goods. Enough will be retained to make it faintly luminous, but it will not stand washing. The sulphide is made in Germany but can be supplied by most any big drug supply house.

A short time before the performance I burn a piece of magnesium wire (seen in a bundle on the curtain in the photograph of "Mediumistic Paraphernalia") in front of the luminous objects. After this they will retain the light and emit it slowly for a half hour or so. They must be exposed to an intense light if kept for any time before using.

Only the faintest idea of how the figures look in darkness, by the spectral light of the sulphide, can be gained from the pictures, which show parts which in darkness are entirely invisible. In darkness only the painted figures can be seen, surrounded by the faint spectral glow which dimly illuminates the beard or other details. If the object is beautiful, such as a child or lady with flowers, the effect in darkness is just as beautiful as that of the grotesque figures is hideous. In the last picture is seen a giant Diakka.

These can be vanished at any time by covering with a piece of

black cloth. Then all is packed back into the guitar and the end locked on. Nothing can be seen from the sound-hole but darkness.

The secret of the professional materializing described, I mentioned in *The Open Court* once before; it lies in a secret trap-door over the cabinet in the ceiling of the seance room. The ceiling is papered in designs, and certain lines hide the cuts of this secret door, which is on hinges and hooked up from the room above. When the music starts, the assistants above, all "made up" for the occasion, descend on a padded ladder which they slip down into the cabinet. It cannot be seen in the room for the curtains. They retire up this ladder, drawing it up and locking the trap from above, at the end of the seance. Nothing can be learned or found by an examination of the ceiling from below, as the work on the trap is extra well done.

The witch "make-up" is done by spreading over the face a layer of ordinary flour dough, freshly rolled out, and soft. Holes are torn for eyes, mouth, and nostrils. As it dries it forms the hideous cracks. I have known a lady to use this "dough-face" at parties with disastrous results. It is not safe without first warning the guests that they must control their nerves.

The Diakka pictures were not taken during a seance, neither were those of the witch; but I had them specially posed at a different time. The former are made by the human hand draped with fur. Two burnt matches are used for eyes, and the thumb makes the tongue, which protrudes and moves about as the mouth widely opens. This with ventriloquial talking effects, certainly produces a sensation in a dim and uncertain light. I am indebted to Mrs. May Wheeler for posing these figures specially for me.

## POEMS OF FINITUDE AND INFINITUDE.

BY CALE YOUNG RICE.

### NAQUITA.

“**N**AQUITA,” he said, “Naquita,  
 But one thing do I ask:  
 Bear my dust to the wide plains  
 And scatter it to the four winds,  
 That it may ride the mesas,

The buttes and the red arroyas,  
 And not be shut in a small tomb,  
 An inn for all comers—  
 Whose host, the harrowing worm,  
 Sets no fare forth at all,  
 Save for himself, but silence.”

And so I took his body  
 Of death-made alabaster  
 And bore it, in obedience,  
 To the place of cruel burning.  
 I gave his lips to a flame  
 Stronger than any passion,  
 And his eyes, that held wide heaven  
 And all eternity for me.  
 And I went back to the mesas—  
 Bearing the world and God  
 In a little urn of dust.

And then—oh hunger of love!—  
 I was stricken and could not do it.  
 “If I scatter his dust,” I said,  
 “I scatter my soul to madness.  
 For if his heart were blowing  
 On the windy buttes and mesas  
 My heart would follow after.  
 But here in a grief-gray urn  
 I still can hear it beating,  
 I still can clasp it to me,  
 He still must wait to ride!

“For a little while must wait,  
 Till the flame shall take me too,  
 And our twin dusts commingled  
 On the swift mount of the wind  
 Shall follow all trails that flesh  
 Can never, never follow.  
 Yes, over the Plains shall hurtle  
 Afar, flame-wedded atoms:  
 Till the last wind shall cease,  
 And dust no more be dust,  
 And life and death be one.”

## FLUTTERERS.

In the moist limpid midnight of our garden,  
 Does the firefly, who lights there its sundial,  
 Of time's silent mystic numbers know?  
 As little as do we of heaven's dial,  
 Which God's eternal star-flies enkindle  
 With constellated wandering and glow.

At our mute open window does the grey moth,  
 Who beats toward a warm sense of brightness,  
 Conceive the vastity of Life's desire?  
 As little as do we—whom the strange urgency  
 Of love ever lures to flit and flutter  
 Toward Life's unappeasing blossom-fire.

## CHANT TERRESTRIAL.

How old on the spherul earth is man?  
 How long was it ere a sudden thought  
 Severed him from his brother-beasts,  
     Taught him to walk,  
     Taught him to talk?

How old is he on the spherul earth?  
 How old shall he be when earth is cold  
 And gives to the dead moon ray for ray  
 Of blue chill phosphorescent mould?

How old on the spherul earth is man?  
 Does he a thousand earths in space  
 Inhabit, and uncertain why  
     Face to the sky,  
     Face, and die?

How old is he on the spherul earth?  
 How old shall he be when time has rolled  
 Across Creation's birth-expanse  
 The last star life and death enfold?

## A GAMBLER'S GUESS AT IT.

What are the stars but dice of God  
Flung on the night's uncertain sod?

What is the stake He lays with Fate  
But whether Life's for love or hate?

What if He loses to the Foe?  
Forfeit to Fate we too must go.

What if He wins? Security  
For all through all eternity.

## SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

XI. SAVAGE CHARACTER, AS SHOWN BY THEIR MANNERS,  
MORALS AND PROVERBS.

NO account of savage life and custom would be complete without some notice of their moral characteristics. Savage ways are not our ways, neither are savage ethics our ethics. We have seen them practising cannibalism; offering up human sacrifices and putting to death their relations, and we are repeatedly assured that this is the natural condition of barbaric man. We have been told, over and over again, that races like the South Sea Islanders, live in a state of "revolting depravity"; that they are thieves and liars, and that their normal condition is one of "brutal licentiousness." The very expression "savage" is a synonym for all that is vile in human nature. Yet we have seen how very careful these wild people are in training their little children to ways which all of us deem to be right; are we then to draw the conclusion that all this education is thrown away when riper years are attained? Such an argument would be absurd, because it is obvious that for the training of the young by the ethical standards we have seen, there must be a body of public opinion which enforces that teaching and looks for good results to come therefrom for the benefit of the community.

To judge savages by the ethical code of an alien race is manifestly unfair and unjust: they, at least, have no two thousand years of Christian teaching behind them, and if it really be true that their social condition is one of utter depravity we must make allowances accordingly.

As an example of the moral status of savage peoples let us take the charges that have been made against the Society Islanders, referred to above, and let us remember at the same time, that we wish to know them as they were before the white man came.

Captain Charles Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, who visited Tahiti some seventy years ago, declares that notwithstanding innumerable opportunities they did not steal; that they were well-behaved and there was neither drunkenness nor rioting of any kind.

Take another example. In a work published not many years since the Fijians were declared to possess "all the vices of a barbarous people." The possession of *all* the vices of barbarism is an indictment serious enough to be laid to the credit of any race; we will therefore take our verdict from those who lived with them, in some instances for many years. "Kind and hospitable," one author calls them, "and exceedingly honest." Their chiefs are true gentlemen, in courtesy and politeness; the men are faithful, honest and kind, and would compare favorably "with the white savages of England." Parents are deeply attached to their children. One writer gives an instance where a native of these islands, on being told that Europeans accused them of being without natural affection denied it and said: "When leaving home all my thoughts are with my family, and I am never so happy as when I am under my own roof and have my wife and children around me. When a few days ago my youngest boy was ill, I sat up with him three nights. It would have broken my heart had he died." Yet this man had not heard of the name of Christ! Another authority assures us that they have a far greater show of courage, manliness, and even humanity than Europeans.

Captain Erskine, who visited the Fiji Islands in the middle of the nineteenth century, said that their love of personal cleanliness is not inferior to that of the more refined Polynesians, and that their delicacy in some other respects would certainly put most Europeans to the blush. Yet these people were cannibals!

We have been told that the Samoans live in a shocking state of moral degradation, but careful observers tell us that they are remarkable for their cleanliness, and that their habits of decency

are carried to a higher point than those of the most fastidious of civilized nations; they are kind and hospitable to a degree. One authority pronounces them the most polite people in the world, in their language and in their manners and customs. A man must not brag or boast. In addressing any one, he must always consider him as being entitled to the utmost respect. They never break their word, nor go from a promise. Nor is this the full measure of their "shocking moral degradation"—criminal assaults on little children are entirely unknown. Yet, according to official figures, during a period of ten years, there were twelve hundred known cases in England alone.

I have selected these three races because certain missionaries had laid to their charge accusations which careful observers declare to be false; but I could go on and give instance after instance where like charges have been made against other races, which are equally unfounded.

No man who knows anything about savages will consider them to be angels of light, but those serious indictments which have been repeatedly made against them in general cannot be sustained by the evidence now at our command—that is, at least, against the wild races unaffected by modern civilization. There are hundreds of tribes who neither steal nor quarrel, where no such thing as wilful murder is known, where the girls are chaste, where men and women remain faithful to each other for the term of their life, and where drunkenness and other vices are never heard of. Not so very long ago, the following incident occurred in a civilized country. A schoolboy, aged thirteen, shot another lad of the same age. They had quarreled over a game of cards and both were drunk. I have studied savages for over thirty years and am unable to recall any like case as happening with them.

But it may be said, this is all very well, but these very savages kill off their aged and their sick by cracking them on the head. Many tribes do kill off their old people—parents and others—but this is not done for those reasons which we place to their credit; the true reason being a religious one.

All savages believe in a future existence. If any person dies possessing any infirmity, that infirmity will be reproduced in the spiritual life, hence they wish to die before old age approaches. Captain Wilkes found in one large town in Fiji that there was not a single person over forty years of age: all had been killed off before their faculties began to wane. This may be "murder," but

it shows a real and a logical faith in a future life, which Christians themselves may *profess* but do not really *possess*.

In order to show that this high tone of morals and good manners is by no means an exception, I will quote the reports of scientific investigators who in recent years have made very careful inquiries as to the moral condition of some of the most "degraded" tribes on earth. Let us take the natives of the Andaman Islands first of all, who have been studied so minutely by Mr. E. H. Man, formerly assistant superintendent of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In his report issued in 1883, he declares that they show the greatest care to the sick, aged, and helpless. There is no such thing as bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, or divorce. Conjugal fidelity is the rule, not the exception. If the treatment of women be a sure test of character, then "these savages are qualified to teach a valuable lesson to many of the fellow-countrymen of those who have hastily set them down as 'an anomalous race of the most degraded description.'"

Let us pass to the neighboring islands—the Nicobars.<sup>1</sup> These natives were visited by Dampier in 1688, who reported them to be a very honest, civil, harmless people, not addicted to quarreling, theft or murder. Two hundred years after Dampier's visit, Mr. W. L. Distant was informed by traders that they were very honest, faithfully fulfilling all their obligations, and looked upon unchastity as a very deadly sin.

Messrs. W. W. Skeat, M.A., and Charles O. Blagden, M.A., both formerly of the Federated Malay States Civil Service, in their monumental work on *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, pronounce the Semangs and Sakois to be practically free from crime of any description—the greatest crime of all, "murder," being a *quantité négligeable*.

Another authority, Mr. F. W. Knoeker, in a report on the hill-tribes of Sungei Ujong, Perak, says that during his long experience and close acquaintance with them they lived a strictly moral life, adultery and divorce are unknown. Apparently they have no inclination toward crime or immorality in any form; they possess no idea of warfare or racial strife and have a preference for a life of peace and seclusion.

Russel Wallace writing of the Dyaks of Borneo tells us that they possess a high moral character; they are truthful and honest to a remarkable degree; will not take the smallest thing belonging to a neighbor or to a European. Crimes of violence—except head-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Fig. 4 in *The Open Court*, Oct., 1918, p. 593.



hunting—are almost unknown; in twelve years there was only one case of murder, and that was committed by a stranger. Speaking of their sexual relations, Mr. Ling Roth, one of the greatest authorities, considers that morality half as good as theirs could not be found in England among an equal number of persons.

No natives have been more maligned than the aborigines of Australia. One writer declares that there is not a redeeming point in their whole character; Mr. W. D. Pitcairn, F.R.G.S., assures us that the natives of Queensland "are as dangerous as snakes in the grass and *like them, should be trodden underfoot.*"<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Mr. Robert Christison, who probably had more to do with these people in their wild state than any other white man, found that conjugal and paternal affection were strongly developed in both sexes, and he emphatically declared that the bad character given to them by many settlers was the very reverse of the actual facts.

Sir William MacGregor, K.C.M.G., M.D., who was appointed administrator of British New Guinea in 1888, says that during his term of office in that country he never heard of a case of a criminal assault upon women, and that the natives in their domestic and family relations are about the most affectionate people on earth. Another authority declares they are a merry, jolly, happy folk, such as no Christian people are.

James Chalmers, the lamented veteran missionary, tells us that the children in New Guinea<sup>3</sup> are far happier than most children in Great Britain, and that he has seen the fifth commandment more honored in that savage land than he has on many occasions in England; not even a man of middle life will undertake anything without his parents' consent.

I could quote, almost unceasingly, other testimonials as to the moral condition of these "degraded savages" of the South Sea Islands, but I think that the foregoing evidence taken from various sources, is in itself sufficient to prove that the beastish state in which these Papuans and Polynesians are supposed to live is but one of those silly superstitions which the white man loves to believe with pharisaical self-satisfaction.

Turning from Polynesia to the North American continent, let us now examine the character of that "wild beast," the red Indian. It is hardly necessary to remind American readers of the colors in which the red man has usually been painted. Brutality, cruelty, and inhumanity of all descriptions have been laid to his charge, but

<sup>2</sup> Italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Fig. 8 in *The Open Court*, Oct., 1918, p. 599.

can any man who has attempted to get at the truth of these accusations, disagree with America's historian (George Bancroft) when he pertinently says: "We call them cruel, yet they never invented the thumb-screw, or the boot, or the rack, or broke on the wheel, or exiled bands of their nations for opinion's sake; and never protected the monopoly of a medicine-man by the gallows or the block or by fire."<sup>4</sup>

Who ever knew one of these "wild beasts" to tell a lie or break his plighted word? Mr. James McLaughlin, formerly agent to the Sioux, after thirty-eight years of personal experience with the "red devils," assures us that there were Indians whose loyalty to their pledged word was so strong and dependable that they were ready, not only to dare the opprobrium of their own people, but to defy the powers of the unseen and the unknown world.<sup>5</sup>

Cadwallader Colden, in his *History of the Five Indian Nations*, published in 1747, wrote that the British in 1664 entered into a friendship with these Indians which had continued without the least breach to his own day, and adds significantly that history "cannot give an instance of the most Christian or most Catholic kings observing a treaty so strictly, and for so long a time as these barbarians, as they are called, have done."<sup>6</sup>

Old warriors always exhorted the lads to speak the truth, and never to betray their friends, and to hold falsehood to be more mean and contemptible than stealing.

Lieut. Col. Dodge, U.S.A., has testified that, with all his extensive experience of the Indian, he has never seen a drunken woman among them; Captain J. G. Bourke, another U. S. army officer, speaking of their kindness to strangers says: "Hospitality, open-handed, uncalculating hospitality, is a characteristic of all the American Indians."

The high repute of American Indian girls for modesty and chastity is well known to most of us. Perhaps no story could prove better what they are willing to suffer, including death, in defense of their virtue than the following account of a Yucatan girl which Herbert Howe Bancroft unearthed from old Spanish records. Alonzo Lopez de Avila, during the war against a native chief, took prisoner a very beautiful girl. "Struck by her beauty, the captor endeavored

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Colonization of the United States*, Boston, 1841, Vol. III, pp. 301f.

<sup>5</sup> *My Friend the Indian*, 1910.

<sup>6</sup> Reprint (Vol. I, p. 19) published by the New Amsterdam Book Co., New York, 1902.

by all means to gratify his desires, but in vain. She had promised her warrior-husband, who during those perilous times was constantly face to face with death, that none but he should call her wife; how then, while perhaps he yet lived, could she become another's mistress? But such arguments could not quench the Spaniard's lust, and as she remained steadfast he ordered her to be cast among the bloodhounds who devoured her—a martyr at the hands of the men who pretended to preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified."<sup>7</sup>

If we pursue our investigations into the Dark Continent, we meet like results. There we find immodesty and indelicacy of manner to be unknown; dignity, simplicity, honor, chastity, obedience, respect and veneration for old age to be the virtues esteemed by these backward races. The unaffected black is a gentleman, who expects you to be a gentleman too.

It may be accepted as indisputable that the savage in general is a law-abiding member of the community, who neither steals nor murders, nor commits many of those crimes which so frequently happen in civilized societies. There are many tribes where faithless wives are almost unknown, and where chastity and sobriety hold high place.

In studying these moral characteristics, it cannot be pointed out too often that nowhere do we meet with any set code or standard which is capable of being applied to savage tribes in general. What is right conduct with one tribe may be criminal in another. Thus, as I have shown, the Fijians kill off their relatives before senility approaches, and they themselves expect to be likewise killed when the time comes; whereas tribes like the Andamanese take every care of their old people. It is not the act itself by which we must judge, but the motive which occasions that act. It is a commonplace for us to meet with such anomalies everywhere in the social life of uncultured races.

I have already quoted Dr. A. C. Haddon's description of the natives of the Torres Straits.<sup>8</sup> Dealing with the rules imparted to the youths by the "old men" he gives us the following:

"You no steal.

"If you see food belong another man, you no take it.

"If any one asks for food, or water, or anything, you give something; if you have a little, you give a little; if you have plenty, give half.

<sup>7</sup> *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. II, p. 186.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *The Open Court*, Nov., 1918, p. 667.

"Look after your mother and father; never mind if you and your wife go without.

"Don't speak bad word to mother.

"If your brother is going out to fight, you help him; don't let him go first, go together."

It is often extremely difficult to get at the real inwardness of the savage mind. Savages often do, and often think, just the opposite to what we ourselves do under similar circumstances; but, for my part, I consider that nothing reveals better how really human they are, than their wise sayings and proverbs. I select a few of these out of a great number, and think all will agree that they illustrate better than anything else the real philosophy of savage peoples.

#### POLYNESIA.

"Who is the strongest of servants?"—Fire.

"What fire is the hardest to put out?"—Thought.

"What beats a drum at one end and dances at the other?"—A dog barking and wagging his tail for joy.

*Samoa*n: "Stones decay, but words never decay."

*Fiji*an: "Oh, what a valiant man you are who beat your wife, but dare not go to war!"

"If you have a great canoe, great will be your labor too,"—  
i. e., wealth brings care.

#### CENTRAL AFRICA.

"The Big Eye"—i. e., avarice.

"Wisdom is not in the eye, but in the head."

"If a woman speaks two words, take one and leave the other"—  
i. e., believe one half she says.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

*Kaffir*: "Who is it that stands and never sits?"—A tree.

"One does not become great by claiming greatness."

#### EAST AFRICA.

*Nyamwezi*: "A liar's road is a short one."

#### WEST AFRICA.

*Ashanti*: "A poor man has no friend."

*Holof*: "Liars, however numerous, will be caught by Truth when it rises up."

*Yoruba*: "Wherever a man goes to dwell his character goes with him."

"A mourner mourns and goes on her way, but one who ponders over sad memories mourns without ceasing."

"The wisdom of this year will be as folly in another."

"Full-belly child says to hungry-belly child, keep good heart."

Here we have examples from Polynesia and all parts of Africa; the meanings are so very obvious that no explanation is required. They are characteristically human and might be adopted and acted upon by other races which think themselves far in advance of savagery.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

## THE ORIGIN OF JUDEO-CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.<sup>1</sup>

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

THE liturgy of the church is, as a matter of fact, an outgrowth of the liturgy of the synagogue. The earliest church service naturally was a synagogue service Christianized. The first Christian congregations, composed, chiefly, of Jews, retained the synagogue service in its main features. The Temple ritual, on the other hand, had very little direct influence on the church ritual. Prayer wholly divorced from the sacerdotal and sacrificial elements, as we find it in the church, is once and for all a heritage of the synagogue and not of the Temple. When the Exilic pseudo-Isaiah, who was of universalistic tendencies, says in the name of God: "For mine house shall be an house of prayer for all nations,"<sup>2</sup> he refers to the synagogue and not to the Temple. For the house of prayer in the Exilic and post-Exilic periods was the synagogue and not the Temple. But how did prayer come to take the place of sacrifice in Judea? The origin of Jewish prayer still lies in utter darkness. Between the sacrifices of the Temple and the prayers of the synagogue there yawns a chasm which all investigation has not yet

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a summary of a prize essay written ten years ago when the present writer was pursuing his studies in Biblical literature and comparative religion.

<sup>2</sup> Is. lvi. 7.

succeeded in bridging over. Prayer as distinct from sacrifice, as we find it in the synagogue and the church, is unquestionably not a result of Mosaic legislation. It cannot be found in the Priestly Code. Where shall we look, then, for its origin?

Prayer, of course, has always been an integral part of the sacrificial cult. The offering or oblation with which man approached his god was, as Chambers<sup>3</sup> aptly states, an extension of the gift with which, as supplicant, he approached his fellow men. Even the "alimentary" sacrifice of food made to the dead, which rested on the belief in the continuance of the mortal life with its needs and desires after death, also included the element of oblation.<sup>4</sup> When the departed ancestors were offered food and drink, they were prayerfully besought to accept these gifts and not to be angry with the living. Propitiation is the earliest phase of worship, and all oblations and sacrifices, cereal, animal, or human, were accompanied by some form or other of supplication and intercession. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the sacrifices in Tabernacle and Temple were followed up by prayers and petitions on behalf of those who brought them. When the men of Israel brought the first-fruits or tithes to the Temple, they offered the following prayer: "Look down from Thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless Thy people Israel, and the land which Thou hast given us, as Thou swearest unto our fathers, a land that floweth with milk and honey."<sup>5</sup> We may, indeed, rightly infer that if tithes required a prayer, sin-offerings were all the more to be accompanied, on the part of those who brought them, by a confession of sin and prayer for forgiveness and mercy.

But even if this our inference is correct we find no provision in the Mosaic legislation for prayers not connected with sacrifices. Of course, we read in the Bible that men like Jacob and Moses, Samson and Samuel prayed to their God in many a critical period in their lives. But there is no Biblical record of public prayer wholly dissociated from sacrifice. As a matter of fact, prayer as an institution did not exist in Judea prior to the Babylonian Exile. It was as exiles that the Judeans first learned how to pray. In a strange land they had neither Temple nor sacrifice. There remained for them only prayer in common. Warned by the oblivion which had overtaken the tribes of the Northern Kingdom, they set about to save themselves from a similar fate and instituted a new sanctuary. Thus arose the synagogue as a place for common prayer

<sup>3</sup> E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, Vol. I, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the different phases of sacrifice see Chambers, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Deut. xxvi. 15.

and study. Jewish tradition traces the synagogue back to the time of Moses. But the synagogue is not expressly mentioned as a place of common worship until the early Maccabean period.<sup>6</sup> We may, however, safely assume that the synagogue arose during the Exilic period as a successor to the Temple. It did not become an institution, though, until after the work of Ezra; and there is no doubt that in the post-Exilic period synagogues for public worship were organized, in addition to the national altar at Jerusalem, in all the provinces of Judea as well as in the Jewish settlements elsewhere. In the last century of the Temple public prayer received a great impetus from the efforts to establish the Pharisaic synagogue services in opposition to, or at least in correspondence with, the Sadducean Temple sacrifices.

Synagogue services were at first held twice on the Sabbath, on all feast and fast days, and on two weekly market-days, Monday and Thursday. But the synagogue did not at first wholly replace the Temple. Judea was divided into twenty-four districts, and each district sent every other week a delegation to Jerusalem to represent it at the sacrifices and prayers offered in the national sanctuary on behalf of all Israel. During the week that their representatives attended the sacrificial services in the Temple, the senders gathered day after day in their local synagogues to pray to the Lord that He might accept their offerings from the hands of their delegates in the national Temple. This custom doubtless was the origin of the daily synagogue prayers. Tradition, of course, names the men of the Great Synagogue as the founders of the daily synagogical prayers. But no contemporary evidence of such an ecclesiastical council is to be found anywhere, and only the first member—Ezra—and the last member—Simeon the Just, a contemporary of Alexander the Great—are known to us by name.<sup>7</sup> Tradition may be right, however, if the term *Anshe Kencset Ha-Gedolah* is to include all who contributed to the preservation of the Jewish religion and the establishment of Jewish law and ritual, from the time of Ezra down to the Maccabean period. As a matter of fact, the synagogical liturgy could not have been instituted in one day, nor by one school. It was a movement which had sprung from the people, who, deprived of their Temple service, sought other ways and means to satisfy that longing for communion with God which is innate in every man.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. lxxiv. 8. This psalm is now generally assigned to the Maccabean period.

<sup>7</sup> Kuenen in his essay *Over de Mannen der Groote Synagoge* (1876) has argued that this tradition about a supreme religious authority in Judea is fiction.

This desire on the part of the Jewish people for a personal communion with the Deity received a great impetus from their contact with the Persians. It was during the Persian period that the Jewish people for the first time gave expression to their primitive and instinctive desire for prayer. Penitent and priest, from the Euphrates to the Ganges, greeted the appearance of the sun every morning with sacred prayers and songs. Should Israel, God's first-born, fall behind in this respect? Should not the nation of priests and the holy people also greet the sun, the first servant of the Lord in heaven? But the Judeans found great difficulty in adopting the cult of the Parsees. Their worship of the sun consisted in a representation of its appearance and motion. Upon the rise of the sun, the source of heat, they built in its semblance a great fire. By a similar symbolism they also mimicked the shape and motion of the sun with circular rotating bodies.<sup>8</sup> This ceremony started as a heat-charm, as a magic in its "mimetic" form, as Dr. Frazer would call it, and was based in the pre-animistic stage of thought upon the principle of similarity, which holds that a thing can be influenced through what is similar to it. It has endured, however, into the animistic phase of religion; and in its readaptation to the new modes of thought it gave expression to the belief that impersonation was the most effective means of propitiation and conciliation. But how could the Jews with their transcendental beliefs impersonate their God? Of course, they imitated Him in pursuing righteousness. They were told to be holy, for so was their God. But how could they turn this imitation into a ritual act? Now if the Jews could not impersonate their God, as the Persians did, they at least could impersonate His servants. They had lately acquired from the Babylonians and Persians the theory of angels.<sup>9</sup> They had been told that the angels, the Cherubim and Seraphim, formed the heavenly host, that they were God's community in heaven—the "Kedoshim," as the Psalmist calls them,<sup>10</sup> the messengers of God, the powers of nature. They praised the Lord in the heavenly Temple. They greeted Him at the approach of daylight as the Lord of glory. Thus the Jews found an opportunity for emulating, if not God, at least His immediate servants. In this way the Kedoshim, the holy,

<sup>8</sup> Our contention as to the origin of the Jewish prayers is fully borne out by the fact that to the present day the Jews keep their bodies in an incessant rotary motion when they recite their prayers.

<sup>9</sup> In the Priestly Code there is no reference to angels apart from the possible suggestion in the ambiguous plural in Gen. i, 26. The pre-Exilic prophets barely mention them; see the article "Angel" in the *Enc. Brit.*, Vol. II, pp. 4ff.

<sup>10</sup> Ps. lxxxix. 6, 8; cf. also Zech. xiv. 5.



pious men on earth, joined hands with the angels, the Kedoshim in heaven, in sanctifying the Lord and proclaiming Him thrice holy thrice a day. Following the Persian custom of invoking the sun three times each day—at dawn, at noon, and at dark—the Jewish exiles also praised the Lord at these periods of the day.<sup>11</sup> The Kedoshim, who in the “Kedushah,” the recital of the glorification of the holiness of the Lord by His angels,<sup>12</sup> are said to praise the Lord every day, are not the Jews, as most commentators maintain. Neither are the angels meant by this term, as Abudarham<sup>13</sup> asserted, but the “Hassidim” or “Anabim,” the Jewish mystics, the holy and humble men in Israel; to whom life on earth was nothing but a continual praise and glorification of the Lord. The other Jewish tradition, which ascribes synagogical worship to these Hassidim, who are believed to have founded it at the destruction of the Temple, is therefore more correct than that tradition which credits the doctors of the law with it.<sup>14</sup>

It follows that the earliest form of prayer, the nucleus of the synagogical worship, was the Kedushah, the joint praise of God by His terrestrial community with His celestial community. The “Shema”<sup>15</sup> as a part of the liturgy antedates the Kedushah, but this Biblical verse was originally no prayer at all, nor even a confession of faith, as is commonly assumed. It was a war-cry, and in its original form probably ran as follows: “Hear, O Israel, the battle-cry of our one God.” It must be further maintained that the minor Kedushah, which is a part of the Shema prayer, is older, although its form seems newer, than the major Kedushah, the third of the Eighteen Benedictions. But for reasons unknown to us now, the latter very soon eclipsed the former in importance.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The sun, moon, and stars were in the Jewish religion closely identified with angels.

<sup>12</sup> It forms the third benediction in the Jewish prayer called the Eighteen Benedictions. There are three responses in this “Glorificat”: (1) “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory” (Is. vi. 3); (2) “Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place” (Ezek. iii. 12); (3) “The Lord shall reign for ever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the Lord” (Ps. cxlvi. 10).

<sup>13</sup> A commentator of the synagogical liturgy, who lived at Seville, Spain, about 1340 A. D.

<sup>14</sup> See above.

<sup>15</sup> The prayer is named “Shema” from its initial Hebrew word *shema*, which means “hear.” It reads: “Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord alone” (Deut. vi. 4).

<sup>16</sup> At the beginning of the second century the Eighteen Benedictions formed the chief prayer of the synagogue. Of these eighteen, the third, the Kedushah, was the most important. How great its importance in the synagogical worship was can be learned from the following saying: “Since the

From the preceding conclusions it is very evident that the institution of prayer had its beginning with a small sect in Israel. The prayers which the Pharisees later legislated for all Israel, did not originate with them at all. It was the Kedoshim, the Hassidim, the Anabim, who were the first to learn from the Parsees how to pray. It now remains to be seen who these mystics were.

It may be a surprise to many a Jew to learn that these holy men of Judah, to whom he owes his prayer-book, were none other than the Essenes, from whose ranks the first Christians were recruited. Our knowledge of this sect, we must admit, is very limited. Reference is made to the Essenes only by Philo, Josephus, Pliny the Elder, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, while the Rabbinical literature wholly ignores them. The following quotation from Josephus, however, will support our contention that the Essenes were the first among the Judean exiles to learn from the Parsees the daily morning prayers. In his account of this interesting sect the Jewish historian tells us that "before the sun rises they (the Essenes) speak not a word about profane matters, but address to the sun certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they supplicated it to rise."<sup>17</sup> Somewhere else in the writings of Josephus we find the erroneous statement that "the Essenes had hereditary prayers to the sun, as well as the usual Jewish ritual books." This remark was made, of course, in full misunderstanding of the nature of their prayers. The Essenes were by no means sun-worshippers. The sun was to them not a god, but the greatest among the messengers of God; and its rise they conceived as its praise and sanctification—*kedushah* in Hebrew—in which they wished to join.

A further proof that the *Kedushah*, the prayer which expresses the joint praise of God by man and angel, originated with the Essenes is the following. We know that the Essenes had a great share in the production of the apocalyptic literature. We read that "Judah the Essene once sat in the Temple surrounded by his disciples, whom he initiated into the [apocalyptic] art of foretelling the future, when Antigonus passed by."<sup>18</sup> It is indeed more than probable that the greater part of the apocalyptic literature emanated from their ranks. In this literature, moreover, do we find the

destruction of the Temple, the world is sustained by the *Kedushah*" (*Sotah* 49a). It is the only part of the synagogical service which must not be recited by an individual except in joint worship of a congregation of at least ten men (*Berachot* 21b).

<sup>17</sup> *B. J.*, II, viii, 6.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, I, iii, 5; *Ant.*, XIII, xi, 2.

earliest forms of the *Kedushah*. The theophanies in the Book of Enoch already contain the prototype of this prayer.

"For a time my eyes regarded that place and I blessed Him and extolled Him, saying: 'Blessed be and may He be blessed from the beginning for evermore' . . . Those that sleep not bless Thee: They stand before Thy glory and bless, laud and extol, saying: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with Spirits.'"<sup>19</sup>

"And He will call on all the host of the heavens and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubim, Seraphim, Ophanim, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth, on the water, on that day: and they will raise one voice and bless and glorify in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgment, and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and will say with one voice: 'Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever.'"<sup>20</sup>

The first of these two passages is very similar to the *Kedushah*, as we now have it in the Jewish prayer-book, except that the order of the two responses is here reversed. It undoubtedly is the older form of this prayer. Its first part is more correct than the corresponding response in the final form of the *Kedushah*, which is a corrupt version of the Biblical text. "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His place" as the passage now reads,<sup>21</sup> is a corrupt form of: "When the glory of the Lord rose from its place." It was Samuel David Luzzato who first suggested that the first word of the passage in the Hebrew Bible originally must have been *berum* and not *baruch*. It follows that the *Kedushah* was already well established in usage in the second century B. C., for the Book of Enoch, which is already quoted in the Book of Jubilees, dates at least back to that period. The third response in the present form of the *Kedushah* is of late origin. It was added after the destruction of the Second Temple. "The Lord shall reign for ever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the Lord,"<sup>22</sup> was preferred because of its mention of Zion to the more authoritative and more sacred Pentateuchal verse: "The Lord will reign for ever and ever."<sup>23</sup> According

<sup>19</sup> Book of Enoch, xxxix. 10-12.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, lxi. 10-11.

<sup>21</sup> Ezek. iii. 12.

<sup>22</sup> Ps. cxlvi. 10. See also above, note 10.

<sup>23</sup> Ex. xv. 8.

to Abudarham it was a principle with the Jews to mention Zion or Jerusalem in every one of their prayers.

Another form of the Kedushah is to be found in the book which bears the long title *Constitution of the Holy Apostles* [composed by] *Clemens, Bishop and Citizen of Rome,—Catholic Didascalia*. Though claimed to have been written by the Apostles, this work proves on closer examination to be based upon an original Jewish book "transformed," as a Jewish theologian expressed it, "by extensive interpolations and slight alterations into a Christian document of great authority." The prayer of sanctification as found in this book runs as follows:

"And the bright host of angels, and the intellectual spirits say to Palmoni: 'There is but one holy being,'<sup>24</sup> and the holy Seraphim, together with the six-winged Cherubim, who sing to Thee their triumphal song, cry out with never-ceasing voices: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts! heaven and earth are full of Thy glory';<sup>25</sup> and the other multitudes of the orders, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers cry aloud and say: 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord out of His place.'<sup>26</sup> But Israel, Thy congregation on earth. . . emulating the heavenly powers night and day, with a full heart and a willing soul, sings: 'The chariot of God is ten thousandfold thousands of them that rejoice; the Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place'<sup>27</sup>. . . The choir of stars strikes us with admiration, declaring Him that numbers them, and showing Him that names them; the animals declare Him that puts life into them; the trees show Him that makes them grow; all which creatures, being made by Thy word, show forth the greatness of Thy powers.'<sup>28</sup>

A eulogy preceding this "Trisagion" and beginning with the words: "Great art Thou, O Lord Almighty, and great is Thy power," undoubtedly corresponds to the second benediction of the Eighteen Benedictions, which also begins: "Thou art great for ever, O Lord." We may safely assume, then, that this prayer of sanctification is the prototype of the Kedushah, as we now find it in the Jewish prayer-book.

The Kedushah in the prayer-book of the Falashahs,<sup>29</sup> shows great similarity to the prayer of sanctification in the Catholic

<sup>24</sup> Dan, viii. 13. The present English versions show variations from this rendering of the Masoretic text.

<sup>25</sup> Is. vi. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Exek. iii. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Ps. lxxvii. 17.

<sup>28</sup> Catholic Didascalia, VII, ii. 35.

<sup>29</sup> Edited by Joseph Halévy (Paris, 1877).

Didascalía. This is a proof of the early date of this prayer, as the separation of the Falashahs from the main body of Israel falls into pre-Talmudic times. It follows further that the church must have borrowed the Kedushah or Trisagion from the synagogue at a very early date. This prayer has, however, never occupied the important place in the Christian liturgy that it holds in Jewish public worship.

Now, who were the first to "emulate the heavenly powers night and day," and who were those that formed the link between the synagogical ritual and the ante-Nicene church liturgy as collected in the Apostolic Constitutions? They could be none other but the Essenes. Life on earth was to them, indeed, nothing but praise and song to the Lord. They were the Kedoshim, the terrestrial worshippers of God, who emulated His celestial worshippers, their models in heaven. They heard the music of the spheres, the harmony of the universe; and they wished to join in this chorus of praise and glory to the Lord on high.<sup>30</sup> Jesus of Nazareth, who was a member of this sect of Essenes, would also rise before daylight and go to a desert spot to pray and praise.<sup>31</sup> From this Essene the world has learned to pray.

<sup>30</sup> The Kedushah owes the all-important place which it occupies in synagogical worship to the spiritual heirs of the Essenes, to the enthusiastic mystics of the early Gaonic period, the "Yorde Mercabah." The Kedushah as the expression of the glorification of the holiness of the Lord by the Mercabah angels had a deep interest for these pietists, as can be seen from the following prayer which is a part of the Kedushah in the prayer-book of Rab Amrom Gaon (died about 875 A. D.), head of the Surah academy and a prominent member of this pietistic sect.

"Come and see how pleasing it is to God when Israel says *Kadosh* (holy) before Him. For He exhorted the Yorde Mercabah that they should teach us in what way to pronounce *Kadosh* before Him. But we have to pay attention to please our Creator, and to offer it (*Kadosh*) to Him as sweet savor. And thus He spoke to them: 'Blessed be ye, O Yorde Mercabah, to heaven and to earth, if you will tell and announce to My sons what I am doing at morning and afternoon services, at the time when ye say *Kadosh* before me. Teach them and tell them: "Lift up your eyes to heaven, toward your celestial prayer-house, at the time when you speak *Kadosh* before Me." For I have no greater delight in My world than at the time when your eyes are raised to Mine, and My eyes look into yours, at the time when you say *Kadosh* before Me: for the voice which comes out of your throat at that time is well ordered, and rises before Me like sweet savor. Give also testimony to them of what I do, as you see, to the figure of your father Jacob, which is engraven in the throne of My glory; for at that time when you speak *Kadosh* before Me, I bend over it, caress, kiss, and embrace it, put My hands on his arms, three times, as often as you say *Kadosh* before Me, as it is written: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory."'" (Is. vi. 3.)

<sup>31</sup> Mk. i. 35.

## THE PRE-CHRISTIAN JEWISH CHRIST.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

WHILE the idea of the suffering, dying, and resurrected god, as it appears in pagan religions around the Mediterranean, must be readily acknowledged as having influenced Christianity in its origin, we can have no truly historical view of the formation of Christianity unless we also make clear to ourselves the character of the Christ figure as it existed in Judaism previous to Christianity. This has been somewhat neglected thus far, it seems to me, the search for parallel ideas in pagan religions which have entered into Christianity, being almost the only line investigation has taken.

Christianity was cradled and nourished by Judaism; it always retained very strong Jewish characteristics even after it assimilated many pagan elements; its earliest protagonists always drew mainly from Jewish ideas and Jewish literature, not alone that of the Old Testament but Apocryphal and other sources as well; even Paul, through whom, mainly, Christianity widened into a more universal religion, was strongly Jewish in education, thought, and sentiment; Paul de Lagarde even said that he was the most Jewish of all. This does not mean that Judaism was anything entirely original, uninfluenced by other sources, but it means that we must take into full consideration the peculiar Jewish character by which many religious ideas were so transformed that it became possible for them to enter into a more universal religion, Christianity, though without depriving it of its original traits and marks of descent.

The very name "Christianity" betrays its Jewish origin. It is connected with the Christ or Messiah idea prevalent among the Jews before Christianity. In order to see why that idea was embodied in Christianity, what it really meant, and why it became attached to a human personality instead of a mythical one, such as Osiris, Attis, Mithras, or others, we ought to make a thorough historical examination of its development in pre-Christian Judaism.

As is well known, the Greek *christos* for the Hebrew *mashiach* in the Old Testament means "the anointed." It is used many times of Hebrew kings in the form *mashiach Yahveh*, "the anointed of Yahveh," meaning one who takes the place of Yahveh in earthly affairs as a sacrosanct person, just as other Oriental kings were assumed to take the place of their national gods.

But we see this term, originally connected with the ceremony of anointing a Hebrew king, also used in a transferred sense. In Ps. cv. 15 the Hebrew patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, besides being represented as prophets (a thing we will do well to bear in mind), are also Yahveh's anointed (Hebr. *mcschichim* pl., Greek *christoi* pl.). Moreover, a foreign king like Cyrus, who stands in no connection with Yahveh, the national deity of the Hebrews, is also called the anointed of Yahveh (Is. xlv. 1) because he is to fulfil God's will in the government of the world, and especially in the release of the Jews from captivity, just as Alexander the Great seems to have been looked upon in a similar way by the Jews later, according to the view of some scholars.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the whole people of Israel is called the anointed of Yahveh in Habak. iii. 13; Ps. xxviii. 8; lxxxiv. 9.

In all these instances the term Messiah or Christ is applied to human beings. They are either individuals or a whole people, with whom Yahveh stands in a close connection and whom He has chosen either to execute or proclaim His will. Messiah or Christ here means nothing but the especial "servant of Yahveh," a term often applied to the prophets in the Old Testament, to the whole of the Jewish people (or the most faithful part of it) in Deutero-Isaiah, and also to the national Messiah himself in Zech. iii. 8. Similarly the same term, "servant of Yahveh," is often applied to Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah, just as the term Christ or Messiah of Yahveh is applied in a similar sense to Cyrus in Deutero-Isaiah. Likewise just as the whole Jewish people is called the Christ or Messiah of Yahveh, so Israel is also called the son of Yahveh (Hos. xi), all this so far without any supernatural meaning.

The term Christ or Messiah of Yahveh is not used in the specifically Messianic prophecies, to which of course Is. vii. 14 does not belong though traditionally accepted as such on the basis of Matt. i. 23, following the wrong translation of the Septuagint. In these passages the Messiah *par excellence* is described as the Branch of Jesse, or simply the Branch, or by his properties, as in Is. xi and ix. 6-7. He is also considered as a human being, though of course especially chosen by Yahveh and extraordinarily endowed with His spirit. Is. ix. 6, etc., taken traditionally as signifying the supernatural origin of the future Messiah on account of the terms "Wonderful," "Counsellor," "Mighty God," "Everlasting Father," "Prince of Peace," need not be taken in this way. The future

<sup>1</sup> Kampers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage*.

Messiah is described in that passage as a king sitting on the throne of David, and the names given to him are simply a representation, denoting that God is in an especial and extraordinary way with him, and that he will represent God's government on earth.

The future Messiah is to sit on David's throne, the old royal house is to blossom forth again. This is the view of the specifically Messianic passages, and became the orthodox belief among the Jews in accord with those passages. However, we must remember that in Jewish history there was a departure from this belief, in that the Messiah was represented as coming from the tribe of Levi instead of Judah. This is found in the Apocryphal Jewish Testament of Levi. According to Bousset this idea dates from the times of the Maccabees, when a priestly family became the occupant of the royal throne among the Jews.

We must also remember that the Samaritans believed the future Messiah to be a reincarnation of Joshua of the tribe of Ephraim, an idea plainly continuing the old rivalry between the two former Israelitic kingdoms, of which the one was led by Ephraim, the other by Judah. Perhaps this Samaritan idea was based on older Israelitic traditions, and these may have influenced the later Jewish view (of which we shall speak further on) of a double Messiah, the Messiah *ben* Joseph (son of Joseph) preceding the Messiah *ben* David. Still, in spite of these departures, the idea that the future Messiah was to be of the royal house of David remained a prevalent one; it asserts itself strongly even as late as in the so-called Psalms of Solomon, a Jewish book of the second half of the last pre-Christian century. In fact, this belief even persisted into the Middle Ages.

Alongside this idea we see a new stage of the Messianic hope developing during the Maccabean wars. This appears in the Book of Daniel then coming into existence, the first and only book of the many Jewish apocalypses written from now on which found entrance into the Old Testament. With this book the gate was thrown open to further speculations on the future Messiah, a topic of especial interest to the Jew both from a political and religious view-point. The Jewish literature on this subject, though not canonical, must be considered—as well as the canonical literature—in detail in order to obtain a right view of the pre-Christian Jewish Christ idea and its influence on Christianity.

The Book of Daniel, as is well known, speaks in the seventh chapter of "one coming with the clouds of heaven like unto a son of man," i. e., in human form, to whom "dominion and glory is



given by the Ancient of days." As the Book of Daniel is thoroughly pervaded by Zoroastrian ideas translated into Jewish form, "the son of man" may probably be connected with the Persian *Vohumanah*, i. e., the Good Mind, one of the highest attendants and counselors of Ahura Mazda, of whose distinct spheres one was the maintenance of goodness in man. "He comes like Vohumanah" repeatedly occurs in Yasht XLVIII of the Zend-Avesta.

The author of Daniel probably understood by the expression "the son of man" the fulfilment of a truly human empire, with which the kingdom of God was to come, in contrast to the preceding world empires represented by the symbols of wild devouring beasts. In this kingdom "the saints of the Most High," i. e., the Jewish people, or at least the faithful part of them, was to "receive the kingdom," according to verse 18 of that chapter. The Son of Man was to be the culmination of the Christ idea as it had been prefigured in the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Hebrew people as a whole, or its better part, as "the anointed of Yahveh."

The Book of Enoch, a writing of somewhat later date, develops further the figure of the Son of Man, first introduced by Daniel. It very frequently represents this figure, calling him also "the Elect One," as dwelling with God, and having been chosen and hidden (i. e., kept latent) by Him before the world was created. He is to be "the staff of the just," "the hope of the dejected," "the light of the peoples," and all dwelling on earth shall fall down before him; he shall throw down the kings and the mighty and prostrate the wicked (chaps. xlvj and xlviij, ed. Hinrichs, Leipsic, 1901). We are reminded, of course, in such descriptions of the representation of the Messiah in Is. xi, where similar language is used. On the other hand, we have also in the same Enoch symbolic representations, which remind us of those passages of the Old Testament that represent the patriarchs and the whole Jewish people as Christs or Messiahs. Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and the new congregation of Israel which has remained faithful to God's law during the persecutions by their enemies, are symbolized by white bulls, and the Messiah *par excellence* is represented by the same symbol (chaps. lxxxv-xc) in contrast to black bulls and other animals, symbols of Israel's enemies.

The idea of the Messiah is thus represented under the figure of reincarnations culminating in the specific Messiah of the future, who naturally would be the revelation on earth of the Son of Man or the Elect One hidden and dwelling with God, as Enoch pictures him. The book does not state explicitly that the future Messiah

is a revelation on earth of the personality dwelling with God, but that is the logical inference. Whether the writer considered the Son of Man, or Elect One, a mysterious divine personality I will not discuss, but the meaning of the book, given in the language of realistic visions seen by the antediluvian patriarch throughout the different heavens, is surely this: the idea of the specific future Christ, the culmination of all previous Christ forms as they appeared in the patriarchs, prophets, and great men of Israel, and in the people of Israel itself, is not yet realized on earth, but hidden and dwelling with God—but it will yet be actually realized on earth.

We have thus far only spoken of the Jewish expectation of a specific future Messiah, the culmination of all the previously anointed and servants of Yahveh, through whom God's will is to be fully realized on earth. But we have not spoken of the part which was expected to fall to the Messiah when appearing on earth. Of this part the Messianic passages of the Old Testament said nothing. Now it was natural to assume that when a terrestrial Messiah would appear he would not live eternally. The Samaritans believed that their Messiah would die at the age of one hundred and ten years, the age at which Joshua died, of whom their Messiah was expected to be a reincarnation. The Messiah *ben Joseph*, in whom the Jews, too, believed and who was said to precede the Messiah *ben David*, the triumphant Messiah, was believed to fall in battle with Gog and Magog, the enemy coming against the land of Israel from the north, anciently believed to be the region of darkness and later understood in a transferred sense as being the region of evil. The Fourth Book of Ezra<sup>2</sup> (chap. vii) and likewise the Talmud in tract "Sanhedrin" (*Talmud*, Vol. VIII, p. 311, Rodkinson) speaks of the Messiah's death after four hundred years. It was further natural that the terrestrial Messiah, the culmination of Israel's greatest virtues, who was to be a king of justice and peace, a proclaimer, prophet and teacher of God's will, would find obstinate resistance from the wicked, and that he would have to suffer much, as did the patriarchs, the prophets, and the people of Israel in former times, who had acted in the same capacity as the anointed of Yahveh. The mystical interpretation of the Old Testament, which had its beginning after the close of the canon and which sought under the literal sense a deeper meaning, just as the Alexandrians and Plato did in regard to Homer, found passages in the Old Testament which they could turn to account in this way.

It is a wide-spread error that the Jews, before the origin of

<sup>2</sup> Known as 2 Esdras in English editions of the Apocrypha.

Christianity, knew nothing of a suffering Messiah. Even the Talmud, of which we should least expect it because it was compiled after Christianity had already existed for some time, being in many instances a polemic against it, knows of a suffering Messiah. It interprets Is. liii in tract "Sanhedrin" (*loc. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 310) as referring to the suffering Messiah, whether rightly or wrongly does not affect our discussion. The fact stands out that that passage and other passages of the Old Testament were explained as referring to the Messiah by many Jewish rabbis before Christianity. Even the dark passage Zech. xii. 10, speaking probably, according to Cornill, of some judicial murder in Jerusalem at the time of the writing and interpreted in the Fourth Gospel as referring to the thrust of the lance into the side of Jesus, was referred to the death of the Messiah—though to that of the Messiah *ben Joseph*—by the Talmud in tract "Succah" (*loc. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 79).

The Targums,<sup>3</sup> interpretations of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament in the vernacular Aramaic, as they were used in the Palestinian synagogues at the beginning of our era, likewise interpret Is. liii as referring to the suffering and atoning Messiah. They further teach that in the beginning he will labor unknown among the poor and miserable, that he will suffer because of the sins of the people which delay his revelation (*Targum Jonathan ad Is. liii*). The passage, "Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench; he shall bring forth judgment unto truth," etc., Is. xlii. 1ff, is interpreted of the Messiah by the same Targum "in a manner which sometimes comes very near to that in the Gospels," compare Matt. xii. 17 (Nestle). We further read the following Targumic interpretation of Is. liii: "He (the Messiah) will build the sanctuary, which has been profaned on account of our guilt and has been delivered over on account of our misdeeds. Through his teaching peace will be multiplied for us, and if we listen to his words our sins will be forgiven." Zech. ix. 9 was also interpreted of the Messiah even in the Talmud ("Bab. Sanhedrin," f. 98) in the following way: "If they have gained merit he comes with the clouds of heaven; if not, poor and riding upon an ass."

<sup>3</sup> Though put into writing in post-Christian times the Targums are based upon pre-Christian sources, since they are totally lacking in any polemic against Christianity. See Cornill, *Alltestamentl. Einl.*

The aspect of a Messiah thus interpreted was naturally very human; there was nothing especially divine and supernatural about him. Such a Messiah was in fact nothing but a prophet, a servant and anointed of Yahveh, of course on a higher level, who suffers as all true prophets and servants of Yahveh did, but whose work, like that of all true prophets, was not entirely without avail. Here in the suffering, teaching, atoning, and dying Messiah of pre-Christian Judaism we have the connecting link with the first Jewish-Christian community. If we take into consideration the great value attributed to the blood of the righteous shed as an atoning instrument for the whole people, as we find it expressed in several passages of the Fourth Book of Maccabees (vi. 28; xvi. 25; xvii. 20) in connection with the death of Jewish martyrs, it does not seem such an unwarrantable assumption that the death of the Prophet of Nazareth was already considered as a ransom for many by his first followers in Palestine. And if in the beginning the Messiah was to labor unknown among the poor and miserable, as the Targums taught, another pre-Christian Jewish conception was offered to the followers of Jesus which they could apply to their master.

Of course there were other elements in the pre-Christian Jewish speculations about the Messiah which the followers of Jesus could not very well apply to him. Such were the ideas expressed in the Targums that the Messiah would break the foreign yoke (*Targ. Jon. ad Is. x. 27*) and unite all Israel again (*Targ. Jon. ad Zech. x. 6*). The Gospels, already written with the idea that Jesus was only a spiritual saviour and the Saviour of *all* mankind, say very little about the degree to which his first followers connected nationalistic expectations with their master. Nevertheless a few traces appear. The Gospels tell us that in the beginning of the career of Jesus the Galileans once intended to make him king, and of the Disciples on the way to Emmaus the saying is recorded that they hoped he would redeem Israel. Luke even carries this thought into the ascension story, for the Disciples ask: "Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom of Israel?" That the first followers of Jesus connected nationalistic hopes, the idea of some miraculous intervention of God in behalf of His people, with the person of their master is entirely probable and was even to be expected. The execution of Jesus by the Roman authorities was a terrible blow to them. But the Targums also taught the doctrine of the double Messiah, the Messiah *ben Joseph* or Ephraim and the Messiah *ben David* (*Targ. ad Cant. iv. 5; vii. 3*). The speculations about the Messiah *ben David*, the triumphant Messiah who was to follow

the slain Messiah, may have raised their hopes again. Of course the many different views concerning the Messiah current at the time of Jesus, may have brought about curious combinations and conjectures among his first followers. Not one of the many speculations concerning the Messiah had the weight of absolute authority, and the imagination of the Disciples was fully at liberty to give itself up to all kinds of conjectures regarding the way in which their nationalistic hopes would be realized. Even Paul still held to the doctrine of the final redemption of all Israel. Mistaken or not, the hope of the final triumph of the Messiah's cause buoyed up the spirit of the first Jewish-Christian community again after the death of their master.

Of a bodily resurrection of the suffering and dying Messiah the pre-Christian Jewish speculations concerning the Christ knew nothing, but the Disciples were fully persuaded that their master was living, according to the belief of the Jews "that those who died for God were living before God just as Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the patriarchs" (4 Macc. xvi. 25). The report that Jesus remained on earth forty days after his death (the Valentinians and other early Christian sects even said eighteen months) and then ascended bodily to heaven is, as must be remembered, one of the latest reports; according to the earlier belief Jesus left the Disciples on the day of his resurrection; even the late Epistle of Barnabas says so (chap. xv). Further, the resurrection of the third day is very probably connected with the ancient belief current among Jews and pagans, that the soul of the dead remains near the grave for three days and then departs. The hope of the final triumph of the Messiah's cause was likewise strengthened in the hearts of the Disciples by the glorious results promised as the outcome of the suffering and dying of the servant of Yahveh in Is. liii. 10-12, and by the consolation of such words as Hos. vi. 1, 2: "He hath torn, and He will heal us; He hath smitten, and He will bind us up. After two days He will revive us: on the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight." According to the mystical interpretation of the Old Testament current in the times of Jesus which referred everything to the Messiah, the soul of all Jewish belief, all such consolations were very probable.

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After all that we have thus far heard about the pre-Christian Jewish Christ or Messiah, I think the assumption is warranted that the Jewish speculations concerning the Christ could materially con-

tribute to the idea spreading in the first Jewish-Christian circles, that Jesus was the Christ, or at least a stage in the fulfilment of the Christ idea, even if not the fulfilment of the final triumph of the Messiah's cause.

But how about the Christ of Paul? Did the pre-Christian Jewish Christ conception contribute anything to his picture of Christ? In order to prove to the reader the possibility of this, let us see how thoroughly Jewish Paul was in thought, sentiment, and argumentation.

In regard to his method how to carry his points little need be said, for its thorough rabbinical nature, due to his training, is well known. Paul makes the most arbitrary, twisting, indefensible, and often puerile use of the Old Testament. Well known and flagrant examples are those in which he says of the law forbidding the muzzling of oxen while treading out the grain, that God did not care for the oxen and did not give that law for their sake; or when he says of the promise of Canaan to Abraham and his seed, that it does not say "seeds" but "seed, as of one."<sup>4</sup> In his mode of argumentation Paul is not second to any rabbi in the Talmud. Nor is he behind his contemporary Philo or any rabbi of his day or any of the Talmud as regards his allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament. He is thoroughly acquainted with the Apocryphal literature of his people, not only the Apocrypha of the Old Testament known to us, for he cites words of an apocalypse now lost, that of Elias. He is also acquainted with Targumic paraphrastic readings of Old Testament passages and turns them to good account in argumentation (compare on both points Meyer's commentary on 1 Cor. ii. 9 and Eph. iv. 8). Over and over again we meet with stereotyped Jewish and rabbinical phrases in his writings, as when he speaks of a believer in Christ as "a new creature," corresponding to the same rabbinical term used of a convert to Judaism;<sup>5</sup> or when he speaks of doctrines which cannot stand the test as "hay and stubble," corresponding to a similar rabbinical expression when speaking of false teachers;<sup>6</sup> or when he uses the same terminology

<sup>4</sup> Similar interpretations of the word "seed" are given, as pointing to the Messiah, by the Rabbis. The words of Eve at the birth of Seth: "God has given me another seed," are interpreted as expressing her hope of the Messiah (*Beresith Rabba*, Chap. 23, *Mekor*). Likewise *Beresith Rabba*, f. 51, the words to Abraham: "In thy seed all peoples shall be blessed," is interpreted as promising the best and noblest seed.

<sup>5</sup> בריאה חדשה

<sup>6</sup> *Midr. Tillin* 119, 51: "As hay does not last, so their words will not stand forever."

as Jewish rabbis did in regard to matters of oral tradition;<sup>7</sup> or when he speaks of "the great tribulation" preceding the end, and "the day of wrath" ushered in by "the sound of the last trumpet."<sup>8</sup>

This brings us also to many peculiar conceptions which Paul had in common with Jewish and rabbinical ideas. He speaks of a "Jerusalem now" and a "Jerusalem above," corresponding to the rabbinical "Jerusalem below" and "Jerusalem on high."<sup>9</sup> When speaking of the father "from whom every family in heaven and earth is named," he reminds us of the rabbinical "family on high";<sup>10</sup> when speaking of "the prince of the power of the air," he is in accord with the rabbinical doctrine that the demons dwell in the air (compare Meyer's commentary on Ephes. ii. 2). "The outer form of his ecstatic experiences," i. e., of being snatched up into the third heaven and paradise, "is entirely the property of the rabbinical school" (Bousset), in which he was brought up. If Paul further demands that women should be veiled in the assemblies of the Christians in order not to invite the glances of the angels thought to be present at such gatherings, he is also in accord with Jewish notions. Also the idea that the angels were instrumental in the giving of the law on Sinai, that the believers will not only judge the world but also angels, that the gods of paganism are demons, that the stars are the bodies of angels, that the Devil has brought death into the world, are all Jewish ideas found in their Apocryphal literature. Altogether Paul's demonology and angelology, one of the main substructures of his Christology, are Jewish. That these doctrines had originally been derived from Zoroastrian and Babylonian sources does not alter the matter much. At Paul's time they had long been thoroughly assimilated with Judaism. Also another substructure of Paul's Christology, justification by faith, for which he adduces Abraham as an example, is Jewish. "Abraham had long been glorified as a hero of faith" (Wrede). Paul's whole doctrine of sin and the disastrous effects of the fall of Adam, the continuous infirmity of all, i. e., his ethical pessimism (another substructure of his Christology), are rooted in Judaism. The Fourth Book of Ezra in this respect furnishes a very striking parallel. One can understand how Paul de Lagarde, a man who has

<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 3, *παρέλαβον*, comp. rabbinical קבל ; *παρέδωκα*, comp. rabbinical מסרה. J. Weiss in "Das Problem der Entstehung des Christentums," *Arch. f. Rel.-Wissenschaft*, Vol. XVI (1913).

<sup>8</sup> The Rabbis believed that the Day of Judgment was to be ushered in by seven calls of the trumpet.

<sup>9</sup> ירושלים של מעלה : ירושלים של מטה.

<sup>10</sup> שמריה של מעלה.

entered deeply into Oriental and Semitic studies, into Targumic and rabbinical literature, and who once was accused of having committed the sin against the Holy Ghost for calling Jesus a "*langzeitiger jüdischer Rabbi*," also called Paul, the opponent of Judaism, the most Jewish of all the Apostles.

Even Paul's violent polemics against the ceremonial law of Judaism in order to break down the barrier between paganism and Judaism was rooted in certain Jewish ideas. In a few remarks in a former article I have dwelt on the fact that, according to Jewish belief, even the ceremonial law would be put away at the coming of the Messiah, and that even swine-flesh would be allowed (*Nidda*, f. 61; *Mekor Chajim*, f. 66). "The idea of the Messiah—that lofty ideal—made its appearance not only as a saviour of Israel from physical and political subjection, but also to free them from spiritual bondage, from the burden of useless laws. That is the reason why every pretending Messiah sought first of all to lighten the yoke of the laws, just as the prophets had done in their time. A proof of the fact that the people in general, in their inmost heart, had a hostile feeling toward all these superfluous laws is this, that they were ever ready to give up those laws, to which they had become accustomed for centuries, as soon as a Messiah would appear who could gain their confidence and inspire their trust. It is evident that from the start the laws appeared to the people as an imposed burden to which they only submitted from compulsion" (S. A. Horodezky, "Zwei Richtungen im Judentum," in *Arch. für Rel.-Wissenschaft*, Vol. XV, 1912).

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In what way now is the Christ figure of Paul connected with the pre-Christian Jewish Christ? As is generally known, Paul dwells more on the metaphysical, heavenly Christ than on the life and personality of Jesus. He of course connects the heavenly Christ with the earthly Jesus in whom the heavenly Christ becomes incarnate, but it is not the work and life and death of the human Jesus that brings about the redemption of mankind, but wholly the work of the heavenly Christ. The human Jesus almost entirely disappears in this figure.

We have already seen that the Book of Enoch speaks of the Son of Man or the Elect One as dwelling with God, and having been chosen and hidden by Him before the world was created. "The Messiah was before *Tohu*" (the chaos of Gen. i), said the Rabbis (*Nezach Jisrael*, f. 481). "The name of the Messiah was



already called before creation" (*Bereshith Rabba*, k. i). Similarly the *Targum Yerushala'im ad. Is. ix. 5*. "This is the king Messiah, he will be higher than Abraham and exalted above Moses and above the ministering angels," says *Midrash Tanchuma*, f. 53, c. 3, 1. Here we have Paul's doctrine of the preexistence of the Christ with God, and his high station. "The spirit of God, who was above the waters in the beginning, was the Messiah," said the Rabbis. This is the same as when Paul identifies the Christ with the Holy Spirit in the words, "the Lord is the Spirit."

We have no support in Paul's writings, but he may also have been acquainted with those speculations about the Messiah which identified him with the Metatron or Metatyranus, the highest ministering spirit who stands next to God and represents His rulership, or with Michael who vanquishes the Devil, just as the Sraosha of Parsism vanquishes Angro-mainyush, or with the angel of the Apocalypse of Moses (chap. xiv) "who stands in the highest place" and will begin the judgment of the Devil and all the enemies of God. So Paul may also have known of those mystical interpretations which identified the Messiah with the *Maleach Yahveh* (the angel of Yahveh) mentioned so often in the Old Testament, although there is no support for this in his writings. But that he was acquainted with the mystical doctrine of previous appearances of the heavenly Christ in accord with rabbinical notions, of this we have proof. When he says in 1 Cor. x. 1-4, that the Israelites had been baptized in the cloud and the sea, that they had eaten the same spiritual food and drunk the same spiritual drink [as the Christians], that they drank from a spiritual Rock that followed them, "the Rock however was Christ"—he is in accord with such notions as those expressed in the *Targum ad Is. xvi. 1*, and with Philo's view that the Rock was the *sophia*. The phrase, "the Rock that followed them," even reminds us of the monstrous rabbinical notions that the rock rolled along after the marching host (comp. Meyer's commentary on the passage). The idea of the Christ as "a life-giving spirit-being," accompanied by rabbinical phraseology, occurs also in 1 Cor. xv. 45-47, where he compares "the first" and "last Adam." Of the first Adam he says that he was created "unto a living soul-nature" (Hebr. *le nephesh chajah*); of the last Adam, that he was created "unto a life-giving spirit-being (Gr. *eis pneuma zōpoioun*)." The Rabbis said: "The last Adam (Hebr. *ha acharon Adam*) is the Messiah" (*Neve Shalom*, IX, 9).

When speaking of the final triumph of the Christ, Paul is entirely in accord with the phraseology of the Old Testament and

the apocalyptic conceptions of Judaism on that matter. This final triumph of the Messiah is preceded by a great tribulation, a general apostasy, all kinds of lying signs and miracles of the Evil One, and the revelation of the Antichrist,<sup>11</sup> "who will exalt himself over everything called God," as the Jews described him in the language of Daniel applying originally to their whilom arch-enemy, Antiochus Epiphanes (compare especially 2 Thess. ii). But, continues Paul, the Messiah will destroy him through "the breath of his mouth," a phrase used for the first time of the Messiah in Is. xi, and a figure further elaborated in apocalyptic writings such as 4 Ezra (chap. xiii). Also "all powers," "principalities," and "rulers of darkness," i. e., the demons which play such a great role in Paul's letters, will be destroyed, and as we know, their final and lasting destruction is also treated in the Book of Enoch, which deals so much with the fall of the angels and their dominion over mankind. The last enemy to be destroyed, says Paul, is death, and in Is. xxv. 8 we read: "He will swallow up death in victory," just as the Rabbis said on the basis of the same passage: "In the days of the Messiah, God, be He blessed, will swallow up death." The ultimate reign of God, the Eternal, that will follow as the apocalypses teach it, is also expressed by Paul when he says (1 Cor. xv. 28): "And when all things shall be subject unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."

The figure of the pre-Christian Jewish Christ is an established fact, and this heavenly Christ has strongly influenced the Christ representation of Paul. He brought that Christ figure with him when he joined the Jewish-Christian community, and then centered upon it all his speculative thought. "The combination of the rabbinical Messiah who dwelt through eternity in heaven among the angels of God, with the historical figure of Jesus has produced the belief in the miraculous birth of Jesus," says Hausrath. Paul did not touch the question of a miraculous birth, nor did even the later speculative Fourth Gospel following close in the footsteps of Paul do this, for although Paul saw in Jesus an incarnation of his Christ such an incarnation did not necessarily imply a miraculous birth, according to mystical Jewish notions of previous incarnations of the Christ in Hebrew history of which we have seen examples

<sup>11</sup> The term "the Lawless One" used of the Antichrist, 2. Thess. ii, 8, reminds of the rabbinical designation of him מְנִי עוֹלָם = "without yoke," as also the term "that which restraineth," viz., the coming of him (verse 6), of the rabbinical מַעֲצָבֵי אֵת הַגְּאֻלָּה = "things impeding the redemption." See *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, art. "Saul.")

above. Nor does Paul dwell much upon the life and teachings of Jesus. The main thing with him is the descent of the heavenly Christ upon earth to assume human form and to suffer death at the instigation of "the princes of this world," i. e., the demons (1 Cor. ii. 8), who have brought about all evil, and who were ignorant that in the death of Jesus they had crucified "the Lord of glory" to their own ruin; for, Paul argues, the powers of Hades could not hold him; he arose to life again, returned to his heavenly abode, and God exalted his name above every name, so that every knee in heaven, earth, and Hades must bow down to him and every tongue confess that he is the Lord.

Here are the points where the Jewish and rabbinical speculations on the heavenly Christ forsake us. They of course know, as we have seen, of a Messiah form appearing in humility who, like the prophets of old, will be a proclaimer of God's will; they know of a suffering and dying Messiah; they speak of a triumphant Messiah, at whose coming the final destruction of the Devil and demons and death, and a "regeneration of all things" will take place; but they know nothing, as far as we can tell, of the way—as Paul describes it—in which the work of the heavenly Messiah and its results will be brought about.

Here Paul's speculations surely show a connection with the ancient ideas existing around the Mediterranean, of the suffering, dying, and resurrected god, originally reflecting processes of nature but widened into the ethical and human sphere, and connected with the ancient longings for immortality and for release from guilt, from moral and physical evil and bondage. Paul speaks of his representation of the heavenly Christ and his work and its results as being a mystery revealed to him, and we may confidently believe that he was fully persuaded of the truth of that fact, for his Christology has throughout the stamp of genuine conviction, and the blissful state of mind into which this conviction has brought him often breaks out in strains of the highest enthusiasm and feelings of the deepest gratitude for the work of the heavenly Christ, so that we even now cannot escape the powerful impression of his hymnic outpourings. But Paul was probably unconscious of the influence which the wide-spread idea of antiquity of the suffering, dying, and rising god had had long ago on the minds of the people generally and consequently on his own mind, so that when he joined the Jewish-Christian community the result of his speculations on the heavenly Christ in connection with Jesus appeared as a mystery revealed to him directly by God, especially as he evidently

was peculiarly prepared for such a persuasion by his rabbinical-*gnostic* training, his ethical pessimism, and a nature prone to ecstatic visions.

What strengthened Paul in his persuasion was this, that the heavenly Christ seemed to him to have *really* taken upon himself human form, not in a mythical personality said to have lived long ago, but in a historical personality living in Paul's own day and among his own people, the very soul of whose religion was the Messianic belief and to whom the Messiah's advent had long been promised. This historical personality, whom he had not seen himself, he found had been able to gather about him a circle of followers persuaded that they had seen him again after his death and ready to take upon themselves persecution and death for his sake. Their conviction was so strong that not even their persecutor Paul could escape its contagious influence, but was driven to connect his rabbinical-*gnostic* ideas about the heavenly Christ and the idea of the suffering, dying, and risen god unconsciously influencing him, with that historical personality of his own people and his own time. The Christology of Paul, then, rooted partly in mythical and mystical, and partly in historical experiences—and we may say the Christology of Christianity generally—is a blending of Jewish and pagan elements, by which it became possible that a new religion, Christianity, arose in the broad daylight of history.

## SHINRAN, FOUNDER OF THE PURE LAND SECT.

BY VEJITSU OKUSA.

[The Pure Land sect is perhaps the most extensive Buddhist organization in Japan. It grew from small beginnings and brings Buddhism nearer to the common people. It has been compared to the Reformation in Christianity because it bears several obvious similarities to the creed as well as the religious practices of Protestantism. First of all there is no priesthood in the literal sense of the word. The priests live like laymen. They marry and do not observe any of the stricter rules of monkish life. But, above all, their main reliance in religious practices is upon faith. Shinran insisted as vigorously as Luther on the formula that by faith alone (or, as Luther expressed himself in Latin, *sola fide*) can man be saved. The Buddhist expression is: "To hope for faith by one's own power or by other power." The rule of the stricter or older Buddhists is to walk the Path with self-reliance. Every one must become his own savior. In order to be truly saved he must retire from the world, practise all the austere rules of monkhood, and renounce everything except his desire for entering Nirvana. Shinran insisted that the better and superior method was to save oneself by a leap relying on the saving power of Amida,

of the Buddha of eternal bliss, and that only by clinging to him one gained the right attitude to be saved, and to enter at the end of life into the paradise of the Pure Land, or as Christians would say, heaven.

These notes have been extracted from a booklet entitled *Principal Teachings of the True Sect of Pure Land*, Tokyo, 1910, which was sent to us by a younger brother of the Lord Abbot Count Otani, the head of the eastern branch of the Hongwanji. The author of the present article, Mr. Yejitsu Okusa, is the priest who serves as business manager of the sect. The passages in brackets are editorial insertions.—ED.]

SHINRAN SHONIN was born on April 1 in the third year of Joan, 1173 A. D., in the village of Hino near Kyoto. His family was of the Fujiwara clan that occupied at the time the most important position in the empire, and his noble father, Arinori Hino, held an honorable office at the imperial court. [*Shonin* is a title denoting "priest," and Shinran is the name by which the reformer is best known to posterity; this name, however, was not assumed by him until late in life. In his childhood the boy was called by his father Matsu-waka-maru, which means literally "pine-youngson."] He was the eldest son, and from this fact we can easily see what auspicious prospects he had before him; for could not he, as heir to a noble family, occupy a high official rank, wield his influence as he willed, and indulge in the enjoyment of a worldly life? But the death of his parents, while he was yet a child, made him dependent on his uncle, Lord Noritsuna, and this unfortunate circumstance left a very deep impression on his young mind, which, naturally sensitive, now began to brood over the uncertainty of human life.

At the age of nine, the lad left home to lead a monkish life at a Buddhist monastery called Shoren-in at Awada-Guchi, where Jiyen Sojo, the high priest, took him as a disciple, shaved his head, and gave him the Buddhist name Han-yen [or Han-ne, which he bore until he was thirty. The first part of this name, *han*, was taken from his father's name Ari-nori of which *nori* in another pronunciation reads *han*.]

After this, the Shonin went to Mount Hiye, and staying at the Daijo-in which was in the Mudo-ji,<sup>1</sup> he pursued his studies under various masters in the deep philosophy of the Tendai sect, and disciplined himself according to its religious practices.<sup>2</sup> He also sought to enlarge his knowledge by delving into the doctrines of all the other Buddhist sects; but he was unable to reach the true way

<sup>1</sup> The word *ji* denotes a Buddhist temple.

<sup>2</sup> Compare on this and the following W. M. McGovern, "The Development of Japanese Buddhism," *The Open Court*, No. 753, pp. 97ff (February, 1919).

leading to a release from this world of pain. He went even so far as to invoke the aid of the gods as well as the Buddhas to make him realize an immovable state of tranquillity—but all to no purpose.

While thus vainly seeking his way of release, many years passed and he came to be looked up to, and to be paid high respect, by all his teachers and friends as one whose deep learning and unimpeachable morality were incomparable. His priestly rank advanced, and when he was twenty-five years old, he was made Monzeki (chief priest) of the Shoko-in. All these successes, however, were far from satisfying his noble spirit, which was ever longing for the truth. His spiritual vexations increased the more. When will the light come to this poor yet earnest truth-seeker?

His twenty-ninth year, which he attained in the first year of Kennin (1201 A. D.), still found him in a state of mental uncertainty. Determined to arrive at the settlement of all his doubts, he shut himself up in the Rokkaku-do, Kyoto, for one hundred days beginning with January 10 of that year, and offered his final prayers to Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (Kwannon Bosatsu) to suffer him to see the light. At last he had a vision of the Bosatsu, and through his instruction he went to Yoshimidzu in order to be taught by Honen Shonin. Now according to this priest's doctrine, all sentient beings were sure to be saved and embraced in the light of Amida,<sup>3</sup> and to be reborn in the land of happiness, eternal and imperishable, if they, however sinful, only believed in the name of the Buddha, and, forsaking all their petty cares of the world present and to come, abandoned themselves to the Buddha's saving hands so mercifully extended toward all beings, and recited his name with singleness of heart. It was through listening to this doctrine that our Shonin came to remove from his mind every shadow of his spiritual doubt. Then for the first time he came to perceive that Amida was the name of his true Father, and could not help realizing that, during these twenty-nine years of his existence, his life had ever been actuated by this Father's will to save, and that this true Father, from the very beginning of all things, had been unceasingly at work to save his sinful children through his eternal mercy.

The Shonin was filled with joy and gratitude unspeakable. To commemorate this occasion of his spiritual regeneration, he was given by his master a new Buddhist name, Shakku. [This was chosen as a combination of the names of a Chinese and a Japanese priest, Doo-shaku and Gen-ku, and means "bountiful heaven."]

<sup>3</sup> "Amita" in Sanskrit, and "Omitho" in Chinese.

Abandoning his former adherence to the faith of the Tendai sect, he now embraced the Pure Land sect; that is to say, forsaking the uncertainty of self-salvation (*jiriki*, meaning "self-power"), he became a believer in the efficacy and surety of salvation through a power other than his own (*tariki*, meaning "other power").

After this, he resigned his priestly position as Monzeki, and became a Buddhist monk in black. He built a humble hut at Okazaki, where he continued to receive further instruction from Honen Shonin. His faith grew ever deeper until he thoroughly understood the signification of his master's doctrine.

In October, 1203 A. D., our Shonin decided to follow the advice of Honen Shonin and enter upon a conjugal life so as to give the world an example concretely illustrating their faith that the householder could be saved as much as the celibate monk. He was therefore married to Princess Tamahi, daughter of Prince Kanezane Kujo, formerly prime minister to the emperor. He was thirty-one years of age while the princess was eighteen. This marriage, in fact, was undertaken to settle the religious doubt then prevailing as regards the final redemption of those secular householders who, living with their family, have not completely destroyed the root of passion. Prince Kujo was one of those who were in doubt about this point, and our Shonin made the practical demonstration of his belief by marrying one of the prince's daughters and living the life of a man of the world. In the year following, a son was born to him, who was named Han-i.

In 1205 A. D. our Shonin was given by his revered master a copy of his work entitled *Sen-Jyaku Hon-Gwan Nen-Butsu Shu* (a collection of those passages from the sutras and other works with their explanations which relate to the thinking of the Buddha (*nembutsu*) or the reciting of his name—this reciting being Amida's original prayer (*hongwan*), most thoughtfully selected by himself). This event we have reason to consider a turning-point in the life of Shinran Shonin; for it was to a very select few only that the master was pleased to give his own writing—to those of his disciples who distinguished themselves in learning and virtue.

Our Shonin assumed yet another name this year in accordance with his master's wish. The name was Jeshin, meaning "good faith." In this wise, the relation between the Shonin and his master grew closer and closer, and every one recognized in him a spirit that harbored a most powerful faith equal to that of his master himself. [The name Jeshin is a combination of the names of two religious teachers whose dogmas he embraced with great fervor.

The former was Jen-do, a Chinese priest; the latter Gen-shin, a Japanese. During his exile to Echigo Shinran was commonly called Yoshi-nobu, which is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese name Jenshin.]

Fortunately or unfortunately, all this led, in 1207, to a series of sad events in the life of the founder of the True Sect. The beginning of it was the conversion of two court ladies to the faith of Pure Land who finally entered a nunnery. This greatly offended the feeling of the court and set it against Honen Shonin and his followers. Taking advantage of the court's displeasure, the Buddhist monks belonging to the Kofuku-ji monastery at Nara, who had been observing the spread of the Pure Land sect for years with unmitigated jealousy, now maliciously denounced its chief propagators to the court and asked for an imperial order to forbid the preaching of the doctrine of the Pure Land sect. The court at last lent its ear to this vicious counsel and ordered Honen Shonin to leave the capital for Tosa province. Shinran Shonin, as the foremost disciple of the venerable Honen, could not escape the misfortune either and was banished to Kokubu in Echigo province.

Our Shonin had now to part from his revered master, as well as from his beloved family. We can well understand what sorrowful feelings were then astir in his heart which, however, was not so darkened as to be altogether insensible to the other aspect of this sad event. Perceiving the gracious design of the Buddha even in the midst of calamity, he thought in this wise: "Echigo, which is so remotely situated, would perhaps never have a chance to listen to the Good Law of the Buddha if there were not such an opportunity as this. My banishment serves an excellent purpose of proselytism. If I happen to find even one soul embracing the same faith as mine in that remote province, I shall regard it as owing to the wisdom of my venerable master." Thus thinking, he departed for his destination in cheerful spirits.

Therefore all the way along his long journey, our Shonin made use of every occasion to give utterance to his faith and interest the people in the Good Law. When finally he reached his place of banishment in Echigo, he was ever active in his missionary work, going about in the neighboring villages and exercising his personal influence over the rural population. In the meantime Princess Tamahi, who, being left behind in the capital, had spent days and nights in sorrow and without consolation, made up her mind to share with her husband the provincial loneliness in the far-away snowy region of Echigo, and to suffer the misery of banishment too.



Five years passed, and in November, 1211, the court issued an order to terminate the banishment of our Shonin. The message, carried by Lord Norimitsu Okazaki, did not arrive at its destination until December of the same year.

To his receipt of this message, our Shonin signed himself Gutoku (which means "simple-hearted bald man"). He inwardly wished, by thus designating himself, to determine his own status among the followers of the Buddha, which was neither that of a monk nor that of a layman. What other signification he wanted to give to this unique title was that he was one of those simple-hearted Buddhists who were not wise, nor intelligent, nor learned. He used to believe himself an ignorant and sinful soul, as is implied in the literal sense of the title Gutoku. This critical self-valuation was an aspect of his religious belief. Afterward he assumed the name Shinran, by which he is best known to posterity. [He took the first part, *shin*, from the name of the ancient Indian priest Tenshin and *ran* from Don-ran, a Chinese priest whose doctrines he developed and preached.]

When he received the message of release, he wished at once to proceed to the capital and see his venerable master; but being prevented by various circumstances, it was not until January of the following year that he could start from Kokubu. When he reached Kodzuke on his way to Kyoto toward the middle of February, unexpected news plunged him into the deepest sorrow and despair; for it was the news of the death, on January 25, of his revered master, Honen Shonin, whom he had been so anxious to see once more before his final passing. His grief was so great that he threw himself down on the ground and cried most piteously.

Shinran Shonin now abandoned his plan to proceed to the capital, and making his way to Hidachi province, he visited several towns along his route and preached his faith to the people.

In January, 1217, he settled at Inada, of Hidachi province, and began writing his *Kyo-Gyo-Shin-Sho*<sup>4</sup> ("Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Attainment"), in which are laid down the fundamental principles of the True Sect of Pure Land. This was his first literary work, and his greatest, for on this is built the entire structure of the True Sect. After the passing of Honen, there were many of his disciples who failed to grasp the spirit of their master and grossly misrepresented its vital significance. To save the latter

<sup>4</sup> An exposition of the essential principles of the True Sect as to what it teaches (*kyo*), practises (*gyo*), believes (*shin*), and attains (*sho*), in six fasciculi.

therefore from a wreckage and to make known the true purport of the Pure Land sect free from all possible misinterpretations, Shinran wrote his most important book. It was completed in the year 1224, when our Shonin was fifty-two years of age.

In the following year (1225 A. D.) the Shonin built a temple at Takata, of Shimodzuke province. In 1226 the temple received the name Senju Amida Ji by an imperial order. After this, the True Sect of Pure Land began to draw its circles of propagation wider and wider around these two centers, Inada and Takata; and many men and women of good family gathered about him who led them to the truth of the Buddhist faith. For twenty years in these localities he had thus been indefatigably engaged for the cause of the True Sect of Pure Land, when he conceived an idea to visit the capital in 1232. He was then sixty years old.

He left his monastery at Takata to the care of his disciple, Shimbutzu, and accompanied only by two of his disciples (while his wife remained alone at Inada), he started for Kyoto from where he had been long absent. In Kyoto he had no fixed residence and moved from one place to another, among which we may mention Gojo-Nishinotoin, Okazaki, Nijo-To-minokoji, etc. He was never tired of preaching the Good Law of the compassionate Buddha, no matter who came to him for spiritual guidance and helpful instructions; and to those who could not pay him a personal visit he sent letters dwelling upon the joyful life of a devout Buddhist. Toward the end of his life the Shonin wrote various messages for the sake of uneducated followers of his faith, in which he expounded the essentials of the True Sect in the plainest possible terms.

In 1262 he reached the advanced age of ninety and began to show symptoms of an illness on November 23. He complained of nothing particularly, but spoke of the deep love of Amida and recited his name with profound devotion. On the twenty-seventh he bade farewell to his disciples, saying that he would be waiting for them in Pure Land when the time would come for them to join him there. After this he kept on reciting the name of Amida. On the following day, according to the example shown by the Great Muni of the Shakyas at the time of his Nirvana, he had his head turned toward the north, facing the west, and lying on his right side, in a room at the Jembo-in; at noon his reciting came quietly to an end, showing that he had finally returned to the Land of Light, and it is said that an odor of indescribably sweet fragrance filled the room and a flash of white light was seen across the western sky, as if unfolding a long piece of immaculate linen.

His remains were cremated on the twenty-ninth at the Yennin-ji, south of Toribeno, and his ashes were buried at two places, Otani at Higashiyama and Takata in Shimodzuke province, over which now stand tombstones.

The Shonin was apparently a manifestation of Amida Butsu; he was indeed a saving light who came among us some seven hundred years ago to dispel the darkness of this world. His life of ninety years on earth was an imprint eternally engraved on the hearts of sinners not yet freed from impurities. He lived among us to typify the life of a sinful soul that could yet be saved through his faith in the boundless love of Amida, and left a unique example for us who are intoxicated with the wine of passion. So our Shonin did not follow the steps of an ancient sage who, leaving his home and severing all family ties, would fly away from this world in order to cleanse the heart, to sanctify the conduct, and to be thoroughly imbued with the purest religious sentiment, and who by virtue of these unworldly merits was permitted to be born in the country of the Buddha. The Shonin, on the contrary, married Princess Tamahi and lived a family life, even after his confirmation in the Buddhist faith.

Four sons and three daughters were born to this union. The first, third, fourth, and fifth children were sons who were named respectively, Han-i, Zenran, Myoshin, and Dosho; while the second, sixth, and seventh were daughters, whose names were: Masahime, Sagahime, and Iyahime. The Shonin could not help but deeply love these children, so dear to the heart of the father that he once confessed with a truly human weakness: "I am the one who, not knowing how to be blessed by the saving love of Amida, is drowned in the tempest of passion and has lost his way in the mountains of worldliness." The founder of the True Sect, thus unlike most religious leaders, was a husband and father, who loved his family with all his heart and found his salvation in the eternal love of Amida.

It is due to this fact that in the True Sect of Pure Land there is no distinction made between the monk and the layman as regards their outward religious practice; while in all the other Buddhist sects the monk leads a life of celibacy and refrains from eating meat, the followers of the True Sect have no such special order among them, for their monks marry and do eat meat. Their religious life, therefore, consists in continuing to live an ordinary, every-day human life, not necessarily struggling to free themselves from the so-called "defilements" of the flesh, and in leaving the grave matter

of salvation entirely to the saving hands of Amida; for theirs it is only to be grateful for the Buddha's saving love and to express this gratitude by the observance of all the moral laws and the efficient execution of their respective duties. This faith and this way of living were exemplified by our venerable Shinran Shonin, the founder of the True Sect of Pure Land.

[The Pure Land of Amida is an ideal constructed out of the same religious needs of mankind that has created the idea of heaven in Christianity. In speaking of this ideal Mr. Okusa says:]

We can imagine the existence of three paths leading to the Pure Land of Amida, one of which is broad and safe, while the other two are rough and narrow. This broad and safe one is the true way that assures our rebirth in Pure Land. The Pure Land of Amida is a land of perfect beauty founded upon the truth of goodness, and not a particle of impurity could be brought in there. . .

This world of ours is a defiled world filled with sin and suffering; neither the wise nor the ignorant are free from sin, the noble as well as the poor are suffering from pain. He that declares himself to be sinless must be either an insane man or an idiot. . . . Where can we then find a region which harbors no pain? There stands Amida pointing to this Land of Purity and Happiness (*Sukhavati*), where our worldly sufferings and tribulations are no more. In this land there always smiles the spring of peace. No pain, no sin, but all beauty, goodness, and joy. Those born there enjoy a happiness that knows no ending; they are endowed not only with infinite wisdom and liberty, but with pure love and compassion which has the power to save all beings from the world of pain. All this happiness enjoyed by those who are in Pure Land is the outcome of Amida's love and will to save.

The will of the Buddha is manifest everywhere and in everything; it is present in the persons of our teachers, parents, brothers, wife, children, friends, and also in the State or community to which we may belong; the Buddha is protecting, nourishing, consoling, and instructing us in every possible way. What we owe to the Buddha is shown not only when we are carried into his Pure Land, but even when we are living our daily life on earth, for which we must also be deeply grateful. . . .

The Buddhist never loses an inward feeling of joy, as he most deeply believes in his rebirth in Pure Land through the grace of the Buddha; but as far as his outward appearances go, let him have nothing particularly to distinguish himself as such from other people. A Buddhist officer, or Buddhist soldier, or Buddhist man of busi-

ness has nothing remarkable about him so as to single him out as a Buddhist from among his fellow-workers; he obeys the moral laws, moves according to the regulations of the State, does nothing against habits or customs of his times and country, so long as they are not morally offensive; the only thing that distinguishes him most conspicuously from his non-Buddhist fellow-beings, is his inward life filled with joy and happiness, because of his faith in Amida's love to save all beings. For what constitutes the true Buddhist is his inner life, and not his outward features.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### POLAND IN THE WORLD OF DEMOCRACY.

America, before the War, was hardly much interested in the Polish cause. The repeated efforts of the Poles to throw off the foreign yoke, directed especially against Russia, certainly have always found a generous echo in the hearts of individuals in this country, who also may take most of the credit for an occasional Kocziuszko statue and similar monuments which we find in our cities. The War at last reopened the question, for it was one of the avowed war aims of the Central Powers to push the Russian Empire farther east, to where it had come from, claiming that Poland belonged to the western half of Europe on the basis of its Roman Catholic civilization. This theory might have appealed to public opinion in the Allied countries if the necessity of keeping czaristic Russia in line had not prevented it from being fully appreciated. So it is after all the memorable statement of President Wilson, made in his "peace without victory" speech, which recognized Poland's cause as the cause of America and of democracy: "Statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland." The collapse of the Russian autocracy following soon after facilitated the world-wide acceptance of this program.

The recognition of the Paderewski government by the Allied Powers and the United States is, of course, by no means the last step in the reestablishment of Poland. The new republic will need the assistance and cooperation of her older sister states if a truly democratic state is to be erected in that part of Europe. The claim she has to this aid, especially from the hands of America, is the basic subject-matter in a volume of over 250 pages before us, entitled *Poland in the World of Democracy*, by A. J. Zielinski (St. Louis, 1918). The book comes to us highly recommended by Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, Senator Weeks from Massachusetts, and Mme. Turczynowicz, the author of the war-book *When the Prussians Came to Poland*. It discusses, in seventeen chapters, Poland's historical right, external and internal; her ancient and modern intellectual right; her political right; her ethical right; and a number of

similar topics, such as "Causes of Poland's Downfall," "The So-Called Polish Anarchy," "Results of the Partitions," etc.

Much is brought to light with which the ordinary reader is not even now familiar although it ought to be common knowledge at least among the "educated." If we cannot always agree with the author in his historical claims, we are at least obliged to him for presenting to us, for once, the other side of the whole problem, for as he truly remarks, the view-point of the oppressors of Poland has on the whole been too easily accepted as correct the world over. When we consider that these historians largely belonged to nations that were absolutely determined to hold what they had of Poland, a certain bias is almost a psychological postulate, one might say. On the other hand, we shall understand and excuse the patriotic prejudice with which Mr. Zielinski's book may be tinged, since it tends to restore the balance.

To give a specimen of style and treatment we offer the following from the last chapter, entitled "The Twin Nations" (pp. 249f):

"While the allied nations are agreed that freedom and independence be given to all peoples, and while democracy is getting a stronger foothold, Ireland and Poland are approaching the court of justice and fair play.

"Ireland's cause is the cause of Poland, and Poland's cause is the cause of Ireland. Their joint cause is the cause of freedom and independence and—democracy. If we claim that Ireland has a right to self-existence and self-development, that this right is in keeping with her national dignity, we assert the same of Poland. We cannot enumerate Poland's trials and triumphs, her ambitions and ideals and hopes, without enumerating those of Ireland. The struggle of Ireland, her sufferings and aspirations are one with those of Poland. Hand in hand, grown weary under the weight of centuries-old sufferings and trials, but alive to their inalienable rights, Ireland and Poland believe in the power of their most sacred and strongest of all right—the right of living and self-development.

"Their joint voice may not remain unheeded now, when democracy, like a huge wave, is rolling over the world. The voice of Ireland and Poland is the voice of two nations, which possess the strongest feeling of their historical right, and present all the essentials of youthful and energetic races, alike able and willing to labor for the betterment of humanity and the advancement of civilization."

The author is a young Polish writer who is at present working in the interests of reconciling the Jew and the Christian in social and economic relations. He says that a bloody civil and religious war will result unless Christians and Jews break down differences and build up common interests in a free Poland.



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The following review appeared in the *New York Evening Post* in the issue of February 22nd.

"These essays furnish an instance of the interest which the war has awakened in this country in the thought and expression of perhaps the least well understood of our allies, Italy. An acquaintance with English, French, even Russian, literature and science is presupposed among wellread Americans; but most of us, if challenged, could scarcely proceed beyond Lombroso in a list of modern Italian scientists. Eugenio Rignano is particularly well fitted to help bring about a *rapprochement* between the two nations, as his own interests are avowedly international: *Scientia* of which he is editor, is an international review; and Signor Rignano's essays have appeared in magazines as diverse as *La Revue Philosophique*, *Annalen der Natur-philosophie*, and our own *Monist*.

The special purpose of the present volume is to give examples of the service which the general, as opposed to the highly specialized, scientist may perform in the criticism of old theories and the discovery of new laws. The author rightly holds that psychology, for instance, cannot properly be understood without reference to physics, and that sociology in turn depends upon psychology. It is such bridges as these that he is particularly concerned to supply. One becomes skeptical only when he undertakes to supply so many of them in his own person. The case for the synthetic mind, which compares and analyzes the results obtained by the direct experiment of the specialist, is a good one. Perhaps the modern scientific world has too violently repudiated Bacon's magnificent, if impossible, declaration: "I have taken all knowledge to be my province." The counter-appeal for scientific breadth of

view is not misplaced. Nevertheless, when a single volume propounds a reconciliation of the war between vitalism and mechanism in biology; a theory of the affective elements in psychology; a new definition of consciousness; an evaluation of the role of religion in civilization; and a discussion of the economic explanation of history—more cautious minds cannot help suspecting a tendency toward brilliant guesswork on the part of so versatile an expert.

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