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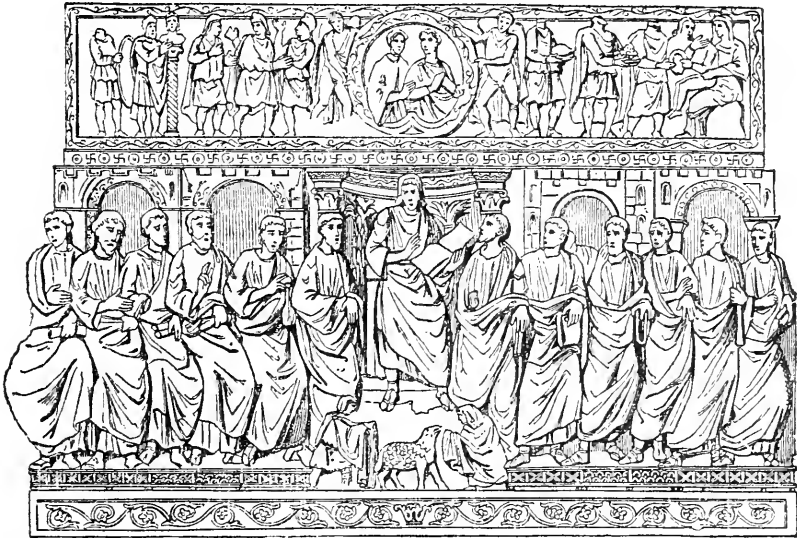
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The Open Court

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



CHRIST ENTHRONED.

From a sarcophagus in St. Ambrosius, Milan. (See page 27.)

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

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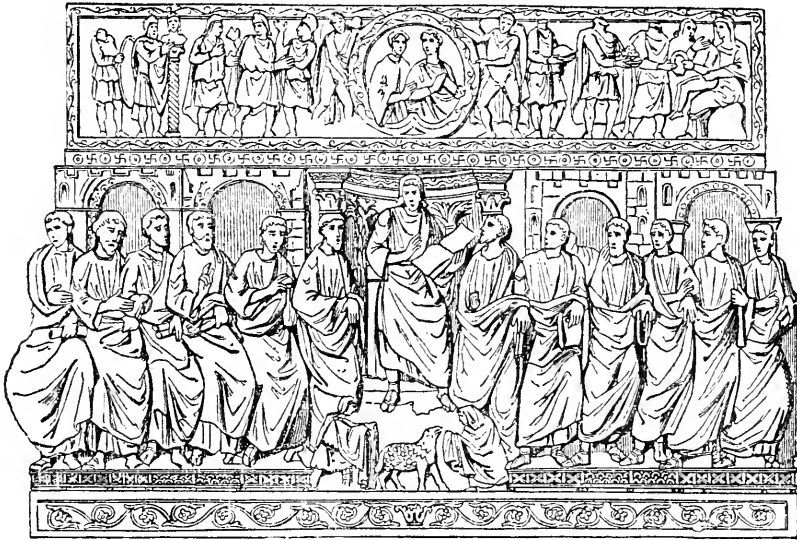
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CHRIST THE JUDGE.

Detail from Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" in the Sistine Chapel.
Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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VOL. XXVIII. (No. 1)

JANUARY, 1914

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TOLSTOY'S RELIGION.

BY EDWARD A. THURBER.

A MAN'S creeds provide such an inadequate road-book to his religious experiences, that, like a conscientious traveler who wishes to get certain things over with, I shall begin this sketch by quoting three statements made by Tolstoy concerning his beliefs. The first occurs at the opening of the twelfth chapter of his tractate, *My Religion*, and bears the date 1884 or thereabouts, Tolstoy being at the time in his fifty-seventh year.

"I believe in Christ's teaching, and this is my faith:

"I believe that my happiness is possible on earth only when all men fulfil Christ's teaching.

"I believe that the fulfilment of this teaching is possible, easy and pleasant.

"I believe that even now, when this teaching is not fulfilled, if I should be the only one among all those that do not fulfill it, there is, nevertheless, nothing else for me to do for the salvation of my life from the certainty of eternal loss but to fulfil this teaching, just as a man in a burning house, if he find a door of safety, must go out.

"I believe that my life according to the teaching of the world has been a torment, and that a life according to Christ's teaching can alone give me in this world the happiness for which I was destined by the Father of Life.

"I believe that this teaching will give welfare to all humanity, will save me from inevitable destruction and will give me in this world the greatest happiness. Consequently, I cannot help fulfilling it."

The second statement which I shall quote was written some seventeen years later when Tolstoy was seventy-three. It was occasioned by the act of excommunication directed against him by the Holy Synod on account of a chapter in his great book, *Resurrection*, relative to mass and the eucharist.

"I believe in God, who is to me the Spirit, Love, the Principle of all things. I believe that he is in me and I in him. I believe that the will of God has never been more clearly expressed than in the teaching of the man, Christ, but we may not think of Christ as God and address him in prayer without committing the greatest sacrilege. I believe that the true happiness of man consists in the accomplishment of the will of God. I believe that the will of God is that every man should love his neighbor and do unto him as he would be done by; herein is contained, as the Bible says, all the law and the prophets. I believe that the meaning of life for each one of us is solely to increase this love within us; I believe that the increase of our power to love will bring about in this life a joy which will grow day by day, and in the other world will become a more perfect happiness. I believe that the growth of love will contribute more than any other force to establish on this earth the kingdom of God, that is, will replace an order of life in which division, guile and violence are all powerful by another order in which concord, truth and brotherhood will reign. I believe that for the increase of love there is but one means—prayer. Not the public prayer in temples, which Christ expressly reprovèd but the kind of prayer of which he himself gave an example, solitary prayer, which reaffirms in us a consciousness of the meaning of life and the knowledge that we depend absolutely on the will of God. I believe in life eternal. I believe that we are rewarded according to our acts here and everywhere, now and forever. I believe all this so firmly that at my age—on the borders of the grave—I ought often to make an effort to think of the death of my body as merely the birth of a new life."

My third quotation is taken from a letter written by Tolstoy the year before he died, that is, in 1909, when he was eighty-one.

"The teaching of Jesus is to me but one of the beautiful religious teachings which we have received from Egyptian, Jewish, Hindu, Chinese, Greek, antiquity. The two great principles of Jesus: the love of God, that is, absolute perfection, and the love of one's neighbor, the love of all men without any distinction whatsoever, have been preached by all the sages of the world,—Krishna, Buddha, Lao-tze, Confucius, Socrates, Plato, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius,

and among the moderns, Rousseau, Pascal, Kant, Emerson, Channing, and many others. Religious and moral truth is everywhere and always the same. I have no predilection for Christianity. If I have been especially interested in the teachings of Jesus, it is, first, because I was born and have lived among Christian people; second, because I have found a great intellectual pleasure in disengaging the pure teaching from the surprising falsifications affixed to it by churches."

These professions I do not intend to dwell upon except to note that Tolstoy, in his very old age, seemed inclined on occasion not to realize that his religion was after all profoundly Christian. In the crisis of it or at the time of what we might call his final conversion, he was drawing very little inspiration from Krishna, Confucius, Epictetus; the fountain of his religious experiences was the Scriptures and their teaching, as it culminated, to him, in the character of Jesus. But ignoring his dogmas for the moment, I wish simply to present in brief outline the life and makeup of this remarkable man as a sort of background for the conclusions he came to, and also to his multifarious and powerful influence.

Of our primary, our animal passions, Tolstoy had more than his share, and also of those other more human passions, expressed most unequivocally perhaps in that sharp conflict between fact and dream in violent, tumultuous natures. He possessed the cruelty of a confirmed and eager hunter; indeed, hunting was the last pleasure of all vicious and cruel pleasures, as he called them, which he sacrificed. After giving an account of the slow death of a wolf which he had killed by hitting it with a club on the root of the nose, he adds, "I fairly revelled as I contemplated the tortures of that dying animal." Nor to jealousy, as well as to cruelty, was he a stranger, as many a story of his boyhood testifies. In a fit of jealousy he once pushed from a balcony a little playmate of his, a girl. She was lame for a long time afterward.

Here is an early note in his journal concerning the three demons that were tormenting him: "1. Gambling. Can possibly be overcome. 2. Sensuality. Very hard struggle. 3. Vanity. Most terrible of all." Gambling was one of the routine pastimes of young men born in Tolstoy's social environment. As late as the year before his marriage, a night's high play cost him the manuscript of *The Cossacks*, which he sold to an editor for \$500 to pay his debts of honor.

Vanity, pride, conceit and self-pity were companions of his early years. Mention of them crops out constantly in his half auto-

biographical books, *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth*. "I imagined there could be no happiness on earth for a man with so big a nose as I had, such thick lips and little eyes." He speaks disconsolately of "this face without expression. These feeble, soft, characterless features remind me of peasants' features—these great hands and feet." "I wanted everybody to know me and love me," he writes, "I wished that merely on hearing my name all would be struck with admiration and thank me." From his journal again, "My great fault, pride. A self-love immense. I am so ambitious that if I had to choose between glory and virtue (which I love), I am ready to believe that I should choose the former." Turgenev spoke at one time of Tolstoy's stupid, nobleman's pride, his blustering and braggadocio. Those who have read his book *Childhood*, will recall the tears that Tolstoy poured forth, tears of self-pity, Werther tears, expressive of the sorrows that were engulfing him; they were the tears of a self-conscious, imaginative, sentimental boy. At five years of age, he felt (he says) that life was not a game, but a long, hard travail.

If it is part of the office of genius to marshal and direct vehement passions, then Tolstoy was rich in his endowment. His quiver was full of the arrows of wrath—more akin to Milton, I should say, than to any other figure of his rank in letters I can think of—to Milton whom one has called the most emotional of our English poets. Tolstoy's path was blazed with zeal, rage, indignation—boisterous, uncontrolled, calm even, satisfying. "I get drunk," he says, "with this seething madness of indignation which I love to experience, which I even excite when I feel it coming because it throws me into a sort of calm and gives me, for some moments at least, an extraordinary elasticity, the energy and fire of all physical and moral capacities." This riotous temperament was housed, as we know, in a superb body; it was employed ultimately in a great passion to serve mankind. This is why one likes to dwell upon the wrath of Tolstoy.

Tolstoy divides his life into three periods which he calls, characteristically, the period in which he lived for himself; the period in which he lived for mankind; and the period in which he lived for God. Though such a division is somewhat arbitrary, I shall adopt it, as it emphasizes rather conveniently certain crises in his life. The first period came to an end at the time of his marriage; it had lasted thirty-four years. He was brought up like a good Russian in the Greek church, and as a boy accepted frankly its ritual and its

¹ From the journal of Prince Nukludov, 1857.

dogma. Many pious and simple-hearted people were about him, some of them relatives, some servants in the house, and others peasants of the estate. They and he were instinctively drawn to one another. He admired, he could not help admiring, their poverty of spirit, their loyalty, their unquestioning self-sacrifice. He used to watch old men at prayer in silent reverence. And naturally with his own frankness and sympathy and love of truth, he was just the sort of boy to win the confidence of these great-hearted people. Tolstoy owes them much both on account of their real wisdom of character and on account of the stories they used to tell him, those embodiments of joys and sorrows, actual, undefiled.

But Tolstoy's world was after all not this peasant world, but the world of the landed proprietor. As a young man at college he threw off all beliefs of the church and became an out and out nihilist,—he believed in nothing at all. This indeed was the correct attitude of the young blades of his day. It was the exaltation, one might say, and in his case a perfectly honest exaltation, of the intellect. A man must submit the beliefs of the world to the scrutiny of his reason, and if his reason says "reject," rejected they must be. It is a pure matter of logic, the cruel, uncompromising logic of youth.

This, I presume was the most unhappy period of Tolstoy's life and it lasted a good many years. Here was a man who earnestly desired to make a signal contribution, to impress a glowing personality, upon the life of his time, and his intellectual philosophy was negation. He looked about him and discovered that many who believed as he did—the great majority of them, he averred—were plain rascals; gain was the key to their conduct. They were greedy, sensual and quarrelsome; they sneered at piety and were themselves master hypocrites. And yet the creed or lack of creed of these nihilists was unimpeachable. Tolstoy put all this down in the journal; he weighed the problem, analyzed himself scathingly, and yet could come to no other conclusion. Here, then, was an *impasse*. There was, indeed, one way out of it; that was to kill himself. The demon of suicide kept Tolstoy pretty close company for many a day. Just why he did not put an end to his life is a little hard to explain, if he has given us absolutely just data of his experiences. Why did not St. Augustine kill himself? They are comparable characters; both were miserably unhappy. The demon of suicide appears to have been superseded at critical moments by a divinity that was shaping his ends. Perhaps, too, he exaggerated.

Men like this always overstate ; they also in their fury fail to account for the hidden influences that transcend their logic.

There was in his case, to be sure, an alleviation other than suicide—story writing. In the distribution of talents that goes on in this world, Tolstoy was invested with an almost uncanny creative imagination. He could put himself definitely in the place of other people. And so intense and of so wide a range were his experiences and his sympathies that this talent of his allowed him to ignore momentarily his philosophy. I shall not dwell upon his early stories. They were received with immediate applause, and placed him at once in the front rank of Russia's writers. Later, in his religious zeal, he rejected them almost entire as examples of perverted art. A vain disclaimer! They were uneven, of course ; of a hundred stories not all can be supreme. Yet I am not aware that one could honestly call any one of them feeble ; many are masterly—none artistically untrue ; nor was Tolstoy capable of writing an impure story. His intuitions belied his reason. These stories express the sort of man Tolstoy was, and Tolstoy the man, Tolstoy as he appeared in his creative work, was, I am inclined to believe, a finer personality than Tolstoy the thinker.

I do not mean by this statement, of course, that an imaginative writer should not possess a philosophy of life. The truth lies in the opposite direction. Great poets are seers ; their wisdom is the wisdom of the searching minds. The poems of Homer epitomize Greek wisdom of the heroic age ; Don Quixote, the plays of Moliere and of Shakespeare stand for definite views of life, unexpressed, to be sure, in the language of philosophy, but still there, and there, I assume, consciously. A poet should not be deprived of his humanity. This view was realized most clearly, I imagine, by the Greeks in their attitude toward their great dramatists. The Greeks expected from their dramatists distinct and tangible interpretations, and they were not disappointed. Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes analyzed for them the principles of moral and religious conduct.

With such a conception of art no one could have been in greater sympathy than Tolstoy, and nowhere did he practice it on a greater scale than in the two great novels of his maturity, *War and Peace*, and *Anna Karenina*. The former of these novels comes as near being a cosmos as any single work of the nineteenth century. It soon forced itself into translation, and was received the civilized world over with astonishment. That one man could know so much of life! And yet this book bears evidence of a troubled, discordant mind. That may not be a misfortune in a great work of art ; it is,

however, likely to be. For those later pages of dialogue in *Paradise Lost* justifying the ways of God to man are no more surely an artistic blemish than are the chapters of preaching in Tolstoy's great novel. The lessons in a work of art follow a far different lead from the lessons in a sermon. In the former case you gather them as you may, you are somewhat loath to restate them; an appeal to the imagination can never be logically restated. But a sermon is statement; the preacher is at pains to tell you precisely in terms of reason what he means. These two methods will not combine. That Tolstoy should have been a preacher is, I think, to our great advantage, but he might have spared us his philosophical discussions in his novels.

This distinction of mind is thrown into relief by a couple of sentences taken from his correspondence. "At this moment," he writes, "I am yoking myself anew to that tiresome and vulgar *Anna Karenina*, with the sole desire of getting rid of it with all possible speed." Tolstoy was not bored merely with *Anna Karenina*; he was weary of art. The life of this modern St. Augustine had been a prolonged agony of religious doubt; the salvation of his soul, his personal responsibility, was its chief concern. How he ultimately came to see the light, he has told us in *My Confession*. From that tractate, begun in 1879, I shall quote a few passages to mark the stages of his progress from his first period of denial to his final period of faith.

"I began," he says, "to draw nearer to the believers among the poor, the simple, and the ignorant; the pilgrims, the monks, the peasants. The doctrines of these men of the people like those of the pretended believers of my own class, were Christian. Here also much that was superstitious was mingled with the truths of Christianity, but with this difference, that the superstition of the believers of our class was entirely unnecessary to them, and never influenced their lives beyond serving as a kind of Epicurean distraction; while the superstition of the believing laboring class was so interwoven with their lives that it was impossible to conceive them without it—it was a necessary condition of their living at all. The whole life of the believers of our class was in flat contradiction with their faith, and the whole life of the believers of the people was a confirmation of the meaning of life which their faith gave them."

And so he began to study the lives and the doctrines of the "people." He returned, as it were, to the past, to his childhood and youth. "I united myself," he says, "to my ancestors—to those I loved, my father, mother, and grandparents. I joined the millions

of the people whom I respect. Moreover there was nothing bad in all this, for bad with me meant the indulgence of the lusts of the flesh. When I got up early to attend divine service, I knew that I was doing well, if it were only because I tamed my intellectual pride for the sake of a closer union with my ancestors and contemporaries, and, in order to seek for a meaning in life, sacrificed my bodily comfort."

It was the same with preparing for the communion, the daily reading of prayers, with genuflections, and the observance of all the fasts. "However insignificant the sacrifices were," he says, "they were made in a good cause." He prepared for the communion, fasted, and observed regular hours for prayer both at home and at church.

Such is the picture of Tolstoy, a communicant of the orthodox church—as we shall see, a somewhat uncertain figure.

"I shall never forget," he goes on, "the painful feeling I experienced when I took communion for the first time after many years. . . . It was such happiness for me to humble myself with a quiet heart before the confessor, a simple and mild priest, and, repenting of my sins, to lay bare all the mire of my soul; it was such happiness to be united in spirit with the meek fathers of the church who composed these prayers; such happiness to be one with all who have believed and who do believe, that I could not feel my explanation was artificial" . . . "But," he adds, "when I drew near to the 'holy gates' and the priest called on me to repeat that I believed that what I was about to swallow was the real body and blood, it cut me to the heart; it was a false note, though small; it was no unconsidered word; it was the cruel demand of one who had evidently never known what faith was."

In this condition Tolstoy lived for three years; it was while he was writing *Anna Karenina*. The ideals of his own class, represented by the chief characters in that book, had become odious to him, he was turning for religious guidance to the people. They only were on the right track; they only had grasped the teachings of Jesus. Yet a searcher must make distinctions. "The people," he affirms, "as a whole had a knowledge of truth; this was incontestable, for otherwise they could not live. Moreover, this knowledge of truth was open to me; I was already living by it, and felt all its force; but in that same knowledge there was also error. Of that again I could not doubt. All, however, that formerly repelled me now presented itself in a vivid light. Although I saw that there was less of what had repelled me as false among the people than among the

representatives of the church, I also saw that in the belief of the people what was false was mingled with what was true."

Tolstoy is now passing into his third period—as he puts it, the period in which he lived for God. The immediate occasion of his break with the church was the Turko-Russian war of 1877. "At this time," he says, "Russia was engaged in war; and in the name of Christian love, Russians were engaged in slaying their brethren. Not to think of this was impossible. But at the same time in the churches men were praying for the success of our arms, and the teachers of religion were accepting these murders as acts which were the consequence of faith. Not only murder in actual warfare was approved, but, during the troubles which ensued, I saw members of the church, her teachers, monks and ascetics, approving of the murder of erring and helpless youths. I looked round on all that was done by men who professed to be Christians, and I was horrified."

The Tolstoy who now emerges, Tolstoy at the age of fifty, is the man we know best. "Leon is always working," his wife writes. "Alas! he is writing some sort of religious treatises. He lies and reflects until his head splits, and all to prove that the church is not in accord with the teaching of the Gospels. I doubt if his efforts interest a dozen people in Russia. But there is nothing to do for it. I only hope that it will be over with quickly, and pass away like a disease." To him she wrote: "That you should waste such extraordinary intellectual force in chopping wood, heating the samovar and in cobbling shoes, saddens me." And later: "Well, I take comfort in the Russian proverb, 'Let the child have his way, provided he doesn't cry.'"

This is expert testimony; yet the views of Mme. Tolstoy concerning her husband do not coincide fully, I imagine, with our own. A prophet, to be sure, is likely to be troublesome about the house. And Tolstoy, we must know, was what William James calls a twice-born man. His mother gave birth to him in 1828; but one birth is never enough for a saint. The Isaiahs and the Pascals and the Bunyans always have to be born again; otherwise, like most of us, they die. No Greek that I know of, and no Roman, was ever born more than once; they were, as Carlyle says, the best of them, terribly at ease in Zion. But the Hebrews and the Christians, the prophets and the saints among them, were never satisfied—are never satisfied—with but one birth. Tolstoy had several of them, and the latest was always prone to be a little more painful than the one

before. Such profusion is undomestic. Let us now turn to one or two other considerations.

If you recall the statements I quoted at the beginning of this sketch, you noted one spirited denial, the denial of the divinity of Christ. Tolstoy was excommunicated from one church and could have joined no other, Catholic or Evangelical; nor could he have become an active member of the Y. M. C. A. All connections of such a nature would have entailed an intellectual compromise as abhorrent to him as it was impossible. To Tolstoy's imperious, Russian mind, creeds could not be "restated," and yet he was as far removed from a mere moralist as was a medieval saint. His religion was a religion of faith, it rested not at all on "good works." The first article in the creed of a man of religion is to get himself right with his God. This becomes his passion and until that matter is settled, the world about him counts for nothing. The words, "benevolence," "philanthropy," "horse-sense," while the struggle is on, bring no comfort to such a man. They appear rather as mere babblings, a cheap way out of it. Tolstoy is not at home with the moralists; his place is among that rarer, more positive company of men of religion, whose good works are simply an inevitable offshoot of their faith. Thus, in spite of the denial I have mentioned, Tolstoy ranks with the great religious leaders.

A question naturally arises, Can a man be at once both a prophet and an artist? And the answer is, I take it, Yes, religion and art may lie down together like the tiger and the lamb, but the lamb must always lie inside the tiger. Tolstoy remained a great artist, but during his later life his art always served his religion. In his book, *What is Art?* published in 1898, Tolstoy being at the time 70 years of age, he denies to art the quality of beauty, a quality which the Greeks insisted upon. To his mind the artistic activity is simply the evoking in oneself feelings one has once experienced and then having evoked them, consciously handing them on, by means of certain external signs, so that others may be infected by these feelings and also experience them. His definition proper goes no further than this; but the definition is not the most significant part of that book. Distinctions between good and bad art do not interest Tolstoy, although he uses those words constantly; his distinctions, as a man of religion, are between art "worth while" and art perverted. Art worth while, he affirms, should in the first place express those primary emotions—love, hatred, jealousy, fear—in such terms that all people, the peasant as well as the philosopher, may understand them. Ibsen's "The Master Builder" is intelligible only

to a class; it is therefore an example of perverted art. The *Odyssey* is an example of art worth while. In the second place, great art, supreme art, should have as its fundamental theme the Christian gospel of brotherly love. That is art most worth while. *Adam Bede*, *The Christmas Carol*, the works of Dostoyevsky, the story of Joseph and his brethren, are a few examples of art on the theme of brotherly love.

Those who have familiarized themselves with the sequence of Tolstoy's imaginative writing have noticed the effect of these theories upon it. His art undergoes a renewal. No longer are his stories mere transcripts of life; in fact, most of them, his assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, were never quite that. But now they serve much more consciously his religious ideals. Among them appear what might be called parables, *Two Old Men*, *The Death of Ivan Iliitch*, *Master and Man*—with this distinction: The characters in Tolstoy's finest parables, unlike those in the parables we are most familiar with, are never types; they are always individualized. The stories wear their rue of sermonizing with a difference. I seem to see the lamb of art lying down most trustfully very near but yet outside the tiger of religion. *Resurrection*, the great novel of his old age, is a Pilgrim's Progress through a *real* world. Perhaps the main characters are not so sharply defined as in *Anna Karenina*: Tolstoy did not know them quite so well. He is an old man now, and the turmoil and contradictions of youth have in part escaped him. But the critic approaches *Resurrection* softly, for it stands among the fairest and most authentic "poems of human compassion."

Tolstoy's character takes on much of the complexity of the modern age, yet so sharp are its main features that it seems at times almost simple. It was a brutal act, perhaps, for him to thrust his diary into the hands of his betrothed, knowing that she would read it in tears; the act may have been brutal; to him it was a gage to sheer honesty. On the evening of his return from a visit to the slums of Moscow, he began to argue with a friend, but with such warmth and so angrily that his wife rushed in from an adjoining room to ask what had happened. "It appeared,"² he says, "that I had, without being aware of it, shouted out in an agonized voice, gesticulating wildly, 'We should not go on living in this way! We must not live so! We have no right!'" He was rebuked for his unnecessary excitement, was told that he could not talk quietly upon any question, that he was irritable, and it was pointed out to him that the existence of such misery as he had witnessed should in no way be

²From *What Shall We Do?*

a reason for embittering the life of the home circle. Simple-minded Tolstoy! "I felt," he adds naively, "that this was perfectly just, and held my tongue; but in the depth of my soul I knew that I was right, and I could not quiet my conscience." It was this unquiet conscience that sent him off finally to die alone.

In the morning papers of December 8, 1912, there appeared among the headlines the announcement of the printing of Tolstoy's diary. The appended article gave a few extracts, evidently from a preface. From this, in closing, I shall quote briefly, allowing Tolstoy the ultimate word. "After all," he wrote, "let my diaries remain as they are. It may be seen from them that in spite of the misery of my youth, God did not abandon me and that as I grew older I learned, however little, to understand and to love Him." "I have had moments," he continues, "when I have sometimes been so impure and so subject to personal passions that the light of this truth has been obscured by my own obscurity; but in spite of all, I have served at times as the intermediary for His truth, and those have been the happiest moments of my life." What a change here from that head-long Tolstoy who one day came from the Caucasus to ally himself with the devotees of art! And what a contrast too, between the fine renunciation of these words and the arrogance of that other confessor of a century before—Rousseau! "May God will that, passing through me, these truths have not been sullied, and may mankind find in them its pasture. It is only in that that my writings have importance." Finally, "If the people of the world wish to read my writing, let them dwell on those passages where I know the Divine power has spoken through me, and let them profit from them throughout their lives."

WANG-AN-SHIH.

A CHINESE SOCIALIST STATESMAN OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

BY HERBERT H. GOWEN.

WHEN Dr. Aurel Stein was excavating in the Tun-huang oasis five years ago, among other highly interesting relics of the Han dynasty, two thousand years ago, he came upon a big hammer of wood such as is used for pitching tents. It was in such perfect condition and so useful, that he remarked, "I could not prevent my men taking it into daily use for its original purpose during the rest of my journey."

In much the same way we come occasionally upon the long buried human story which, when cleared of the desert sand, proves to be of unexpected use under the most modern circumstances. Possibly those who know more than I do about political economy and the various tendencies of the time which are loosely termed socialistic, may find this to be the case with the story of Wang-an shih,¹ the great Chinese statesman of the Sung dynasty.

The world is ready to concede that China is to-day learning and preparing to use many of the painfully acquired lessons of our western civilization. Perhaps it has occurred to but few to inquire whether or not China may possess in her wonderful history lessons which are not altogether lost to memory and which, both by way of example and warning, should prove useful to us in America and Europe! After all, China is an experiment in democracy vastly older than anything else which exists, and out of the treasures of her experience it should be possible to draw lessons not a few.

A certain Chinaman, the story runs, lived in the Liao-tung

¹ The most recent account of Wang-an-shih is to be found in the Russian work "Wang-an-shih and His Reforms," by A. I. Iwanowa, St. Petersburg, 1909. Much also of interest may be found in Rémusat, Panthier and Du Mailla. In English Giles's monumental *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* and *History of Chinese Literature* furnish much interesting information.

region where all the pigs were black. On one occasion, however, a litter was born in which there were some pigs which were white. Thinking that these must necessarily be a rarity at court and a worthy present for the Son of Heaven, the peasant drove them, with no little difficulty, toward the capital. Alas, great was his disappointment to find that here all the pigs were white. Once it was the fashion to draw all illustrations from the history of China as black pigs over against our own white ones. Men are beginning at last to perceive that history teaches much the same lessons everywhere, east and west, and that what one nation has learned in antiquity is not unworthy of the attention of the modern state.

I feel sure that Wang-an-shih has the right to a new lease of popular interest and I wish I could do something to restore the superseded tablet in the Hall of Confucius, not because of any conviction I have as to the soundness of his political views—of these I am not competent to judge—but because, in the first place, his passion for social justice, and his tremendous importance as one who organized great social reforms under the Sung emperors, make him inevitably interesting to those who watch sympathetically the experiment of popular government in China to-day; secondly because, in this age of political unrest and experiment amongst ourselves, the exponent of a somewhat extreme form of state socialism (I think we may fairly use the term) must awaken at least curiosity and attention.

The experiment made by Wang failed, for reasons we shall presently notice, but the man himself remains notable for the human qualities of sympathy and courage which are the monopoly of no one nation or time. The China of the eleventh century was composed, as throughout most centuries, of the proud, overbearing official classes, and the toiling, for the most part silent masses. The relation of the two has been compared by an old poet as that of the bean stalks which were used as fuel to the beans cooking in the pot.

“A kettle had beans inside
And stalks of the bean made a fire;
And the beans to their brother-stalks cried,
‘We spring from one root,—why such ire?’”

Wang-an-shih's sympathy² was always with the down-trodden and oppressed. He possessed also that calm courage which was proof against every discouragement arising from failure and against every

² “While Wang-an-shih laid great stress upon the foundation of prosperity being in the increased wealth of the nation yet his intense sympathy with the people and his anxiety for their welfare ennobled all his plans with a high standard of moral worth.”—J. C. Ferguson, *J. N. Ch. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXXV.

opposition arising from the contrary convictions and misunderstandings of rival politicians. It is worth noting that the third syllable of his name, *shih*, means "stone," and as a stone he endured the rebuffs of time and fate. The second syllable, *an*, means "peace," which was his constant aim, though he enjoyed little of it himself. The first syllable, *Wang*, means "king," and, to all who love high purpose and unshaken courage, a king he was.

Let us gather together a few of the biographical details which will give his story shape, and assist the reader to fix the place of Wang in Chinese history. The Sung dynasty (A. D. 960-1279) had come as a period of welcome relief to that period of practical anarchy (known as the "five small dynasties," A. D. 905-960) which had given the country five lines of monarchs in little more than fifty years. The new era began with the throwing of the yellow robe over the shoulders of a drunken common soldier much as in the later days of the Roman empire the soldiers of the Praetorian Guard might bestow the purple upon some Dalmatian or Illyrian comrade.

This was not a promising commencement, but it disappointed the prophets of evil. For a century the Sung dynasty continued famous for its political security as well as for the unique prestige of its artists, poets and philosophers.³ The evil days of the Mongol invasions, preceded by the bitter struggle between the Khitan and Kim Tatars and the establishment of the latter as the sovereigns of China north of the Yang-tsze-kiang for the last century of the period, had not dawned when Wang-an-shih was born, A. D. 1021, in Lin-ch'uan, in the province of Kiang-si. He was a son of a secretary of one of the Six Boards and soon vindicated his entry into a literary family. As a student he was exceptionally clever and historians of the time have left on record how he used to make his pen "fly over the paper" in the examinations. Through the influence of an important official, Ou-yang-hsiu, who admired some of his early essays, Wang gained official position at an early age, and became the magistrate in charge of a district in Chih-kiang. Here his interest in social reform exhibited itself in the vigor with which he attacked that perennial problem of Chinese administrators, the protection of the country from the floods caused by the overflowing rivers. Before long he was elevated to a position in the Department of Justice, and, in A. D. 1060, after serving with dis-

³ "Dès les premières années du 11^{me} siècle un élan extraordinaire était donné à la littérature nationale. Toutes les branches à la fois eurent part à cette renaissance. Des historiographes, des poètes, des philosophes, des commentateurs et des critiques érudits parurent en grande nombre."—P. St. Le Gall.

inction in various judicial capacities, was honored with the appointment, by the imperial mandate, to one of the highest offices in the judiciary in the kingdom.

The Emperor, Ying Tsung, showed his own personal regard by inviting Wang to court, but the young judge declined as being so far unworthy of the inestimable privilege of beholding the Dragon countenance. The sincerity of his modesty, it may be said, has been doubted by some of his rivals and detractors.

A year or two later, just at the time when the Norman William was pushing home his claim to the realm of Saxon England, a new monarch, Shen Tsung, assumed the throne of the Sungs and inaugurated his reign by acts of signal favor bestowed upon Wang. In rapid succession the offices came to him of the prefecture of Kiang-ning, the expositorship of the Han-lin College and, in A. D. 1069, the state councillorship. In this latter position he was the confidential adviser of the emperor and supreme head of the actual government. He had practically the position now held in England by the prime minister and in this capacity inaugurated a series of reforms, which, if undertaken to-day, would cause Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George by comparison to be relegated to the ranks of timid and cautious conservatives.

It speaks volumes for the tact and adroitness of the Chinese statesman in his hour of power that he should have been able to allay any misgivings which his royal master may have entertained. It speaks much also for the essential democracy of the Chinese people that the emperor should have permitted such far-reaching and all-embracing experiments. But it is to be remembered that Wang-an-shih based all his reforming zeal on an avowed loyalty (doubtless sincere) to the traditions of China. In everything that he attempted he professed the desire to interpret for new times the spirit of the ancient classics. In his most radical moments he was still the *literatus*, and the fact that the *literatus* was regarded as *propre à tout* went a long way toward disguising the revolutionary character of some of his proposals.

Let me take the opportunity to emphasize Wang's importance as a man of letters before I turn to consider his work as a reformer. The publication of new and more correct interpretations of the classics was almost his first labor. He realized from the outset that there would be the inevitable examination of his theories by the standards of Confucius and Mencius, and he wished to prepare himself and the people for the test. Many other books beside the "Five King" and the "Four *Shu*" helped him in this stage of his

work. "I have been," he said, "an omnivorous reader of books of all kinds, even for example, of ancient medical and botanical works. I have, moreover, dipped into treatises on agriculture and on needle-work, all of which I have found very profitable in aiding me to seize the great scheme of the canon itself."

He realized, again, the need he would have for the support of a people better instructed than heretofore in practical subjects. Hence he made a brave but eventually futile assault upon the old examination system, which was even then venerable, and even then stultifying. The reform at which he aimed was the substitution of a knowledge of practical things for the graces and elegances of style. Some result followed, at least for the time. "Even the pupils at village schools threw away their text-books of rhetoric and began to study primers of history, geography and political economy."

His love of literature, moreover, was by no means purely utilitarian, and his worst enemies have allowed that had he never essayed the responsibilities of statesmanship, he would still have remained a conspicuous figure among those who have been canonized as "men of letters." His work on the written characters of the Chinese language is not without its use to-day, and some of his poems have survived to engage the interest and skill of our modern translators. He wrote many of these amid the cares of office. The following, translated by Professor Giles, has an almost pathetic interest as the account of a *nuît blanche* during the stress and strain of the great economic revolution.

"The incense stick is burnt to ash,
 The water clock is stilled,
 The midnight breeze blows sharply by,
 And all around is chilled.
 Yet I am kept from slumber
 By the beauty of the spring.
 Sweet shapes of flowers across the blind
 The quivering moonbeams fling."

All other interests, however, in the life of Wang-an-shih sink into insignificance in comparison with his great battle for social and political reform. I have already referred to the fact that he based his proposals upon the essentially democratic spirit of Chinese institutions in former epochs. He protested against the idea of being an innovator. He was as anxious as Confucius himself to be judged rather as a transmitter and a re-interpreter. This comes out very clearly in a letter he once wrote to a friend.

"I have been debarred," he said, "by illness from writing to you

now for some time, though my thoughts have been with you all the while. In reply to my last letter, wherein I expressed a fear that you were not progressing with your study of the canons, I have received several from you, in all of which you seem to think I meant the canon of Buddha, and you are astonished at my recommendation of such pernicious works. But how could I possibly have intended any other than the canon of the sages of China? And for you to have thus missed the point of my letter is a good illustration of what I meant when I said you were not progressing with your study of the canon. Now a thorough knowledge of our canon has not been attained by any one for a very long period. Study of the canon alone does not suffice for a thorough knowledge of the canon. For learning in these days is a totally different pursuit from what it was in the olden times; and it is now impossible otherwise to get at the real meaning of our ancient sages."

Wang was not altogether wrong in this respect.⁴ China has by no means derived all her ideas as to enlightened government and the science of political economy from the outside. Once when Sze-ma-kiang (Wang-an-shih's great contemporary) was told that the fabled beast, known as the Ki-lin, the omen of national prosperity, had been brought to the land as a gift from a foreign potentate, he made the memorable reply that the Ki-lin did not need to be sent from abroad, seeing that it appears of itself whenever the land is well governed.

So it has been with ideas of reform in China. They have been nourished by age-long dwelling upon the virtues of the "model emperors," Yao and Shun; they have been enforced by many and many an example of dynasties going down to ruin through neglect of popular rights, of kings dethroned or slain for riding through the standing corn of their subjects, and, on the other hand, of rulers idolized and honored because of their willingness to bear the burdens and responsibilities of sovereignty even to the sacrifice of life itself. Again and again are these ideas emphasized and expounded by the great political economists of earlier days. Especially do they have behind them the almost paramount authority of Mencius, who waged vigorous and unceasing war against trusts and "corners," favored

⁴ The Chinese sages had a firm faith in administration. Cf. Legge: "He (Confucius) held that there was in men an adoption and readiness to be governed, which only needed to be taken advantage of in the proper way. There must be the right administrators, but given those, and the growth of government would be rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth." Also Faber: "Mencius is, like his master, simply a teacher of political economy. To him the state is the sum of all human endeavors, natural and civilized, working together as a united organization."

the taxation of idleness (i. e., of consumers who lived on wealth which had been amassed by others), and maintained that of these three things, "the gods, the sovereign and the people," the people came first, the gods second and the sovereign last of all.

There can be little doubt that Wang-an-shih was much indebted to his predecessors, however startling his reforms appeared to his contemporaries.⁵ The "dismal science" had always been popular and had produced, in the seventh century B. C., one of China's very greatest men, Kuan Chung, minister of the court of Ch'i, who held the theory that the ideal state must be self-contained, that it must be agricultural in order to exist in time of war, that it must be manufacturing in order to get wealth in time of peace, and much else that is interesting enough in its own place.

What were the particular reforms for which Wang-an-shih contended? The basis was the desire to create a state monopoly in agriculture, industry and commerce. "The state," he said, "should take the entire management of commerce, industry and agriculture into its own hands, with a view to succoring the working classes and preventing their being ground to the dust by the rich."

His plan involved, first of all, the establishment of new departments of the government to meet the extended system of administration. The soil had to be re-measured, divided into equal areas, graded according to its fertility without regard to the number of inhabitants in the area, in order that a new basis of taxation might be discovered.

Then the produce of each district had to be dealt with. It was no longer to be sent to the capital for sale "on behalf of the imperial exchequer," a system wasteful both to the government and to the district, but to be used in the three following ways. First, it was to be used for the payment of taxes; secondly, for the needs of the district in which it had been produced; thirdly, the remainder was to be sold to the imperial government, at as cheap a rate as was practicable, in order that the government might, at its own discretion, either hold it for a rise in price, or dispose of it for the relief of any districts that might be in danger of scarcity or famine.

For the determination of values tribunals were established in

⁵ Thus a writer in the *China Review*, hostile to the reformer (whom he calls "the infamous minister of the Sung dynasty), although he writes of "Wang-an-shih, the Innovator," yet confesses: "His so-called new laws were general not new at all, but in most cases merely the obsolete rules of past dynasties which had proved either too burdensome or too tyrannical to be borne any longer. These he amplified or altered to such an extent as to enable him to claim the credit of devising them for the reformation of the government."

the various provinces of the empire whose function it should be to regulate day by day the price of labor on the one hand and, on the other hand, the cost of food and merchandise. By means of these tribunals the general public was protected from the avarice of merchants and the tyranny of trusts.

Tribunals were furthermore established for the distribution of state aid to the farmers by a system of loans, on which interest had to be paid at the rate of 2% per month. Aid was also given in the form of seed which was distributed for the sowing of the waste lands. These were to be cultivated by those who otherwise would have been unemployed, and the sole condition seems to have been the obligation to repay out of the harvest the cost of the seed.

The poor, so far as was possible, were exempt from all taxation, but the pressure on the rich was made correspondingly severe. From the taxes collected large reserves of money were held by the state in order that provision might be made for old-age pensions, relief for the sick and needy, and support for the unemployed in "hard times."

Wang-an-shih's care for the social amelioration of the people of the Eighteen Provinces in times of peace did not blind him to the need of guaranteeing security from invasion from without on the part of a foreign foe. Some of his enactments for the purpose of providing an army in time of need, without withdrawing the people from their avocations in time of peace, are worthy of mention. For instance, it was ordered that every family which included more than two males must be bound, in time of imminent war, to furnish one who should serve as a soldier. Every family also was obliged to keep a horse, to ensure a supply of cavalry whenever required. As, however, the horse and his fodder were supplied by the government, the balance of advantage lay with the potential cavalryman.

It is impossible to describe in detail the fortunes of this gigantic struggle, the obstacles which had to be overcome, the suspicions allayed. Suffice it to say that for ten years Wang-an-shih remained in power and succeeded in maintaining the confidence of his emperor and his hold on the nation. It would be unfair to say that it broke down without achieving any good result. Sometimes men gain happiness in the very hope of social betterment, although the hope itself is bitterly belied. A famous Chinese general once encouraged an army, exhausted and fainting with thirst, by announcing that a little further on they would reach an orchard of plum trees, laden with luscious fruit. The promise had no grounds in reality, but the mention of plums made the mouths of the soldiers water to

such an extent that their thirst was relieved, and they continued their march. So possibly many a toil-worn, mandarin-ridden peasant found his thirst for social justice assuaged by the manifestly sincere attempt of the great councillor to give them "the square deal."

Moreover, if the experiment broke down, there are manifold reasons which may be assigned apart from those which are the condemnation of the entire policy. No doubt the failure is in part to be ascribed to Wang's own political inexperience. For instance, when he abolished all restrictions on the export of copper, the result was that "even the common copper *cash* were melted down and made into articles for sale and exportation." Wang met the panic, says Professor Giles, "by simply doubling the value of each *cash*." But, in all probability, the major part of his failure is to be ascribed to the strenuous opposition of his contemporaries. This opposition was not, it may be noted, solely from rival statesmen, out of office. Even the populace was stirred to hostility, in spite of the fact that the innovations were in their interest, because the *fung-shui*, or "luck" of the land seemed to be affected and an outraged Nature was pouring calamities upon the nation in the shape of flood, earthquake and eclipse. Occurrences such as these, common though they were in every period of Chinese history and under every regime, soon engaged the attention of the censors. In vain Wang adopted the scientific attitude and declared that these things were the result of fixed and invariable laws. "Do you desire," he demanded, "that nature should impose upon herself other laws just out of consideration for you?" Other matters contributed to the growing popular distrust. The advantage to the individual agriculturist was not so speedily obvious as had been expected; the militia enrollment pressed heavily on families which had grown accustomed rather to sudden compulsion than to continued preparedness; the responsibility entailed by the adoption of the "tithing" or "grouping" system, whereby each group of five households was made answerable for the misdeeds of any of its individual members, was unwelcome; all these things together gradually converted the enthusiasm of the proletariat into lukewarmness and hostility.

Popular doubts and hesitations, moreover, found able expression and powerful support in the leaders of the old political order which Wang-an-shih's accession to power had displaced. Among these were: Han K'i, notorious, as one famous Chinese story shows, for his self-sacrificing solicitude for the empire; Su She, who, on account of his opposition to Wang, fell into disgrace and was dismissed from office at the capital to a semi-exile as governor of

Hwang-chow; Wang-an-kwoh, the reformer's own brother, himself a celebrated scholar but an uncompromising antagonist of the new order; also Yang Che, the celebrated metaphysician and pupil of the two Chêngs. Greatest of all was the historian, poet and statesman Sze-ma-kiang, who had at first been blinded and dazzled by Wang's brilliant genius, but had gradually become convinced of the peril of his schemes.

The love of the past which distinguished Sze-ma-kiang was not overshadowed by any visions of a millennial future such as Wang had conjured up. Ever a fearless counsellor, he was not slow to join issue with what he believed to be the wild and mischievous tendencies of a degenerate age. His motto, says Remusat, was: "*Le premier devoir d'un censeur est de dire la vérité,*" and he lived up to this conviction most consistently. The contest was, to quote again the great French scholar, "*un combat à armes égales.*" It was one between "*le génie conservateur qui éternise la durée des empires et cet esprit d'innovation qui les ébranle.*"

For some ten years the victory had rested with Wang-an-shih, though it must be confessed, neither the emperor nor his minister showed any lack of generosity toward the deposed Sze-ma-kiang. Much against his will, but in obedience to a sense of fitness we cannot regret, he was appointed to the presidency of the Han-lin Academy. He protested that his opinions were out of sympathy with those then prevailing in the great university. "All the better," replied the emperor, "for either you will persuade the rest to think as you do, or else they will convince you to think as they do." Sze-ma-kiang went, however, reluctantly, and, as I have hinted, we have good reason to bless the sage emperor for his appointment, since it was during these years of comparative leisure that the historian produced his monumental work, one of the great histories of pre-Manchu times, "*The Comprehensive Mirror.*" He lived, moreover, to witness, in the whirligig of time, the downfall of his rival, and to accept, with equanimity be it said, his own reinstatement. The two great leaders, representatives of such opposite principles of government, died in the same year, A. D. 1086, leaving China the poorer for the loss of two noble and unselfish statesmen.

So the great social revolution from which great results had been expected, came apparently to nothing, and left as little trace upon the years that followed as the great religious revolution of Amen-hotep IV left upon the Egypt of the aftertime. Ruined by the inexperience of its administrators, by the impatience of those who were the objects of the reformer's care and by the rapacity of

the underlings and satellites who collected the interest and disbursed the aid of the state, the policy of Wang-an-shih was reversed with few able or willing to protest. The disfavor into which he fell at court was both revealed and concealed by his appointment as governor of Nan King, and although ere long he was reinstated in the capital, he died without seeing the pendulum of popular favor or royal patronage swing again towards him. He died, as we have said, A. D. 1086, disillusioned and disappointed, but, nevertheless, displaying to the end the self-possession and stoical calm of the true Chinese sage.⁶

Yet, less than twenty years after his death, in the year A. D. 1104, his tablet was set up in the Hall of Confucius and he was hailed as the greatest thinker China had produced since the time of Mencius. A century and a half later the tablet was removed and, during the troublous times that came on China with the ravages of Jenghiz Khan and his successors, there was little or no disposition to recall his memory. It is even said (the suggestion is that of the Abbé Huc, in a passage which I have always wished were fuller), that the devastating career of the great Mongol conqueror owed not a little to those unquiet spirits, the last remains of Wang-an-shih's reformers, who had left their native land and flocked to the banners of the scourge of Asia.

Whatever one may think of the statesman and the political economist, it seems to me that Wang-an-shih as a man passionate and persistent in the cause of social justice, deserves his little meed of mention to-day. We see him, it is to be remembered, principally through the eyes and writings of his professed rivals and enemies, but making all due allowance for misrepresentation, we see him much as he must have been. He was a frugal man, overconfident in his opinions and obstinate. We may agree that the soubriquet by which he was known—"the obstinate minister"—was in all likelihood well earned. He was also denounced as a dirty

⁶ For a fair summing up of Wang's career, see Du Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, VIII, p. 305: "Les historiens chinois me semblent perler avec trop de passion contre les nouveaux règlements de Quang-ngan-ché, surtout contre le prêt des grains au printemps qu'on devait rendre en automne avec un léger intérêt; ce règlement étoit favorable aux cultivateurs indigènes; et par-consequent très avantageux à l'état dont il augmentait les richesses; mais il devoit être odieux aux usuriers qui ne subsistent que du sang des malheureux, et peut-être sont ce les clameurs de ces sangsues qui ont animé beaucoup de grands contre ce plan économique; je remarque que ces grands décrient ce ministre sans apporter des raisons solides contre ses opérations; ils attaquent l'homme pour détruire l'ouvrage, ce qui masque assez le disette de leurs preuves contre son plan. Quang-ngan-ché à mon avis étoit un grand ministre, que les Chinois, attachés trop aveuglement à leurs anciens usages, n'ont pas s-çu connoître, et à qui ils ne rendent pas la justice qu'il meritoit."

man who did not wash his clothes. It is possible, even in China, but after all rival statesmen say worse things of one another to-day.

In any case, to use again the illustration from the Tun-huang oasis with which I began, am I wrong in thinking that we have here in the story of Wang-an-shih a long buried hammer (we will not say "big stick") with which a few blows may yet be struck as we march on—"on to the bound of the waste, on to the City of God"? Let us hope that the blows may be struck mainly in the cause of tent-pitching, though it is too true travelers have to strike camp as well as to pitch, if they would move on. At least, when each day's march is done, let us not be shelterless, for it is as uncomfortable to-day as it was two thousand years ago to be left to the mercy of the desert winds and the drifting sands.

THE PORTRAYAL OF CHRIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

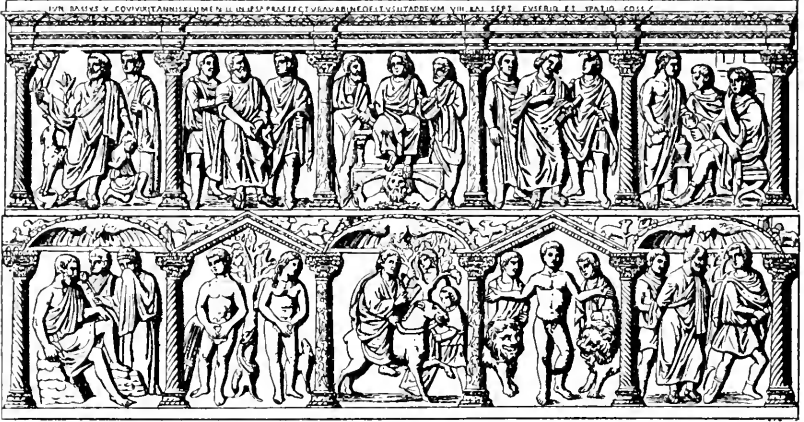
[CONTINUED FROM THE DECEMBER NUMBER.]

The pictures of Christ as Orpheus or as the good shepherd are not yet to be understood as portraits, but merely as symbols. While Christianity grew in power it broadened in spirit, so that the Christian prejudice against art as idolatry was lessened, and when paganism had practically disappeared the desire to have portraits of Christ could at last find unimpeded satisfaction.

The symbolic representation of Christ as the good shepherd is of special importance because from it developed the first conception of a portrait of Christ himself. The good shepherd became the prototype of a picture of Jesus simply by the omission of the lamb, and so some of the oldest attempts at portraying him in human form which originated in the middle of the fourth century show him as a beardless youth, a shepherd boy, as for instance on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, whose death is definitely determined by the inscription as having taken place in the year of the consuls Eusebius and Hypatius, 450 A. D.

Most of the scenes on the sarcophagus can be easily identified. Here, as in most of the Christ-representations of this type, Jesus can always be distinguished from other characters by the scroll he carries in his hand. In the center of the upper row Christ is enthroned between the apostles Peter and Paul. His feet rest on the personification of the vault of heaven. Underneath, Christ is passing from Jericho to Jerusalem. We see the head of Zacchæus in the sycamore tree among the branches, while some other person is spreading out a mantle on the pathway. To the right of this group we see Daniel in the lions' den, and to the left Adam and Eve after the fall. In the upper row in the left corner is the scene where Abraham is prevented from sacrificing Isaac, by his side the lamb which is to serve as a substitute. In the upper right-hand corner is Christ

offering to wash Peter's feet. The next niche seems to represent Christ on his way to Emmaus between the two disciples. In scenes



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF JUNIUS BASSUS.

In the Vatican.

of the passion, as for instance in the second group from the left in the upper row, Christ is bearded.



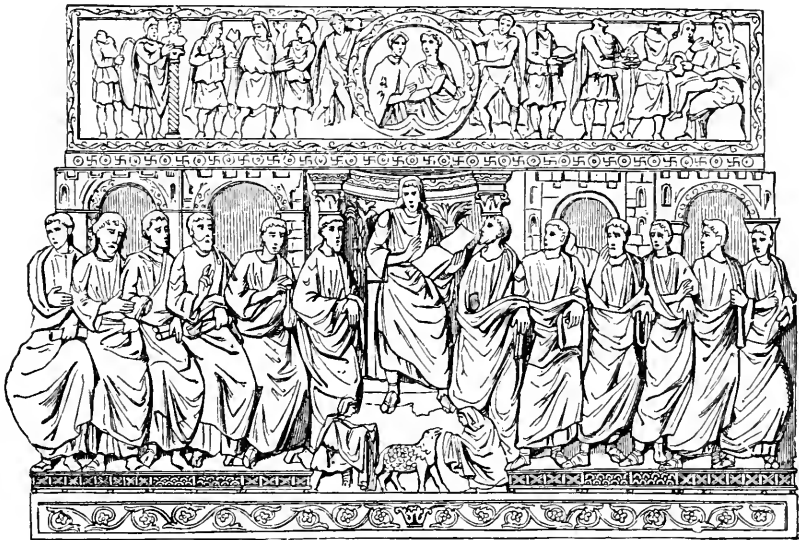
FRESCO FROM THE CATACOMB OF ST. CALLISTUS.

A fine fresco showing the youthful Christ in company with four saints has been discovered in the catacombs of St. Callistus and transferred to the Lateran. The saint on the extreme left

points to a star, presumably the star of Bethlehem. Christ holds a book in his left hand and a box with three scrolls stands at the left side of his throne. The picture shows too many traces of a later restoration and in this shape can scarcely be regarded as a true original.

A sarcophagus in the church of St. Ambrosius in Milan shows Christ enthroned in the midst of the twelve apostles who like himself are beardless and are clad in Roman tunics. In this relief he seems to be expounding from an open book which here takes the place of the more usual scroll.

On one relief on a sarcophagus of Arles, fully described by



THE SARCOPHAGUS IN ST. AMBROSIUS, MILAN.

the French archeologist Le Blant in his *Sarcophages d'Arles*, Christ with a scroll in his left hand again is represented seated in a teaching attitude, while his disciples crowd around listening to his words with marked attention, two being prostrate, and two in token of worship covering their faces with kerchiefs.

Such beardless Christs are preserved on many sarcophagi and elsewhere, and the type continues down to Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo's Last Judgment. Most of the apostles were represented as bearded men of rather advanced age, while the Christ of this conception always remains their junior and appears sometimes even as a youth after the fashion of the good shepherd.

One instance of many others portrays the youthful Christ in the act of handing the keys to St. Peter. It is shown in a relief on a small silver jug in the Vatican museum.

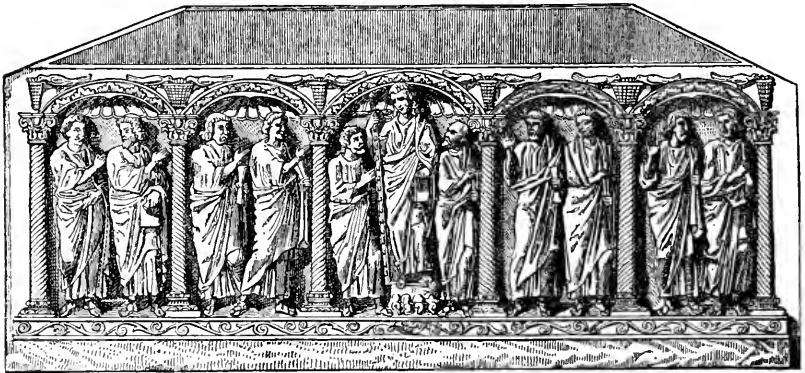


CHRIST WITH A SCROLL.
Relief on a Sarcophagus of Arles.



DELIVERING THE KEY TO ST. PETER.
Relief on a vessel after Bottari.

Among the sarcophagi in the Vatican, the one of Probus and Proba contains five niches. In the central one Christ is standing between Peter and Paul on a mount from which four streams of water proceed, while the other niches, all formed by arched columns,



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF PROBUS AND PROBA.
In the Vatican.

are filled with eight apostles, two in each niche. Christ himself is beardless, holding in his right hand a cross adorned with gems and in his left a scroll.

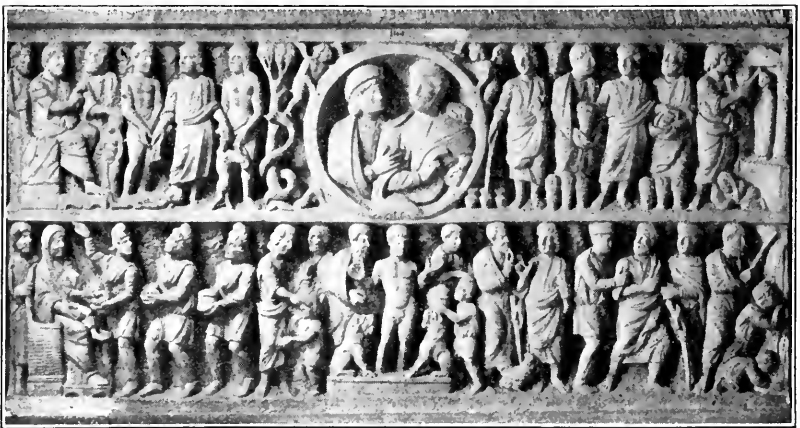
The Lateran possesses the richest collection of sarcophagi ex-



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SARCOPHAGUS OF THE TWO CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.
About 500 A. D. Lateran Museum.

hibiting Christ figures both bearded and not bearded, the latter being by far in the majority. The sarcophagus of two bearded men, presumably brothers, contains a number of scenes typical of early Christian thought, such as the resurrection of Lazarus, the denial of Peter indicated by the crowing cock, the sacrifice of Abraham, the washing of feet, Daniel in the lions' den, the healing of the blind, the miracle of feeding the multitudes, etc. The scene in the lower row on the left side may be Christ's discussion of the resurrection with the Sadducees, but we must confess that we do not understand the scene immediately beneath the portrait of the two men. It is noticeable that here Jesus is always portrayed as a youth.



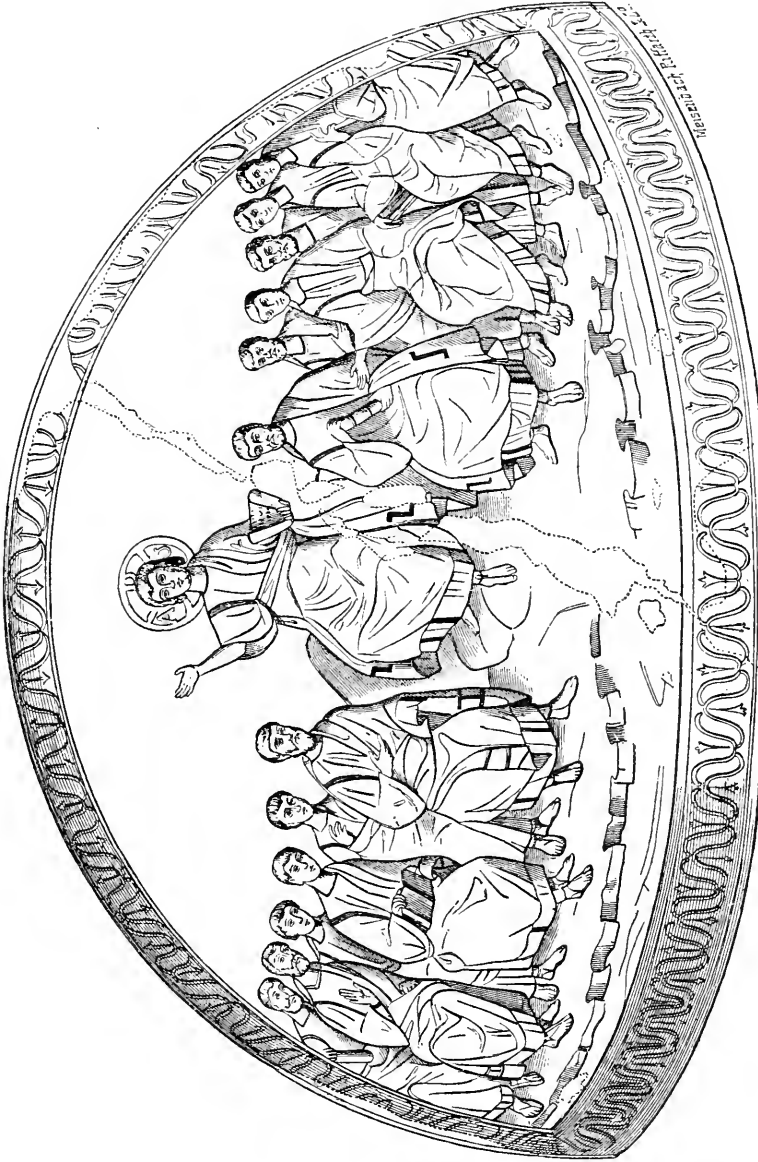
SARCOPHAGUS OF A CHRISTIAN COUPLE.
About 500. In the Lateran.

The sarcophagus of a Christian couple in the Lateran of the same period shows the Trinity as three bearded men creating Eve from the rib of Adam who lies asleep on the ground. But the lesson in offering a lamb as sacrifice is given to Adam and Eve by a beardless man, by Christ. Underneath are represented the adoration of the magi and Jesus healing a blind man. On the right of the upper row Christ changes water into wine, multiplies the loaves and fishes and calls Lazarus back to life. In the lower row Christ rebukes Peter for his denial and in all these scenes Christ is beardless like the lamb-bearing shepherd boy.

The same conception of a beardless Christ prevails also in many pictures and mosaics. Perhaps the grandest one is in the mosaic of St. Aquilinus in Milan, where the youthful Christ is enthroned

in the midst of the twelve apostles, most of whom are bearded and further advanced in years than the Christ himself.

Another youthful Christ is preserved in a terra-cotta medallion



CHRIST ENTHRONED AMONG THE DISCIPLES.
Mosaic in St. Aquilinus, Milan.

in the Biblioteca Barberiniana, which is the oldest representation extant of the last Judgment. Christ is enthroned with three apostles on either side. Below the throne are the multitudes hailing

him as the people of that age might greet a new emperor on his accession to power, but the Christian character of this piece of terra-cotta is assured by the christogram and the dotted cross engraved on stones lying at the right side of the throne.

In a niche on a sarcophagus in the Lateran we see represented an interesting scene which is called "Christ crowned with thorns." The figure of Christ is represented in the traditional style holding



THE LAST JUDGMENT.

Terra-cotta in the Biblioteca Barberiniana.

a scroll in his left hand, but here as with the good shepherd we possess the imitation of a pagan prototype. It resembles the scene of a Roman prince being greeted by the people or by his army with the title "Imperator" or "Cæsar" in recognition of some triumph and crowned with a wreath. The attitude of Christ is too peaceful and lordly to be regarded as suffering an outrage, and the soldier who holds the crown over his head is much too respectful to be considered

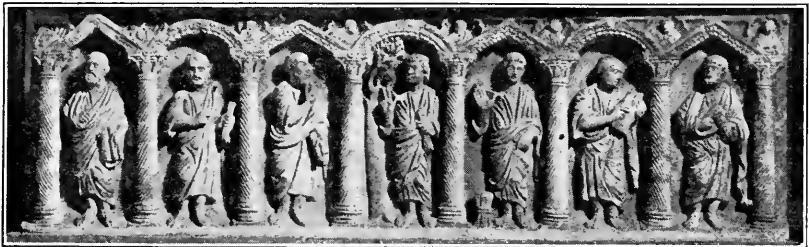
as doing an act of mockery. There is a similar scene on the triumphal column of Trajan where the emperor stands in exactly the same attitude while he is crowned by a Victory.

The beautiful sarcophagus of Perugia also represents Christ as



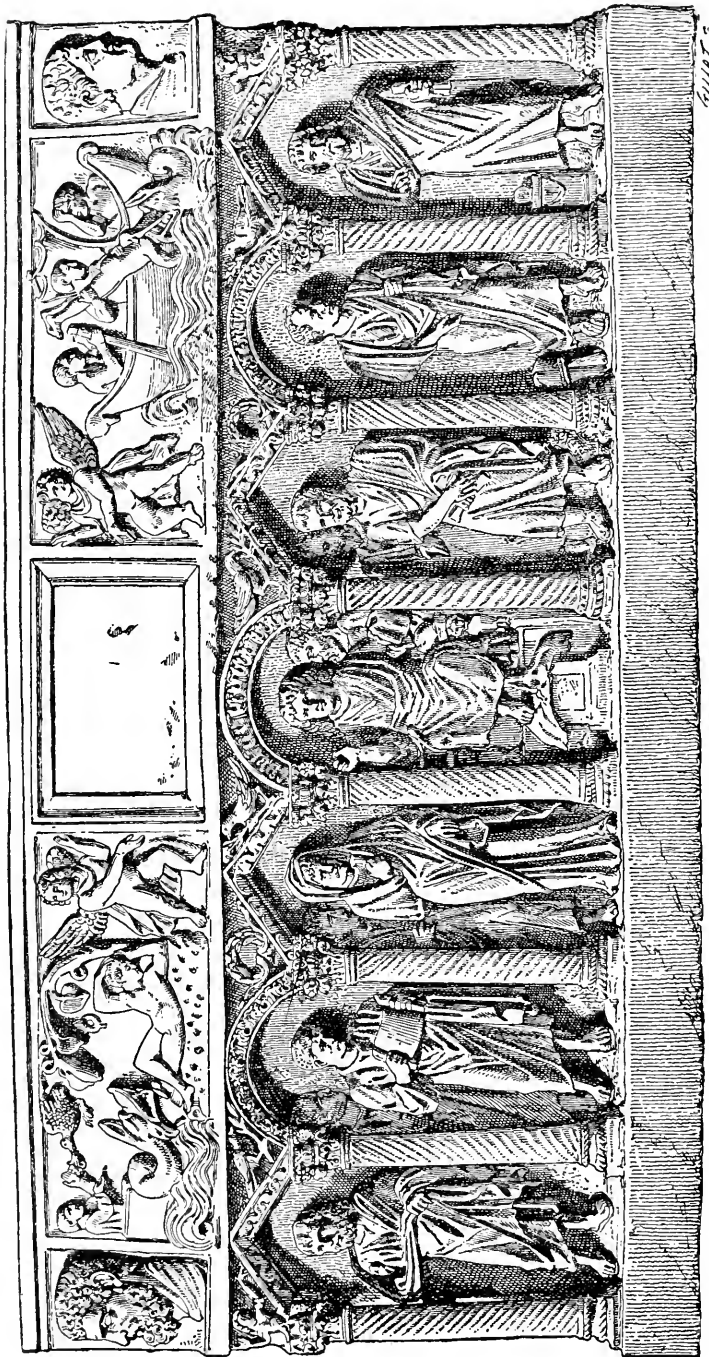
THE SO-CALLED CROWNING WITH THORNS.
From a sarcophagus in the Lateran.

a youth, but here the situation demands it, if the current interpretation is correct that the scene represents the child Jesus among the doctors in the temple at Jerusalem. If that be so we would be justified in identifying the two figures in the first niche on the right hand of Jesus with Mary and Joseph. The upper frieze of the



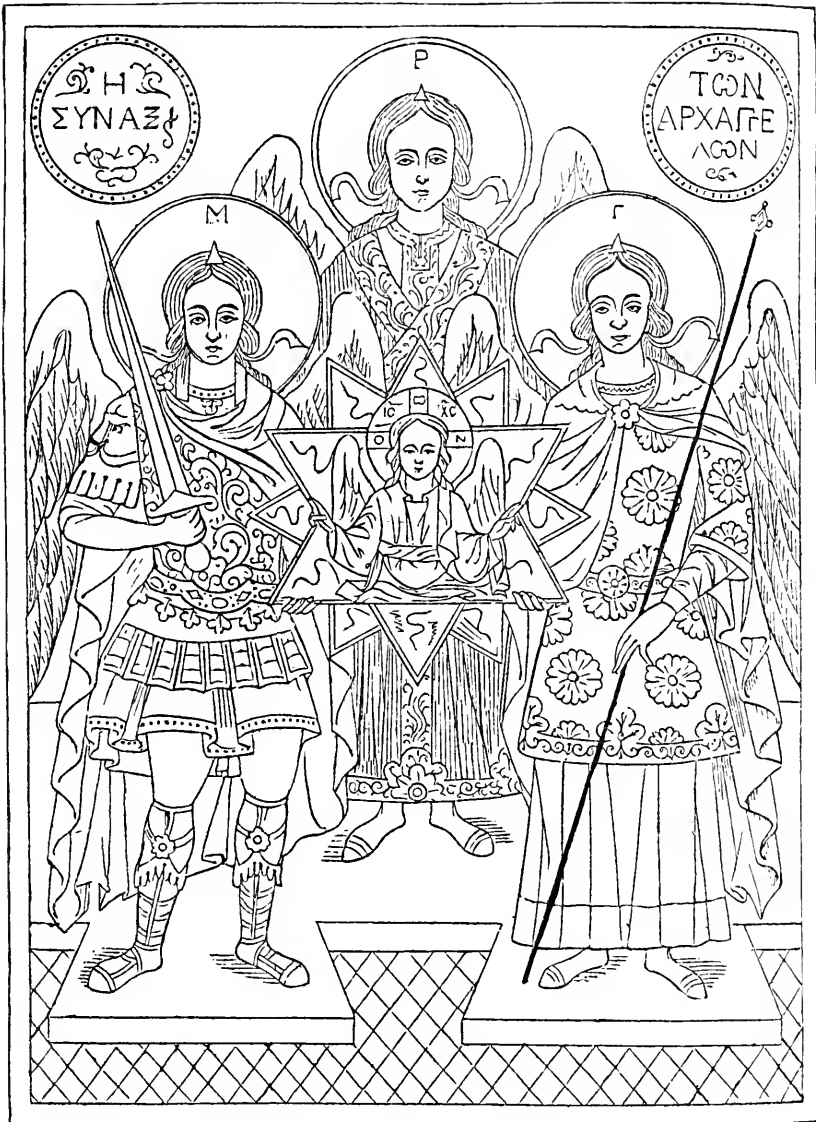
CHRIST PREDICTS PETER'S DENIAL.
Sarcophagus in the Lateran.

sarcophagus bears in the corners the portraits of the deceased couple for whom the sarcophagus was intended. Further we notice Noah in the ark receiving the dove with the olive branch, and scenes from the life of Jonah. The winged children are apparently cupids and



A SARCOPHAGUS FROM PERUGIA.

not angels, and bear witness to how long a time it took for pagan conceptions to die out.



AN EIKON OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

Quite similar in design is a sarcophagus of the Lateran which also shows seven niches of the same construction and presents the

beardless Christ in the center prophesying that Peter will thrice deny his master before the cock crows. The attitudes of Christ himself, of Peter who asserts that he will not be guilty of such an offence, of John's astonishment at the mere thought of a betrayal, are well expressed in spite of the awkward lack of proportion, especially in the hands of these three figures. (See page 33.)

A development similar to that of the Veronica idea, in so far as a picture is held by supporters in an attitude of displaying the emblem of their faith to the world, appears in some paintings of the Greek church. We here reproduce one of these in which the archangels hold up a picture of the youthful Christ in a twelve-pointed star formed by four intersecting triangles. Christianity has here become the emblem of the government of the state, for the three archangels represent the three functions of the administration. In the center Raphael as the representative of the church and the



CHRIST AS A HELMSMAN.

A tombstone at Spoleto.

clergy takes the most prominent place. On the left-hand side, standing on the right of the *eikon*, is Michael the representative of the military power, while the civil government represented by Gabriel supports the left side of the star. Here the Christ picture is not the suffering Christ in the Veronicas but is the idealized divinity, God's vicegerent on earth from whom the secular government derives all its power. The inscription reads in Greek, "The assembly of the archangels":

ἡ σύναξις τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων.

This picture is peculiar in one respect. It represents Christ with wings like an angel which is exceptional in Christian art.

The idea of representing the church as a ship suggested to Christian artists the conception of Christ as a helmsman, an idea which appears first in the third century as indicated by passages in Hippolytus (*De Antichristo*, Chap. 59) and in the Apostolic Consti-

tutions (Book II, Chapter 57). On a broken piece of a sarcophagus discovered in Spoleto we find Jesus seated at the helm, rudder in hand, while the evangelists ply the oars. Matthew is broken off, but Mark, Luke and John are identified by inscriptions. The face of Jesus is somewhat injured.



THE CHURCH AS A SHIP.
Mural painting in St. Callistus.

In a fresco in the catacomb of St. Callistus the pious man is standing on the prow of a ship; Jesus, emerging from the clouds in heaven, lays his right hand in protection on his head, while another man is struggling in the water. This obviously means that the faithful believer will be saved from shipwreck while the infidel is left without help at the mercy of the surges.⁷

⁷V. Schultze sees in this picture an illustration of Paul's shipwreck, but if that had been the artist's intention there would have been a crew on board the ship instead of but one man at the rudder, and the artist would have adhered more closely to the representation of other details. Possibly we are here confronted with an illustration of the Jonah story.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE JESUS AND THE BAPTIST: A REBUTTAL.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

IT would have been much more convenient and satisfactory for the reader, had this rejoinder followed immediately, in the same (Nov.) number of *The Open Court*; but the article of Mr. Kampmeier did not come to hand till this afternoon (Nov. 14, 1913). No other critic has defended the historicity with warmer zeal or keener weapons than has Mr. Kampmeier; it is not his fault if the defense has failed. In his latest article, as in one or two earlier ones, he urges the supposed relations of John the Baptist with the Jesus as evidence of the latter's historic reality. The argument does not come very clearly to view, but can hardly differ essentially from something like this:

Persons with whom in history an historical person is set in relations are themselves historical;

Jesus is such a person (being set in relations with the historical John the Baptist):

Therefore, Jesus is historical.

A material defect in this syllogism is that both the premises are false. It is quite common for purely divine beings to be figured in intimate relations with the strictly historical. Pindar assures us that both Artemis and Hermes joined Hiero of Syracuse with twin-handed help in yoking the strength of his steeds to the bridle-guided car; yet both were deities *pur sang*. Shamesh was the sun-god; no one, not even Shamesh himself, would claim that he was human or historical; yet on the famous stone he appears delivering a code of laws to the highly historical Hammurabi. Any one can multiply examples indefinitely.

Secondly, it is not correct that the Jesus appears *in history* in relations with historical characters. He is indeed persecuted by Herod and tried by Caiaphas and crucified by Pilate, but *not in history*. Such accounts are now generally admitted by critics to be feigned, at least in many or in most particulars, nor has any one

succeeded in adducing any single item of even high probability, one single detail that does not lie under the gravest suspicion. It is plain as possible that if *any* real connection could be shown to exist between *any* historical character or event and a human Jesus of Nazareth, then the question of the historicity would be settled finally and decisively. However, the very acutest and most learned defenders of the historicity, such as Noll and Peisker, such even as Schweitzer, admit that no such proof is possible, that the said historicity is at most probable only, while very many more concede that all proofs have thus far failed, even though they may still pray for "new and doughtier weapons" that "will have to be forged."

So much in general. More specifically, there is nothing known about the Baptist that implies any relation with a human Jesus. In fact, we know very little about the voice crying in the wilderness. The account in Josephus is vague to a degree (Ant. 18, 5, 2). It attests only that he was a preacher of righteousness and of baptism, that crowds flocked to him, that his influence was great, that the people seemed willing to do anything he might bid them, that Herod thought it wise to anticipate possible trouble by sending him as prisoner to Macherus, and there put him to death. Josephus is not always trustworthy, but there appears no good ground to discredit these statements, nor the preceding one that the Jews interpreted the defeat of Herod by Aretas as a punishment for his murder of the Baptist. On the other hand, the whole section *may* be an interpolation, for it may be removed without in the least disturbing the narrative.

Supposing it genuine and authentic, on passing to the New Testament we find there nothing about the Baptist that we can build on confidently. The accounts are all *tendenziös*, they betray distinct dogmatic interest, they were written for a purpose in general not hard to detect. In particular, it is well enough known and Volkmar has clearly shown, (even though Wohlenberg still shuts tight his eyes) that the celebrated paragraph in Mark (vi. 17-39) is simply an edifying fiction ("*aber eben nur eine Szene*," Wellhausen), involving the anachronism of putting the execution of John *after* instead of *before* Herod's marriage with Herodias, along with other absurdities, such as sending John to a fortress on the border of Aretas's dominion, and celebrating there a feast, *after* Herod's rupture with Aretas! In the presence of this specimen of evangelic dramatization, even in Mark, we dare not trust any such representations of the Baptist. That the accounts of his Baptism of Jesus are entirely fictive, though deep-thoughted, is unanswerably shown

in the profound work of Hermann Usener on *Das Weihnachtsfest* (pp. 38-71). Surely no one regards Matt. xi. 1-19, Luke vii. 18-35, as historic.

What then is left? All trace of connection between John and a human Jesus has vanished. We may still believe that the Baptist is correctly described by Josephus; that he preached a severer righteousness than perhaps any contemporary; that he baptized; nay more, that he was extremely popular and inclined towards Messianic agitation; and that he was first imprisoned, then executed, by Herod Antipas. It may very well have been that his movement had points of contact with the protochristian, and that after his death it was gradually absorbed in this latter, since many may have favored while some disfavored such absorption. The want of historic data does not allow us to reconstruct the course of events with much confidence.

That the Gospel historizers should have feigned points of attachment in the career of Jesus to that of the Baptist was natural and even inevitable. It was merely a manifestation of the historizing dramatizing tendency, at its maximum in the Fourth Gospel but also everywhere present and active in countless interpolations and addenda, from the birthstories in the Synoptics to single phrases like "born of woman" (Gal. iv. 4), or clauses like the second half of Rev. xi. 8 ("which is spiritually . . . crucified").

Still more specifically, the account in Acts xix. 1-7, even if it were historic, would hint naught about the historicity of the Jesus; it could not even prove that there were disciples of John in Ephesus. For they are *not* called disciples of *John*, but merely disciples, which elsewhere in Acts means also disciples of the Jesus, and it is by no means incredible that persons who had received John's baptism of repentance might yet have heard and accepted "the doctrine concerning the Jesus." However, there is good reason to question the authenticity of the incident. Weizsäcker long ago perceived that the "twelve men" are in all probability allegorical, standing for the apostles, who are here represented as not in the highest sense Christian till brought over to the Pauline view. Then the term "about" or "as if" (*ὡσεύ*) seems deliberately chosen to let in the light gently on the writer's meaning. He will not say openly "twelve," but "as if twelve," remembering Judas Iscariot and Matthias.

As to the case of Apollos, so far from being "a weak point" it has everywhere been recognized as a particularly strong point in the new criticism. Soltau concedes explicitly that "the things about the Jesus" (Acts xviii. 25) must mean the *Religionsanschau-*

ung, "the doctrine concerning the Jesus." Even Loisy admits that all attempts to explain away this datum are vain and that in its presence "one must avow that the original preaching took place under forms more various and conditions more complex than hitherto supposed." Clemen also can find no escape from the arguments in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (pp. 1-9) save in the assumption that the writer of Acts xviii. 24-25 did not know what he was talking about!

There is no need to add much to the original discussion in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*. That a roving missionary, like Apollos, "preaching accurately the doctrine of the Jesus," should have known of John's baptism need rouse no one's wonder; that he should know only of this baptism, hence nothing at all of Christian baptism (the central act demanded in the preaching both of Peter and of Paul in Acts) and hence apparently nothing at all of any such career of Jesus as seems to meet us in the gospels—it is this historical ignorance in a most zealous and eloquent preacher of "the doctrine of Jesus" that wars so stubbornly with the traditional theory of Christian origins.

The bulk of Mr. Kampmeier's article consists of an ingenious attempt to evade the argument for the multifocal origin of Christianity, drawn in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* from the practically simultaneous appearance of the new cult in so many remote and widely separated regions. He thinks the influence of Jesus may have been enormous, may have penetrated here, there, everywhere. But he seems to forget that such a notion in no way agrees with Acts or with the traditional view. The preaching of Peter, of Philip, of Paul has naught whatever to do with the teachings or the life of Jesus. They preach nothing "against the self-righteousness of his race," or "the external observance of the law," or "the rabbinical traditions," or the like. They preach Jesus Divine, Jesus the God, Christ and him crucified, risen and enthroned in heaven. Hence the strong words of Ananias (Acts ix. 18): "Brother Saul, the Lord (i. e., Jehovah) hath sent me, Jesus that appeared to thee in the way etc.," whereby *Jesus* is identified with *Jehovah*, which would have been unthinkable if Ananias had meant by Jesus a Galilean carpenter of whom he had heard.¹ For such a doctrine the way was not in the least prepared, nay, it would have been completely barred by any such reports that might have reached distant regions concerning a wise and benevolent carpenter of Nazareth. It can not be too

¹ Is it a mere coincidence that Saul is found on a street called *Straight*, in the house of *Judas*, by *Hananias*? The latter name seems the same in meaning as *Nazarya*, and was not Saul still in the *straight* path of *Judaism*?

strongly stressed that the primitive preaching has naught to do with the life or career or teaching of any such rabbi-carpenter, and that if it had turned on any such pivot it could never have made effective appeal to the Gentiles, it would have been the silliest twaddle and could at most have won only a few Jewish converts.

This, however, is not the worst of it, though in itself decisive. In addition it must be noted that by imagining the influence of Jesus to have been thus far-reaching before the tragedy in Jerusalem, one makes it doubly and trebly impossible to understand the absolute silence of history concerning him. If the fame of Jesus had thus filled the Roman empire, why do Josephus and Philo and the rest, why do all writers both pagan and Jewish fail to take any note of his existence, though expatiating on matters of infinitely less report and importance? Still more, why do the first preachers take no account of such far-famed life and teaching? Why do they mention not a single word or deed of such a conspicuous and renowned character?

Even this is not all, however. Nothing can be more ill-advised than to attempt to deduce the historicity of Jesus from the historicity of John. For there is practically no resemblance between the two in the scriptures or anywhere else, but only the sharpest contrast. If the Saviour was only a continuator and perfecter of the work of the Baptist, if the two were in any way related as Elijah and Elisha, or Moses and Joshua, or Æschylus and Euripides, then the whole New Testament representation, the whole of early Christianity becomes much less intelligible than ever before, the riddle becomes tenfold darker. Why should the career of the one be all miracle, the career of the other show nothing marvelous at all?

Nevertheless, one may still ask, do not the preaching of John and his Baptism stand in some relation to the Christian movement? Was not the Baptist in *some* sense a forerunner of the Saviour? We may grant that the two *movements* stood in some way related, though in what way it is not easy to determine. But it is only our knowledge of the historical conditions that is so defective; the relation might have existed under a hundred forms without ever implying an historical Jesus. Some vague conjectures, however, seem more probable than others. It appears that the Johannine movement was strictly Palestinian, if not strictly Judaic. Hence the scene is laid in Judea. We are not informed that it was ever conceived more widely or with reference to the Gentile world. It seems to have contained no pagan elements. Whereas by every token the Christian movement, "the doctrine of the Jesus," was born in the

Dispersion and from the start aimed at the salvation or conversion of the heathen world.

In fact, by its proclamation of "our God Jesus" as the "Son of God" it almost compromised with pagendom, it adapted itself to pagan forms of thought and expression. Hence Jesus is represented as starting on his career in Galilee of the Gentiles, as a great light arisen on the midnight gloom of heathendom. Hence he is represented as coming into Judea, that is, the new doctrine came from the Dispersion into contact with official Judaism represented by Judea and Jerusalem, and with the resultant world-tragedy first sketched in Heb. vi. 6: "crucifying for themselves the Son of God and making mock"; i. e., the doctrine of the Son of God was at first tolerated, then contemptuously rejected (crucifying = pillorying) and publicly ridiculed.

To speak of the entrance of a doctrine or cult of a deity as the coming of the deity himself is so natural and near-lying² that it is used even to this day. For example, Gilbert Murray in his *Four Stages of Greek Religion* repeatedly illustrates this usage. Note also the frequent use (especially in the Fourth Gospel) of the participle "coming" (ἐρχόμενος), as applied to Jesus. The reference must be to the gradual progress of a doctrine; it surely cannot refer to the practically instantaneous event of birth, of physical coming into the world. This idea tempts one to elaboration, but the temptation must be resisted.

Mr. Kampmeier can not find himself at home in the conception of Protochristianity as a militant monotheism. Perhaps because he gratuitously inserts the phrase "purely intellectual." But the militant monotheism of Protochristianity was far as possible from being "purely intellectual." It was intensely religious, it was earnestly ethical. It did make religion first, but it made morality a good second. Says the venerable and authoritative *Teaching*: "The way of life is this: First, thou shalt love the God that made thee; second, thy neighbor as thyself." Similarly in the New Testament and elsewhere. The Protochristians, especially in Western Asia, rightly regarded polytheism as the "mother of abominations"; to overthrow idolatry was to strike the strongest possible blow for morality and righteousness. Neither did such a crusade for universal pure God-worship in any wise war with the quest for personal purity, personal salvation, personal "redemption from evil and sin." But such personal yearning for salvation can never be the heart of a great mis-

² Cp. Vergil's "*inferretque deos Latio*," the introduction of the gods is the introduction of their worship.

sionary religion, like the Protochristian; it is quite too narrow and selfish. Moreover, it is very easy to exaggerate this personal desire beyond what is written. It does not appear conspicuous in the early Christians, not even in Paul, who is not seeking his own salvation from sin and evil, but the salvation of the Gentile from paganism and its attendant iniquities. The sin of the New Testament is primarily idolatry, secondarily its concomitant vices. All this seems evident on mere statement.

How these two elements are related is plainly to be seen in the *Shepherd* of Hermas, apparently the witness most favorable to the ordinary view, for the "Angel of Repentance" is the guardian angel of Hermas, whose ideal of morality is certainly high, whose aims and interests are intensely practical, and sometimes almost narrowly personal. Yet hear him in his first commandment: "First of all, believe that One is God, who the universe created and set in order, and brought from the non-being into being the universe, and all containeth, but alone is uncontainable. Believe then in him and fear him, and fearing have self-control. *These commands keep, and thou shalt cast off all iniquity from thyself and put on all virtue of righteousness and shalt live to God, if thou keep this injunction.*" It seems impossible to be more explicit or every way satisfying. Remember this is the only religious commandment of all the twelve of Hermas; the rest are purely moral. Hermas not only sums up religion completely in his sublime monotheism, but he regards the latter as the sole condition, necessary and sufficient, of perfect righteousness, of life unto God. Remember furthermore that this *Shepherd* issued from the heart of the early Roman Christian consciousness (A. D. 95-145); that it was directed unerringly to that same early consciousness; that it became a Christian *Vade mecum*, one of the most popular favorites for near 300 years; that it was frequently quoted by the greatest fathers, was considered inspired by some (as by Origen) and narrowly escaped canonization; that it never mentions the name Jesus, never the name Christ, never any single item of the whole evangelic story; that it declares "the law of God is the son of God now preached unto the ends of the earth"—and then say whether there can be any doubt that Protochristianity was a protest against idolatry, a crusade for monotheism. Says Dibelius of this contention (in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*): "This proposition Smith demonstrates first from the general movement of thought in the apologists—beyond doubt, correctly" (*zweifellos, mit Recht*). This assurance is made doubly sure by the witness of such authoritative

documents as this *Shepherd* of Hermas and the "Teaching of the Apostles to the Gentiles."

Mr. Kampmeier objects to explaining all of Christian origins at a single stroke. But who attempts it? On the contrary, I have many times insisted that manifold influences were at work, that the Proto-Christian hosts rallied under many banners, that there were frequent internal conflicts and contradictions, that the *Catholic* church emerged from a chaos of controversies as the *totalization*, the unification of many warring sects. The principle of unity was at first found in monotheism, in passionately earnest rejection of idolatry, in the zealous propaganda of the Jesus, the Christ, the one Saviour-God alike of Jew and of Greek. Much yet remains to be done, not so much towards proving as towards making these propositions clearer and more precise. In detail they will doubtless be greatly improved and conformed more and more closely to the truth as the discussion proceeds; but in general outline they have come definitely and to stay.

SAINTS AND SAINTHOOD.

BY PHILLIPS BARRY.

THE word "sainthood" connotes not a person, but an idea. As a conventionalized type of person, living a conventionalized type of life, the saint belongs not to history, but to faith. In this sense the conception of the saintly life, as embodied in the hagiological tradition of the church, has its clearly defined psychological background—an assumed dualism of matter and spirit, or natural and supernatural, with the necessary corollary of a moral order of the universe, however vaguely or sharply defined. It involves a notion of the subjection of the material to the spiritual, as of evil to good, and the view that the power of man amid the facts of earthly life is directly conditioned by the degree of approach by him, in kind of life, to unity with the personalized moral order. Without going too deeply into the more or less abstract philosophical speculations with regard to the nature of the deity, we may say that the common denominator of all definitions of the divine life is in the belief in the non-relativity of the divine principle to the natural life. Could one but live, it is held, in such a state of absolute non-relativity, the human and the divine in him would be united. As a matter of fact there have in all ages been persons in whom the reaction to the facts and conditions of earthly life was such as to give the impression that their lives were bounded by such a state of non-relativity. Collectively these persons form a type which constitutes the nucleus of the saint-complex. And as other types of abnormal¹ man—for instance, idiots, epileptics, insane and monsters—have received in the past their share of veneration paid by primitive credulity, so in the case of the saints honor has been rendered to the neuro-pathic type of disordered personality.

Historically, of course, it would be quite unfair to place in the

¹In this essay, the words "normal" and "abnormal" are used in the common and accepted biological sense of the terms.

category of the abnormal every person whom the church has seen fit to canonize. One has only to read the life of Bruno of Cologne to be convinced of this fact, and Bruno, possessed of a character as sterling as his mind was able and well-balanced, is not an isolated exception. Yet the composite picture of the life of sainthood that one gets from reading any number of works from the pens of busy hagiographers only serves to emphasize the fact that Bruno is the exception, and not the rule. In these accounts the saints live in a world whose atmosphere is that of a psychopathic clinic rather than that of the world of normal men and women. They are frequently pictured as morbidly self-analytical;² the records of a well-nigh universal practice of rigorous asceticism testify to nerve-degeneration manifesting itself in superficial or general anaesthesia. St. Wiborad, a contemporary of the great Ekkehard, was subject to visual and auditory hallucinations.³ St. Adelaide, the beatified consort of Emperor Otto I, suffered from attacks of psychic epilepsy.⁴ In a word, the hagiographic method, carrying out the idea of the moral dualism of matter and spirit, lays hold of, and brings into the foreground, such phenomena as the naive mind tends naturally to attribute to the influence of the higher, moral and spiritual element in the primitive conception of consciousness. Not that either in the popular mind or in the mind of the conventional hagiograph do these abnormal phenomena constitute sainthood in itself, rather are they felt to be incidents in, and evidences of a life elevated to a plane of non-relativity.⁵ The fact, however, that they have continued to be recorded and emphasized is witness to their historical presence in the instances out of which a literary tradition constructed the type of sainthood.

Man is, however, a practical being. Though he speculate ever

² St. Wiborad and her younger sister, typical examples of the saint-infant, shrink from childish pastimes as sinful. *Acta Sancti. Boll.*, 2 May, I, sect. 1, 2, p. 284). St. Adalbert of Prague, having unintentionally touched a girl-friend, forthwith tortured his young mind for supposed unchastity.

³ *Acta Sancti. Boll.*, 2 May, p. 284ff., 926 A. D. The younger sister of St. Wiborad shortly before her early death had an auditory hallucination in which she seemed to hear the songs of angels (*ibid.*, 2).

⁴ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLII, col. 983: "Quadam vero die... ipsa simulata intentione edentis, cultrum manu diutius tenuit, sicque non ad suam voluptatem convivium protraxit, cum subito colore faciei cum mentis habitu permutato, ferrum de manu super mensam cecidit, atque in hoc, non insolentiae notam accidisse, sed mira quaedam per divinam revelationem se sensisse, cum suspirio annotavit." Cf. also, *ibid.*, col. 984.

⁵ Their value as evidence dies hard. Ophthalmic migraine is still mistaken for theophany and psychic epilepsy for the visit of the soul to heaven. Most unsophisticated persons will mention only in awed whispers instances of glossolalia at revivals.

so much about things or ideas, their value for him remains in the last analysis conditioned by the use he may make of them. As religion originates not so much in the sense of dependence as in the instinct for power, the value attached to the spiritual life by its host of interpreters from St. Paul to Eucken has been intensely utilitarian. As exponents of the spiritual life, that is, of the life removed to a plane of non-relativity and unconditioned by the facts of common experience, the saints were held to possess powers from the use of which ordinary persons were excluded, and for this reason to be particularly worthy of veneration. Hence through the church with its hagiological tradition came the greatest and most enduring development of the conception of miracle. Simply stated, the notion of miracle is to define the case-type of events or acts in which the effect stands in no possible relation of physical nexus to the cause. This applies equally well to the definition of all such acts or events. As far as individual miracles are concerned we have no right to allow any thought of a definition in kind to color our criticism either of a miracle in the New Testament or of the latest alleged wonder-working in the grotto of Lourdes.⁶ That does not mean, however, that we are to remove the miracles, as events, so far from their environment in the life of the saints as to place them in the category of history, since their proper place is in the category of faith as part of a tradition.

Within the limits of the present essay, it is not possible to make more than a brief survey of a single period, to mark out the way for a more extended investigation. This period centers in the tenth century of our era. It is a period notable for the high incidence of hagiographic activity, especially on German soil. Conditions, as Zoepf has pointed out,⁷ were favorable to this high incidence. "Never with less joy was the coming of a new century awaited" than in the year 900.⁸ Crops failed, famine and pestilence ravaged the land, war added its horrors, and marauding heathen neighbors were ever a present menace. As the century went on, it came to be known as "the iron, for its hardness and unproductivity of good, the lead for the ugliness of its abundant evil, the dark, for its literary barrenness."⁹ It was characterized, moreover, by intellectual capacity and attainment of a low order; fit accompaniment for its ignorance was

⁶ Protestant apologists rally to defend scriptural miracles, but reject ecclesiastical miracles *in toto*, despite the fact that, to say the least, the latter, as events, are supported in many cases by much better evidence.

⁷ L. Zoepf, *Das Heiligenleben im zehnten Jahrhundert*.

⁸ Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, I, p. 166.

⁹ Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.*, ed. 1624, p. 649.

its trustful credulity. Saint-worship as revived on a large scale, was the natural issue of such antecedents,—the distress of the times, the credulity of the people, the vitality of the doctrine of moral dualism and its corollaries. From the point of view of the religious orders, at least, the cult of the saints was very profitable. One instance is known of a bitter “trade rivalry” between two hermitesses,¹⁰ nor is the other side of the picture unknown, as the maintenance of a very modern “trade agreement” between the cults of St. Verena and St. Ottilie shows.¹¹ And as saint-worship became the social reaction to the distress of the times, so the literary reaction to the sterility of the times was in the formation of a new strain of hagiological tradition.

In the first place, it is to be noted that the saint is represented as sacrosanct in person and in property.¹² The inviolability affected not only persons, whether their acts of sacrilege were intentional or innocent, but was held to extend to the elements as well. Fire, for instance, was believed not to harm anything that belonged to a saint. A lighted candle, left by a careless monk, fell upon a piece of tapestry covering the tomb of St. Ulrich, and burst into flame, yet, strange to say, the tapestry itself was not so much as scorched.¹³ Two versions of a story of the attempt of a band of Huns to burn the cell of a hermitess are recorded, the one as of St. Wiborad,¹⁴ the other as of St. Ida.¹⁵

More interesting, however, are the accounts of various acts of sacrilege and their consequences. These consequences were, as might have been expected, more serious when the sacrilege was in-

¹⁰ The hermitesses were St. Wiborad and one Cilia,—the latter, envious of St. Wiborad, experienced in time the justification of her fears that her business would be injured; reduced to obscurity, she was finally expelled. (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 298.)

¹¹ A woman, long barren, becomes, by favor of St. Ottilie, the mother of three daughters, and is told to go to St. Verena, if she wishes to have a son! (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 169.)

¹² This belief was doubtless exploited by the church, as a practical means of self-protection in troublous times.

¹³ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 457, i: “Custos advenit. . . tapetiumque sollicitè inspexit, si ab igne aliquid laedaretur, vestigium ignis de minimis micis cerci invenit, unum vero pilum in superficie et in latere sepulcri in tapetio exustum invenire non potuit.”

¹⁴ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 290: “Cum mansiunculam sanctae virginis exurere vellent, divina virtute flammae restinctae sunt.”

¹⁵ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, p. 264: “Ea tempestate qua Ungariorum gens detestanda ignicremis vaporibus cuncta devastavit, praefatum quoque sanctae Ydae oratorium nefanda legio adiit. . . Deinde in altiora scandentes focos nonnullos in laquearibus construxerunt, sed virtute Dei carbo sopitus nulla flammaram incrementa haurire luit, excepto quod raras quasque tabulas insidendo peredit.”

tentional. A band of robbers invaded the monastery founded by St. Pirmin, and took captive a number of the inmates, that they might torture them to death. One of the band scoffed at the prayers of the wretched monks, saying, "Pirmin knows not how to fight; a sword of wood, not of fire, carries he,—he sleeps, and wakes nevermore!"¹⁶ For this blasphemy, the robber was stricken blind and died.¹⁷ In the life of St. Ulrich, we are told of one who declared that the saint had no more power than a dog to work miracles, wherefore, losing forthwith his human speech, he began to growl and bark like a dog, and soon perished miserably.¹⁸ A certain knight robbed the poultry-house of a peasant, scorning the latter's plea for mercy "in the name of St. Adelaide," since, forsooth, he was "a live person, and the saint a dead one!" With the first taste of the stolen food he went mad and gnawed the flesh from his own arms.¹⁹ St. Ulrich, to anticipate somewhat the account of the healing-miracles, was much sought by victims of malignant fever, who left at the shrine, birch rods, evidently as symbols of the illness from which they had been healed.²⁰ A certain Eisenhart, having appropriated one of these rods as a walking-stick, fell ill of fever; a priest named Adalgar was stricken for a similar offence.²¹ Other persons, who used these rods to lean on, during divine service, likewise suffered from the fever, till finally nobody dared touch a single one of them, and the rods accumulated in the church till they became a nuisance.²² Similar examples might be multiplied indefinitely.²³

¹⁶ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Nov., II, p. 52: "Bellare Pirminius tuus nescit, lignum non igneum gladium habens, dormit, numquam vigilans."

¹⁷ A similar fate befell a band of robbers who set upon a company of the faithful while they were celebrating the natal day of their patron. (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, *ibid.*, p. 52: "Omnipotens Deus immisit hostibus profundissimam cecitatem.")

¹⁸ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 460: "Quid mihi prodest charitas illius Episcopi, quia ille signa facere non potest plusquam unus canis? Illo verbo emisso, diabolo concessus, loquelam hominis amisit, et more canis furendo sonare, coepit, et ganniendo atque latrando, parvo tempore evoluto, heu miserabiliter vitam finivit."

¹⁹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLII, col. 987: "Aves domesticas occidit, alienaque substantia fecit sibi praeprae cibaria. . . 'Ego,' inquit, 'vivus in hac nocte tui tuorumque dominor, Adalheida vero mortua, impotens est tibi praestare tutamina.'"

²⁰ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, pp 457-8.

²¹ Of Adalgar it is said, "invasit eum oscitatio et obripilatio cutis maxima, et omnia membra taedio occupata sunt,"—evidently a severe onset of malaria. (*Acta Sanct. Mab.*, *ibid.*, p. 458.)

²² *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 458: Nullus praesumebat vel minimum bacillum sine licentia inde auferre, et ideo tanta multitudo baculorum excrevit ut facile dinumerari non potuisset, nec sine impedimento in angulis ecclesiae collocari."

²³ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, p. 264: "Diabolicis tendiculis irretita, finitima rura deseruit, et ubi facile dignosci nequiverat, nefaria simulatione manum

Two notable anecdotes may be drawn from the hagiological tradition to attest the fact that the prerogatives as well as the person and estate of the saint were adjudged to be sacrosanct. The first of these is doubly interesting as showing that the malingering beggar is no new excrescence of modern city life. A certain woman, by name Eggu, whose right hand was withered and distorted, had a dream in which she was directed to offer up a wax model of her hand at the shrine of St. Ida. This being done, she was healed. Unwilling to work, however, she made her way to a locality where she was not known, and feigning still to suffer from the deformity of which she had been cured, imposed on the charity of strangers. Sacrilege such as this, according to the hagiograph, was not permitted to go unpunished—a return of the malingerer's former disability attested the anger of the outraged saint.²³ The interest connected with the second anecdote is in the evidence it gives that the prerogatives of the saints might be touched with a sanctity which would transcend all rights of property in their neighbors. St. Verena,²⁴ while a guest at the house of a certain priest, devoted herself to works of mercy in a leper-colony on the banks of the Rhine. To this end she freely availed herself of the stores in her host's larder and wine-room. A servant, however, informed against her, and with the priest, intercepted her in the act of carrying the stolen bread and wine to the lepers. On being questioned she said the wine-jar contained water for bathing her patients. The priest examined, and found a miracle had been wrought: the wine was turned to water.²⁵ Prostrating himself at her feet, the priest asked and received absolution from St. Verena; the servant, however, fell under the curse of violated sainthood. Paralysed and stricken blind, he became the ancestor of a stock of defectives.²⁶ In his family were recorded cases of blindness, mutism, crippling, paralysis, epimentitur uncan. . . Mox, recenti dono frustrata, in pristinum deformitatis statum, ut prius suapte, sic tunc redigitur coacte."

²³ St. Verena, in medieval hagiological tradition, is quite unhistorical, being one of the Theban legion, translated by folk-lore to Germany.

²⁵ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, pp. 166-7: "Et dum pariter irent venerunt in viam, ubi occurrit eis virgo Verena, portans panem et vinum in vasculo suo,—dixitque ad eam presbyter, 'ubi vis ambulare, et quid est quod portas in vasculo tuo?' Virgo Dei respondit, 'volo ambulare ad istos pauperes, et in isto vase est aqua et volo eis lavare pedes et capita.' Ait ei presbyter, 'volo probare utrum sit vinum aut aqua.' Et cum accepisset vasculum in manus suas vidit in eo carbones vivos iacentes, et statim in illa hora versus est vini rubor in pallorem aquee."

²⁶ *Ibid.*: "Sancta Virgo respondit. . . 'qui huc te duxit. . . non moriatur prius donec aliqua signa in corpore sustineat, et omnis generatio eius, antequam exierint de hoc mundo, aliqua signa in eis fiant. Et ipse servus. . . fuit cecus et paralyticus.'"

lepsy,—at least one grandson was a thief. Evidently, the story had its source in some effort to account for the origin of a family of defectives which had become a burden to the community.²⁷

As in the New Testament, so in the hagiographic tradition, the greater number of miracles are miracles of healing. Without going too deeply into the problem of the reality of miracles of healing, it may be stated that the common and accepted view of impartial critics in dealing with both scriptural and ecclesiastical tradition of healing miracles, is to admit the presence of a substratum of truth as a creative nucleus for the stories as they have come down to us. This substratum of truth is in the undoubted fact that the distressing minor symptoms of hysteria and neurasthenia, often closely simulating the symptoms of organic disease, are at least temporarily relievable by suggestion,—or, if not the symptoms, at least their accompanying phobias.²⁸ The popular mind, however, cannot discriminate between the false and the true symptoms of organic disease. Let a few hysterics or neurasthenics obtain relief from a “divine healer” or at the shrine of a saint, and an active folk-tradition needs no greater stimulus to change truth stranger than fiction into fiction stranger than truth. Thus into the literary tradition have passed many records of alleged healing of organic diseases by methods in which cause and effect were unrelated. For the purposes of this essay, however, the miracles of healing with which the hagiographic writings of the tenth century are filled, have a significance quite apart from their credibility as events.

In the first place, from the accounts of the alleged healings it is often possible to gather evidence as to the prevalence of certain types of organic as well as of functional diseases. A few items in this connection may be noted. Thus it has been observed that St. Adelaide was a victim of psychic epilepsy; moreover, St. Wiborad, who was neurotic and migrainous, had, according to one of her biographers,²⁹ had the disease in its typical form.³⁰ Typical epilepsy, however, was usually taken as evidence of demon-possession; ref-

²⁷ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 167: “Omnis generatio eius usque in hodiernum diem antequam diem huius vite finierint, aliquam laesionem sui corporis sustinent,—alius caecus, alius surdus, alius claudus, alius paralyticus, alius contractus, alius epilepticus.”

²⁸ Mutism is a frequent symptom of hysteria; the scotoma of ophthalmic migraine is at least as distressing to the patient as actual blindness.

²⁹ Hepidannus, who wrote about 1072, and drew partly from the earlier biography of St. Wiborada by Hartman, c927.

³⁰ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 304: “Faciem aliquantisper inclinans, gelido sopore fuso per artus, obdormivit.” The description *gelido sopore fuso*, clearly indicates the epileptic aura.

erences to the disease and its healing are quite numerous.³¹ In one case at least, the duration and severity of the symptoms indicate that the patient had *status epilepticus*.³² St. Cadroa, on one occasion, checked a severe attack of migraine with the sign of the cross.³³ Cases of paraplegia, described in unmistakable terms, are frequent.³⁴ St. Colman was credited with the cure of a man who "had an eye extruded by a swelling from its socket," probably a case of exophthalmic goitre.³⁵ Among the patients of St. Ulrich was a man who had a severe case of umbilical hernia.³⁶ The great Ekkehard was cured of dropsy by the simple means of covering his body with the sackcloth garment once worn by St. Wiborad.³⁷ Two of the miracles attributed to St. Ida are worthy of special notice. One of these was the healing of a woman suffering from dropsy, whose condition was such that she could only with difficulty pass through a doorway. Her recovery followed a night of prayer.³⁸ The other case was that of a man who suffered for ten years from unrelieved abscess of the middle ear, which caused headache and deafness. We are told that the abscess burst with a noise like the breaking of a dry stick and after a copious flow of pus the man recovered his hearing!³⁹

Furthermore, it is possible from the accounts of these miracles to learn something of the crude therapeutics of the period. Prayer and incubation were most consistently employed⁴⁰—sometimes the

³¹ See especially, "Vita S. Pirminii," *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Nov., II, pp. 33-45.

³² *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 15 Sept., V, p. 72 (Miracula S. Apri.): "Ferocissimo daemone invasus huc olim adductus est hora prima dominicae diei. Qui,—mirum dictu,—in pavimeno ecclesiae sese volutans, et ut fera manibus per illud reptans, clamore valido cuncta replens, luporum imitabatur ululatus, porcorum grunnitus, taurorum mugitus, serpentium sibilos, et stridores foricum,—hocque tormento se attrivit continuatim, usque ad lectionem Evangelicam publicae missae." *Status epilepticus* is the form of the disease in which a succession of fits occurs.

³³ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 491: "Qui cum fere in medio itineris oculum graviter dolere coepisset, ab eo signo crucis super se edito, dolorem mox sanus..."

³⁴ See esp. "Vita S. Idae," *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, pp. 265.

³⁵ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 13 Oct., VI, p. 361: "Vir quidam tanta infirmitate est correptus, ut uno oculorum eius in modum craterae extra locum tumore eiecto... a Beato Viro auxilium flagitavit."

³⁶ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 461: "Quidam pauper de oppido Affelterbach, Rudpret vocatus, . . . ilia sua de ventre prolapsa in loco umbilici, portans in sinu suo."

³⁷ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 294.

³⁸ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, p. 264.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 265: "Ecce dextera auris subito crepuit, veluti sarmentum torridum subito frangeretur, . . . a quo crepitu mox tabifluus de aure humor coepit emanare, totaque discessit sanies, donec venenoso liquore penitus egesto, redi-vivo rursus auditu donatur."

⁴⁰ See esp. "Vita S. Wiboradae," *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I.

saints in person executed cures by the sign of the cross. Sympathetic magic appears a custom recorded by the biographer of St. Ulrich, to the effect that fever patients made offerings of birch rods,⁴¹ also in the account of the malingering beggar whose disabled hand was restored by St. Ida, and in the record of the healing, at the shrine of the same saint, of the man with the ten years' abscess of the middle ear.⁴² Fetishism, too, played a certain part. As the estate and personal property of the saints was held sacrosanct, any article which a saint had touched might become a potent charm for healing. St. Wiborad's sackcloth shirt cured Ekkehard of dropsy; together with her walking-stick, it availed to save the life of one Kebinina, who in a fit fell into the fire and was severely burned.⁴³ Preserved as a precious relic, the comb of St. Wiborad also possessed healing powers,⁴⁴ and a splinter from her wooden bowl effected the cure of a desperate case of ulcerated teeth.⁴⁵ At the shrine of St. Evre, maniacs were said to have been restored to sanity through the use of a chain employed for that purpose by the saint himself.⁴⁶ In two instances, however, a primitive method in therapeutics had passed beyond the borderline of fetishism. A merchant of Zurich cured himself of blindness by touching his eyes with the dried blood of St. Wiborad, scraped by him from the wall on which it had spattered when she was martyred by the Huns.⁴⁷ More remarkable is the case of a widow who had mourned for her husband till she became blind. In a vision she was directed to find a stone jar in which St. Verena had carried water to bathe the lepers, and in which she had also washed the clothes of her patients. The widow washed her eyes with some of the water in this jar, and recovered her sight!⁴⁸ One cannot marvel, on reading such an account, that the popular demand for miracles of healing was large.

To the wisdom and cleverness of those who shaped the hagio-

⁴¹ See note 20.

⁴² *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 4 Sept., II, p. 165.

⁴³ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 308.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁴⁶ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 15 Sept., V, pp. 71, 78.

⁴⁷ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 290: "Quidam Turicini pagi mercator oculorum dolore graviter laborabat, ita ut tanta caecitate obtenebratus incederet, ut vix callem baculo regente teneret, . . . cultello parum quid sanguinolenti pulveris abradens, et linteolo, involvens, secum retinuit, . . . pulverem sanctificatum paene caecatis luminibus iniecit."

⁴⁸ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 173: "Est vas lapideum in quo infundens aquam calidam cum cinere mixtam, lavi capita leprosoꝝ, aliorumque vestimenta infirmoꝝ. Si ex illo laveris. . . visum habebis."

graphic tradition, the cult of the saints owed the means of turning to practical use the failures of the petitioners to get what they asked for. Though such failures must have been frequent, the fact that failures did occur, was taken as evidence, not to refute, but to attest the supernatural power inherent in sainthood. The age being one of deep-rooted, childlike credulity, it can readily be understood that the exploitation of this credulity would add to the influence, at least, of the religious orders which supported the shrines of individual saints. Evidences of such exploitation are scattered through the documents. In the life of St. Evre is a record of the experience of a blind man who secured permanent relief only after making an offering;⁴⁹ also of a servant-girl whose relapse, after being healed from blindness, was due to her master's refusal to permit her to take the veil, as she had vowed.⁵⁰ Reginsinda, a migrainous woman, who, having been cured at the shrine of St. Wiborad, failed, in accordance with her vow, to keep holy the saint's natal day, suffered an attack of the disease in its worst form, accompanied by fainting spells.⁵¹ Of trade-rivalries and trade-agreements, mention has already been made. In passing, an anecdote in the life of St. Verena may also be noted. A certain tenant of the estate of the saint, having moved away with his family to avoid the payment of rent, was summarily dealt with. Death overtook him and his wife, and their only surviving child, at the time the hagiograph wrote, was a profound idiot, totally paralysed and deaf-mute.⁵² Thus, though the tradition aimed to disclose the merits of the saints with respect to the community, it was more intimately concerned with maintaining the cult as a source of income.

And as the person and estate of sainthood was held to be sacrosanct, so, locally at least, the natal day of some saints was to be kept unprofaned by labor. In the life of St. Ulrich, a man who on the saint's natal day went into the field and stacked hay found afterwards that every stack was reduced to ashes, save for what rested

⁴⁹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 15 Sept., V, p. 70.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71: "Lumen meruisset recipere, se ipsam servitutam eidem delegavit. Sed reversa ad priorem dominum, . . . ad illius violenter redacta servitium, mox pristinae caecitatis incommodum dolenter perpessa est."

⁵¹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 292: "Nec mora doloribus capitis antea sibi valde notis stimulata cecidit, stratumque causa huius infirmitatis veluti oblivioni traditum per vim requisivit."

⁵² *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 172: "Nam ipse et eius coniugata defuncti sunt ambo, morte inspirata. Procreatio autem eius, quae nunc superest, patitur paralysim, cunctorum carens officio membrorum, nisi tantum habens visum oculorum."

on the outside.⁵³ A peasant who stowed hay on St. Verena's day, was cursed by the priests, and went insane.⁵⁴ Another rustic, who profaned the day of dedication of a church to St. Verena by cutting wood, had his axe cleave to his hand, so that he could not drop it.⁵⁵ A variation of this latter theme is in the story of a murderer to whose shoulders the corpse of his victim was fixed, and whose companion's sword clove to his hand as he tried to cut away the ghastly burden.⁵⁶

Lastly, folk-lore elements constitute a certain part of the hagiological tradition. The well-known myth of the expulsion of snakes from a holy place, familiar from the legend of St. Patrick, is found also in the lives of St. Pirmin,⁵⁷ and St. Verena.⁵⁸ St. Kunigund hangs her glove on a sunbeam;⁵⁹ St. Pirmin's walking-stick, unsupported, remains standing where he left it.⁶⁰ Fennel, planted on the grave of St. Wiborad by her brother, the monk Hitto, blooms all winter long.⁶¹ A saint's presence is indicated by a sweet odor.⁶² The stolen ring of St. Verena was recovered from the belly of a fish that swallowed it when the thief cast it into the river.⁶³ Similar examples might be recorded indefinitely—the unstandardized resi-

⁵³ *Acta Sanct. Mab.*, VII, p. 464: "Exterius formosam invenit,—cum autem bidenti ligno interius tangeret, totum in favillas immutatum invenit."

⁵⁴ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 172: "Villanus quidem diem sollemnem sanctae Verenae dignis feriis noluit observare, sed abiit ad proprium pratulum, volens foenum aridum evertere de loco in locum. . . Maledixerunt ei presbyteri, . . . ille autem miser, sex vicibus cecidit, lunatice in terram cadens, stomachi coepit."

⁵⁵ "Rusticus quidem, cum in dedicationis die eiusdem ecclesiae ad colligenda ligna abscondendo silvam intraret, manubrium quod tenebat manu, firmiter adhaerebat." (*Ibid.*, 15.)

⁵⁶ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 25 Feb., III, 531-2.

⁵⁷ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Nov., II, p. 36.

⁵⁸ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 165.

⁵⁹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Mar., I, p. 275: "Dexteræ manus suæ chirothecam detrahens. . . a se reiecit, quam radius solis, per fenestras rimulas intrans suscepit, et tamdiu quasi famulando sustinuit."

⁶⁰ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Nov., II, p. 36: "Sanctus Pirminius. . . baculum suum, nulli materiae acclinem in limpido erectum statuit pavimento."

⁶¹ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 291: "Hitto, viridis foeniculi germen circa tumulum eius fixit quod dispensante gratia divina radicem figens terrae per totam hiemem floruit."

⁶² In the case of St. Wiborad, *Acto Sanct. Boll.*, 2 May, I, p. 291), and of St. Verena, (*ibid.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 167).

⁶³ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Sept., I, p. 167: "Piscem ipsum quoque cum ceteris obtulerunt sancto presbytero. . . visceribus erutis invenerunt anulum in intestinis eius. . . O mirum modum! Quis umquam vidit ista, aut quis audivit talia? O fidelis piscis, qui mavult mori, quam quod non redderetur thesaurus virgini! O animal irrationale multo fidelius animali rationale, scilicet homini!" The person who stole the ring was of a family of defectives,—grandson of the servant who informed against St. Verena, concerning the wine she took from her host's store, to give to the lepers. (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 167.)

due of certain elements of the popular religion which ever remains much the same. Two cases, however, may be cited, in which actual myth-making sought to account, in the one instance, for a birthmark, in the other for malformed eyes. Thus it is told that St. Kunigund had a disciple of whom she was very fond, a pious young woman who lapsed to the ways of the world, giving herself up to feasting and dancing. Good advice, rebukes, threats, availed nothing. Finally, when on one occasion St. Kunigund found her at a banquet, she slapped her face, and left thereon the marks of her fingers which never faded away.⁶⁴ In the life of St. Adelaide is the story of a man who, suspected of horse-stealing and convicted on circumstantial evidence, was punished by having his eyes put out. Through favor of the saint he recovered his vision, but for the rest of his life showed the marks of mutilation in the form of fissures in the iris of the eyes.⁶⁵ It is obvious that the man had *coloboma*, a congenital malformation of the eyes; the hagiograph records an interesting, if absurd, bit of folk-anatomy.

⁶⁴ *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 3 Mar., I, p. 275: "Zelo pietatis armata, cum verbo correptionis dextera maxillam eius percussit, quae quasi sigillum quoddam formam digitorum eius accepit, qua omni tempore vitae suae non caruit."

⁶⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. CXLII, col. 988: "Qui dum per sylvam iter haberet quae rustico vocabulo nuncupatur Biwalt, (Bienwald) forte ab equo imptu pascente usque ad oppidum Saiense comitatus est. Quam ob rem, apud quendam polentem, nomine Hinnonem furti accusatus est, qui eodem tempore cum praedicto imperatore Heinrico illuc venerat. Ille de incertis, certam sententiam prope-rans, iussit hominem miseris modis flagellari, spoliari, excaecari. Mox advena caecatus, levans ad caelum mentem et manus, 'si ego' ait, 'furti dolique innocens immerito tanta mala perpeusus sum, tu, sancta Adalheida, redde mihi tuis precibus et meritis visum.' Post haec cuiusdam viri nomine Bennonis domo et cura receptus, post paucos dies lenito dolore ad pretiosi thesauri thecam accessit, testificansque suam innocentiam, oculorum sanitatem recepit. Idem tamen, medietate oculorum pupillae divisa verae caecitatis postmodum ostendit vestigia."

MISCELLANEOUS.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE ORIENT.

BY B. K. ROY.

The Vitality of Hindu Civilization.

Are the ancient spiritual ideals of the East worth preserving? Are the modern material ideals of the West worth continuing? Are there any basic differences in the ideals of both? These are the questions that are agitating the minds of the thoughtful thinkers of both the East and the West.

Promotho Nath Bose, the noted author of *Hindu Civilization under British Rule*, has just come out with a new volume on the *Epochs of Civilisation*, in which he tries to analyze some of these ideals. The book has not reached us yet, but we find a synopsis of its salient parts in an article on "The Vitality of Hindu Civilization" by "A Bengali Brahmin," in the November *Modern Review* of Calcutta.

The Brahmin in summarizing the divisions of epochs as given by Mr. Bose writes:

"The history of human progress may be divided into three epochs. The first epoch (B. C. 6000 to 2000) comprises the history of the earlier civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia and China. The second epoch (about B. C. 2000 to 700 A. D.) comprises the later civilizations of Egypt and China, and the civilizations of India, Greece, Rome, Assyria, Phenicia and Persia. We are living in the third epoch, which commenced about 700 A. D. The most important fact of this third epoch is the rise and progress of Western civilization. Every epoch of civilization may be divided into three stages. In the first stage matter dominates the spirit, military prowess calls forth the greatest admiration, culture being related to the gratification of the senses, takes the form of the fine arts. The second stage is characterized by intellectual development. It is the age of reason, of science and philosophy, and militarism is on the decline. The third or final stage is the stage of spiritual development. Then 'the society is characterized more by harmony than by mobility.'"

As a rejoinder to the short-sighted supporters of the supposed superiority of the West, Mr. Bose is quoted as saying:

"It may be urged by an observer whose vision is not bedimmed by the glamour of western civilization, that if the ancient sages counseled retirement from strife and stress of material advancement, so far as practicable, to those who were particularly desirous of spiritual progress, especially at an advanced age, it was because the greater and the more arduous battle of such progress

might be fought more energetically and more efficiently, because they held with Buddha that—

“One may conquer a thousand men in battle
But he who conquers himself is the greatest victor.’

“The western nations are ‘playing the man,’ ‘to strive, to seek, to find.’ But the question naturally obtrudes itself, to find what? A spectator from the Oriental point of view may well ask: Of what avail is the victory of the western ‘grown man,’ which is achieved not by love, mercy or self-sacrifice, but the path to which lies over the misery of countless fellow creatures in all quarters of the globe, and which does not secure the tranquility and beatitude begotten of righteousness and concord, but brings in Sisyphean misery and disquiet engendered by unsatisfied desire, insatiable greed, and perpetual discord?”

To substantiate this argument of Mr. Bose, the modern Brahmin quotes passages from Tolstoy, Guizot, Browning, Spencer and Kidd. He might add here a few sentences from the recent utterances of Ex-President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard.

But Mr. Bose has a heroic hope in the future of western civilization, and believes that the third stage is bound to come to the West, but is afraid that it will not come before the very close of the present century and “When that consummation takes place, the evil tendencies of western industrialism would be repressed, but the foundation of international amity it has laid by bringing together all the races of the world would be strengthened, and there would arise, broad-based upon it, a fabric of civilization grander and more majestic than any the world has witnessed as yet.”

“The Hindus,” says Mr. Bose, “survived the loss of their political independence; and the survival is attributable to their moral and spiritual culture, which inspired them with sufficient courage to resist their conversion either by the sword or the allurements of material advancement. Hindu culture not only presented an impenetrable front of opposition to the disintegrating influences of Mohammedan invasion, but also in the course of time captured the Moslem mind and largely influenced Moslem culture and Moslem administration.”

The reason, to speak in the words of Mr. Jayaswal, is that “The Hindu is not a fossil. . . . The golden age of his polity lies not in the past but in the future. His modern history begins in the sixteenth century when Vaishnavism preached the equality of all men, when the Sudra—the helot of the ancient Hindu—preached shoulder to shoulder with the Brahmin who welcomed and encouraged it, when the God of the Hindu was for the first time worshiped with hymns composed by a Mohammedan, when Ramdas declared that man is free and he cannot be subjected by force, and when the Brahmin accepted the leadership of the Sudra in attempting to found a Hindu state. The Reformation of the Hindu has come. But a force which is greater still is also coming.”

Gleanings from “The Gardener.”

Mr. Rabindranath Tagore has just been awarded the Nobel prize for idealistic literature. He deserves it and ought to have received it long before. But Tagore was not known. He translated his *Gitanjali* in 1912; and he receives this international honor in 1913. That is what knowledge does with impartial tribunals.

Shortly after the *Gitanjali* appears *The Gardener*, a volume containing eighty-five lyrics of love and life—written in his younger days. Instead of mysticism, as in *Gitanjali*, here we find romanticism. Here Byron, Shelley and Omar Khayyam have combined, as it were, to make this volume romantic indeed:

LOVE AS SIMPLE AS A SONG.

“Hands cling to hands and eyes linger on eyes: thus begins the record of our hearts.

It is the moon-lit night of March; the sweet smell of *henna* is in the air; my flute lies on the earth neglected and your garland of flowers is unfinished. This love between you and me is simple as a song.

“Your veil of saffron color makes my eyes drunk.

The jasmine wreath that you wove me thrills to my heart like praise.

It is a game of giving and withholding, revealing and screening again; some smiles and some little shyness, and some sweet useless struggles.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.

“No mystery beyond the present; no striving for the impossible; no shadow behind the charm; no groping in the depth of the dark.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.

“We do not stray out of all words into the ever silent; we do not raise our hands to the void for things beyond hope.

It is enough that we give and we get.

We have not crushed the joy to the utmost to wring from it the wine of pain.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.”

GET DRUNK AND GO TO THE DOGS.

“O mad, superbly drunk;

If you kick open your doors and play the fool in public;

If you empty your bag in a night and snap your fingers at prudence;

If you walk in curious paths and play with useless things;

Reck not rhyme or reason;

If unfurling your sails before the storm you snap the rudder in two,

Then I will follow you, comrade, and be drunken and go to the dogs.

“I have wasted my days and nights in the company of steady wise neighbors.

Much knowing has turned my hair gray, and much watching has made my sight dim.

For years I have gathered and heaped up scraps and fragments of things: Crush them and dance upon them, and scatter them all to the winds.

For I know it is the height of wisdom to be drunken and go to the dogs.

.

“I swear to surrender this moment all claims to the ranks of the decent.

I let go my pride of learning and judgment of right and of wrong.

I will shatter memory's vessel, scattering the last drop of tears.

With the foam of the berry-red wine I will bathe and brighten my laughter.
 The badge of the cavil and staid I will tear into shreds for the nonce.
 I will take the holy vow to be worthless, to be drunken and go to the dogs."

AN APPEAL TO THE BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF DR. W. B. SMITH.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

Dr. Smith appeals (*Open Court*, 1913, p. 699) to "the open-minded reader to consider carefully" the accounts from Hegesippus and Clemens Alexandrinus in Eusebius on James the Just. All "open-minded" readers, on the contrary, will appeal to the better knowledge of Dr. Smith, that the church-fathers in the interest of the perpetual virginity of Mary, and to do away with the hard facts of the Synoptics, that she had other children besides Jesus, quite early declared the brothers of Jesus to be either sons of Joseph by a former marriage or cousins of Jesus, sons of Alphaeus and a sister of Mary, the latter on the basis of a very equivocal passage (xix. 25) of the Fourth Gospel. For while Matthew and Mark represent the three women, Mary the Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the Less, and Salome, as viewing the crucified Jesus from *afar*, the unhistorical speculative Fourth Gospel in flat contradiction says: "There stood *beside* the cross Mary the mother of Jesus and her sister, Mary the wife of Clopas (i. e., Alphaeus) and Mary the Magdalene." This passage has been understood in two ways, the one assuming that four women are meant, the other that "Mary wife of Clopas" stands in apposition to "her sister." The early Syrian translation of the New Testament already understood it in the first way.

Even if the church-fathers with their dogmatical and otherwise very doubtful basis were right in their assumptions, they would not help Dr. Smith a whit unless he insists that the assumed half-brothers and cousins of Jesus must be taken symbolically also in this case, spiritual half-brothers, what that may mean, and spiritual cousins. If Dr. Smith is right here also, let us be thankful that after an ignorance lasting from the composition of the New Testament in regard to the brothers, whether half-brothers or cousins of Jesus, till up to our times, we have finally come to the right insight through the labors of Dr. Smith.

LAOTOPATI'S SACRIFICE.

[NOTE.—The following version of a legend from the "Classic of the Thousand Buddhas" is offered as a slight but interesting contribution to the story of Chinese Buddhism. The thousand kings, profiting by the lesson of Laotopati, repented of their want of faith, and after due penance performed for a kalpa or two were promised Buddhahood in their turn. The account is of course legendary, and in view of the modern rehabilitation of Buddhism, involving the recognition therein of much that is fine, much that is wholesome and logical and truly spiritual, it may as well be recorded that the story is not accepted as other than imaginative either by *The Open Court* or by the translator. The latter must however confess to a good deal of appreciation for the wonderful idea of self-sacrifice that runs through the poem, finding expression in a great act, which, if it arouses horror in many, will not fail to awaken in some minds a measure of admiration. The concept in itself

is the greatest that humanity has discovered, and every manifestation of it touches and moves the heart as nothing else does.]

A BUDDHIST LEGEND, TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE BY JAMES BLACK.

'Tis Self that you must utterly destroy,
All will and all desire, and every joy
The body yields, and welcome every pain:
Failing wherein, no Buddhahood you gain.

"Remember," Buddha said, "the thousand kings
Who heard the word that Laotopati preached,
And hearing, straight laid down the regal power
And built them cabins in the wilderness,
Where they might search with him into the Law,
And seek the Way above all other ways.

"To them, one day, a hungry yakcha came,
And asked for food, and him they set before
Water and fruit, the fare by which they lived,
'Twas all these kings had then to give a guest.
'Water and fruit for me,' the yakcha cried
In anger, 'not such fare a yakcha needs.
My father lived upon the hearts of men,
My mother slaked her thirst in human blood,
And I the self-same meat and drink must have.'
Such hunger and such thirst the kings aghast
Denied the wherewithal to satisfy.

"Then burst the yakcha's loud reproaches forth,
'Oh kings, who live not by the vows you made,
And following charity, refuse this boon,
To Wisdom surely you have not attained,
Knowing not that from Self all ills begin,
And he alone is to be called a sage
Who Self in all its shapes can sacrifice.'
But Laotopati to the yakcha said,
'Behold, I give you my own heart and blood.'

"Thereon, the genius of the land appeared,
And cried, 'Oh Laotopati, yield not thus
Your life unto this bloody monster's greed,
But share the sacrifice you make with us,
The spirits of the mountains and the woods.'

"Then Laotopati sang before he died,
'This life is but a spark's illusory light,
Scarce seen till it is swallowed in the night.
This life is but a voice that seems to call
From out the Silence's enshrouding pall.

'This mingling of the elements that make us,
How short a journey will its vigor take us.

Though time's long cycled years afar may run,
The Law is Death, the goal is quickly won.

'And for the Law's sake now I freely leave
This life. My body and my blood I give.
I would not save my life to lose the Light,
For losing life, I win to Wisdom's height.

'And should this offering raise me to the seat
Of Buddha, then with pitying purpose meet,
Mine shall it be to help you, Oh my friends,
To walk the way that in Nirvana ends.'

"Then Laotopati laid him on the ground,
And pierced his throat to give the yakcha blood,
And from his bosom yielded up his heart,
Whereat the stricken earth in terror shook,
The sun was veiled before a sight so dire,
And thunder pealed around a cloudless sky.
Four other yakchas hastened to the spot
And there devoured the body of the Saint.
Which done, they rose and circled in the air,
Thus crying to the thousand waiting kings,
'With Laotopati, how can you compare,
For his the last, the noblest sacrifice,
By which alone is Buddhahood attained.'"

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LES ETATS-UNIS D'AMERIQUE. Par *D'Estournelles de Constant*. Paris: Colin, 1913. Pages 536. Price 5 fr.

M. d'Estournelles de Constant is a prominent figure of international significance. He has been one of the most active representatives in France of the ideas of arbitration and international peace. His visits to America were in the interest of international peace through the medium of a better understanding between Europe and America. His first visit was in 1902 when he was invited to assist at a Washington's birthday celebration in Chicago. He came again five years later at the invitation of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg to help in establishing the Society for International Conciliation. This association planned his third voyage in 1911. Hitherto he had not been farther west than Chicago, and his observations were confined to the most conspicuous features of the leading eastern centers. But now a more careful campaign was arranged according to which he was to receive personal introductions to leading men in literally all parts of the country who would help him in each case to as thorough a knowledge of conditions as would be possible in the allotted time. In this way he was able to gain a familiarity with people, customs, conditions and motives which few foreigners have succeeded in receiving. His fourth visit was made the next summer (1912) as a delegate to the French-American committee for the Champlain celebration. He has

much to say of the presidential campaign of that year, in which he took a peculiarly strong personal interest as he had been in the most intimate relations with both presidents, Roosevelt and Taft, on former visits. The first part of his book is devoted to a description of the country from Washington city to Texas and the Mexican frontier; California; from Seattle to Salt Lake City; Colorado; Lincoln and Kansas City; New Orleans; the twin cities of Minnesota; Madison and Milwaukee; Illinois and Ohio. He discusses the specially burning issues of each locality. The second part is devoted to a consideration of the problems of the future, city planning, education, Indians, negroes, religion, interstate and international commerce, closing with our duties with regard to the army and navy, our colonies, Panama and the nations of the world. In France this book may well be expected to serve the purpose for the better knowledge of American people and institutions which the Hon. James Bryce intended his *American Commonwealth* to serve to the English. It cannot be as instructive to Americans because its descriptive portions deal with what is here generally known. But Americans cannot fail to be interested in this delineation of themselves by the hand of a most genial and sympathetic critic.

P

At the end of 1913 there appeared in Paris a volume entitled *Melanges Bémont*, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Professor Bémont's career as a university teacher. The contents are entirely the work of his former students of the Ecole des Hautes-Etudes at the Sorbonne, and have to do with the history of England, whose politics and institutions have long been M. Bémont's specialty. Among these papers is the hitherto unpublished journal of the siege of Louisburg in 1758, found in the archives of the French Colonial Office by the talented specialist on French colonial subjects, M. Léon Jacob, who holds degrees in letters and law from the University of Paris and a diploma for superior studies in history and geography, and who is also a laureate of the Institute. M. Jacob has published several monographs, one of them being a study of how the Panama canal will affect the French colonies. His Bémont contribution consists of some fifty folio sheets of manuscript and is unsigned, but the context shows that the author was an officer of the little French garrison at Louisburg. It forms part of the collection of "Fortifications de l'Amérique Septentrionale," composed of documents, maps, plans, etc., relating to Louisburg, among which is another account of the siege, also unpublished, the official report of Marquis Desgouttes, who commanded the French naval forces. M. Jacob's monograph affords several curious glimpses of the military customs of those days. Thus on June 17, we are informed that "the general commanding the enemy sends the wife of our governor a present of two pine-apples," and we learn that the next day "Mme. de Drucour responds to the gift of the English general by sending him a French officer with some bottles of Bourgogne." But under the same date appears this line: "The English have captured one of our frigates and have sailed it by us so that we can see it." On July 6, the English admiral proposes to the French governor that he chooses in an out of the way corner of the town a refuge for "the ladies," which he promises "shall be specially respected." And the chronicler makes this very just comment: "It is impossible to conduct war on either side in a more courteous fashion."—THEODORE STANTON.

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