

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

VOL. XXXV (No. 1)

JANUARY, 1921

NO. 776

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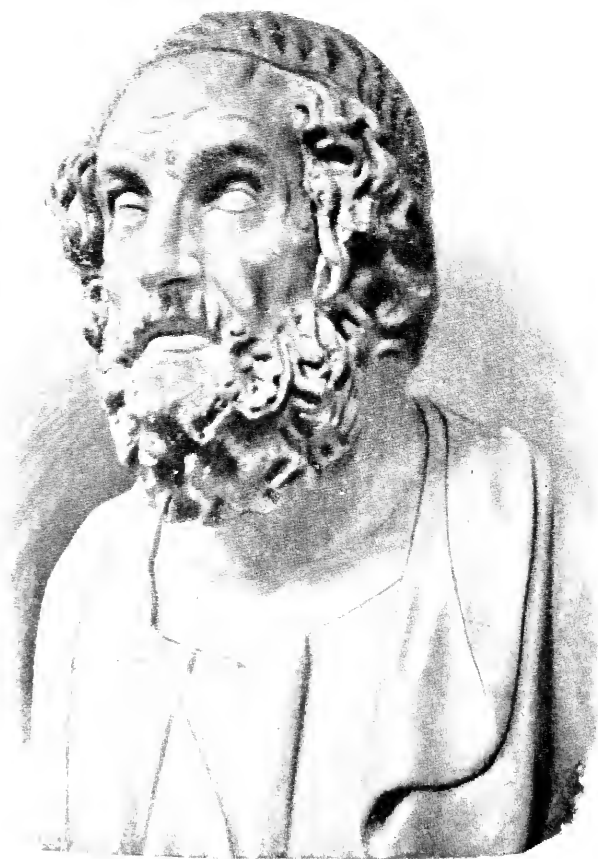
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HOMER.

Ideal bust in the museum at Naples.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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HOMER AND THE PROPHETS

OR

HOMER AND NOW.

BY CORNELIA STEKETEE HULST.

INTRODUCTION. HOMER: MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS.

I^N the days of Homer, Greece was a frontier land of the West, protected from the conquering East by a narrow but sufficient body of water and by comparative poverty in her earthly possessions. Her happy lot was isolation and opportunity for self-development, while neighboring nations on the mainland bordering the Mediterranean were conquered repeatedly by a succession of Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes and Persians.

But though the people of the Hellenic peninsulas and islands were unconquered, they were not stagnant within their own narrow boundaries and unrelated to the great outlying world of thought and action in their day, for they had ships and sailed them far, to rich Egypt and the northwestern coast of Africa, to the shores of Asia Minor and the Black Sea, to Sicily and the Italian mainland, and to the far, dread coast of Spain. Grecian sailors had even looked upon the Ocean Stream beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

Homer mentions many lands and nations, and from these we may form some conclusion as to the influences from abroad that were acting upon the Hellenic people. They knew Egypt: would they adopt her system of land and priestcraft, counting her people as nothing, but Pharaohs and priests as all? They knew the East: would they adopt her political system and honor kings as gods, to be approached in abject posture and given the right of life or death over the subjects? Would they adopt the obscene goddess Astarte (Ashtaroth, Aphrodite) along with her lover Tammuz (Adonis)?

Would they adopt the harem? If we read our Homer with these questions in mind, we shall find much that has not been found by reading without attention to what were the tendencies outside of Greece in his time.

A neighbor nearer to Greece than Babylon or Egypt, which were the great empires then striving for mastery, was Palestine. Living at the crossing point of the roads that connected the East, the North and the South, the children of Israel, by virtue of their position, received the ideas of all of the ancient world, not only through their constant contact with traders and frequent wars, but through intermarriage. Their national traditions, in their sacred books, make it clear that in them the blood of the East, the South and the North was mingled, for their patriarchs came from Ur of the Chaldees; an Egyptian strain was added during the sojourn in Egypt; and a Northern strain when they took to themselves women of the native tribes, when they conquered the Promised Land—Moabites and Ammonites and Hittites, all Nordic according to modern scholars. We know now that the Homeric Greeks also were Nordic, and in both Israel and Greece physical proof of the Nordic origin is found in the blue eyes and golden hair of individuals, along with proof in ideas and customs held in common. King David and Achilles, the goddess Athene and the god Apollo were of those who showed the Nordic signs.

From bitter experience in early wanderings, from the sojourn in Egypt, and the Babylonian Captivity, Israel attained an early conception of human liberty, and in the fires of her afflictions she came to transcend all other nations in her religious life. She has well been called a Martyr Nation and the Crucible of God.¹ Religiously, she rose to monotheism and gave the world its religion; politically, she was a theocratic democracy at the time when Troy was sacked by the Greeks, with laws which protected the weak against the strong and with prophets who denounced wrong-doing in high places—the very opposite from Babylon, who was drunk with the wine of her power. The laws of Babylon decreed death to the person who gave refuge to a slave, but in Israel that refuge was commanded: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the slave which has escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best. Thou shalt not oppress him." (Deut. xxiii, 15, 16.) In Homer, what is the practice with regard to suppliants and slaves?

¹ Tucker, *The Martyr Nations*.

Between 1400 B. C. and 1100 B. C. Israel suffered military defeat six times and came to ascribe her sorrows to the evil that she had permitted to exist, especially to her abandoning her service of her God of Righteousness for the service of "false gods of the nations round about," as Moloch, and Tammuz, and Ashtaroth, the Ares, Adonis, and Aphrodite of the Eastern nations. The date of the fall of Troy was within this period, being 1184 B. C. according to Grecian tradition. Did the Greeks also see in personal and national sufferings the hand of a righteous god? Israel had risen to monotheism and her prophets were struggling to keep her faith pure, but her wives and maidens were weeping for Tammuz and Ashtaroth—did the highest moral and religious leaders of the Grecian world also struggle against this debased cult of the East? The people of Israel had not bowed to native kings since their escape from Egyptian bondage, but chose to live under the rule of their Judges, from Moses to the accession of Saul (1451 B. C.—1095 B. C.)—did the Homeric Greeks show any tendencies against monarchy and toward democracy, under the rule of Judges? Are the people whom Homer pictured, the best of them, an-hungered and a-thirst for righteousness and worshipers of gods of righteousness, or are they hedonists, bent on mere pleasure and regardless of the rights and the wrongs involved in attaining their ends?

We know from authentic history the answer to most of these questions as among the historic Greeks. They abolished their kings, and that soon after Homer's time, which was approximately eight hundred years before the Christian era; in Athens they developed a State under the rule of Judges, called Archons, and under Solon established a democracy more wise and more just than any the world has seen since; with courts inclined to favor the people, with land reasonably controlled against monopoly, with burdens of interest lightened, and with money administered through the public treasury so as to pay all profits of issue and exchange for public purposes instead of for the enrichment of a class of privileged "bankers" as is done in all modern States. The Code of Solon, and the Athenian democracy of the Golden Age which developed from it, put modern codes and self-styled democracies to shame by the wisdom and justice which they show, and without further evidence they argue that Homer's system made for righteousness in public as well as in private life—for it was Homer's myths that supplied the ideals of Solon and the Golden Age. This in general, and pragmatically; a study of particulars, characters and incidents in the epics makes for the same conclusion.

"FALSE GODS" IN "JUDGES" AND IN HOMER'S EPIC:
 (1) APHRODITE; (2) ARES; (3) HEPHÆSTOS.

There are no devils in Homer's epics, but certain of the gods bring destruction to those who serve them, and these are, in general, the same "false gods" whom we find in the Bible, notably Aphrodite. Indeed, the central theme of Homer (which is the destruction of Troy because the Trojans, from Paris to Priam, had turned to Aphrodite against Athene, to whom they had given earlier devotion) finds an exact parallel in Israel, related in Judges ii. 12, 13, 14, 15:

12. And they forsook the Lord God of their fathers....and followed other gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them and provoked the Lord to anger;

13. And they forsook the Lord and served Baal and Ashtaroth;

14. And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies.

15. Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as the Lord had said, and as the Lord had sworn unto them; and they were greatly distressed.

However exalted the goddess Istar (Astarte, Ashtaroth, Aphrodite)² may have been in her origin and in early Babylon, where she had been regarded as the Virgin, Mother of All, the ideal woman untainted and immortal, she was certainly not exalted and pure as traders and sailors carried her cult to the West in later ages. In Palestine, where she was worshiped along with her earthly lover, Tammuz (Adonis), she was regarded by Prophets and Judges as debased earthly love—shall we find her regarded by Homer as exalted heavenly love? The fact that in historic times many of her statues in Grecian temples showed purity of outline and nobility of character, as the Venus of Milo did, would seem to prove that the higher cult of Aphrodite Urania was present in Greece, though the lower, that of Aphrodite Pandemos, may have predominated. The name *Aphrodite*, given her in Greece, would argue the same conclusion. Competent scholars hold that *Aphrodite* is derived from the Egyptian word *Apharadat*, meaning "Gift-of-Ra," Ra being the god of the sun, and exalted; but this foreign derivation seems to have been forgotten by the Greeks themselves as time passed, and they gave it a native root, *ἀφρός*, meaning "foam." Consistently with this they developed the fable that this goddess was a child of

² Carus, *Venus, an Archeological Study of the Goddess of Womanhood.*

the sea and born of the foam, which would make her an altogether lower sort of person. The accident of homophony may have given them this idea, or the fact that she had acquired a character as "unstable as water." Homer does not show Aphrodite as a virgin mother, but as the wedded wife of Hephæstos, secretly connected with Ares, and exposed to shame by Apollo. Her opposite and opponent is Athene, the virgin, goddess of wisdom, who is given the highest esteem in heaven and among the wise on earth.

In Troy, the "gods of the fathers" had been Athene and Father Zeus, and in accord with them Apollo, their god of just retribution, who warned the people that destruction would come to them through Paris. . . . had Homer heard of the incident in the history of Israel, how "*the Lord had said and sworn unto them*" that they would be punished if they admitted the worship of the false gods of the nations round about, including Ashtaroth, and how he had punished them when they forsook him, delivering them "into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them and selling them into the hands of their enemies so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies"? As a bard Homer had wandered far, and the Ionian Islands where he had his home were not far distant from Palestine. Certainly, his great story and the Athenian dramas later built upon it have the Prophet's theme, and the fate of Troy and her people was a warning to the unwise worshippers of Aphrodite.

On the question of an influence from Palestine upon Greece, we have an opinion of Saint Augustine that some of the great Athenian writers, whom he loved and honored even after he turned Christian, were under the influence of the Hebrew prophets. He mentions Plato and the Athenian dramatists specifically as having been so. . . . was it an accident of omission on his part that he did not mention Homer along with them? Plato and the Athenian dramatists drew their themes largely from Homer, and the influence of the prophets may have come to them through him. Writing in the degenerate days of Rome, Saint Augustine has much to say about the vice of the Trojan myth as it was told in his country and by Virgil, but we shall see that his criticisms do not apply to the version given by Homer. To please his patrons, the Cæsars, who had enrolled the goddess Venus (Ashtaroth) among their ancestors, Vergil glorified Venus and showed her finally triumphant when Troy fell in rescuing Æneas, her son, by the shepherd Anchises, and in founding an imperial city, Rome, this by the assistance of Ares (Mars), who was accounted in Rome an ancestor of Romulus. Homer had shown Aphrodite, along with Ares, her secret lover,

defeated in war and unable to protect her votaries, driven abashed out of heaven amid the laughter of the gods—the goddesses remained away for shame—when her cunning husband, Hephæstos, caught the guilty pair in his golden net, having learned of their relation through Apollo. Homer did not preach a crusade against Aphrodite for this and tear down her temples, as a Hebrew prophet had done, but he used the Greek method of turning laughter against her, that potent laughter of comedy, by which Athenian moralists tried to destroy what they did not love and admire. Homer never turned laughter against what he loved and admired, and the good and the great in his epics were not much given to laughter even of a satiric sort, but were distinguished by the high seriousness and earnestness fitting to epic lives.

Among the other lower gods, or "false gods," are Ares, the god of war, and Hephæstos, the god of craftsmanship, or manufacture, both "gods of the nations round about," for Ares was the god of the wild, hostile Scythians of the steppes and Hephæstos was the god of the Cretans, a commercial people with great skill, but not dear to those who had to pay them tribute, witness the story of Theseus and the Minotaur. Aphrodite, also, was a "goddess from afar," having been brought in through Cyprus from the East.

The unfortunate child of a bitter quarrel between Zeus and Here, Hephæstos was ill-tempered, and he was deformed in body not only by the accident at his birth but also by the occupation of his choosing. He was the smith among the gods, and a subject for their laughter. Unwisely he had desired Aphrodite for his wife, it seems without loving her, for his nature was ignoble and no note of heartfelt sorrow is to be detected in his talk when he discovers that she has betrayed him secretly with Ares. He spies upon her and resorts to cunning and vulgar exposure, so that he becomes ridiculous instead of tragic, as he would not be if his wife's base betrayal hurt his heart. He rants, he clamors about the riches he gave for her to her father, and threatens to demand them back, brooches, spiral armbands, necklaces, and cups set with precious stones. These are his delight, and will be the dearest things on earth to his votaries, though they lack those highest of values which the god Apollo gives to real art by inspiration through the Muses. Even the wonderful shield that Hephæstos made for Achilles was a work of mere craftsmanship, not inspired by the Muse, though it pictured many appealing subjects with utmost skill. A background of nature, and people, high and low, at their work and their play—these a true artist might take for works of high art and as a means

to high life, working with aspiration and insight and reverence, in love of this beautiful earth, sympathy with his brother, man, and gratitude to the Divine Giver of all good things. Such a spirit is not in the work of Hephæstos, and how little he cared is shown by the fact that he put these scences from life on a shield, where they would be hacked and battered.

Even less in regard among gods and wise and good men than this smith, Hephæstos, was Ares, the god of war, inconstant and secret lover of inconstant Aphrodite, and betrayer of Hephæstos's home. Though Odysseus was the greatest of warriors, he was not in Ares's service, and he would have preferred not to go to the war, but to remain at home with his wife and child. No wise man loves war for its own sake, or even for the chances it gives him for fame, as Ares and his worshipers do. Ares does not fight for a cause because it is just, as Apollo does, nor because it is wise, as Athene does, and, being without moral power, he often turns coward on the battlefield and is always vanquished by those who have moral power though they seem at a first glance far weaker than he. So, a very young mortal hero, Diomedes, because he is strong in devotion to his worthy cause, lays Ares low in combat, this "false god" who is wrong. The Iliad shows in various incidents how contemptible Ares is. When he has been vanquished by Diomedes in combat, he flees to Father Zeus, to get sympathy! and to complain of Athene because she started the war! But, son though he is, he receives cold comfort from Father Zeus, for Zeus looks sternly upon him, and says:

"Nay, thou renegade, sit not by me and whine. Most baleful art thou to me of all the gods that dwell in Olympus. Thou ever lovest strife and wars and battle. . . . My offspring art thou. . . . but wert thou born of any other god, long ere this hadst thou been lower than the sons of Heaven."

Ares is condemned by his mother, Hera, also, and no less rigorously, for she is the Guardian of the Home, which he has violated both by his intrigue with Aphrodite and his support of the Trojans who are protecting Paris and Helen. Of Athene, Ares has no comprehension, and when he faces her in combat he can only call her witless names. "Thou Dogfly!" he shouts to her, "What is the reason thou makest gods fight thus?" Such as he are not amenable to argument, so she answers, "Fool, hast thou not been taught to know mine eminence?" and then proceeds to teach him her eminence by vanquishing him in combat, for he may be convinced, or at least impressed by the fact that his own overweening brute force has been less than equal to her moral force. While Ares lies on the field,

defeated and unable to rise, Aphrodite comes forward to help him, raises him up, and begins to lead him away; but she is stopped by Hera and Athene. "Athene, see!" cries Hera, "Ares is helped from the field! *Dogfly* his rude tongue named thee—upon her fly!" Urged on thus by Ares's own mother to punish them, Athene flies at Aphrodite, beats her a furious blow on the breast, and lays her low ignominiously, along with Ares, while she shouts over them in triumph, "So lie all who succors yield to the false Trojans against the Greeks!" And at this, "whitewristed Hera smiled," though she saw her own son thus publicly beaten and scorned.

It will be observed that in the shout of triumph quoted, Athene expressed no personal rancor or satisfied spite against a rival, but only joy in victory for her cause. The motive usually ascribed to her and to Hera for opposing Aphrodite is vanity wounded because the apple of love was not awarded to one of them as most fair by Paris, but to her. This interpretation is not sustained by the preceding incident, nor by any other in Homer. If Athene were meanly vain and jealous, Zeus would not show such regard to her, but would roundly tell her her shortcomings, as he told Ares his. She is his Wisdom, and when he yields to her, it is always because she has spoken wisely. In this war, he must give support to her, because wisdom ought to prevail over unwisdom in such matters as this of violating a home; also, as guardian of guests and of hosts, he ought to take sides against Paris and those who protect him in Troy. Hera's speech urging Athene to humiliate Ares still farther and to attack Aphrodite, is further evidence that wounded vanity is not the motive of Athene—far from being a myth in which two vain goddesses plunge the world into war to spite a rival, Homer's great myth shows Hera overcoming her former feeling against Athene, who was no child of hers, and suppressing her natural prejudices in favor of her own child, in order to do her duty as guardian of the home. Only the "false gods" will defend Paris and his protectors; against them must be ranged (1) Athene, because they are unwise; (2) Hera, because she guards the home; (3) Zeus, because he punishes those who violate the rites of hospitality, and (4) Apollo, because they had been forewarned from God by prophecy against doing the evil thing but had done it nevertheless.

This interpretation of the myth of the fall of Troy as sternly moral and religious, as is the Bible story, is consistent with what we know of the times in which Homer lived. The Homeric age was not an age of dalliance and sophistication, but was notably serious and earnest as compared with later times. Critics have long realized this

and have called Homer's the *Apollonian period*, in distinction from the *Dionysian* which followed. It was characterized by subjection of the individual to the gods, and by self-restraint, which Apollo commanded, while the cult and period of Dionysos were characterized by a greater emotional fervor along with a general abandonment of self-control, sometimes to the "frenzy." The tendency to excess resulted speedily in degeneration, and finally in the evils so sternly and justly condemned by the early Christians. The Athenian drama of the great period (500 B. C.), with which Saint Augustine was in keen sympathy, as we have said, showed no weakening of the Apollonian self-control, but a happy blending of Apollonian and Dionysian elements. Its themes were taken largely from Homer, and its spirit was high and earnest, with developments in faith beyond what Homer had grasped, but consistent, and, as Saint Augustine judged it, very like the faith of the prophets. The periods to which Homer, Hesiod, Solon, Plato and the Athenian dramatists gave expression held a view of life, morality and religion more nearly akin to that of the prophets than to the pagan mythology of Rome under the Cæsars—we can only wonder that Vergil, the Aphrodisian, should ever have been credited with kinship to the prophets, as he was for centuries. It is true that he wrote of a coming Saviour and of the advent of Peace with him, but the Saviour he looked for was his patron Cæsar, "Augustus," who assumed divinity in imitation of the rulers of the East. So far as Vergil had a religion, he worshiped Venus and Mars, the "false gods" of the prophets, and of Homer. A study of Homer's "gods of the fathers" will show him, here also, not akin to Vergil, but to the prophets.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE COSMIC MAN AND HOMO SIGNORUM.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

THE primary suggestion for the concept of the cosmos or universe in human (or animal) form is presumably found in the very ancient and widely distributed identification of the sun and moon as eyes; the cosmic man (*homo*, but generally a male, *vir*) naturally being assimilated to the supreme anthropomorphic god who is otherwise conceived as existing beyond the firmament and outside of the universe. In this assimilation of the cosmic man to the supreme god, whether or not as the one and only god, we appear to have the most primitive form of pantheism, with a recognition of the coexistence, consubstantiality and absolute identity of the god and the universe.

The sun and moon as eyes were doubtless originally assigned to separate deities, otherwise supposed to be invisible; but where these luminaries were recognized as the two eyes of the same deity, that deity must have been conceived as a vast celestial or cosmic figure, whose head was often identified with the celestial sphere (see previous article on "The Cosmic Eyes"). Although it was generally believed that the earth was at the center of the celestial sphere, nevertheless the head of the cosmic man, with its visible eye or eyes, was naturally and generally supposed to be viewed from the outside rather than from within; the head with the solar eye only sometimes being conceived in profile, as we shall see further on. But with the two eyes, solar and lunar, their ever-changing relative positions may well have been referred to a partial rotation of the head as it revolved about the earth, with both eyes always in the zodiac band. Thus the lunar (left) eye when full or round like the solar (right) eye, and farthest from the latter, is referable to a full-face view; while a gradual rotation of the head would make the eyes appear to draw closer and closer together, until the lunar eye is entirely hidden, to reappear as the head begins to rotate in a reverse direction—of course with no foundation in celestial phenomena.

The north having always been recognized as the top of the celestial sphere, the cosmic head with its eyes in the zodiac band has its crown to the north; its mouth and chin to the south, and its nose between the eyes and mouth; while its ears as well as nose were sometimes supposed to extend beyond the surface of the sphere, as we shall see. In another view, the head appears to have been conceived as facing upward, toward the north, with eyes, ears and mouth in the zodiac band and the nose corresponding to the north pole of the celestial sphere; while again, as in an Egyptian calendar of the XXth dynasty, the eyes and ears appear to have been assigned to the (oblique) zodiac band, with the nose to the pole of the earth, which puts the mouth to the south (see previous article on "The Cosmic Mouth, Ears and Nose"). The Egyptians sometimes considered the cosmic face with its two eyes as that of Horus (Heru, who was generally a solar or soli-cosmic god), perhaps because of the similarity in sound between *Heru* and *her* or *hra*, the word for "face" (see Maspero, *Dawn*, p. 86; Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 466).

With the head of the cosmic man more or less closely identified with the celestial sphere, his trunk or torso was sometimes identified with the earth, and his feet were supposed to be in the underworld, or in the underworld sea, or even on the earth itself; while his hands were occasionally identified with the solar flabelli or with those of the sun and moon (see articles on "The Cosmic Feet" and "The Cosmic Hands"). But in another view, the entire cosmic man (or animal) was identified with the celestial sphere, being conceived and figured in positions that conform more or less closely to the spherical—as we shall see.

In Egypt and elsewhere, both the heaven and the earth, as well as the sun, moon and stars, were generally personified as separate gods; but in a Hymn to Ptah-Tenen, belonging to about 1100 B. C., the father-god Ptah is assimilated to the very ancient Ta-Tenen = the Motionless Earth, and recognized as of soli-cosmic character. In one verse his feet are on the earth; while in another they are in the underworld, his body being the earth. Thus we read in the hymn: "Homage to thee, O Ptah-Tenen, thou great god, whose form is hidden (i. e., 'invisible')! Thou openest thy soul and thou wakest up in peace, O father of the fathers of all the gods, thou Disk of heaven! Thou illuminest it (the heaven) with thy two eyes (sun and moon), and thou lightest up the earth with thy brilliant rays in peace. . . . Thy feet are upon the earth, and thy head is in the heights above. . . . The upper part of thee is heaven and the lower part of thee is the Tuat (the underworld). The winds come

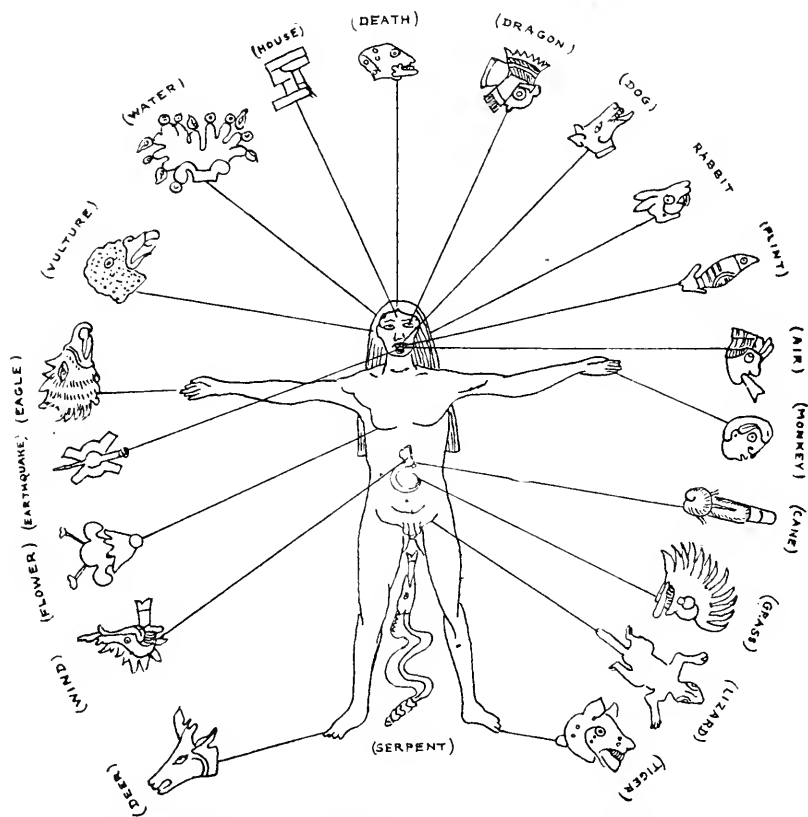
forth from thy nostrils, and the celestial waters (the rain) from thy mouth, and the staff of life (grain) proceeds from thy back (the earth); thou makest the earth to bring forth fruit. . . . When thou art at rest the darkness cometh, and when thou openest thy two eyes beams of light are produced. Thou shinest in thy crystal form (that of the firmament) according to (the wont of) thy majesty. . . . Lord of the hidden throne, hidden is he. . . . Hidden one, whose eternal form is unknown" (in Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 509-512). In later times the priests of Heliopolis referred the body and soul of the universe to Osiris, while the priests of Saïs referred them to Neith (*ibid.*, II, p. 299). Ra, originally the sun-god, becomes the *pantheos*, or the god comprehending all gods, and also the cosmic man, in the *Litany of Ra*. In this text he is said to be Temt = the universal being, "who is born under the form of the all-surrounding universe" (I, 1). He is Tenen = the earth (3), and "the god with the large (solar) disk" (4), He is the "supreme power, the only one (6) . . . the spirit that walks (8) . . . whose body is so large that it hides his shape (13) . . . whose head shines more than he who is before him (18) . . . his form is that of Remi (= the Weeper, the god of rain—21) . . . his form is that of the divine eye" (24). He is "he who raises his head (26) . . . who sheds tears (29) . . . who raises his hand (the solar flabellum) and who glorifies his eye; his form is that of the god with the hidden body" (30 and 39). He is "the god with the numerous shapes (32) . . . the being with the mysterious face, who makes the divine eye more (37) . . . the supremely great one who embraces the empyrean (38) . . . his form is that of the shining one" (50). He is "the hidden one" (52) and Senekher = Shining face, and "his form is that of Senekher" (62) as well as of Tenen (66). He is also "armed with teeth (71) . . . the great god who raises his two eyes" (74), etc. (*Records of the Past*, VIII, pp. 103-113). In the inscription of Darius at El Kargeh it is said to Amen-Ra: "Thou art heaven, thou art earth, thou art fire, thou art water, and thou art air in the midst of them" (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 143).

The early Egyptians believed that the deceased acquired the powers and attributes of a certain god or certain gods, with whom he was mystically identified; and the several members of his body were also identified with certain gods, who collectively appear to have comprehended the whole universe—the deceased thus representing the cosmic or soli-cosmic man. Thus we read in the *Book of the Dead*: "It is Ra who created names for his members, and

these come into being in the form of the gods who are in the retinue of Ra" (XVII, 11 and 12, Theban). In the very ancient Pyramid Texts, the body of the deceased is identified with "the eighteen gods" and "the double company" of the gods, composed of "the great company" and "the little company." The double company generally comprises $2 \times 9 = 18$ gods, but sometimes $2 \times 10 = 20$, $2 \times 11 = 22$ or $2 \times 12 = 24$, who were variously named in different localities and periods; and the two companies are supposed to have belonged to the heaven and the earth respectively, with a third company occasionally added for the underworld (Budge, *Gods*, I, pp. 85-92). In Chap. CXL of the *Book of the Dead*, twenty-three gods are named and said to be "the soul and body of Ra" (6 and 7). In one of the Pyramid Texts the bones of the deceased are the gods and goddesses of heaven; in another, his right (eastern) side belongs to Horus, and his left (western) side to Set (Budge, *Gods*, I, pp. 108, 109), while from the *Book of the Dead*, XC, 4, we learn that some assigned the heart, others the secrets, to Set. In fact, such assignments often varied in different periods and localities. Thus in several interesting texts we have variant groups of some twenty to twenty-five members of the deceased identified with the corresponding members of as many gods, or with the gods themselves, or with their symbols, etc. In the group from the Pyramid Texts (Pepi I, 565 et seq.; in Budge, *Gods*, I, pp. 109, 110), the head of the deceased has the form of "the hawk (of Horus)"; but nevertheless nine members of the head are allotted to as many gods (the hair to Nu, as suggested by the rain from the watery heaven), while the remainder of the body has thirteen members for as many gods, etc. Quite a different group is found in the *Book of the Dead* (XLII, 5-10, Theban; 4-9, Saïte), with some variations in the different papyri; the Papyrus of Nu having seven members and gods for the head, and twelve for the remainder of the body (see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, ed. 1909, II, p. 176; cf. pp. 179-182 for the Papyrus of Ani group). Quite different, again, is the group in the *Litany of Ra*, with seven allotments for the head and nineteen for the remainder of the body (IV, Sect. I, 8; in *Records of the Past*, VIII, pp. 123, 124). In the *Book of the Dead* (*loc. cit.*), the deceased is identified with the soli-cosmic Ra and is made to say: "There is no member of my body which is not the member of some god"; while in the *Litany of Ra* (*loc. cit.*) we read of the deceased: "His members are gods, he is throughout a god, no one of his members is without a god, the gods are of his substance."

The Babylonians supposed that the several members of the

human body were under the control of demons, to whom were attributed the various afflictions to which these members are subject (Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, Eng. ed., p. 36, and see previous articles in this series, on "The Cosmic Madness," etc.). Again, in ancient Mexico, according to the Codex Vaticanus (Mex.), twenty members of the body were ruled by as many powers represented by symbols, ten of which have names of animals, while the other

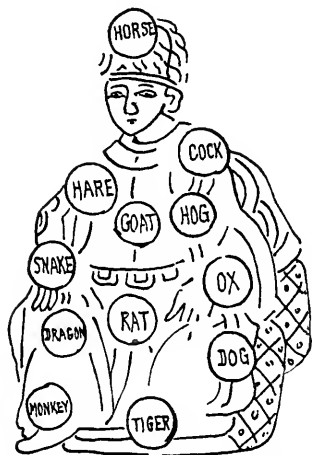


MAYAN ALLOTMENT OF SYMBOLS TO MEMBERS OF THE BODY.

(From the Mexican *Codex Vaticanus*, in Kingsborough, *Mexican Antiquities*, II, Plate 75, etc., with interpretations according to Bancroft, *Native Races*, III, 129—excepting (dragon), which should be (rain), for the eye.

ten have names of objects, elements, etc. (see accompanying illustration). Moreover, ten of these symbolized powers are allotted to the head and ten to the remainder of the body; which suggests that the figure originally represented the cosmic man belonging to the heaven and the earth, as in one of the variant Egyptian concepts.

But all the twenty symbols in the *Codex Vaticanus* illustration are doubtless mere variants of the symbols of the twenty days in the Aztec and Mayan month; twenty being one of the units in the Mexican system of numeration. In fact, the symbols in both groups are interpreted to represent the same twenty animals, objects, elements, etc., except in two instances, where the correspondence is reasonably certain. Nevertheless there appears to be no correspondence in the order of the two groups; nor is there any close resemblance between them and the Egyptian groups. But there is a remarkable resemblance between the ten Mexican animals and ten of the twelve in the Mongolian zodiac; which is one among several indications of a prehistoric connection between Mexico and eastern



CHINESE ZODIAC ANIMALS
as allotted to the members of the body.
English names substituted. (From
a modern Chinese Almanac.)



COSMIC BRAHM OR BRAHMA
in the form of the celestial sphere.
(From Guigniaut's *Creuzer's Symbolik*, Part II, Vol. IV, Pl. I, No. 1.)

Asia (see Geoghegan, "Chinese and Central American Calendars," in *The Monist*, XVI, pp. 562-596). In the accompanying illustration from a modern Chinese almanac, the twelve Mongolian signs are allotted to as many members of a seated man, approaching the spherical form, and therefore perhaps derived from some ancient figure of the cosmic man—on whose body we shall find the zodiac signs in other ancient representations.

In the Hindu *Rigveda* the universe is identified with Purusha = Man. "Purusha, who has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet (all as originally suggested by the stars as the eyes of celestial beings), investing the earth in all directions, exceeds

(it by a space) measuring ten fingers (apparently corresponding to the distance to which the ears and nose of the celestial head were conceived to extend beyond the sphere). Purusha is verily all this universe; all that is, and all that is to be. . . the gods performed the sacrifice with Purusha as the offering. . . From that victim, in whom the universal oblation was offered," all the creatures of the earth were produced. "When they immolated Purusha," his mouth, arms, thighs and feet became the four races of men, represented by the four castes of ancient India—a detail exclusively Hindu. But the broader concept appears in the next few verses: "The moon was born (i. e., 'produced') from his mind; the sun was born from his eye; Indra (for the air) and Agni (for fire or heat) were born from his mouth; Vayu (for the wind) from his breath (or, 'air and breath proceeded from his ear, and fire rose from his mouth,' according to the *Yajur Veda*). From his navel came the firmament; from his head the heaven was produced; the earth from his feet; the quarters of space from his ear; so they (the gods) constituted the universe. . . (when they) bound Purusha as the (sacrificial) victim" (*Rigveda*, X, 90, 1-15; also in *Yajur Veda*, XXXI, 1-16, and *Atharva Veda*, XIX, 6). But of course this concept of the body of a primordial Purusha discepted or cut to pieces is merely a later variant of the identification of the universe as the great cosmic man. The Vedic Purusha is not only the cosmic man, but also the prototype of the first created man, the Biblical Adam, who is described in the *Talmud* as of such immense size that his head was in the heaven while his feet reached to the end (bottom) of the world (*Chagiga*, XII, 7). The supreme god of India is Brahm or Brahma; the former name often being restricted to the absolute spirit who was manifested as the creator Brahma. As the cosmic god, Brahm or Brahma is sometimes represented in spherical form, with one of his toes in his mouth—as suggested by the symbolical serpent of the zodiac forming a circle with its tail in its mouth (see Guignaut's *Creuzer's Symbolik*, IV, Part II, Plate I, No. 1; Lundy, *Monument. Christian.*, p. 88, fig. 26). In the *Bhagavadgita*, one of the books of the *Mahabharata*, the spiritual Brahm is mystically identified with Krishna, the latter in fact being the manifestation and incarnation of the former; and in one view set forth in that book, Brahm and Krishna are respectively the soul and body of the universe (VI). Krishna is everything in the manifested universe: "In him is included all nature; by him all things are spread abroad" (VIII). He is "the eternal Purusha" or Maha-Purusha = Great Man (X). In his human form he describes his divine nature to Arjuna, and

when the latter expresses himself as anxious to behold the god's divine form, he is given "a celestial eye" so he may behold the transfigured Krishna. "Behold in this my body the whole universe animate and inanimate," says Krishna; whereupon he appears as the cosmic man, more or less obscured by the Oriental exaggeration of the description. He "made evident unto Arjuna his supreme and celestial form; of many a mouth and eye; many a wondrous sight; many a celestial ornament; many an upraised weapon; adorned with celestial robes and chaplets; anointed with celestial essence; covered with every marvellous thing; the eternal God, whose countenance is turned on every side! The glory and amazing splendour of this mighty being may be likened to the sun rising at once into the heavens with a thousand times more than usual brightness. The son of Pandu (Arjuna) then beheld within the body of the God of Gods, standing together, the whole universe divided forth into its vast variety. He (Arjuna) was overwhelmed with wonder, and every hair was raised on end (with fear)." He addressed the transfigured Krishna thus: "O universal Lord, form of the universe! I see thee with a crown, and armed with club and chakra (a discus used in battle), a mass of glory, darting refulgent beams around. I see thee, difficult to be seen, shining on all sides with light immeasurable, like the ardent fire or the glorious sun. . . . Thou art from all beginning, and I esteem thee Purusha. I see thee without beginning, without middle, and without end; of valour infinite; of arms immeasurable; the sun and moon thy eyes; thy mouth a flaming fire, and the whole universe shining with thy reflected glory. . . . The (three) worlds, alike with me, are terrified at beholding thy wondrous form gigantic; . . ." Krishna says: "Well pleased, O Arjuna, I have shown thee, by my divine power, this my supreme form, the universe in all its glory, infinite and eternal. . . . The son of Vasudeva (Krishna) having thus spoken unto Arjuna, showed him again his natural (human) form; and having assumed his milder shape, he presently assuaged the fears of the affrighted Arjuna" (XI).

In the *Vishnu Purana* we read: "The universe was produced from Vishnu; he is the cause of its continuance and cessation; he is the universe": and he is the supreme Brahm, the soul of the universe, who first became manifested as Purusha (I. 1 and 2; cf. II, 7, etc.). In the same book there is an invocation to the Supreme, in which we find the following version of the above-quoted Vedic concept: "Thou art the male with a thousand heads, a thousand feet, who traverest the universe, all that has been, and that

shall be; and all this universe is in thee, assuming this universal form. . . . From thine eyes comes the sun; from thine ears, the wind; from thy mind, the moon; the vital airs come from thy central vein; fire comes from thy mouth; the sky, from thy navel; the heaven, from thy head; the regions come from thine ears, and the earth comes from thy feet" (I, 12). In the *Ramayana* it is said that Purusha assumed the form of a man, with the sky as his body, supporting the whole host of stars; while twenty-four of his members are identified or connected with as many objects in nature, elements, gods, etc. Thus his eyes are the sun and moon; his ears are the two Aswins (probably as gods of the two chief winds); fire is in his mouth; the oceans are in his belly; his bones are certain mountains; the clouds are on his neck, and his sides are at the four quarters of the heaven (VII, 28). According to Macrobius (*Sat.*, I, 20), the Egyptian Serapis made the following reply to Nicocreon, King of Cyprus (4th century, B. C.), when asked as to which of the gods he should be considered:

"A god I am such as I reveal myself to thee—
The ornamented heaven is my head; the sea, my trunk;
The earth forms my feet; mine ears are in the ether,
And my far-darting eye is the brilliant sun."

The most remarkable concept in the above-cited Hindu texts is that of the wind or the two chief winds as coming from the cosmic ears, which are allotted to the ether in Macrobius—probably because they were conceived to extend, like the nose, beyond the surface of the celestial sphere or head (for the later connection of the ears with the northern and southern zodiac signs and the corresponding chief winds, see previous article on "The Cosmic Mouth, Ears and Nose"). The *Ishnu Purana* text agrees in part with the Vedic concept of the formation or creation of the universe from the dismembered body of Purusha as the archetypal cosmic man; and in the Norse *Elder Edda* we read as follows of the slain giant who represents the primordial chaos:

"Of Ymir's flesh	And of his eye-brows
Was earth (= soil) created;	The gentle powers
Of his blood, the sea;	Formed Midgard for the sons of men;
Of his bones, the hills;	But of his brain
Of his hair, trees and plants;	The heavy clouds are
Of his skull, the heaven:	All created."

("Grimnismal," 40, 41; cf. "Vafthrudnismal," 21, and *Younger Edda*, I, 8.)

According to the Pahlavi (medieval Persian) *Sikand-gumanik Vigar* the Christian heresiarch Mani (or Manichæus) stated that "the worldly existence is a bodily formation of Aharman (the evil deity), the bodily formation being a production of Aharman. And a repetition (= variation) of that statement is this, that the sky is from the skin, the earth from the flesh, the mountains from the bones, and the trees from the hair of the demon Kuni (the Kunda of the *Avesta*, "Vend.," XI, 28, 36, and the *Bundahesh*, XXVIII. 42). The rain is the seed of the Mazendarans, who are bound on the celestial sphere. . . . Kuni is the commander of the army of Aharman. . . . in binding the demon Kuni on the celestial sphere he is killed, and those magnificent creatures are preserved from him and formed" (XVI, 8-20). Again, according to the *Acta Disputationes cum Manete* (7), attributed to Archelaus, the Manichæans taught that the firmament is the body of "the princes of darkness" —probably for "the prince of darkness," Aharman. But all this is of comparatively late date; in fact, neither Aharman nor Kunda appears to have been recognized as a cosmic figure by the earlier Iranians, who held that Ahuramazda (Auharmazd, Ormuzd) and Aharman (Ahriman), as the good and evil deities, existed outside of the universe. According to the *Avesta*, Ahuramazda created the Aryan countries from the body of the slain Gayo-marathan (Gayomard), the primordial man ("Fravardin Yasht," 87). In later times, the cosmic Kronos or Æon of the Greco-Persian Mithraists, with four wings for the cardinal points and seasons, was generally figured in the folds of a serpent, for the oblique circles of the sun throughout the year; the heaven being represented by this aged cosmic man's trunk or torso, upon which the zodiac signs were sometimes placed, between the serpent's folds: and the breath of this Kronos was occasionally represented as the wind or spirit that vivifies the all-pervading fire or heat of nature, otherwise the soul of the universe (Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte de Mithra*, II, Plates LXX-LXXIII; Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, figs. 14, 21, 22, 68, 96). It also appears that the youthful Mithra was sometimes represented as the serpent-entwined cosmic man with the zodiac signs on his body; and the same is true of Serapis, at least in one Roman example (Montfaucon, *L'antiq. expl.*, I, p. 215; Supp. II, p. 149, Plate XLII).

The Greek Zeus (Jupiter) is the cosmic man in an Orphic hymn preserved in more or less fragmentary form by Aristotle (*De Mund.*, VII); Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.*, III, 9) and Proclus

(*In Tim.*, p. 95) ; the following verses being from Taylor's English version in his *Mystical Hymns of Orpheus* (pp. 47-49) :

"For in Jove's royal body all things lie ;
Fire, night and day, earth, water and the sky.

.

See how his bounteous head and aspect bright
Illumine heaven, and scatter boundless light !

.

His eyes, the Sun, and Moon with borrowed ray.

.

The extended region of surrounding air
Forms his broad shoulders, back and bosom fair ;

.

His sacred belly earth with fertile plains
And mountains swelling to the clouds contains ;
His middle zone 's the spreading sea profound,
Whose roaring waves the solid globe surround ;
The distant realms of Tartarus obscure,
Within Earth's roots, his holy feet secure."

According to another Orphic hymn (Frag. VII), the worshiper in the Bacchic mysteries personated the cosmic god, wearing a crimson robe for the fire of the sun ; a spotted fawn skin for the starry heaven, and a golden belt for the earth-surrounding ocean—the body of the worshiper representing the earth. Somewhat similarly, the whole universe was symbolically represented on the long garment of the Jewish high priest (*Book of Wisdom*, XVIII, 24 ; Josephus, *Antiq.*, III, 7, 7, etc.) Again, in the *Orphic Hymns* and elsewhere, Pan (Πάν) is recognized as a figure of τὸ πᾶν = the all, the universe (in spite of the difference in accent) ; and Athanasius Kircher gives a figure of Pan as the cosmic man, with his head for the superior heaven, his breast for the firmament, his belly for the oceans, his thighs and legs for the several divisions of the land—the erect figure standing on the pedestal of the "stable foundation" (*Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, II, Part I, pp. 204, 428).

In the *Bhagavat Purana* it is said that the celestial sphere is imaged by some in the form of the aquatic animal called Sisumara (= porpoise) ; "its head being turned downward (i. e., toward its belly), and its body bent in a circle," with Dhruva the pole star on the point of its tail. Other stars are allotted to other parts of

this porpoise, and the path of the sun is on its back (see translation of Sir Wm. Jones, in *Asiatic Researches*, II, p. 402). In the *Vishnu Purana*, II, 12, the celestial sphere again has the form of a porpoise, which revolves around the pole star, with its tail and hind quarters in the north; but in this text we find certain divinities and personifications either identified or connected with the several parts of the animal, and here is it added that "From the (primordial) waters, which are the body of Vishnu, was produced the lotus-shaped earth, with its seas and mountains." In the Babylonian "Creation Epic," it appears that Apsu and Tiamat, as husband and wife, represent respectively the lower and upper waters of the primordial chaos; Tiamat, the female, therefore corresponding to the Egyptian Nut, while Apsu, the male, corresponds to Nut's male variant, Nu. The Babylonian couple mingled their waters together and thus created the first of the gods ("Creation Epic," Tablet I, 1-13). In the storm-war of Apsu and Tiamat against the gods, the former are defeated by the solar Marduk (Bel), who chains Apsu in the underworld and cuts the body of Tiamat in two, making the heaven of one half of her (*ibid.*, Tablet IV, 119-137), and the earth of the other half (according to Berosos as preserved through Alexander Polyhistor by Eusebius, *Chron.*, V. 8). The body of Tiamat therefore became the twofold universe, exclusive of the underworld; and in the epic she appears to be conceived as a woman, although she was generally figured as a serpent.

The generality of the Greeks always took the universe for a vast revolving sphere, with its interior surface forming the heaven visible to men; and the pantheistic philosophers of Greece generally identified the one supreme Being with that sphere, which thus was conceived as a living being with body and soul. This view is said to have been held in the sixth century B. C. by Pythagoras (Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, I, 11, etc.) and Xenophanes (Aristot., *De Xenoph.*, V. p. 977); and it was doubtless at the basis of Zeno's philosophy in the fourth century B. C. (Cicero, II, 17, etc.), and that of the Stoics who followed him (*ibid.*, I, 14, etc.). The later Stoic doctrine of a spiritual supreme Being as the soul of the universe (*anima mundi*) appears to have been known in the fifth century B. C. to Empedocles, who speaks of the supreme Being as "a holy, infinite spirit that passes through the universe with rapid thoughts"; and he declares that the universe does not have members like a human being, but is a globe (Frag. in Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, VII, 17). In the fourth century B. C. Aristotle taught that God is eternal thought, which is the universal essence, existing in nature both as body and

soul, the living God thus being the universe (*Metaph.*, XII). In the same century Plato distinguished between the supreme God and the spherical universe as the cosmic god, the latter being the creation of the former; for he makes Timæus deny that the universe has the form of a man, and describes it as a living animal (i. e., an animated being) in the form of a globe, a god created by the eternal God, with an invisible soul, "the only-begotten universe" (*Tim.*, 30-34, 92). Thus, too, the Christian Father Origen says: "I am of opinion that the whole universe also ought to be regarded as some huge and immense animal which is kept together by the power and reason of God as by one soul" (*De Princip.*, III, 3); and Plato makes Socrates argue that the universe is a body because it is composed of the same elements as the human body, which comes from it, and that it has a soul, whence comes the human soul (*Philcb.*, 29, 30).

According to the neo-Platonists—Apuleius, Plotinus, Porphyrius, Proclus and others—the soul of the universe or "world soul" emanated from the Nous (intelligence), which emanated from the One, the supreme God existing outside of the universe; and in the twelfth century A. D. the Jew Maimonides says that "God must be thought of as the soul of the universe. . . . but God is not inherent in the body of the universe" (*Moreh Nebuchim*, I, 72). This is in accordance with *Wisdom*, I, 7: "For the spirit of the Lord filleth the universe; and that which holdeth together the All (or 'containeth all things') hath knowledge of the voice. (of men)." But according to the plenists, following Parmenides (fifth century B. C.) there is nothing but absolute being, embodied in the spherical universe, which is a plenum (full thing) without any vacuum; and Jehovah sometimes appears to be identified with the absolute being of the plenists. Thus we read in *Jer.* xxiii. 24: "Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord." Again, the Psalmist says: "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in sheol (hell), thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there thy hand shall lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me." And still again, in *Acts* xvii. 28, it is said of God (= Jehovah): "For in him we live, and move, and are (= exist—A. V., 'and have our being')." Clement of Alexandria tells us that Peter, in his "Preaching," spoke of the "one God" who is "the Invisible who sees all things; incapable of being contained, who contains all things" (*Strom.*, VI, 5; cf. V, 14). According to the *Clementine Homilies*, Peter taught that God is the universe, but invisible, while man is his visible image—"He (God) is as it were in the center of the infinite, being (also) the

limit of the universe; and the extensions taking their rise with Him possess the nature of six infinites," penetrating above, below, to the right, to the left, in front and behind (*Hom.* XVII, 7 and 9). These six extensions in space apparently suggested the three pairs of "roots," æons or emanations of Simon Magus (early in the first century A. D.), whose "Great Infinite Power which is fire" generated the universe through the six "roots"—Mind and Intelligence, Voice and Name, Ratiocination and Reflection—in which the entire power resides potentially (in Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, VII, 7 and 8).

In Colossians it is said of Jesus Christ as the cosmic man: "And he is before all, and all things in him subsist (A. V., 'by him all things consist') . . . in him all the fulness (*plērōma*—of the divinity) was pleased to dwell (A. V., 'it pleased the Father that in him should all the fulness dwell') . . . For in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. . . . Christ is all things and in all" (i. 17, 19; ii. 9; iii. 11; cf. Eph. i. 23)* The Gnostic Peratæ (second century) interpreted these texts to signify that Christ possessed the threefold nature of the Divinity residing in the three divisions of the universe: viz., the unbegotten, the self-produced, and the transient world in which we live—otherwise "Father, Son and Matter" (Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, V, 7 and 12; X, 6); and the Arabian Gnostic Monoimus (second century) taught that the Christ of Colossians, as the son of man, had been generated by the supreme man (God), and that the son is both a monad and a decade, symbolized by the Greek $\iota = 10$ (*ibid.*, VIII, 5 and 6—where we doubtless have an error attributing to Monoimus the doctrine that the supreme man rather than the son is the universe).

The highest development of the concept of the cosmic Christ as the Pleroma or "fulness" of the divinity in the universe is found in the doctrines of the great Gnostic Valentinus and his followers in the second century A. D., as preserved by Irenæus (*Adv. Haeres.* I and II), followed by Hippolytus (*Philosophum.*, VI, 24-32), Tertullianus (*Adv. Valentin.*) and Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, XXXI, XXXII, XXXV). The Valentinians taught that the supreme Being, called

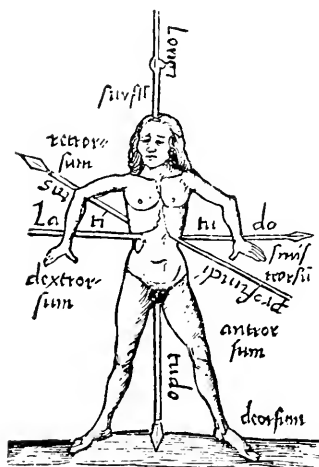
* In Eph. i. 23, the Church is figuratively the body of Christ and "the fulness of him who fills all things in all"—otherwise "the fulness of God" (*ibid.*, iii. 19). "But to each one of us was given grace to the measure of the gift of the Christ," who not only lived on earth, but also descended into the underworld, and "ascended above all the heavens, that he might fill all things"—in the threefold universe (*ibid.*, iv. 7-10). And thus in the Gospel of John the fulness of Christ as the incarnate Word is referred especially to his glory (and truth); for he is "full of grace and truth. . . . And of his fulness we all received, and grace upon grace. . . . the grace and the truth through Jesus Christ came" (John i. 14, 16, 17).

Proarche (= first-beginning), Propater (= first-father) and Bythos (= profundity), "contains all things within himself" (Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.*, II, 3, 1; 4, 2), and that his Ennoea (= idea) was his consort, called Charis (= grace) and Sige (= silence). From them proceeded the first pair of aeons or emanations, Nous (= intelligence) and his consort Aletheia (= truth); and Nous alone produced Logos (= word) and Zoe (= life), who in turn produced Anthropos (= man) and Ecclesia (= church) and ten other æons; while Anthropos and Ecclesia produced twelve, the youngest of whom was Sophia (= wisdom—in the sense of "knowledge" or "learning"). These form "the invisible and spiritual Pleroma" of thirty aeons, including the supreme Being and his consort; but afterward Nous (also called Monogenes = only-begotten, like Plato's universe) and Aletheia produced "another conjugal pair," the first (or spiritual) Christ and the Holy Spirit (feminine in accordance with the gender of the word "spirit" in Hebrew), who completed the number of the aeons (by some reckoned as thirty without the supreme Being and his consort—see Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, VI, 26). Then all the aeons jointly produced "a being of the most perfect beauty, the very star of the Pleroma, and the perfect fruit of it, namely, Jesus (in spiritual form, before the creation of the universe). Of Him they also speak under the name of Saviour, and (the second) Christ, and patronimically, Logos, and Everything, because he was formed of the contributions of all" (Iren., *op. cit.*, I, 1, 1-3; 2, 5 and 6; but according to the Docetae, the primal Being produced three aeons, each of whom grew to ten, and finally to an infinite number, thus filling the Pleroma that produced the celestial Christ (Hippol., *op. cit.*, VIII, 1-3). In the meantime, Sophia had brought forth the primordial substance, formless and devoid of spirit or soul; this substance being identified as her enthymesis (= inborn idea), which was expelled from the spiritual Pleroma to the psychic world that exists between the spiritual and the material worlds (in accordance with the three-fold constitution of man as spirit, soul and body—in *Thes.* v. 23). The enthymesis of Sophia is also personified as Achamoth (for the Heb. Chockmah = wisdom), to whom the second Christ gave psychic form; and from the passions of Achamoth came "the substance of the matter (i. e., the psychic elements) from which this universe was formed. . . . from her tears all that is of a liquid nature was formed; from her smile all that was lucent, and from her grief and perplexity, all the corporeal elements of the universe." But she had previously produced the Demiurge (= worker—for the Old

Testament creator), who gave material and corporeal form to the universe and everything therein (Iren., *op. cit.*, I, 2, 3 and 4; 3, 4; 4, 2 and 5; 5, 1-4). In the original of this scheme, the second Christ or Jesus was probably the psychic emanation of the first or spiritual Christ, and also the soul that became incarnated as the son of the Virgin Mary. But some of the Valentinians held that the Demiurge (= Jehovah) had originally produced the son of Mary "as his own proper son"; and that the second Christ descended upon the latter at his baptism (*ibid.*, VII, 2; cf. XI, 1 for variant ideas as to the parentage of the psychic Christ who became incarnated).

In the Valentinian doctrine, the confines of the spiritual Pleroma (corresponding to the firmament in the celestial sphere or material universe) are personified as Horos (= limit) or Horothetes (= one who fixes boundaries), who is also called Stauros (= a stake; secondarily, a cross), 'that Power which supports all things'; a supposed allusion to this Horos as Stauros being found in Gal. vi. 14, where the writer speaks of "the stake (*stauros*, A. V. 'cross') of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to me the universe (*cosmos*) has been crucified (*estaurōtai*), and I to the universe" (Iren., *ibid.*, I, 2, 2 and 4; 3, 5—*stauros* always being employed for the instrument of "crucifixion" in the New Testament, where the A. V. has "cross"). When Achamoth, the enthymesis of Sophia, had been expelled from the spiritual Pleroma, the second Christ took pity on her, "and having extended himself through and beyond Stauros, he imparted a (psychic) figure to her"—thus being recognized as a prototype of the crucified Jesus Christ, son of Mary (*ibid.*, I, 4, 1; 7, 2; cf. Tertullianus, *Adv. Valentin.*, 27: "The animal and carnal Christ, however, does suffer in delineation of the superior Christ, who, for the purpose of producing Achamoth, had been stretched upon the Cross, that is, Horos, in a substantial though not in a cognitional form"). It is not improbable that the primary suggestion for this psychic Christ as stretched or stretching himself upon the Cross of the spiritual Pleroma is to be found in Plato's description of the formation of the zodiac band and celestial equator from the invisible soul of the universe, which the eternal God "divided lengthways into two parts, which he joined to one another at the center like the figure of \times , and bent them into a circular form, connecting them with themselves and each other at the point opposite contact." afterward dividing the zodiac band into six bands (by seven lines) for the orbits of the seven planets (*Tim.* 36). But there is nothing of this in the Valentinian doctrine, where the underlying idea appears to be that of the cross as a symbol of extension

in all directions—more strictly in four directions, toward the cardinal points. Thus in the *Sibylline Oracles* it is prophesied by Jesus Christ on the cross that “He will spread his hands and measure all the universe”; while reference is made to the nail marks in his hands and feet, after his resurrection, as “denoting east and west, and south and north” (VIII, 301, 322). Like Purusha and Adam as cosmic figures, Jesus Christ as “the second Adam” was said by the Essenes to have been of such size that he stretched to an immeasurable distance (Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, XIX, 4); and as fastened on the cosmic cross he is a mere variant of the Manichæan Kuni who was bound on the celestial sphere, where he died (see above; and cf.



MEDIEVAL COSMIC MAN
and the Cross of the Celestial
Sphere.*

the figures of Christ and Krishna crucified in space, as apparently identified with the sun-god, in article on “The Cosmic Hands”). The cosmic man of the celestial sphere, with the center of his body on the crossing point of the ecliptic, the equator (for latitude) and an equinoctial meridian line (for longitude), is well illustrated in the *Margarita Philosophica* of Georg Reisch (VI, 1, 11; A. D. 1496, 1503, etc.). Again, in a medieval Christian representation given by Didron, the cross on which Jesus Christ is stretched is superimposed upon the gigantic body of God, who supports it by grasping the ends of its arms with his hands (*Christ. Iconog.*, Fig. 130, p. 505).

Whether the Gospel writers conceived that the *stauros* on which Jesus Christ suffered was a simple stake or a cross of some sort, there can be little or no doubt that their accounts of his sacrificial crucifixion are colored by some such ancient concept as that of the Manichæan Kuni as the cosmic man bound on the celestial sphere, and from whose discerpted body the material universe was formed—as also in the case of the Vedic Purusha as a sacrificial victim (see above). But the universe was symbolically represented on the long garment of the Jewish high priest, and we find the discerption of the cosmic Christ replaced in the Gospel story by the division of the garments of Jesus among those who crucified him (Mark xv. 24;

* From Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica*, VI, 1, 11.

Matt. xxvii. 35; John xix. 23—with some details from Ps. xxii. 18, as the prophetic type). Indeed, in the Gospel of John, these garments are divided into four parts, as if for the four quarters of the universe. The Manichæans also taught that Jesus Christ was “crucified in the whole universe,” the earth and the fruits thereof being conceived as composed of his members; so these heretics would not plough, nor pull vegetables, nor pluck fruit, but had others perform such acts for them (Augustine, *Ennarat. in Ps. CXXI*, 6; *De Mor. Manich.*, XVII, 57). Again, according to Augustine, the Manichæans recognized the Father God as inaccessible light, and Christ the Son as visible light, with his power in the sun and his wisdom in the moon; while they held that the Holy Spirit dwells “in the whole circle of the atmosphere,” and that “by his influence and spiritual infusion the earth conceives and brings forth the mortal Jesus, who, as hanging from every tree (in the form of fruit), is the life and salvation of men” (*Contra Faust.*, XX, 2; cf. Omar Khayyam’s “Jesus from the ground suspires” or “breathes deeply,” in the *Rubaiyat*, IV).

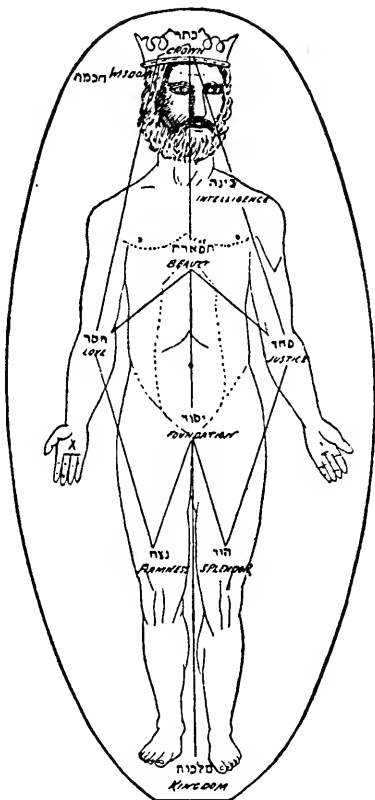
The concept of the supreme Being as the cosmic man, taken in connection with the Biblical statement that God created man in his own image (Gen. i. 27), naturally led to the doctrine that every man (*homo*) is a small universe in himself, a counterpart of the great universe. In the *Acta Disputationes cum Manete* (8), attributed to Archelaus (third century A. D.), the Manichæans are said to have held that the body of man is a universe in relation to the great universe, and that “all men have roots which are linked beneath (with those above).” Julius Firmicus in his *Mathesos* (fourth century A. D.), says that God produced man “in the image and similitude of the universe”; that He prepared man’s body, his mortal abode, “similar to the universe,” and that man is an animal “made in imitation of the universe.” Macrobius (fifth century, A. D.) says that “the physical universe is a great man, and man is a small universe” (*Somn. Scip.*, I, 12); and Joannes Damascenus (eighth century) calls Adam “a second (and) little universe within the great one.” But it appears that Pico della Mirandola, in his *Heptaplus* (circa 1490), was the first to employ the compounds *macrocosmos* and *microcosmos*, shortened to *macrocosm* and *microcosm*, for the great universe and little universe, respectively. Pico says that the *macrocosm* consists of three worlds, the terrestrial, the celestial and the supercelestial, that of the governing divine influences; and that “in addition to these three worlds there is a fourth, the *microcosm*, containing all embraced within the three. This is man, in

whom are included a body formed of the (material) elements, a celestial spirit, an angelic soul (corresponding to the three worlds), and a resemblance to God (as identified with the macrocosm)." In the sixteenth century Paracelsus taught that "the lower heaven is a man, and man a heaven; and all men are one heaven, and heaven one man" (*De Astronomia*; cf. *Liber Azoth*, I, where he treats of the macrocosm and microcosm); and in the same century the German alchemist Oswald Croll wrote a "Treatise on the Symbols of the Great and Little Universe," in which he even recognizes certain cosmic counterparts to human diseases; the deluge corresponding to dropsy, tempests to epilepsy, etc. The Rosicrucians accepted the concept of the macrocosm and microcosm as set forth in their *Fama Fraternitatis* (seventeenth century); but it had previously reached its highest development in the Jewish system of theosophy known as the Kabbalah, the most important production of which is the *Zohar*, now recognized as the work of Moses de Leon (thirteenth century).

In the *Zohar* it is taught that mortal man is a type or counterpart of the celestial or cosmic man (II, 70b), and that the human form contains every other form, man being a small universe in himself (III, 135b, etc.). The ten æons or emanations of the Valentinian spiritual Pleroma, which were made ten numerical Sephiroth in the *Sepher Yesirah*, become in the *Zohar* the ten Sephiroth of an ideal or spiritual universe in the form of the Archetypal Man (Adam Kadmon) or Celestial Man (Adam Ilai), but sometimes as the cosmic tree or pillar (for the Valentinian Stauros). The supreme God, the En Soph (= boundless), "the most ancient" and "the most hidden," manifested himself through the media of the ten Sephiroth or Archetypal Man (or tree or pillar); and this figure is divided longitudinally into three parts, to which are allotted three triads of the Sephiroth, while the tenth and lowest Sephirah represents the "harmony" of the whole—like the Valentinian spiritual Christ as the "fulness" of the Pleroma. The first triad of Sephiroth belongs to the Archetypal Man's head and bust (down to the heart); the second triad belongs to the lower half of his torso and his arms, while the third triad belongs to his legs (see accompanying figure from Ginsburg, *Kabbalah*, Plate, op. p. 16; cf. pp. 17, 18 for tree and pillar). Furthermore, the Archetypal Man or Adam Kadmon is formed of the ten Sephiroth of light, and is conceived as "to the right," while he is opposed by the evil Adam Belial, formed of ten Sephiroth of darkness, "to the left" (*Zohar*, I, 55). Thus, too, according to Swedenborg (who

has nothing of the æons or emanations), there are three heavens, which together constitute the Grand Man, or Divine Man, with the same members and organs as a mortal man (*Arcana Caelestia, passim; De Caelo et Inferno*, 63-65, etc.); and the latter is a heaven and a universe in miniature (*De Cael.*, 57, 90). The head of the Grand Man forms the highest or third heaven, containing celestial creatures; his breast and body to the loins form the second heaven, containing spiritual creatures; while his legs and feet (with which his arms and hands are sometimes included) form the lowest heaven, containing natural creatures (*De Cael.*, 65; *Apoc. Explic.*, 708, etc.). This threefold heaven extends "below as well as above" the earth (*De Cael.*, 66, etc.), and therefore appears to be identical with the celestial sphere; but it does not include Swedenborg's underworld, for his hell is a reflection (or variant duplication) of the threefold heaven, and has the form of the Devil as a variant duplication of the Grand Man (*ibid.*, 553).

The first and highest Sefirah of the Kabbalists is generally called the Crown (of the Archetypal Man), one of its variant names in the *Zohar* proper being Macroprosopon (= great-face). But in three of the *Zohar* supplements, the *Sepher Tseniutha*, *Iddera Rabba* and *Iddera Zuta*, the Macroprosopon is described in detail in connection with its inferior counterpart, the Microprosopon (= small-face); both faces or heads belonging to invisible bodies. The Macroprosopon is conceived in profile, while the Microprosopon is a full-face variant reflection of the former, of which it is called the Son, being described as extended in the form of a cross, +, in connection with the Tetragrammaton, JHVH = Jehovah (*Sepher Tsen.*, II, 32-34). The Microprosopon therefore represents



KABBALISTIC COSMIC MAN.

(From Ginsburg, *Kabbalah*, Plate op. p. 16.)

Plato's "only-begotten universe," or celestial sphere, with its invisible soul fixed upon it in the form of \times (see above); while the Macroprosopon is a mere spiritual variant. The Microprosopon, in full-face, has two eyes (for sun and moon), with eyebrows (for light rays) and eyelids which open and close (producing light and darkness), which sleep (when invisible) and yet which sleep not, and at times shed tears (for rain and dew); and its nose is short and emits fire and smoke, etc. The Macroprosopon, in profile, has a right eye only, or two eyes in the one, always open, without eyebrows or eyelids; a long nose like a mighty gallery, whence the spirit of life (for the air) rushes forth upon Microprosopon; skin like the ether, and a skull white and shining—"And from that skull issueth a certain white shining emanation, toward the skull of Micro-



PAN AS THE COSMIC
ALL
Surrounded by the Zodiac.

prosopon, for the purpose of fashioning His head, and thence toward the other inferior skulls (for the stars), which are innumerable" (*Iddera Rabba*, Vol. V, p. 56). Very different from all this is the idea of David al-Jawari of the Mohammedan sect of Kiramiyah; for he identified the anthropomorphic God of that sect with the universe and held that His head (as the celestial sphere) was hollow from the crown to the breast, while He was solid from the breast down (see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. Kiramiyah).

On many Greek and Roman monuments the signs of the zodiac appear in a circle or an oval around Zeus (Jupiter), around Serapis and around Phœbus Apollo—the last as the sun-god, but the two first in all probability in their cosmic characters, of which we have already had evidence (for numerous examples see Grimaldi, *Catalogue of Zodiacs*). Pan as the cosmic "all" was sometimes so figured (Fosbroke, *Encyc. Antiq.*, I, p. 192), as was the serpent-entwined cosmic Kronos of the Mithraists (see a beautified Roman example in *Rev. Archéol.*, 1902, I, p. 1) and also Mithras as the sun-god (Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, pp. 389, 395, 419—but Mithras was more commonly represented in a cave, with the signs on the arch above the entrance, or on the sides). The Greek zodiac signs are found on several Egyptian mummy cases of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; six signs on either side of a full-

length figure with upraised arms, generally the goddess Nepte or Nunpe, the goddess of the abyss of heaven, the personified heaven with the signs allotted to twelve parts of her person. In these Egyptian examples the signs are all placed below the shoulders and



THE MITHRAIC CRONUS SURROUNDED BY THE ZODIAC.

Bas-Relief of Modena. From *Revue archéologique*, I, p. 1.)

above the feet of the figure, with Leo to Capricorn on one side and Cancer to Aquarius on the other, reckoning from above down; this arrangement giving the appearance of belonging to the Egyptian year that began in Leo at the summer solstice about 4000-2000 B. C.

(see Tomlinson, in *Trans. Royal Soc. Lit.*, III, p. 487, and Plate B for figure on mummy case of Archon Soter with Greek signs). On the mummy case of Har-Sont-Iot (Tomlinson, Plate C), the large central figure has six small figures on one side, and twelve or more on the other; probably representing the zodiac signs for the body, and the arctic constellations for the head—and perhaps being a late Egyptian attempt at identifying some of the chief constellation figures with the gods who were earlier allotted to the members of the deceased and those of the cosmic man (see above). In a cosmogonico-astrological representation from the royal tombs at



THE BULL-SLAYING MITHRA SURROUNDED BY THE ZODIAC.

(From Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, p. 389).

Thebes, a large full-length figure of a man, side view, has six small human figures on one side and seven on the other; some of them being referred to the members of the large figure by connecting lines, as are the sun and moon and several stars (*Description de l'Egypte*, II, p. 84; Guigniaut's *Creuzer's Symbolik*, Plate, XLVIII, fig. 187). These figures, taken in connection with the evidence above presented, prove beyond doubt that the so-called Homo Signorum or Man of the (Zodiac) Signs is a mere variant of the cosmic man as identified with the spherical universe; and in all probability the Homo Signorum originated with the later Egyptian astrologers, after they had adopted the Babylonio-Greek zodiac—

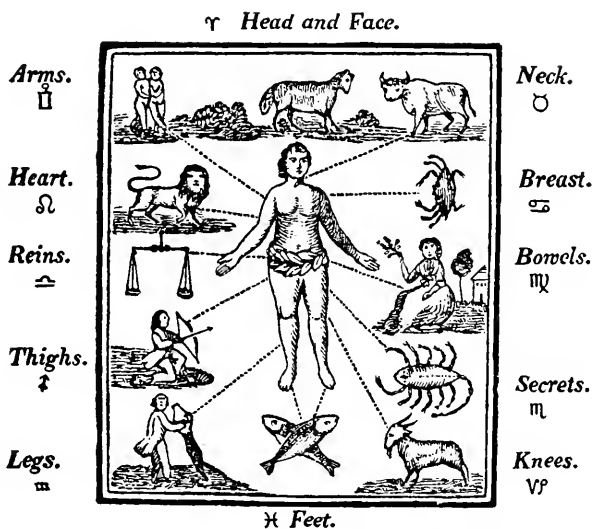
for there is no evidence that the earlier Egyptians knew anything of a zodiac.

In the Jewish *Sepher Yesirah* (probably of the eighth or ninth century A. D., but containing matter of earlier date), the thirty or thirty-two æons or emanations of the Valentinians become the thirty-two attributes of the divine mind as manifested in nature. These attributes are identified with the first ten numerals and the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, the letters being divided into three "mothers," seven doubles and twelve single letters (I, 1). The three "mothers" represent fire, air and water, and the head, chest and belly of man (II, 1; III, 2-5); the seven doubles are referred to the days of the week, the planets, the heavens and "the seven portals of the soul" of man—the eyes, ears, nostrils and mouth (IV, 3), while the twelve simple letters belong to the months, the signs of the zodiac, the faculties of the human mind and the members of the body—"the two hands, the two feet, the two kidneys, the spleen, liver, gall, privates, stomach and intestines" (V. 2). There is no specific allotment of the members to the signs in the *Yesirah*; but the modern Jewish scheme, beginning with the right foot for Aries, is given in Westcott's edition (V, Suppl., pp. 24-25). This Jewish doctrine is probably a comparatively late variant of that of the Gnostic Marcus (second century) who substituted thirty Greek letters for the Valentinian æons. These letters, divided among four words, respectively of four, four, ten and twelve letters, compose the unknown name of the supreme Being, through the enunciation of which he effected his primal manifestation; and the last of these letters (corresponding to the Valentinian Sophia and Achamoth) uttered a word which generated an infinite number of other words (for each letter of every word has a name), thus creating and arranging the material universe. Moreover, with the first six of the Valentinian æons after the supreme Being and his consort, Marcus identified the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet, which thus compose the spiritual Man (Anthropos) and also "the body of Truth," that of the female Aletheia. The alphabet appears to have been conceived originally as placed in an oval form on the front of these figures, as viewed in full length, with the first twelve letters from the head to a foot on one side, and with the following twelve letters from the other foot to the head on the opposite side; for A and Ω (the first and the last letters) are identified with the head, B and Ψ with the neck, Γ and X with the shoulders and arms, Δ and Φ with the breast, E and Y with the diaphragm, Z and I with the back (so Irenæus) or belly (so Hippolytus), H and Σ with the

belly (Irenæus) or pudenda (Hippolytus), Θ and Π with the thighs, Ι and ΙΙ with the knees, Κ and Ο with the legs, Λ and Ξ with the ankles, Μ and Ν with the feet (Irenæus, *Adv. Haers.*, I, 14, 1-5; Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, VI, 37-41—the latter's members of "the body of Truth" being the more consistent with a front view of the figure). There can be little doubt that this arrangement of the $2 \times 12 = 24$ letters originally belonged to the Homo Signorum; in fact, we find the Greek alphabet split in a different way, with both halves reading in regular order, side by side, the letters being presented in pairs and thus allotted to the zodiac signs—A and N to Aries, etc. (see Boll, *Sphaera*, pp. 469, 470).

The earliest extant specific allotment of each of the twelve zodiac signs to a member of the human body (as the microcosm) is found in the *Astronomia* (II, 27; IV, 25) attributed to a certain Manilius who is supposed to have lived in the first century A. D. The same scheme, with minor variations, appears in Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Math.*, V—third century); Julius Firmicus (*Mathes.*, II, 24—fourth century); Paulus of Alexandria (*Rudiment. in Doctrin. Natal.*—fourth century—see Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 471); various medieval writers, such as Cornelius Agrippa (*De Occult. Philos.*, II, 14—fifteenth century) and Athanasius Kircher (*Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 188—seventeenth century), and also in medieval and modern almanacs. In this scheme of the signs and the members of the body, the series of signs begins with Aries (in which fell the spring equinox about 2000-1 B. C.), and the first three and last five signs belong to the same members in all authorities, from Manilius down (excepting that some have the arms, others the shoulders and still others both arms and shoulders for Gemini). Among the variations in the four remaining allotments, Firmicus alone has the heart instead of the breast for Cancer, and Sextus alone has the buttocks instead of the bowels or belly for Virgo; while the allotments for Leo and Libra vary greatly in the earlier authorities. The modern scheme is exactly that of Agrippa and almanacs before his time; and this scheme differs from that of Firmicus only in the interchange of heart and breast for Cancer and Leo—all other authorities having the breast for Cancer. Again, the Marcasian body of Aletheia according to Hippolytus differs from the modern Homo Signorum only in that the ankles among the members of Aletheia are not specified among those of the Homo, while the reins (kidneys) of the latter are not found among the specified members of the former, whose diaphragm corresponds to the Homo's heart.

With the exception of the probable Egyptian prototypes above noticed, the earliest extant representation of the Homo Signorum appears to be in a calendar published about 1300 by Peter of Dacia (in south-eastern Europe), of which there is a manuscript in the Savilian library at Oxford (see J. O. H. [J. O. Halliwell], "Early Almanacs," in *Companion to British Admanac*, 1839, p. 56). Another representation of the same kind appeared in an *Almanac for the year 1386* (reprinted in London, 1812); another in a German almanac of about 1490, now in the British Museum (see Grimaldi.



EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE MODERN HOMO SIGNORUM.

(From Ming's *Hutchin's Improved Almanac*, New York, 1820.)

Catalogue, No. 1302), and another in Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* (VII, 2—A. D. 1496, etc.). In such early examples, the Homo Signorum is generally a full-length figure, standing erect and facing front, with the body opened to expose the internal organs, and with nearly all the signs (animals, etc.) placed upon the members and organs to which they belong; the allotments being the same as in the modern representations with the signs or their symbols (generally the latter) placed around the figure instead of upon it. The earlier types of the modern representations first became popular in the seventeenth century almanacs, especially in England, crude wood-cuts of the said types appearing in numerous variations in

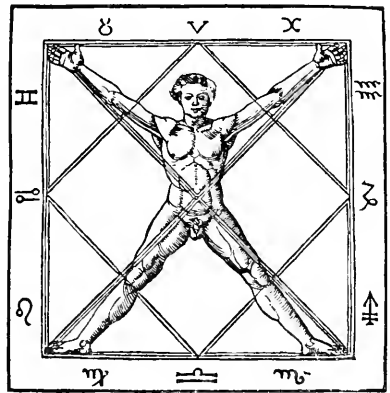
that century and later—the Homo Signorum generally being a male, but sometimes a female, and the whole representation being referred either to the dominion of the sun or of the moon over man's body (see collections in the larger libraries, and also Bolton, "A Relic of Astrology," in *Journ. Amer. Folklore*, XI, pp. 113-125). But all the signs are on the figure in some early almanacs, as in Saunder's *Apollo Anglicanus*, seventeenth century.

The Homo Signorum, as distinguished from the cosmic man, properly should have a circular form, and was probably so conceived originally—somewhat like the Puranic porpoise that represents the celestial sphere (see above); but no ancient type of the



HOMO SIGNORUM OF THE
CIRCULAR TYPE.

From Gadbury's ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ, 1689.



A MEDIEVAL MICROCOSMOS
Agrippa, *De Occulta phil.*, II, 27, p. 164.

circular Homo Signorum appears to be extant. With Aries (the first sign) allotted to the head, and Pisces (the twelfth) to the feet. of course the series could not be placed in regular order around the erect Homo and still have all the signs in juxtaposition to the members to which they belong (see accompanying representations). Therefore the regular order of the signs is not followed in connection with the erect figure in the generality of almanacs (and elsewhere, as in Kircher, *Oed. Aegypt.*, II, Part II, p. 369, cf. p. 188). But the signs are placed in regular order, around the Homo as a female bent backward in circular form, in the later issues of Gadbury's ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and also in *Poor Robin* (eighteenth century; both being almanacs

published in London.¹ Again, the signs, beginning with Aries for the head, were sometimes allotted in regular order to the erect Homo Signorum as the microcosm, thus connecting one or more of the central signs with the feet (as in Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi*, front; *Microcosmi Historia*, front; and in Kircher, *Oed. Aegypt.*, II, Part II, p. 358). Still again, the microcosmic man, with outstretched arms and legs, forms a Greek cross (X) within a square frame, with the signs outside of the frame and in regular order, three to a side (as in Agrippa, *De Occult. Philos.*, II, 27); the same representation sometimes being found with the signs within the square, arranged symmetrically about the man (as in Robert Fludd, *De Microcosmi, Opera*, I, p. 115). This representation was doubtless suggested by the concept of the cosmic man on the cross of the celestial sphere.

The seven planets were also allotted to as many members of the human body by some astrologers (see Manilius, *Astron.*, II, 34; Agrippa, *De Occult. Philos.*, II, 27, etc.), while others confined them to the head (*Sepher Yezirah*, IV, 3, and Suppl., p. 22, Westcott's ed., for modern Jewish allotments; cf. Bolton, in *Journ. Am. Folklore*, XI, p. 123, etc.). The organs of the face are seven, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, VI, 16), while Philo recognizes not only seven divisions of the head, and seven of the body (*Quis Rer. Divin. Haeres.*, I, 35), but also seven entrails (*De Leg. Allegor.*, 4); and in Chinese works the five planets (without sun and moon) are allotted to the heart, lungs, kidneys, liver and stomach (Withington, *Medical History*, p. 364). Again, the seven planets are allotted to the hand by some medieval astrologers, and in the same manner as by modern palmists (see Agrippa, *loc. cit.*).

¹ In one Egyptian representation the body of Osiris is bent backward in the form of a circular band, but the accompanying text says that he thus forms the encircling border of the Tuat or underworld—otherwise the earth-surrounding ocean-river of the horizon (in the "Book of Pylons," on the sarcophagus of Seti I; see Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 203 and Plates, pp. 204, 298). Nut, for the upper hemisphere, is often figured bent forward in semicircular form; and in a representation from Dendera we find two such semicircular females, one within the other (as if for the superior heaven and the firmament), while still further within is a male figure in circular form—probably for Osiris as the border of the Tuat (see Denon, *Voyage*, p. 129, fig. 6; cf. Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 105).

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE THEOLOGY OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM.

BY WILLIAM MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN.

ONE of the chief distinctions between the two great divisions of Buddhism, namely Mahayana or the Buddhism of the North, and Hinayana or Southern Buddhism, is that the former is possessed of a definite theology while the latter is not. In Hinayana, or as its own adherents prefer to call it, Theravada, all questions relating to the existence or non-existence of the Supreme are relegated into the background and their discussion denounced. To be sure, the existence of a superhuman order of beings such as *devas* (corresponding, more or less closely, to the Christian angels) is admitted, as well as a form of demons or devils, but the conception of an All-in-All, so essential to mysticism as we know it in the West, is altogether lacking. The highest which the mind can conceive in Hinayana is Nirvana (Pali Nibbana) which, according to the southern interpretation at least, is a condition of mind rather than an Infinite Being who is the norm of existence.

In Mahayana, however, or Buddhism as it prevails in north-eastern Asia and the Far East, theological and metaphysical speculation has been permitted to run riot, with the result that in those countries we have before us to-day a theological system so complete, so wide-spread and so hairsplitting, that, compared with it, the systems of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages with their problems, among others, as to how many angels could stand upon a needle's point at the same time, seem childish and lacking in detail. It is, accordingly, a matter of small wonder that the doctrine of Mahayana are said to be eighty-four thousand in number. This exceedingly complexity of Mahayana, the Great Vehicle (of salvation) as it calls itself, has been of no little difficulty to the many Occidental would-be students of the subject, and a large proportion have been entirely led astray by the intricate mazes which it presents. They have mastered an enormous mass of resultant features but in their bewil-

derment at the number, they have failed to grasp the essential spirit beneath.

As a matter of fact, however, to one who goes about it properly the understanding of this spirit—the underlying fundamentals—is by no means so difficult as might, at first sight, be supposed. We have a saying in Japan that although it takes eight years of hard study to understand the teachings of the Hosso Sect, yet the main principles may be fathomed in eight minutes. The same thing is true of Mahayana as a whole. An entire comprehension of all the details of Mahayana is, for one single man, almost an impossibility, yet the principal ideas may be understood by the average schoolboy.

Consequently the great question is, what are the fundamental principles of the Mahayana faith? Speaking generally, it may be said that, although Mahayana teaches far more than does its sister faith, everything which the latter proclaims the former admits to be true, and since, owing to the indefatigable endeavors of modern Orientalists, the teachings of Hinayana lie more or less open to the students of the Western world, the question is narrowed down to one, as to the main principles of the Mahayana theology, or its ideas regarding the nature and attributes of the Divine and his relations to the human world.

1.

Beyond doubt, the idea which is most essential to Mahayana is its conception of the oneness of life. At first sight, the world seems made up of an infinite number of separate objects with very little connection between them. A little closer examination will show, however, that Mahayana is right in declaring that this seeming separateness is false and that all objects, however different in essence they may appear, are in reality but transformations or manifestations of an infinite spirit of life which is one and eternal. This acme of being (if I may be pardoned this expression) is called in Sanskrit *Bhutatahata*, in Chinese *Chen Ju* and in Japanese *Shinnyo Hoshō*. If it does not correspond to, it at least takes the place of, the Christian conception of God.

While, however, Christian writers devote a considerable portion of their time to a consideration of the Deity's nature and attributes, Buddhism begins by stating that by his very nature he is incomprehensible to the mind of the ordinary man. We find the foremost patriarchs of Mahayana declaring that so absolute is he that it is wrong to say that he exists or that he does not exist, or that he both exists and non-exists, or that he neither exists nor non-exists.

According to Mahayana the only way in which to gain a knowledge of his nature is to attain Buddhahood, or supreme and perfect enlightenment.

But while it is impossible to fully realize him, much less to describe him adequately to others, it is nevertheless obvious that every one may gain some little idea of the general nature of his existence—provided, of course, that his existence in general be granted. Accordingly, Mahayana teaches its followers to endeavor to increase their realization of the Divine Spirit day by day until finally by so doing, perfect enlightenment will be gained.

To the materialist the *summum bonum* is equivalent to matter, to the average religionist; to spirit, to the pantheist of Spinoza's school: it is both spirit and matter. But to the Mahayanist, God or the Shinnyo Hosho is far superior to both spirit and matter, though both of them are partial manifestations of him. It is often claimed that Mahayana is pantheistic, but this is true or untrue only according to the sense in which the word pantheism is used. If pantheism be taken as meaning that God and the universe are synonymous and nothing more, Buddhism is distinctly anti-pantheistic, but when by that expression is meant the doctrine that God is in the world as well as beyond it, then Mahayana takes pride in calling itself pantheistic. To quote the Rt. Rev. Soyen Shaku, in his *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot*:

“According to the proclamation of the Enlightened mind, God or the principle of sameness is not transcendent but immanent in the universe, and we sentient beings are manifesting the divine glory just as much as the lilies of the field. A God who, keeping aloof from his creations, sends down words of command through specially favored agents is rejected by Buddhists as against the constitutions of human reason. God must be in us who are made in his likeness. We cannot presume the duality of God and the world. Religion is not to go to God by forsaking the world but to find him in it. . . .

“We must not, however, suppose that God is no more than the sum total of individual existences. God exists even when all creations have been destroyed and reduced to a state of chaotic barrenness. God exists eternally and he will create another universe out of the ruins of this one.”

This One Being is considered, in Mahayana, to have two forms or aspects, the first the absolute and transcendent phase, and the second its finite and immanent phase. The former is the Divine as he is, was and ever shall be, the Eternal out of space and time, infinite and without limitation, the latter the Divine manifested in

the world of life and death—the principle behind existence and life as it is to-day. It is the eternal in the transient. These two aspects, according to Mahayana, however antithetical they may appear at first sight, are in reality one.

This idea is not confined to Mahayana. We find it in nearly all of the most inspired religions and philosophies, and especially in primitive Taoism, where in the *Tao Teh King* of Lao-Tze we read: "That which is before heaven and earth is called the non-existent. The existent is the mother of all things. The existent and the non-existent are the same in all but name. This identity of apparent opposites I call the profound, the great deep, the open door of bewilderment."

In Taoism and the other philosophies, however, the idea remains somewhat vague and indefinite. We sense the general truth of the statement without comprehending how it is to be applied. The question as to the relation of the Absolute and the universe is indeed a very difficult one.

In Mahayana we are given two illustrations as to the identity and non-identity of the non-existent and the existent, to use Lao-Tze's phrase, or in Mahayana phraseology, the infinite and the finite. The first of these is that of pots of clay. There are, we know, pots of many shapes and sizes, some used for good purposes, some for bad, though they may all be of one substance. The other is of the ocean and the waves. The pots and the waves are the various objects of the universe while the ocean and the clay are the absolute. And while, to use the simile of the ocean, no two waves are alike, yet they are all of one essence—water; though the water assumes many shapes and transformations, yet does the nature of the water remain unchanged. In like manner, the Absolute manifests the universe without in the least affecting his own essence. And as there can be the ocean without the waves, but no waves without the ocean, so Mahayana declares that no life would be possible without having for its *raison d'être* the Bhutatathata.

II.

It would seem that, with the exception of Islam, practically all the great religions which admit the existence of a Supreme at all, have also taught that he has revealed himself to the universe in three aspects. In ancient Egypt we had Osiris, Horus and Isis; in India, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva; while in Christianity, of course, there is the trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

Mahayana is no exception to this rule. In fact, in that religion

we have several trinities, consisting of different sets of triple aspects of the One Supreme. The most important and the most universal, however, is the one which is termed in Sanskrit the *Trikaya*, and in Japanese the *Sanshin*, which means literally the three (Skt. *tri*, Jap. *san*) bodies (Skt. *kaya*, Jap. *shin*). These are: the *Dharmakaya* (Jap. *Hosshin*), *Nirmanakaya* (Jap. *Ojin* and *Keshin*), and finally the *Sambhogakaya* (*Hoshin*). The careful study of this Mahayana trinity is most necessary, since, owing to its general vagueness and complexity the subject has been the matter of much dispute and difference among the foremost Occidental students of and authorities on Northern Buddhism.

The study of the origin of the conception of the threefold manifestation of the Supreme is of especial interest. Originally, and we still have faint traces of it in Hinayana or Southern Buddhism, it was merely the doctrine that every Buddha or enlightened sage is in possession of the above-mentioned three bodies. The exact nature of the three bodies in the case of the mere personal Buddhas is rather vague. The *Dharmakaya* is literally the body of the Law, the more or less universal vehicle of the Tathagata or Perfect One; the *Sambhogakaya* is the body of bliss, or the vehicle which the teachers of gods and men are supposed to assume as a reward for their mental victory and which is supposed to insure perfect happiness; the *Nirmanakaya* is the body of transformation or incarnation which the Buddhas use in order that they may teach the world the path of salvation.

Perhaps the first thing which strikes the investigator of this subject is the unusualness of the idea, the distinction between that conception and all others commonly met with, and one naturally feels some little curiosity as to how the idea originated. Modern scholars are practically all agreed that the doctrine did not originate with Gautama, the historical founder of Buddhism (for the present, as I have already remarked, I am putting aside all questions as to which is the more genuine and representative of the two Buddhist branches and content myself with quoting common opinion) so that the question at once arises as to when and why the doctrine came into being.

Up to the present time the chief authorities have either acknowledged their complete ignorance of the true reason or else have put forward hypotheses which have been proved untenable by further and more complete investigation. The very absence, then, of probable explanations has emboldened me to put forward the theory which I have not hitherto met with—that is, that the three

mystic bodies of the Buddhas are in reality nothing more than the personification of the universal and completely orthodox threefold refuge which one finds both in Hinayana and Mahayana, the words which every candidate for admission into the Buddhist priesthood or even laity must repeat,¹ and which runs, needless to say,

“In the Buddha I take my refuge,
In the Law I take my refuge,
In the Church I take my refuge.”

This refuge is a very natural thing and has come down to us from the very earliest times. It was not very long, however, before a tendency (somewhat unconscious) toward personification set in. Hinayana had no Supreme Being in whom its followers could take their refuge. It did not even expressly state that the Buddha Gautama continued, after his demise, to keep his divine, glorified personality in some supreme heaven, continuing to aid his followers on earth in their struggle for freedom from the wheel of life and death—in fact, Hinayana was entirely ambiguous as to whether or not his personality had been totally annihilated when he expired.

Man is weak, however, and constantly clings, whether or not with justification, to the conception of a personal *sumnum bonum* in which, to use Buddhist phraseology, he can take his refuge. Accordingly, since strict Hinayana theology could not give them this, many Buddhists gradually formulated one for themselves out of the best material which they had at hand. In an address which he gave to his disciples shortly before his death, Gautama, or Sakya-muni, as the Mahayanists prefer to call him, is supposed to have exhorted them not to grieve at his departure from them, since speaking figuratively he would continue to exist in the doctrine or the law (Skt. *dharma*, Jap. *ho*) which he had given them.

This law, like the Christian Gospel, is universal both as regards time and place. It was taught long before the advent of the sage of the Sakyas and would continue to be so long after his death. His law held good not only in this world but in all others. It is immutable. It is easy to see what the founder of Buddhism meant, provided that he spoke the words at all. The law (it means far more than the mere sum total of the various Buddhist teachings) was a very real and important thing to Gautama. In fact, we may consider that he believed himself to be the voice of the law, or, in a sense, that the law dwelt in him and that he was the law—the

¹ It must be remembered that in Buddhism, Buddha is not merely a certain historical person, but a spiritual condition which has been reached by many men throughout the history of the world.

Dharma—incarnate, much as we may look upon a musical genius to be music incarnate. After his decease, therefore, whether his mere personality survived or not, the law which was in him would forever endure, and accordingly, so would in one sense his own true self.

Such a conception, once started, however, could easily develop into something far more theistic and mystical. Sakyamuni was to be considered as having two bodies, for in his own words, so it seemed to his followers, the Dharma which he preached to them was a living, concrete thing which was his true body, while for the purpose of manifesting himself to the world he had assumed a physical vehicle. In such a way may we trace the development of the Dharmakaya and the Nirmanakaya. In fact, do not the very meaning of the words themselves suggest it, for as we have seen, the Dharmakaya signifies the body of the law—the law personified and taken as a thing in itself—while the Nirmanakaya is the body of transformation or incarnation—which is, of course, nothing else than the physical Buddha, such as Gautama.

Since, however, the followers had taken two of their refuges, the law and the Buddha, and had deified them—personified them and shown them to be two different aspects or bodies of the same fundamental reality—why should they not have done the same thing for their one remaining refuge, the Samgha—the church, or, more correctly, the brotherhood of monks which Sakyamuni had instituted. Although we have, as far as I know, no record of the founder of Buddhism having explicitly stated that he would continue to live after his passing away in the order which he had founded, yet he may well have done so in some unrecorded instruction, and in any case the idea is an obvious corollary of the continued-existence-in-the-law idea. Even according to materialism a man lives on in his works (an artist in his paintings, etc.). The Buddhists call it Karma and certainly the establishment of the Samgha was Sakyamuni's chief work, and since the spirit of its founder was supposed to abide in the brotherhood, the idea gradually evolved that the brotherhood must consequently be considered as forming a third body in addition to the other two which the Sage of the Sakyas was supposed to possess.

Such were probably the rudiments of the present Buddhist trinity, but for some time they must have been regarded more as a poetic fancy than anything else. It was more or less as we should speak of a great general being possessed of three bodies—the spirit of patriotism, his actual physical vehicle and the army which he

had brought into being. Slowly, however, the idea, with the process of time, developed. The origin of the conception was lost sight of, and the poetry was taken for fact. No longer was the Buddha supposed to have three bodies in a merely figurative sense but in the actual meaning which the words conveyed. Gautama had three vehicles, and the physical body was no more really he than the other two aspects. Naturally the conception of the nature of these other two aspects had to change as the symbolic conception of the Trikaya was lost sight of. The Dharmakaya could no longer be merely the gospel, the body of truths, which was called Buddhism, for it had become the one great and unchanging reality. It became the norm of existence: that thing which everything must be in accordance with or perish. As time went on the process of personification went on until finally the Dharmakaya became almost a personal being which guides the course of evolution. It became the reason of the universe from which all other things derive their intelligence and their life.

The Nirmanakaya by its very nature required little or no change; but the conception of the Sambhogakaya was so altered as to practically obscure its origin. The idea of the physical order was entirely lost sight of and one of the most convincing proofs that it was originally the order to which the Sambhogakaya referred is that this third body seems somewhat strangely out of place and unnecessary as if at some former time it did definitely refer to something which has been lost sight of. Something of its old character still remains, however, in the idea that the Sambhogakaya is the divine in touch with man and the universe, for the Dharmakaya is deemed too impersonal and too distant—mere reason—so that an aspect is needed which is more in touch with the needs of the human world, just as in old days the law was the mere abstract truth while the Samgha was the vehicle which presented it to the people and which led them to an understanding of it. Again, the Sambhogakaya is at present supposed to be the immortal body of the Buddhas, the glorified body which unlike the mere physical one is permanent and supreme, and which is constantly giving illumination all over the world, just as originally while the earthly body of Gautama decayed his spirit continued forever unchanged as the essence behind the order which shone forth as the light of the truth of the world. It must also be remembered that the Samgha was ideally supposed to be composed of *arhats*, "saints," those freed from the wheel of life and death, and those just preparing for arhatship. Joy and bliss are supposed to have been

prominent characteristics of the arhats, which accounts, in some degree, for the third member of the trinity being known as the body of bliss.²

At first, it must be noted, these three bodies were supposed to apply to Sakyamuni alone. It is one of the chief distinctions between Buddhism and the other principal religions, however, that the position which Gautama attained is not unique, but, on the contrary, is one which has been and will be gained countless times. Consequently, being possessed of all of Sakyamuni's attributes, all the other Buddhas must be considered to have three bodies of their own—each, in a word, must have a Dharmakaya, a Nimanakaya and a Sambhogakaya. As before noted, this doctrine continues down to the present day.

The step from a conception of the Trikaya as belonging merely to each individual Buddha to that in which it is regarded as a threefold method of manifestation of the one ultimate reality may seem a sudden and an impossible one. As a matter of fact, however, it was one which was soon made and was logically rendered necessary: it was merely the result of two different tendencies which had, sooner or later, to make themselves felt. The first of these was the beginning of the attitude to regard the Bhutatathata or the Shinnyo Hoshō as a sort of Buddha, though infinitely broadened and amplified; in other words, as the one universal and all-comprehensive Buddha. In addition to his impersonal and unmanifested aspect, the Bhutatathata was supposed to have his manifested and more or less personal side (using the word personal in its wider and better sense). This was, of course, also omnipresent and universal, but it seemed to them to be the Ideal Being, which was nothing more than their conception of a Buddha raised to the *n*th power. Being regarded as a Buddha, however, it was necessary that he should be regarded as having an equivalent to the ordinary Buddha's three bodies, though naturally correspondingly universalized.

² So obvious has been the development of the Trikaya from the three refuges that I have not found it necessary to give detailed proof, such as stating the different conceptions of the Trikaya at various epochs or citing the many other points of similarity between the two *summa bona*.

Those who think it impossible for the triratna to have undergone such a transformation should remember the indisputable evolution which it has undergone in Nepal. There Buddha is supposed to represent mind, Dharma, matter, and Samgha the concretion of the two in the phenomenal world. According to the Aisvarika sect of Nepaulese Buddhism, Buddha is the symbol of generative power, Dharma the productive power, while Samgha, their son, is the *actual* creative power, or *active* creator and ruler. The other principal school, the Svabhavika, only differs in giving the Dharma (sometimes called the Prajna) the female element priority. Samgha is sometimes associated with Padmapani (Avalokitesvara). (See Hodgson's *Nepaulese Buddhism*).

As a matter of fact, however, the Mahayanists would have been forced to reach the same conclusion to avoid a hopeless complication in regard to the three bodies of the various human Buddhas. The body of the law (Dharmakaya) of Gautama was necessarily universal; it was forced by its origin to be omnipresent, to be the sole standard of existence. Every Buddha, however, was supposed to have a similar body so that Buddhism was in danger of having innumerable omnipresents and innumerable sole standards of being—obviously a self-contradiction. Countless Nirmanakayas there might be, but not Sambhogakayas, which were likewise considered to be unlimited both in regard to place and time.

There was only one way in which Mahayana could get out of the difficulty into which it had gotten itself, and that was by stating that all the Dharmakayas were united in, or rather were reflexes of, one Supreme Dharmakaya; all the various Nirmanakayas but the results of the transformation of one universal Nirmanakaya; and, finally, that there was but one original Sambhogakaya of which all others were but emanations. The doctrine that each Buddha has three separate bodies of his own was retained but the idea was added that, as drops of water are inseparable from the whole ocean, so are the individual Trikayas inseparable from the one universal Trikaya. Obviously, once the idea of a universal Trikaya was admitted, it was necessary to add that it was but the Bhutatathata manifesting himself, so closely did the nature of the two conceptions agree with each other.

III.

Such, then, was the probable origin of the modern Mahayana conception of the Trikaya or trinity—a fundamental doctrine of Northern Buddhism—and such is its general nature. The only remaining question is as to the exact nature and attributes of each of the three bodies of the universal Buddha. The task of answering this is by no means as easy as might be supposed. In Christianity, and, indeed, in all the other religions teaching a triune God, the doctrines as to the nature of each member of the trinity are clearly set forth and easily understood, even if one be out of sympathy with the conception. In Mahayana, however, the subject is a most difficult one in spite of, and in fact owing to, the overwhelming mass of detail with which the doctrine is encumbered.

The nature of each member of the Trikaya has been minutely dissected and analyzed; yet in reviewing the idea as a whole no two Western authorities on the subject seem to agree. To a large

section the Dharmakaya seems to correspond to the Christian conception of God the Father, while to another section, including, it would appear, Dr. Paul Carus (see his *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics*, it is the Sambhogakaya which is God the Father, the Dharmakaya being the Holy Ghost. To still another school the Sambhogakaya is the equivalent of the resurrected Christ, while many refuse to make any comparison at all.

This confusion, however, while great, is by no means overwhelming and may easily be cleared away if one takes up separately the different attitudes of the various sects regarding the Trikaya. Speaking generally, there may be said to be two main ideas regarding it, and though, as we shall see, the two fundamentally identical, yet much of the confusion has arisen from the distinction not having been grasped. I shall call these two doctrines those of the Shodomon (Gate of Purity) and Jodomon (Gate of Pure Land) since these are, respectively, the ideas which are held by those two schools into which Mahayat is divided.

The former, to which belong five of the seven great Mahayana sects of Japan³ (the various schools of China having practically all more or less coalesced) namely, the Kegon, the Tendai (this sect is considered the mother of the later schools), the Shingon, the Zen and the Nichiren—is chiefly noted for having the Dharmakaya as its principal object of worship.

The teachings of this school may perhaps be more easily understood by the aid of the accompanying chart:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Dharmakaya | Reason |
| 2. Sambhogakaya | |
| 1. Self-enjoying body | } Wisdom |
| 2. Others-enjoying body | |
| 2. Nirmanakaya | |
| 1. The Ojiri | |
| a. Superior Body for Pratyeka Buddhas | } Love |
| b. Inferior Body for Sravakas | |
| 2. The Keshin. | |

In this arrangement the Dharmakaya might also be called the heart of the universe. In its general nature and attributes it is

³ There are altogether twelve great sects: three of them, however, belong to Hinayana and the other two to Madhyimayana, or Apparent Mahayana. The doctrines of these sects and their relations with one another have been brought out in another article (cf. *The Open Court*, February, 1919).

exactly like the Bhutatathata with one important exception—the Bhutatathata, being the Great Unmanifested, is largely a philosophic conception; we reason, we discuss, we realize the Bhutatathata: but we adore the Dharmakaya. The doctrine of the Dharmakaya is what gives Mahayana its truly religious aspect, something which is apt to be lacking in Hinayana. The Dharmakaya corresponds, as we have seen, in the Shodomon to the Christian God the Father, but though it is like the Christian conception of the Deity inasmuch as it is supposed to be the chief object of our worship, yet the Mahayana idea is apt to be more amplified, more universal, less restricted. In Christianity, in spite of the clause “Without body, parts, or passions,” we still in some remote portion of our theology seem to have the picture of “a man fourteen feet high with a beard six feet long.”

The Northern Buddhistic view of this law-body is not of a man made God-like, but rather of a principle self-manifested for the sake of aiding evolution. It is personal, I have said: yes, but care must be taken in understanding just what is meant by the word “personal.” If by personal we mean anthropopathic—man-like in feeling, if not in actual shape, with a man’s likes and dislikes, hates and partialities—the Dharmakaya is certainly not personal. Nevertheless, it is not purely abstract and colorless—it is not merely love, reason and justice. It is endowed with those attributes and is therefore in that sense a person, but it far transcends the limits of a personality in the narrow sense in which that word is so often used. The Dharmakaya is not impersonal, but rather than personal, we might call it super-personal.

The Bhutatathata, as we have seen, is both spirit and matter; the Dharmakaya we might perhaps call the spirit side distinguishing itself from matter and causing the evolution of the universe. It is the reason side of the divine—one may also with justice term it the will aspect, all sentient beings being supposed to derive their sentiency, their reason, and their will from it. It is the hidden force which constantly urges evolution upward without which this would quickly run along some side-track. In fact, if I were called upon to give the Dharmakaya another name, I should call it the Great Spiritual Urge.

The Dharmakaya is far removed from the idea of a purely transcendent despot far off in some distant heaven who hands down decrees to this world, for it is supposed to be not only in the world, but the very life and essence of it (“in whom we live and move and have our being”); and yet even so Mahayana has provided an even

closer medium of divinity in the Sambhohakaya. The Dharmakaya stands midway between the Sambhogakaya and the Bhutatathata as regards the abstract or the philosophical, and the concrete or the religious. The Bhutatathata is purely a philosophical conception, the Dharmakaya is indeed, a religious ideal but is looked upon as a thing unto itself, something independent of both man and worlds, though each might be obliged to exist in accordance with and derive their *raison d'être* from it (there again like the Christian doctrine of God the Father), while the Sambhogakaya is considered as the divine especially in touch with human life and its needs. Accordingly, it closely resembles in this respect the God, the Holy Ghost of the West, which proceeds from the Father (and from the Son also, says the Western Church) for the express purpose of keeping humanity in touch with the Father. While the Dharmakaya is reason devoid of limitation or feeling, the Sambhogakaya is wisdom, reason tinged with experience, the result of reason adapted to the material world; or, in other words, practical reason in contradistinction to pure reason.

With that hair-splitting for which Mahayana and all Oriental philosophy are so noted, the intricate doctrine of the Sambhogakaya has been made still more difficult of complete comprehension by the division of this sacred vehicle into two parts, the passive and the active Sambhogakaya. In order to understand the nature of these two divisions, something of the nature of the Buddhist doctrine of the power of thought must be taken into consideration. The passive Sambhogakaya is the recipient of the ceaseless devotion which is constantly being poured out by worshipers. It might be called the immediate object of worship, a sort of spiritual image, for when one desires to adore the divine in any aspect, the devotion is received by this aspect of the Body of Bliss. The active Sambhogakaya, on the other hand, is supposed to be that aspect of Deity which is constantly shedding its spiritual illumination over all the ten quarters, the Buddhist synonym for the universe. It is as if the spiritual energy which is poured forth by devotees were stored up, transmuted and sent back to the world at large "Cast your bread upon the waters, for it shall return an hundredfold," etc.)

These spiritual rays sent forth by the Sambhogakaya are supposed to be for the benefit of all classes of men impartially — the sinner as well as the saint, the ignorant as well as the wise man. Each man is supposed to absorb and to benefit according to his own capacity and willingness to do so. It is evident, however, that it is the spiritual minded who benefit most greatly by it, since it is they

who are the most conscious of these rays and are the most willing to profit by them. The Samghogakaya is entirely a thing of the spirit and can only be realized by spiritual perception.

What, then, however, becomes of the countless millions who are "of the earth earthy"? Are they to be left in the night of spiritual darkness until they finally become disgusted with it, and of their own volition turn their faces toward the light? To such a conception Mahayana gives a decided negative. The Divine, according to its teachings, is not merely something which can be approached (the approaching of which gives one perfect enlightenment), but it is ever actively working for the spiritual awakening of the masses. Accordingly, there is a third and still more material body of the universal Buddha which all may see and hear. This is the Nirmanakaya, the body of transformation or incarnation, corresponding of course to the Christian God the Son, or the "Word made flesh." It is the vehicle which the Supreme assumes when, for the purpose of enlightening the world and of "beating the drum of the Law," he manifests himself to the material world. He then takes a particular form, and becomes a devil, god, man, deva, or even an animal, adapting himself to the condition and the intellectual development of the people.

This Nirmanakaya is divided into two classes, called in Japanese the Ojin and the Keshin. These may be interpreted as the complete and the incomplete incarnation. The latter is frequent and universal. It is little more than to say that the spirit of God moves in an avatar or the person in whom the divine is supposed to be incarnated. The Divine inspires him and lives in him so that not only may we say that the message which he preaches is divine, but also the very person himself is divine. I am almost tempted to say that the Mahayana view of the nature of the divinity of the Keshin, or incomplete incarnation, corresponds to that of Nestorianism of old, which was that in the Incarnate being there were two persons, the divine and the human, which were in some mysterious way united or welded together. It must be remembered, however, that in Mahayana there can be but one person or being in itself, namely the Divine (this is the significance which the doctrine of non-atman has assumed in Mahayana) and that accordingly we are all latently divine, or, in other words, that we are all undeveloped avatars. The condition of the avatar may therefore be said to be brought about by the developing of the inner light. The avatar, then, is one who manifests the divinity which is everywhere present.

The principal avatars are considered to be men who have at-

tained to supreme enlightenment or Buddhahood. It is they who are supposed to be the most perfect incarnations of the Supreme. Even in Buddhahood, however, there are degrees, until finally the rank of complete incarnation or Ojin is reached. The difference between the Ojin and the Keshin is more one of degree than of kind, it is only that in the latter the union of the two natures is considered to be the more complete. In the Keshin it is more the human nature influenced by the divine nature which speaks, while in the Ojin it is rather the divine nature itself speaking, merely using the human nature as a mouthpiece.

While partial incarnations are of frequent occurrence (the great patriarchs of all the sects and all the religions being regarded as Keshins), the appearance of an Ojin is extremely rare, coming only at times of great need and for certain specific purposes. During the present age or dispensation there are supposed to be only two: Sakyamuni, the historical founder of Buddhism, and Maitreya—the Buddha-to-be who was prophesied by Gautama as his successor. There are two versions of the prophecy. One is that Maitreya (Jap. Miroku) would appear five hundred years after Gautama; the other, five thousand years afterward. The former figure has led many persons interested in the cooperation of Christianity and Buddhism (myself among them) to identify Christ and the promised Buddhist Messiah.

Each superior incarnation is understood to have two bodies—the superior and the inferior. In this case, however, “body” is not perhaps as accurate a term as “nature” or “aspect.” In Mahayana there is a threefold division of Buddhist believers. The first of these are the Bodhisattvas, those persons who aim at the attainment of Buddhahood in order to attain and save the whole world. The second are those whose goal is Pratyeka (private) Buddhahood, or supreme enlightenment for oneself alone, while the lowest are the ignorant Sravakas (literally “hearers”) who endeavor to reach Arhatship or mere salvation from the wheel of birth and death.

The Bodhisattvas are looked upon as the spiritually-minded who can obtain their illumination direct from the Sambhogakaya, while the superior body of the Ojin (Jap. Sho-Ojin) is for the aspirants for Pratyeka Buddhahood. Even this nature, however, reveals certain truths which the lowest, the Sravakas, are unable to understand or appreciate, so great is their profundity, so that the Buddha, desirous of the salvation of all sorts and conditions of men, assumes a still lower nature, the incomplete body, the Rettojin, for the sake of aiding the simple, the skeptical and the

unintelligent. Are we not reminded in this connection of the Christ's words, "Unto the multitudes I speak in parables, but unto you, face to face."

Such, then, is the conception of the Trikaya as held by practically all the schools of Mahayana, for even the Jodomon conception differs only in one important detail. Among the followers of the Shodomon, there is only one important division of opinion on this point, namely, the doctrine taught by the Kegon sect and that held by the Tendai and the remaining sects. The difference reminds one strangely of the difference between the Arian and the Athanasian views of the Trinity. In the Kegon sect, the Dharmakaya is looked upon as somewhat superior to the other two aspects of the Universal Buddha. It alone is the pure reason, the Cause, while the Sambhogakaya and the Nirmanakaya are merely the "things" (*ji*) or the result. In the Tendai theology, however, (and all the subsequent sects derive their systems from Tendai) the three bodies are absolutely equal and undivided (literally "not two"). It is interesting to note that not only did similar controversies occur in both the East and the West, but that also, in both cases, was the same theory triumphant, namely, the equal and undivided, or Athanasian, idea, for in Japan the Kegon sect is now practically extinct.

Only one other point remains to be spoken of in this connection. In the process of time, each one of the three aspects came to be more and more personified, until finally the names of ideal Buddhas were attached. Thus in the Shingon or Mantra sect (and to a certain extent in the others) the Dharmakaya came to be known as Vairochana Buddha (Jap. Dai Nichi Butsu) or the Blessed One coming from the sun, the Sambhogakaya as Amitabha or Amitayus Buddha (Jap. Amida Butsu) or the Divine Being of infinite light and infinite time while the Nirmanakaya was typified by Sakyamuni.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

A TRUCE OF PHILOSOPHIES.

BY ROBERT V. SHOEMAKER.

PRAGMATISM says that truth is always relative to our development of mind, and valued according to our purposes. If this is true—and there is no doubt but it at least represents a truth—then a philosophy that can reconcile the sustaining purposes of materialism, idealism and pantheism, will be able so to appeal to the whole soul of man that he will recognize the teaching as truth—as the idea-embodiment-for-him of reality. To sketch the outlines of such a reconciling philosophy, and to show the real underlying harmony between these three philosophies, is the none too modest purpose of this essay.

Following the pragmatic principle of practicality, let us try to assign a place to pantheism. The chief objection to pantheism is the passive mood that it imparts. The recognition of worthiness in everything that is, is not conducive to strife for the things that are not and must be. If everything at any one time is either good or working for good, there is no standard for the choice of more or less productive paths in life. Spinoza's pantheism resolved itself into an end to all striving, and a passive oneness with the All—though nothing is more manifest than that to be one with the All is to be active. The modern "Christian Scientist" pantheism does not discourage striving, but allows it recognition along with all things else, as good; but, since all is good, there is no impelling motive to altruistic striving, and selfish striving is the more encouraged. The materially prosperous flock to the Scientist standard; others of the fold are encouraged, and thus aided, to gain material prosperity; and the whole tone of their worship is one of deadening contentment in health and wealth or whatever other material blessings they may have: Not for them any agony over starving millions in China or in tenement houses in unvisited corners of their own city!

Yet it can readily be seen that this philosophy would do very

nicely for a well-adjusted world, where governmental and human frailties were so slight that there was no need of an aggressive and sacrificing altruism. The reason we rebel against pantheism is that the times are not yet ripe for it. Humanity cannot live half emancipated and half enchained. The emancipated must devote themselves to rending the others' chains. But once the chains are all broken and thrown into the melting-pot of dissolution, then pantheism can come into its own.

There are yet some objections which we must answer here. Some object to a perfect, pantheistic world for our goal, because, they say, they would not live in a land whose fruits were not sweetened by desperate strife. These we may ask if there is not something wrong with a mind that insists upon having others suffer to spice its pleasure. But, say others, granted such a world of perfection is better than our present world, is it worth striving for? Would it not be a tame object for century-long struggle? Why not give up the fight and die? To this the first reply is, to give up the fight is to shirk. Man has an impulse that makes him strive upward, and to drop out of the struggle is ignoble. Even could all men be persuaded to give up the fight, the world would still move on, even without man, and still have problems unsolved which only evolution and striving could solve. And this would remain true if man killed, before himself, all life upon which he could lay hand. And the second reply is that, no matter how near perfect the institutions of man and the dispositions of beasts, there are always the elements to brave, games to excite and develop, mountain crags to scale. And if the man of the perfect world becomes surfeited of these—which is not likely from our present need of bundling for the elements and of braces and supporters for our games—he may at least seek a calm death, untroubled by the responsibility of the sins of the world.

So pantheism is an unsilenceable craving, which the selfish hope of a personal reward hereafter cannot silence, but only deaden. In our philosophy, then, pantheism for the future.

Examining idealism by its fruits, we find two distinct, yet often entwined, types of idealism, which we will denote as aspirational idealism and as basic or cosmic idealism. Their products in the world are practically opposite, and when the two are combined in a philosophy, as they are almost invariably, they make for a sort of contradictory ethical indeterminism.

Basic idealism defines matter as we know it as a figment of the mind. Kant's critical rationalism concedes some ground to the

materialist in his threefold world of mental states, phenomena and things-in-themselves, but his definition of phenomena as the synthesis of sense-impressions by means of mental categories gives him a decided leaning toward basic idealism. Now the fruits of these beliefs—pure and critical basic idealism—are perhaps not so soporific as is pantheism, but they have marked tendencies that way. If ideals, ideas, or categories are held to be independent of matter (creating phenomena rather than created by phenomena), if ideas or categories are shot at us bolt out of the sky—we not only are involved in an endless array of equally dogmatic ideas, we not only find ourselves unable to cope with numerous physical situations for which there is no adequate God-given idea, but we are likely to become physically lethargic, and echo too emphatically the ideas of Rabbi Ben Ezra of “the vulgar mass called work,” of the world as “machinery just meant to give the soul its bent,” and the subsequent injunction, “Thou, heaven’s consummate cup, what need’st thou with earth’s wheel?” This tone of selfish individualism is sounded at frequent intervals through the idealism of the nineteenth century—its poets and its ministers—and its voice is still a strong one, comforting into torpor those who otherwise could not rest until they had made the world physically a better place to live in, and who but for trust that the sweet in spirit shall be saved to eternal bliss, might pin their lives and their trust to the hope of perfection achieved in the physical world, through physical as well as soul labor. (This is not meant in any way to ridicule the belief in a future spiritual life, except as it is used as a drug to deaden the sensibilities which demand a housecleaning in this world.)

But the other kind of idealism, aspirational idealism, we would cling to above all else in the world. It is forming and clinging to ideals that has raised us above the brutes of the paleolithic age, the brutes of the inquisition days, the brutes of this day of war and after-war terror, and the weaker brutes of our nation’s southern neighbor. It is the forming of ideals *and* the insistence upon making them *real* and *material* that has raised man to be man. And it is at this point that aspirational idealism conflicts with cosmic idealism. Cosmic idealists are content to keep their ideals in the realm of the ideal; natural, aspirational idealists throb to grasp their ideas and bring them to earth for all men to see and love.

So, then, idealism, not for the explanation of the present through the past, but for the evolution of the future through the present, shall be part of our philosophy.

And then materialism. Here again we have two sorts, ethical and cosmic. I know of nothing more gross than ethical materialism. That since a thousand dollars, a roomy home or a tiny pearl is to be desired, a million dollars, a thirty-room house or a string of giant pearls is of so much the more value, is absurd reasoning. Nor is the idea that to furnish a modern home with Oriental rugs, medieval art, Greek statuary, colonial pillared porches, bungalow roof and Roman lions at the gate—a hodge-podge of things valuable in their proper atmosphere—much better. To know a lady by the quality and quantity of her dresses, to measure a man by his possessions, to measure joy by laughter, or song by volume—these are of the gross.

But cosmic materialism—that is a different thing. The scientific investigations of evolution have shown that man could rise from the ignoble ape—yes, even from the Protozoa, who trace a common ancestry with plants. Possibly some day it will be shown that man arose from no higher origin than a chemical reaction. Does it, then, seem unlikely that mind should evolve from pure sensitive matter—that the ideal, though higher than the material, should have evolved from it?

What there is of natural revolt against this now fairly established theory is due primarily to a repugnance toward those animals which trace a common ancestry with us. But this repugnance has its basis in the fact that these types are not evolving types, but decadent and static offshoots of the true agent of evolution. This very naturally raises the question, "Is man also a stationary, unevolving type?" If we cannot answer this with a strong negative, we shall not be able to wean the aspirational idealist away from cosmic idealism, and the efforts of this essay are useless. But if we have faith in a slow but steady human evolution, we need not despise our lowly material origin.

It may serve us well to take up the question of empiricism. In spite of the ethical, pragmatic, view against cosmic idealism, and the preponderance of reason in evolution against it, may we not still be wrong in denying it? How do we know that there are things-in-themselves? And if we know that, how are we sure we know them as they are? This seems to me well enough answered, by, for instance, the predictions of astronomy. The ability to foretell by science is certainly indicative of sufficient ability to know things as they are, to satisfy all our purposes. Of course, we cannot know what our world would mean to a fourth-dimension person, nor have we fathomed just its relation to the universe. But it is

absurd to believe with the idealist that God tags us around, placing illusions before us, which in accordance with divine law produce certain effects upon the mind, leading the mind to imagine in turn control over an illusory body, made for our mind's benefit by God, which in turn produces certain God-inspired illusory effects upon the illusions which God has located in our minds as ideas of matter. Nor can we even agree with Kant that our idea of matter and movement is but the synthesis of sensations of things-in-themselves by God-given categories of cause, time and space, for psychology has been able in some degree to trace these categories to empirical experience. Psychology tells us, and perhaps we can dimly recall, of a time when the world was to our infant mind one vast confusion. Impressions were made, strengthened by repetition, knit with others by coincidence and analogy of effect, connected with opposites by conflict of effect, and so on until our minds could grasp with less and less mystification the things of this world. This remarkable train of development seems to require no other building-material than a head filled with matter having a sensitive reaction to ether-waves, air-waves and the grosser material bodies about us. Psychology has, in other words, practically accomplished what was once considered impossible—knowing the knower. The mind has practically been reduced to a structure evolved through the centuries (as the individual, so the phylum) from sensitive-reactive matter. Under this materialistic aspect our knowledge may be incomplete, fragmentary, and hence faulty, but it is not dubious in its foundation. It may be but a reflection, but it serves our purposes, and the only way to improve it is not to seek mystic interpretations of it, but to examine it more closely.

Nor even is a more radical materialism to be feared. (My discussion may be discounted from this point on without affecting my main contention as expressed in the conclusion. I am now merely adding my personal foibles to the possibilities.) Of course, all evolution may have been accomplished under the lash of a creator-driver—a personality—a fixed, immovable and ideal God. But does this seem likely? And if so, whence full-fledged into being sprang God?

An acceptance of a materialistic basis for the world is bound at least to make unnecessary the belief in an all-powerful creative and guiding hand, either in the growth of the mind or the growth of the world. (Do not misinterpret me as denying a guiding Aspiration or Spirit, for that is the object of my deepest worship.) It is not belittling to the human race to think of it as evolving through

the millions of years from a simple reactive-sensitive mass until it bodied forth creatures with a soul for beauty, for sympathy and for sacrifice. Nor is it a libel upon God to think of God as an impersonal Aspiration and Will, growing gradually in us through this evolution—the Soul ideal—always a step in advance of the body.

A future life of the spirit is not inconsistent with materialism. That the spirit—the motive pulse of the body—may pass into a finer and more plastic body, as the ether, appeals to the scientific mind. If it does pass into such a transcendent medium, its influence in the world is multiplied—a sort of mental telepathy—and it is also possible that every thought, every moment, has its immortality or eternal punishment.

To those who find a Reason for creation, we may say, find if you will the first reason for the universe. Then ask for the reason that lies back of that. And so on. Do you think you will ever find one that will explain itself?

And to those who seek a Cause for creation, we may say, find the Ultimate Cause, and then tell us how *It* sprang into being.

But to those who seek a Purpose pervading the world, we may say, Look at the universe as it was in the beginning, a causeless, reasonless, purposeless life. Then see through time a giant strength and purpose rising out of the mist—a will to the universal realization of fundamental impulses and to good will among men, beasts, birds, and growing herbs. This is the God in man—this is the soul. This is that which lives through death. This is that which will emancipate the earth from her terrible birth-pangs with an issue that shall comfort her as long as she lives. This is the idealism arising out of materialism to grasp pantheism.

So you see, we have materialism for the past, idealism for the present and pantheism for the future. We sought a truce of philosophies, but I fear we have stirred us up a fight.

CONCEPT OF SELF AND EXPERIENCED SELF.

BY JESSIE L. PREBLE.

I HAVE recently been led to the study of the concept of self because of my search for a fundamental starting-point in philosophy which should unite in itself two classes of merits, (1) ability to hold important place in a logical system of thought, and (2) ability to call to the mind the concrete impressions which produced it.

The term "self" may be used in many senses. Those enumerated by Bradley and James cover all the uses I have been accustomed to notice until recently. And the forms of self under James's "spiritual" and "material me"¹ certainly contain all the ideational data and sense-impressions which we need to choose between and to mass together for the formation of our full concept of self. Bradley's analysis breaks up this group of data and distinguishes several meanings which can be given to the term "self." (1) It may refer to the section of consciousness observed during any unit of time we may choose to select.² (2) It may refer to certain aspects which most frequently occur throughout life, and which compose what he calls "the constant average man."³ (3) Some more isolated factor—as memory or purpose—may be selected from the life stream and called the "essential self."⁴ Or (6) the self may be contrasted with the not-self, and regarded as that residue which is left after "the limit of exchange of content between self and not-self" has been reached.⁵ Bradley finds no difficulty in dismissing one and all of these conceptions of the self, as vague and untrustworthy because unclear and undefined. In this he is, to a certain extent, justified because in things psychical it is probably impossible to draw a rigid line

¹ *Principles of Psychology*, Chapter X; *Psychology, Briefer Course*, Chapter XII.

² *Appearance and Reality*, pp. 77-78.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 80ff.

of demarcation between the like and the unlike. This difficulty, however, is found also in the physical world. It is impossible to measure anything with utter exactness; it is impossible to place a plane between two portions of water, one at 51° C and one at 50° C, which I propose to add together. Some of the 51° molecules have lost heat, some of the 50° have gained it, before the addition can be made. Kinetic activities of the molecules cause them to mix with a suddenness and irregularity which prohibits theoretical or practical locating of cleavage lines. This indefiniteness of outline is, of course, a feature of the concept of self, no matter what attempt to assemble all the images composing the concept might be made. Our question is, therefore, the following: Is it necessary to throw over the concept of self because of its indefiniteness? To this we may reply: All mental abstraction and generalization are based upon substitution of a word or a sign for a thing signified.⁶ "Smoke" is a general term which stands for a possible visual experience. Here we have what Taine calls a "couple," which may be written thus: Smoke (verbal percept or image) \rightarrow Visual experience, following, accompanying or preceding. One term in the couple is a word having a certain sound and a fixed usage in common experience. At the other end of the couple is the sense-experience.⁷

From this consideration, as it now seems to me, a refutation may be evolved of Bradley's argument against the self-concept on the ground of its unclearness. For suppose that when you utter the word "self" and try to utter it in any one of Bradley's seven senses you are unable to have a clear mental mosaic for any one of them. Suppose that you become still further disconcerted and thrown into bewildering unclearness, because for his first concept of self (1) you have a different mosaic tomorrow from what you had to-day. Even so, this imaginal unclearness is not decisive proof that you did not clearly *conceive* the self. For no single concept is used in any natural science which always has a setting in precisely the same imaginal complex. If I explain to you to-day the formula for a complex lens, $1/u + 1/v = 1/f$, I may very clearly image in my mind's eye the deduction as given in Duff's *Physics*, and the proof

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91. The numeral (6) indicates the place of this concept in Bradley's unsystematic enumeration of seven uncoordinated and overlapping concepts of the self. Only the more important of these are here cited.

⁶ *On Intelligence* (translation of T. D. Haye, 1872), Chapters I-III, *passim*.

⁷ It should be noted that the argument of this paper, though written on the basis of a purely verbal theory of the concept, could equally well be carried through in terms of any one of the doctrines which uphold the view that a concept is more-than-verbal.

will be rapid. In a month, if I have not thought about the proof at all in the interval, "Duff" may have vanished, yet I trust that by the knowledge of certain general principles and of the nature of wave motion I shall still be able to derive this concept and to relate it to other concepts. We may therefore conclude that, as the concept $1/u$, $F = mg$, $s = vt$ and the like differ from the corresponding concrete experiences, so self as a concept differs from self as experienced. As a concept it is stripped of certain characters—as experienced it cannot be deprived of any characters. In a word, we may apply Taine's formula to the self, as to the physical concept, and with the following result: Self, experiencer and experienced (including not merely "personal attitudes" but also images and sense-impressions) \rightarrow Self as concept (without fixed or clear sense-content, yet perfectly definite as to its meaning).

The self is, accordingly, not merely one of the concepts which can and must be discussed in philosophy; it is the experienced self. And since also the self is experiencer as well as experienced it occupies the unique position (1) of experiencing unit and (2) of constructor of concepts. It is self which sees, hears, feels, thinks, takes part in the dramatic episodes of daily life. And it is self, also, which as thinker (isolating here one factor from the whole just mentioned) constructs concepts. It seems to follow that from either point of view, the psychological or the logical, the self constitutes the unavoidable starting point for philosophy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

"SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM."

To the Editor of The Open Court:

I have only just seen Dr. W. Thornton Parker's communication in *The Open Court* for August last, but as the subject is one of supreme importance to the great States who control aboriginal races, perhaps you will once again allow me a reply. Dr. Parker holds, as many other men hold who have come in contact with savage races, that it is *right* and proper they should disappear and be replaced by other races who can boast of a superior civilization: in other words, that primitive races "should go under."

In my articles describing the morals and customs of modern savages, I endeavored to show how mistaken were the popular conceptions of what constitutes "savage life." I tried to indicate that these early and partly civilized members of our race were really human, "even as you and I," and I fail to see that anything Dr. Parker has written, taken from personal experiences, proves the contrary.

So far as we anthropologists can reconstruct the moral character of the American Indian, before his contact with the white race, he was the superior of the white man, in ethics as well as in manners. I have myself been connected with anthropological science in this country for over thirty-five years; but what I have to say here shall be solely taken from American sources, and not culled from English writers who might be thought to be influenced by insular prejudice.

When we speak of "inferior" and "superior" human races, *what* do we mean? Is the race that insists on the early training of the young; the race that hates the liar; that does not steal from its fellows; that does not poison itself with alcohol; that is practically free from terrible diseases—tuberculosis, small-pox, and the *other diseases* which are known to modern medical science—is such a race an *inferior* or a *superior* one? There is surely no need to reply! in all such matters nature herself has the last word, and it will be in *her* Court that the final decision will be given.

Meantime, what have the most recent American researches told us respecting the Indians that once roamed the prairies and the plains of the New World? The name of Miss Alice C. Fletcher of Washington is not unknown to the people of the United States of America. In a summary of the morality of the American Indian (for which she and the late Washington Matthews, of the United States Army, were jointly responsible) we are told that the *natives* had standards of right conduct and of character; that abundant evidence exists to

"show that Indians were often actuated by motives of pure benevolence," and took a delight in generous acts. Honesty was insisted upon; personal property in the tribe was secure. Murder was always punished. "Truth, honesty and the safeguarding of human life were everywhere recognized as essential;" adultery was punished; and the care of one's family regarded as a social duty.

Take one or two of these points—is adultery *punished* in America or Europe to-day? Is murder also *always* punished? Are "truth, honesty, and the safeguarding of human life *everywhere* recognized" among the Christian nations of Europe and America as essential among all classes of their population? If these questions cannot truthfully be answered in the affirmative, then which of the two is the inferior, the savage or the Christian?

Dr. Parker is a medical man; he has written on medical subjects in American scientific journals; he therefore will be more or less cognizant of the fearful havoc wrought by *modern* diseases. Those diseases were unknown to the red man; they were bequeathed to him by the white, as Dr. Ales Hrdlicka and other American authorities have conclusively proved: is freedom from disease a sign of inferiority, and does it evidence the assertion that the red man deserves to go the way of his own buffalo?

There is no more terrible chapter in the history of modern civilization than that of the treatment of the colored races by their white brothers; and if my own research in the anthropological field has taught me anything it has taught me this—that there will be a day when the truth of that treatment shall be known to all those who represent all that is best in modern civilized lands, just as that truth is known now to the few; and who, when that day comes, will look back on the past as a terrible nightmare, and declare that all the material wealth that has accrued to them by the possession of Naboth's vineyard, is poor compensation for that real wealth which was once the possession of the white man, as it was also of the man he has now displaced—a healthy body and a healthy soul.

EDWARD LAWRENCE.

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