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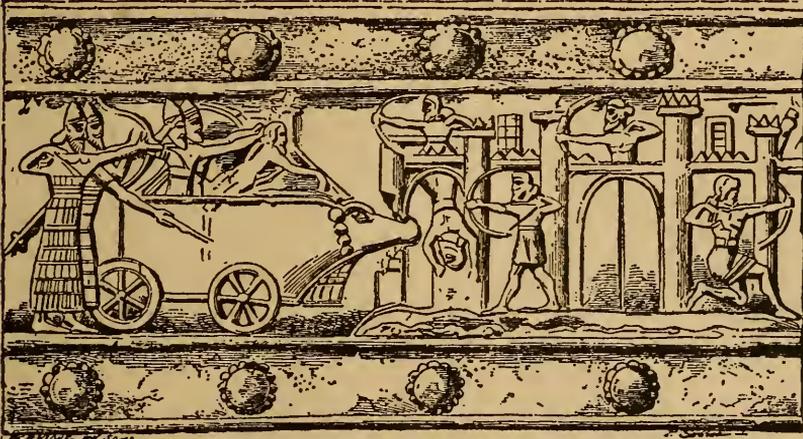
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# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER



ASSYRIANS BATTERING A FORTRESS.

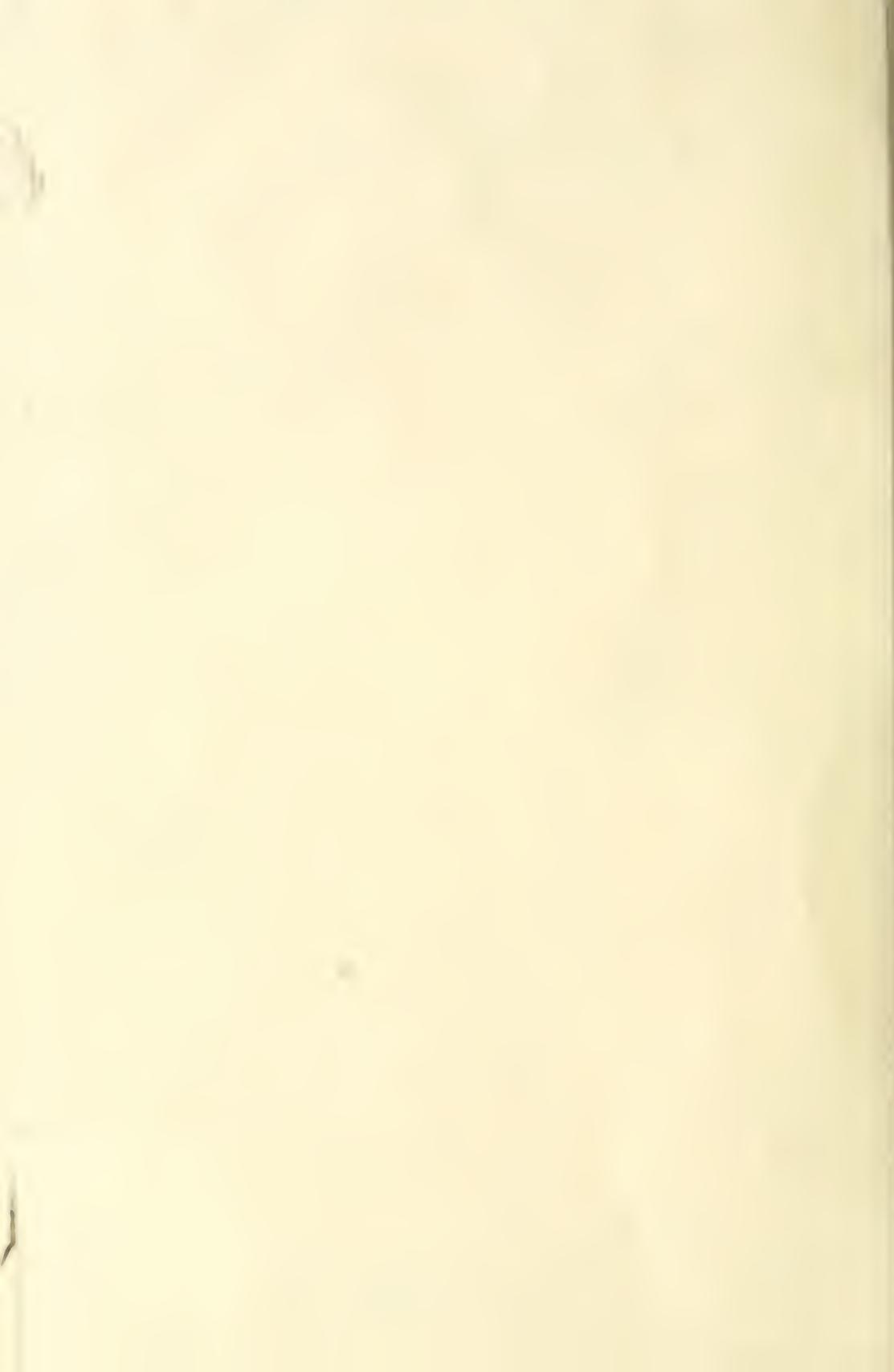
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The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

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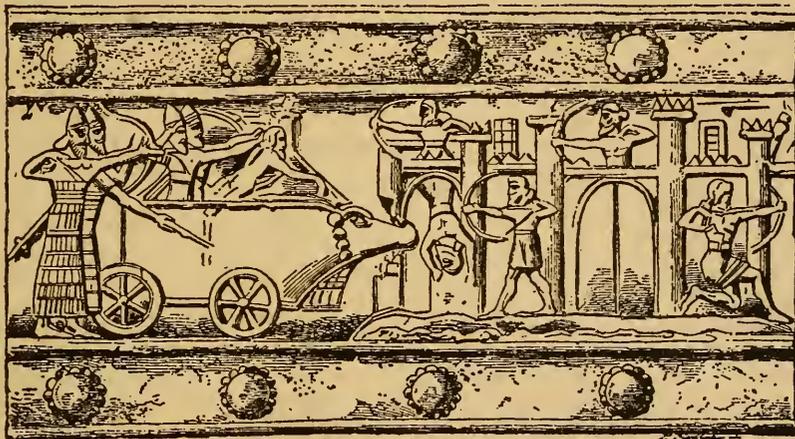
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**CONTENTS:**

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece. The Kurahus in Ceremonial Dress.</i>	
<i>A Pawnee Mystery (Illustrated).</i> HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER .....	385
<i>The Superpersonality of Christ.</i> EDITOR .....	409
<i>The Humanity of Jesus? Contesting a Protest.</i> WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH	416
<i>Christian Missions in the Orient.</i> STANWOOD COBB .....	427
<i>A Hierophant of the American Indians.</i> EDITOR .....	436
<i>A German Schopenhauer Society.</i> EDITOR .....	439
<i>Buddhist Omissions in Hastings's Dictionary of Religion and Ethics.</i> ALBERT J. EDMUNDS . . . . .	442
<i>Battle Scenes in Ancient Art.</i> EDITOR .....	443
<i>The Cause of Islam</i> .....	446
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i> .....	447

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THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS.

*22d Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, Plate LXXXV.*

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

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VOL. XXVI. (No. 7.)

JULY, 1912.

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## A PAWNEE MYSTERY.

BY HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER.

PART 2 of the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* is devoted to a record of "The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremonial," by Alice C. Fletcher. The record was taken from the lips of Tahirussawichi, an old man of the Pawnees, of whom Miss Fletcher says: "He is the keeper of certain old and sacred objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his leadership in this ceremony. His title is *Kurahus*. This term is applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies." This man not only gave Miss Fletcher the ritual songs—words and music, but he also interpreted them; and without his explanations the words would have remained for the most part unintelligible.

The word *Hako* Miss Fletcher interprets as meaning, etymologically, "a breathing mouth of wood"; as a name for the ceremony it is used in the sense of *sacra*, as a collective term for all the articles employed. The ceremony is not confined to the Pawnees, and is variously named.

"The purpose of this ceremony," writes Miss Fletcher, "was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distant groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace."

In his voyage of discovery in 1672 Marquette found the sacred

symbols honored by tribes throughout the Mississippi Valley, from Wisconsin to Arkansas; and the rituals, as preserved by the Pawnees, contain reminiscences, apparently, of the arid Southwest. In estimating the significance of the ceremony, Miss Fletcher ventures: "Its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them."

A survey of the published record will reveal the meaning and the beauty of the *Hako*. The meaning flows from a fundamental human relationship, that of father and son. This relationship is recognized in its two forms. There is first, the relation of the father to his son-by-adoption; for the two principal lay participants—men of different clan or tribe—become father and adopted son by virtue of the ceremony. In the precarious life of tribal society the adoption of children, like the winning of blood-brethren, often means preservation and perpetuity. Second, there is the relation of the father to his son-by-birth. The *Hako* symbolizes this relationship and symbolically promises children: in a measure, the whole ceremony is a prayer for children, for the continuing life of continuing generations. It is a prayer for the strength which belongs to a many-handed people, and hence for the peace and the plenty which follow tribal strength.

The setting of the *Hako* is the world, as primitive man knows it: the abode of the powers of life. The Sky Father and Mother Earth, these are the eldest; and after them come the Fathering Sun and the Corn Mother, upon whom man's life seems more directly to depend. But men are the children in each case: and so, on a cosmical canvas, the relation of parent and child is again portrayed.

This sacred ceremonial of the Indians is a mystery,—as profound in symbolism as the Eleusinian Mysteries of the Greeks, to which it offers so many striking analogies. It is the mystery of the framing and governance of the physical world, of human society and its perpetuation,—of nature and of man's place in nature as the untaught mind conceives it. It is the mystery of life.

"We take up the *Hako*," said the Kurahus to Miss Fletcher, "in the spring when the birds are mating, or in the summer when the birds are nesting and caring for their young, or in the fall when the birds are flocking, but not in the winter when all things are asleep. With the *Hako* we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty and of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere."

## II.

The ceremony was conducted by the Kurahus aided by assistants—acolytes to whom he was teaching the rituals,—while the

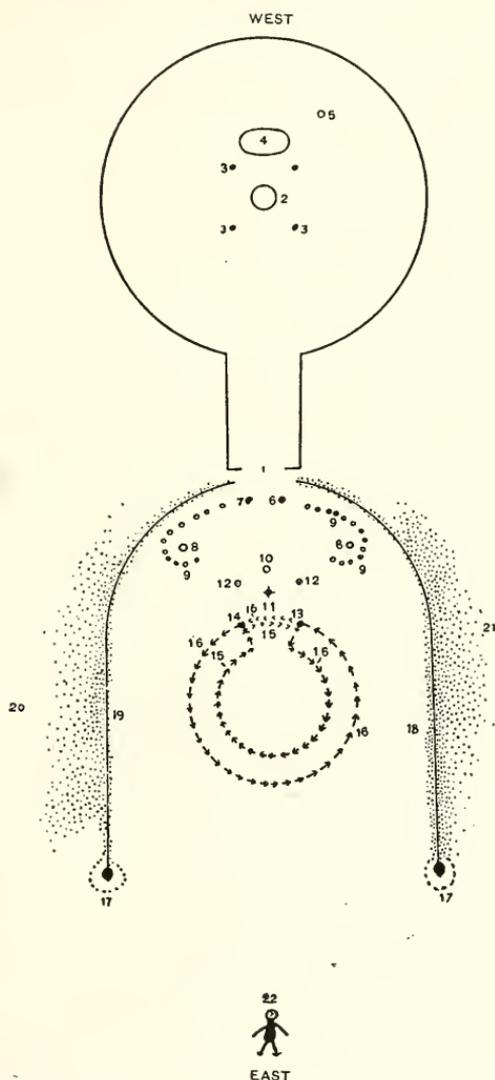


DIAGRAM SHOWING PARTICIPANTS IN THE DANCE OF THANKS.

From *22d Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*, Fig. 180.  
(See description of 19th Ritual, p. 408.)

participants for whom the ceremony was performed comprised two groups. These two groups could not belong to the same clan, and

they were often of different tribes. They were called *Fathers* and *Children*. The leader of the Fathers was called *the Father*, the leader of the Children *the Son*; they were men of equal standing in their respective clans; and if they were not chiefs, they secured the attendance of chiefs in their parties. The parties were made up of relatives of the two leaders, and certain other persons, such as drummers and singers and two doctors who carried the eagle-wing ensign of the doctor.

The ceremony consisted of three parts: the Preparation, the Public Ceremony, and the Secret Ceremony. The aims of the *Preparation* were: to make and sanctify the *sacra*, the *Hako*, this being work of the Father's party, done at their home; to notify the party of the Son of the coming of the Fathers; and, for the Fathers, to journey to the home of the Children and be received by them. The *Public Ceremony*, at the home of the Children, comprised feasts of a sacramental character, invocations of the powers of nature and invocations of the visions by which the rites were supposed to have been revealed,—the history and cosmic setting of the mystery. The *Secret Ceremony* centered in the symbolic birth and sanctification of a child, who figured the various aspects of the purpose of the ceremony, viz., the establishment of a relationship between the Fathers and the Children, the promise of children and hence of perpetuity, strength and plenty to the participating clans. The ceremonies closed with a dance of thanks and an interchange of gifts.

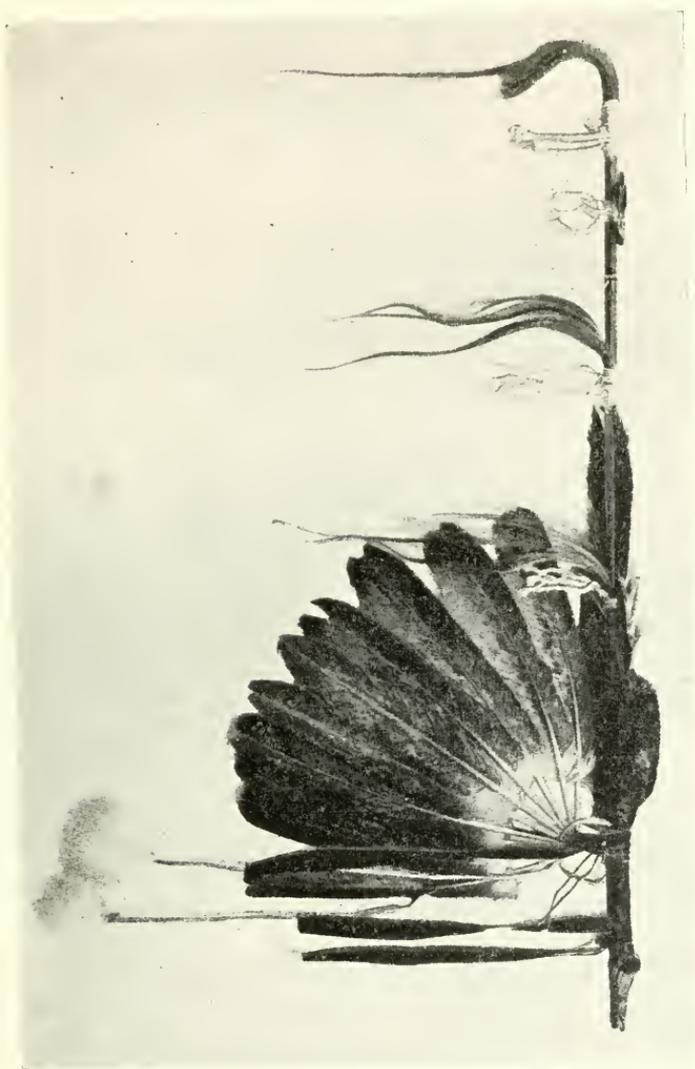
The complete ceremony involved some twenty rituals, seven to the Preparation, seven to the Public Ceremony and six to the Secret Ceremony. The complicated symbolism of the whole cannot better be indicated than by a brief recapitulation of the purpose and forms of these rituals.

### *The Preparation.*

1. The rituals open with an invocation of the powers: *Awa-hokshu*, Heaven, the abode of *Tirawa-atius*, the Mighty Power; *Hotoru*, the Winds; *Shakuru*, the Sun; *H'Uraru*, Mother Earth; *Toharu*, life-giving Vegetation; *Chaharu*, Water. The physical world as the place of man's abode is then addressed: *Kusharu*, a Holy Place; *H'Akaru*, House of Life; *Keharu*, Wall of Defense; *Kataharu*, the Fireplace; *Kekaru*, the Glowing Coals,—“as we sing we rub the sticks to make the sacred fire come, and we think of the lesser power that is making itself seen in the glowing wood”; *Koritu*, the Flames; and finally, *Hiwaturu*, the Entranceway, through which “man goes to and fro,” so symbolizing “the days of man's life.”

After the invocation, with suitable songs, the sacred objects were prepared.

The most important of these objects were two wands,—“feath-



KAWAS, THE BROWN FEATHERED STEM.

*22d Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, Plate LXXXVI.*

ered stems about a meter in length, made of ash wood.” One of these wands was painted blue, symbolizing the sky, a lengthwise red groove being emblematic of “the red passage through which

man's breath comes to give him life." The stem was feathered like an arrow, symbolic of surety. A fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature golden eagle was attached to the stem, while a woodpecker's head, the head and breast of a duck, and a bunch of owl feathers, were also attached, close to the wood. The eagle is sacred to the Powers above and is the medium of communication between them and man. The woodpecker averts the disasters of storm and lightning. The duck is the unerring guide, familiar alike with air and water. The owl has the power to give help and protection at night. Red and white streamers representing sun and moon, day and night, and a tuft of blue down symbolizing the clear blue of the sky, also adorned the wand. The second wand was like the first except that it was painted green, symbolizing the earth, and the fan-shaped pendant consisted of seven plumes of the white eagle.

The symbolic importance of the eagle, *Karvas*, in this ceremony is very great. It is worth while therefore to quote at length the Kurahus's description of the use of the wands:

"In this ceremony the brown eagle is called *Karvas*. This eagle has been made holy by being sacrificed to Tirawa. Its feathers are tied upon the stem that has been painted blue to represent the sky.

"This stem was the first one painted and decorated, because it is female and the leader. It represents the night, the moon, the north, and stands for kindness and helpfulness. It will take care of the people. It is the mother.

"Throughout the ceremony the Kurahus carries this feathered stem.

"The white eagle is not holy ; it has not been sacrificed to Tirawa. It has less power than *Karvas* ; it is inclined to war, to hurt some one. It can not lead ; it must follow. So the green stem is painted last, and all the decorations are put upon it after the other stem is completed.

"This feathered green stem represents the male, the day, the sun, and the south. During the ceremony it is carried by the assistant of the Kurahus, whose place is on the right of the Kurahus, toward the south.

"When we move about the lodge waving the two feathered stems to the rhythm of the song we are singing, *Karvas*, the brown eagle, is carried next the people, and the white eagle-stem on the farther side, away from the people where it can do good by defending them and keeping away all harm. If it were carried next the Children it would bring them war and trouble. It is the brown eagle

that is always kept near the people and is waved over their heads to bring them the gifts of plenty and of peace."

Ranking in importance with the wands, in the ceremony, is the ear of maize, symbolic of the Corn Mother, which is next prepared.

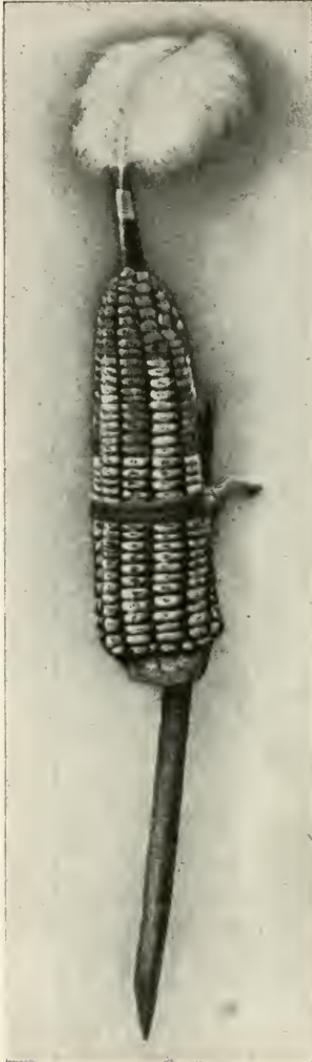


THE WHITE FEATHERED STEM.

*B. A. E.*, Plate, LXXXVII.

An ear with white grain is chosen, and it is fastened to a support. The top of it is painted blue, again symbolizing the sky, and down the sides are carried four blue lines emblematic of the four paths

(the cardinal points) leading from heaven to earth. At the summit of the ear is fastened a white plume symbolic of the fleecy clouds above and of the breath of heaven. "The ear of corn," says the



"MOTHER CORN."

B. A. E., Plate LXXXVIII.

Kurahus, "represents the supernatural power that dwells in H'Uraru, the earth which brings forth the food that sustains life; so we speak of the ear of corn as h'Atira, mother breathing forth life. The power in the earth which enables it to bring forth comes from above; for that reason we paint the ear of corn with blue."

In painting the corn, blue clay is used. The clay is mixed with running water: "running water represents the continuity of life from one generation to another"; water from a spring or a well cannot be used in the ceremony. The mixing is done in a wooden bowl, a bowl "taken from the trees, a part of the living covering of mother earth, representing the power of Toharu"—i. e., the lifegiving vegetation. "The bowl is round, like the dome shape of the sky, and holds the blue paint, which also represents the sky. The bowl is a vessel from which we eat when we have the sacred feast of the corn. Tirawa taught us how to get the corn." It is this bowl, or one like it, which is used in the baptismal ceremony of the Seventeenth Ritual.

There are a number of other ceremonial articles, but rather of the nature of accessories than *sacra* in the strict sense. After the preparation of these articles, a smoke offering was made and the First Ritual brought to a close.

2. The Second Ritual the editor names, "Prefiguring the Journey of the Son." The actual journey is to be made under the leader-

ship of the corn symbol,—“Mother Corn,” the spirit of the Corn and of life-sustaining vegetation. The prefiguring is a spirit journey: the Fathers, stanza by stanza, sing of the journey, believing that their spirits under the leadership of the corn spirit do actually pass to the home of the Son and inform him of the place to which he is chosen.

“It is not the ear of corn (says the Kurahus) that travels through the air, nor do our bodies follow; it is the spirit of the corn that moves, and it is our spirits that follow, that travel with her to the land of the Son. . . . We must fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon the Son, who is the object of our search. It is a very difficult thing to do. All our spirits must become united as one spirit, and as one spirit we must approach the spirit of Mother Corn. This is a very hard thing to do.”

When the spirit journey is completed and the lodge of the Son is reached: “The Son does not see us as we stand there; he is sleeping. . . . We fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon the Son; if we are in earnest he will respond to her touch. He will not waken, he will not see her, but he will see in a dream that which her touch will bring to him. . . . Then, when he wakens, he will remember his dream, and as he thinks upon it, he will know that he has been chosen to be a Son, and that all the good things that come with the ceremony which will make him a Son are now promised him.”

This ritual introduces the mysticism which underlies the whole ceremony: from of old “the rites came in a vision.”

3. The Third Ritual concerns the sending of actual messengers to the man chosen as Son. The messengers come saying, “Behold! Your father is coming!” And “as the Son hears the words of the messengers he will be reminded of his dream in which Mother Corn touched him. And as he looks at the men he will recognize the tribe from which they have come and will know who has chosen him to be the Son.” If he accepts the honor he instructs the messengers to return to the Father saying, “I am ready.”

4. The first event of the Fourth Ritual is the elevation of the *sacra* on a pole set up at the lodge entrance. “Here it stands where the wind of the dawn may breathe upon the Hako and the first rays of the sun strike the sacred objects and give them life. It is all done in silence before the day dawns.”

After this the Kurahus anoints himself, his assistants and the chief of the Fathers, and the men anointed sing a song emblematic of the leadership of the Corn Spirit. Says the Kurahus:

“As we sing this song we remember that Mother Earth is very

old. She is everywhere, she knows all men, she gave life to our fathers, she gives life to us, and she will give life to our children. The ear of corn represents venerable Mother Earth, and also the authority given by the powers above. . . . As we sing we think that Mother breathing forth life, who has come out of the past, has now started to lead us on the journey we are to take and to the fulfilment of our desire that children may be given us, that generations may not fail in the future, and that the tie may be made strong between Father and Son."

The anointed men then take up the Hako and present it in turn to the Powers of the East, the West, the South and the North, the bearers moving in a figure which simulates the human form: "We have traced upon the earth the figure of a man. This image that we have traced is from Tirawa. It has gone around with us, and its feet are where we now stand; its feet are with our feet and will move with them as we now, in the presence of all the powers, begin our journey to the land of the Son."

5. The Fifth Ritual is the ritual of the journey and contains three parts.

In the first part, "Mother Corn, who led our spirits over the path we are now to travel, leads us again as we walk in our bodies over the land. . . . She led our fathers and she leads us now, because she was born of Mother Earth and knows all places and all people, and because she has on her the sign (the blue-paint symbol) of having been up to Tirawahut, where power was given her over all creatures."

The second part is devoted to the songs sung on the journey. There is a "Song to the Trees and Streams," a "Song When Crossing the Streams," a "Song to the Wind," a "Song to the Buffalo," another of "The Promise of the Buffalo"—"We do not sing this song any more as we travel," said the Kurahus, "for now there are no buffalo herds to be seen sending the dust up to the sky as they run; we sing the song in the lodge of the Son, that we may remember the buffalo, and that our children may hear of them." Two other songs of the way, of interest as indicating that the Pawnees derived their ceremony from the West or Southwest, are the song to be sung in ascending mountains and a song to be sung in traversing mesas. Of the latter the Kurahus said:

"We are told that long ago our fathers used to see the mesas. . . . This song has come down to us from that time. As we have never seen mesas, we do not sing the song on our journey; we sing

it in the lodge of the Son, that we may not forget what our fathers saw when they traveled far from where we now dwell."

The third part consists of two hymns to Mother Corn sung when the village of the Son is reached.

6. The Sixth Ritual embraces the songs and ceremonies attendant upon the reception of the Fathers by the Children. The Son's messenger is received. He is fed and clothed by the visitors—"acts which mark the care of a father for his child,"—whom he then conducts to the village and "the lodge of my Son wherein he sits waiting for me."

7. The Seventh Ritual has to do with the consecration of the lodge prepared for the ceremony, by Kawas, the Eagle, and by Mother Corn; with the clothing of the Son in gift garments; and finally with a smoke offering to the powers.

"The lodge has now been opened by Mother Corn and cleansed of all bad influences by Kawas; the Son, clothed as a child by the Father, has offered prayer and smoke to the powers above; the garments worn during this act have been removed and given away; and now everything is ready for the public ceremony to begin."

#### *The Public Ceremony.*

The Public Ceremony comprised in seven rituals occupies three days and three nights.

8. The Public Ceremony opens with a feast in which the Fathers feed the children with food they have brought.

"Before any one can be served the thoughts of the Fathers and of the Children must be turned toward Tirawa, the father of all things. . . . All the powers that are in the heavens and all those that are upon the earth are derived from the mighty power, Tirawa-atius. He is father of all things visible and invisible. He is father of all the powers represented by the Hako. He is the father of all the lesser powers, those which can approach man. He is the father of all the people, and perpetuates the life of the tribe through the gift of children. So we sing, your father, meaning the father of all people everywhere, the father of all things that we see and hear and feel."

After the songs, the Children are fed by the Fathers: for "it is the duty of a father to provide food for his child, and not to partake himself until the child is satisfied." When the Fathers are left alone they eat their evening meal.

9. With the Ninth Ritual the Mystery proper may be said to begin. When the sun has set and it is dark and the stars are shin-

ing, the Hako is taken up, and the singers carrying the drum follow the Hako slowly around the lodge singing the Invocation to the Visions.

"Visions come from above; they are sent by Tirawa-atius. The lesser powers come to us in visions. We receive help through the visions. All the promises which attend the Hako will be made good to us in this way. Visions come most readily at night; spirits travel better at that time."

The visions come from their abode above, conducted by the spirits of the birds on the wands; they reach the lodge and enter.

"As we walk, the visions walk; they fill all the space within the lodge; they are everywhere, all about us. . . . touching the Children, touching them here and there and by their touch giving them dreams, which will bring them health, strength, happiness, and all good things. The visions touch all who are in the lodge, so it is a good thing to be there, to be touched by the visions. . . . One by one the Children go to their homes, and the dreams brought by the Visions which attend the Hako go with them to make their hearts glad."

10. The Tenth Ritual covers the ceremonies with which the breaking day is greeted. The Kurahus and the Chief of the Fathers have kept vigil, waiting for the dawn. "As the night draws to a close, the Kurahus orders the server to lift the skins which hang at the outer and inner doors of the long passageway of the lodge, and to go outside and watch for the first glimmer of light."

When the morning air begins to stir the *sacra* are taken up and the Birth of the Dawn is sung. Says the Kurahus:

"We call to Mother Earth, who is represented by the ear of corn. She has been asleep and resting during the night. We ask her to awake, to move, to arise, for the signs of the dawn are seen in the east and the breath of the new life is here.

"Mother Earth is the first to be called to awake, that she may receive the breath of the new day.

"Mother Earth hears the call; she moves, she awakes, she rises, she feels the breath of the new-born Dawn. The leaves and the grass stir; all things move with the breath of the new day; everywhere life is renewed.

"This is very mysterious; we are speaking of something very sacred, although it happens every day.

"We call upon Kawas to awake, to move, to arise. Kawas had been sleeping and resting during the night. Kawas represents the lesser powers which dwell above, those which are sent by Tirawa-

atius to bring us help. All these powers must awake and arise, for the breath of the new life of the Dawn is upon them. The eagle soars where these powers dwell and can communicate with them. The new life of the new day is felt by these powers above as well as by Mother Earth below.

“Kawas hears the call and awakes. Now all the powers above wake and stir, and all things below wake and stir; the breath of new life is everywhere. With the signs in the east has come this new life.

“Kawas, the brown eagle, the messenger of the powers above, now stands within the lodge and speaks. The Kurahus hears her voice as she tells him what the signs in the east mean.

“The Kurahus answers Kawas. He tells her that he understands the words she spoke to him when standing there in the lodge, that now he knows the meaning of the signs in the east; that Night is the mother of Day, that it is by the power of Tirawa-atius moving on Darkness that she gives birth to the Dawn. The Dawn is the child of Tirawa-atius. It gives the blessing of life; it comes to awaken man, to awake Mother Earth and all living things that may receive the life, the breath of the Dawn which is born of the Night by the power of Tirawa-atius.”

The words, adds the Kurahus, do not tell all that the song means; the meaning has been handed down from the fathers, and may be taught to any serious minded person who is sincerely desirous to learn.

With the rising of the Morning Star, for which a server has been on the watch, the second song is sung—“slowly, with reverent feeling, for we are singing of very sacred things.”

“The Morning Star is one of the lesser powers. Life and strength and fruitfulness are with the Morning Star. We are reverent toward it. Our fathers performed sacred ceremonies in its honor.

“The Morning Star is like a man; he is painted red all over; that is the color of life. He is clad in leggings and a robe is wrapped about him. On his head is a soft downy eagle’s feather, painted red. This feather represents the soft, light cloud that is high in the heavens, and the red is the touch of the ray of the coming sun. The soft downy feather is the symbol of breath and life.

“The Star comes from a great distance, too far away for us to see the place where it starts. At first we can hardly see it; we lose sight of it, it is far off; then we see it again, for it is coming

steadily toward us all the time. We watch it approach; it comes nearer and nearer; its light grows brighter and brighter. . . .

"The Morning Star comes still nearer and now we see him standing there in the heavens, a strong man shining brighter and brighter. The soft plume in his hair moves with the breath of the new day, and the ray of the sun touches it with color. As he stands there so bright, he is bringing us strength and new life.

"As we look upon him he grows less bright; he is receding, going back to his dwelling place whence he came. We watch him vanishing, passing out of our sight. He has left with us the gift of life which Tirawa-atius sent him to bestow."

The Day is close behind, "advancing along the path of the Morning Star and the Dawn": the next song is a paean to the Daylight.

"We sing this song with loud voices; we are glad. We shout, 'Daylight has come! Day is here!' The light is over the earth. . . . We call to the Children; we bid them awake. . . . We tell the Children that all the animals are awake. They come forth from their places where they have been sleeping. The deer leads them. She comes from her cover, bringing her young into the light of day. Our hearts are glad as we sing, 'Daylight has come! The light of day is here!'"

The sun has not as yet appeared above the horizon. In the last part of the Tenth Ritual messengers are sent to awaken all the Children that they may be assembled to greet the rising sun.

11. The second day of the Public Ceremony is devoted to an invocation of the male element in nature typified by the sun. The course of the sun is followed throughout the day, special songs celebrating his several stations.

"Whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man: they have not yet spent their force or grown old. . . . We think of the sun, which comes direct from Tirawa-atius, the father of life, and his rays as the bearer of this life. You have seen this ray as it comes through a little hole or crack. While we sing, this ray enters the door of the lodge to bring strength and power to all within. . . .

"As the sun rises higher the ray, which is its messenger, alights upon the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, right over the fireplace. We see the spot, the sign of its touch, and we know that the ray is there. The fire holds an important place in the

lodge. . . . Father Sun is sending life by his messenger to this central place in the lodge. . . .

"As the sun rises higher. . . . the ray is now climbing down into the lodge. We watch the spot where it has alighted. It moves over the edge of the opening above the fireplace and descends into the lodge, and we sing that life from our father the sun will come to us by his messenger, the ray. . . .

"Now the spot is walking here and there within the lodge, touching different places. We know that the ray will bring strength and power from our father the sun as it walks within the lodge. Our hearts are glad and thankful as we sing. . . .

"When the spot has reached the floor we stop singing and do not begin until the afternoon, so that our song can accompany the ray as it leaves the lodge, touches the hills, and finally returns to the sun. . . .

"In the afternoon we observe that the spot has moved around the lodge, as the sun has passed over the heavens. . . . After a little time we see the spot leave the floor of the lodge and climb up toward the opening over the fireplace, where it had entered in the morning. . . . Later, when the sun is sinking in the west, the land is in shadow, only on the top of the hills toward the east can the spot, the sign of the ray's touch, be seen. . . . The ray of Father Sun, who breathes forth life, is standing on the edge of the hills. We remember that in the morning it stood on the edge of the opening in the roof of the lodge over the fireplace; now it stands on the edge of the hills that, like the walls of a lodge, inclose the land where the people dwell. . . .

"When the spot, the sign of the ray, the messenger of our father the Sun, has left the tops of the hills and passed from our sight. . . . we know that the ray which was sent to bring us strength has now gone back to the place whence it came. We are thankful to our father the Sun for that which he has sent us by his ray."

There are a number of incidental songs that belong to this day between the morning and afternoon chants to the sun.

12. On the evening of the second day of the Public Ceremony, in the Twelfth Ritual, the origin of the rites in vision is told in song. The Kurahus states:

"We have been taught that in a vision our fathers were told how to make the feathered stems, how to use them, how to sway them to the songs, so that they should move like the wings of a bird in flight. It was in a vision that our fathers were told how they could cause a man who was not their bodily offspring to be-

come a Son, to be bound to them by a tie as strong as the natural tie between father and son."

Visions, he tells later, "come in the night, for spirits can travel better by night than by day. Visions come from Katasha, the place where they dwell. This place is up in the sky, just below where Tirawa-atius appointed the dwelling place of the lesser powers. Katasha, the place where the Visions dwell, is near the dwelling place of the lesser powers, so they can summon any vision they wish to send us. When a vision is sent by the powers, it descends and goes to the person designated, who sees the vision and hears what it has to say; then, as day approaches, the vision ascends to its dwelling place, Katasha, and there it lies at rest until it is called again."

As on the previous night, a watcher is out alert for the first signs of dawn. When they appear the morning songs (the Tenth Ritual) are repeated.

13. The morning songs of the second day led on to the invocation of the male element, the Sun Father, on the third day these same songs serve as an introduction to invocation of the female element, typified by Mother Earth.

The invocation is preceded by a sacramental feast of corn, prepared by the Children after the manner of their forefathers. Hymns to Tirawa are then sung, "remembering that he is the father of the Sun which sends its ray, and of the Earth which brings forth." Then follows the song to the Earth, beginning: "Behold! Here lies Mother Earth, for a truth she lies here to bring forth, and we give thanks that it is so."

The gifts of the Earth are remembered, stanza by stanza. First the fields, "where seed is put in Mother Earth, and she brings forth corn"; then the trees and forests from which come "shelter and fire"; and lastly the water—springs, streams, rivers—which symbolize the continuity of life.

After this song the Kurahus addresses the Children: "My Children, your fathers are listening to what I have to say. Yesterday we remembered our father the Sun, to-day we remember our mother the Earth, and to-day Tirawa has appointed that we should learn of those things which have been handed down to us. Tirawa is now to smoke from the brown-eagle stem, Kawas, the mother, and you are to smoke from it also."

The smoke offering is then made, after which each of the Children smokes from the pipe. "This is a holy act and gives long life to the people."

On this day, though at no fixed time—save that “the song of the owl must be sung toward night”—come the songs of the birds.

“The songs about the birds begin with the egg, so the song of the bird’s nest where the eggs are lying is the first to be sung. Then comes the song of the wren, the smallest of the birds. After that we sing about the birds that are with the Hako from the smallest to the largest. These songs are to teach the people to care for their children, even before they are born. They also teach the people to be happy and thankful. They also explain how the birds came to be upon the feathered stems and why they are able to help the people.”

The “Song of the Bird’s Nest” commemorates the story of a man who came upon a bird’s nest in the grass.

“He paused to look at the little nest tucked away so snug and warm, and noted that it held six eggs and that a peeping sound came from one of them. While he watched, one moved and soon a tiny bill pushed through the shell uttering a shrill cry. At once the parent birds answered and he looked up to see where they were. They were not far ‘off; they were flying about in search of food, chirping the while to each other and now and then calling to the little one in the nest. . . . After many days he desired to see the nest again. So he went to the place where he had found it and there it was as safe as when he had left it. But a change had taken place. It was now full to overflowing with little birds, who were stretching their wings, balancing on their little legs and making ready to fly, while the parents with encouraging calls were coaxing the fledglings to venture forth. ‘Ah!’ said the man, ‘if my people would only learn of the birds, and, like them, care for their young and provide for their future, homes would be full and happy, and our tribe strong and prosperous.’”

The “Song of the Wren” was made by a priest who noted that the wren, the smallest and least powerful of the birds, excelled them all in the fervor of its song. “Here,” he thought, “is a teaching for my people. Every one can be happy; even the most insignificant can have his song of thanks.”

The “Song of the Woodpecker and the Turkey” tells how, long ago, the feathers of the turkey, the most prolific of birds, held the place of the eagle feathers on the feathered stems used in the Hako. The woodpecker challenges the turkey’s right. The turkey defended, saying: “In my division of life there is great power of productiveness. I have more tail feathers than any other bird and I have more eggs. Wherever I go my young cover the ground.” “True,” replied the woodpecker, “but you build your nest on the ground,

so that your eggs are in constant danger of being devoured by serpents, and when the eggs hatch the young become a prey to the wolves, the foxes, the weasels; therefore your number is continually being reduced. Security is the only thing that can insure the continuation of life. I build my nest in the heart of a tall oak, where my eggs and my young are safe from the creatures that prey upon birds. While I have fewer eggs they hatch in security and the birds live until they die of old age. It is my place to be a protector of the life of men." The turkey was deposed; and though the eagle was put in his place, the woodpecker was given an important position on the stem, where it presides over the red path along which travels the help that comes from the Hako.

The "Song of the Duck" and the "Song of the Owl" tell how each of these two birds in visions revealed to a holy man their dominions, the duck's over the pathways of water and air, the owl's over the night. "So the people are guided by the duck and kept awake by the owl."

The ritual closes with a song of thanks for the Hako.

14. The final ritual of the Public Ceremony, falling on the evening of the third day, is a chant, accompanied by symbolic action, sung in remembrance of the coming of the revelation to the fathers. "We remember the visions of our fathers, the holy men to whom was taught this ceremony."

#### *The Secret Ceremony.*

15. The six rituals of the Secret Ceremony, occupying a night and a day, begin on the evening of the fourth day.

"At sunset the Fathers call the Children to the lodge. When all have been seated, the Children on the south, the Fathers on the north, the Kurahus, who sits at the west, back of the holy place where the Hako are at rest, addresses the Children in the name of the Fathers. He explains the meaning of the ceremony about to take place, for on this last night and the following morning everything that is done refers to the nest and to the direct promise of children to the Son, who is also to be bound by a symbolic tie to the Father."

The Fifteenth Ritual is the symbolic "Flocking of the Birds," carrying on the bird symbolism which the songs of the preceding day have presented. Says the Kurahus:

"In the early spring the birds lay their eggs in their nests, in the summer they rear their young, in the fall all the young ones are grown, the nests are deserted and the birds fly in flocks over the country. One can hear the fluttering of a startled flock, the birds

suddenly rise and their wings make a noise like distant thunder. Everywhere the flocks are flying. In the fall it seems as though new life were put into the people as well as into the birds; there is much activity in coming and going.

"This song tells of the flocking of the birds. We do not use the drum as we sing it, but we blow the whistle. The whistle is made from the wing bone of an eagle. In this song we are singing of the eagle and the other birds, so we use the whistle.

"When the eggs are hatched and the young are grown, the birds flock; the promise of young has been fulfilled. In this song, which we sing toward the close of the ceremony, we are thinking of the fulfilling of the promise given by the Hako, that children will be granted to the people, so that they may be many and strong, and we sing that the great flocks are coming.

"As we sing we are thinking of the great flocks of birds. The noise of their wings is a mighty noise. As they fly from one tree to another they shake the branches as they alight, and the tree quivers as they rise. The flocks are many and powerful; so, through the promises of the Hako, the people will become many and powerful."

After the symbolism of the flocking birds there follow sixteen circuits of the lodge accompanying hymns to the Powers. The first songs are to the Corn Spirit, during four circuits. Then follow songs to the messenger of the powers above, Kawas, the brown eagle, during the second four. Of the first of these songs to the eagle:

"One day a man was walking on the prairie; he was thinking, and his eyes were upon the ground. Suddenly he became aware of a shadow flitting over the grass, moving in circles that enclosed his feet. He stood still, wondering what this could mean; then he looked up and beheld a brown eagle flying round and round over his head. As he gazed the bird paused, looked down at him, then flapped its wings and flew away. Again the man was walking and thinking, when he caught sight of a tall tree about which a great white eagle was flying, around and around as if it were watching over something. As it flew it screamed, making a great noise. It was the father bird guarding its nest. The brown eagle was Kawas, and she flew, as told in the second song, 'straight to her nest, to her young, who cried out with joy as she came near.'

"The next songs are to the Powers above: first in doubting hope,—'I know not if my prayers are heard or if they will be an-

swered'; afterwards in assurance,—'Tirawa hears us pray and will answer our prayers.'

"We have now made four times four circuits of the lodge. In the first four we remembered Mother Earth through the corn. In the second four we sang of the eagles, which are the messengers of the powers above. In the third four we spoke of the prayers we send to Tirawa through this ceremony. In the last four we lifted our voices to the powers themselves, the mighty power above and all those which are with the Hako.

"Four times four means completeness. Now all the forces above and below, male and female, have been remembered and called upon to be with us in the sacred ceremonies which will take place at the dawn.

"The night is nearly over when the last circuit is completed; then the Children rise and go home."

16. On the morning of the fifth and last day occur the final ceremonies, which are the heart of the mystery.

"At the first sign of dawn the Fathers rise and, preceded by the Kurahus with the feathered stems, the chief with the corn, the doctors with their eagle wings, and the singers with the drum, go forth to the lodge where the family of the Son is living. As they march they sing. . . the words mean that the Father is now seeking his child.

"The child referred to is usually a little son or daughter of the Son, the man who has received the Hako party. Upon this child we are to put the signs of the promises which Mother Corn and Kawas bring, the promise of children, of increase, of long life, of plenty. The signs of these promises are put upon this little child, but they are not merely for that particular child but for its generation, that the children already born may live, grow in strength, and in their turn increase so that the family and tribe may continue."

The Sixteenth Ritual is divided into three parts: The Seeking of the Child by the Fathers, passing in processional to the lodge of the Son; the Symbolic Summoning of the Powers to the Child, in which the *sacra* are brought near the child in the Son's lodge; and the Symbolization of the Progress of Life, in the return to the ceremonial lodge.

In the first of these parts, the procession sets forth singing, "I go seeking my child."

In the second part, first the ear of corn, representing the fruitful union of Heaven and Earth, is held above the child; then the Kurahus "wraps the white-eagle feathered stem within the feathers

of the brown-eagle stem (male and female conjoined) and, holding with both hands the bundle, he stands before the little child, and, while the song is sung, he points the stem towards it. This movement means that the breath of life is turned toward the child. The breath passes through the stem."

In the third part, first is sung, "Come and fear not, my child; all is well"; then, the child taking four steps forward, representing the progress of life, "I am ready; come, my child; have no fear"; and finally, as they return with the child, "Behold your father walking with the child."

17. The Seventeenth Ritual contains four parts, each concerned with a phase of the ceremonial preparation of the child,—which took place concealed from the view of the warriors by an inner group closely surrounding the child.

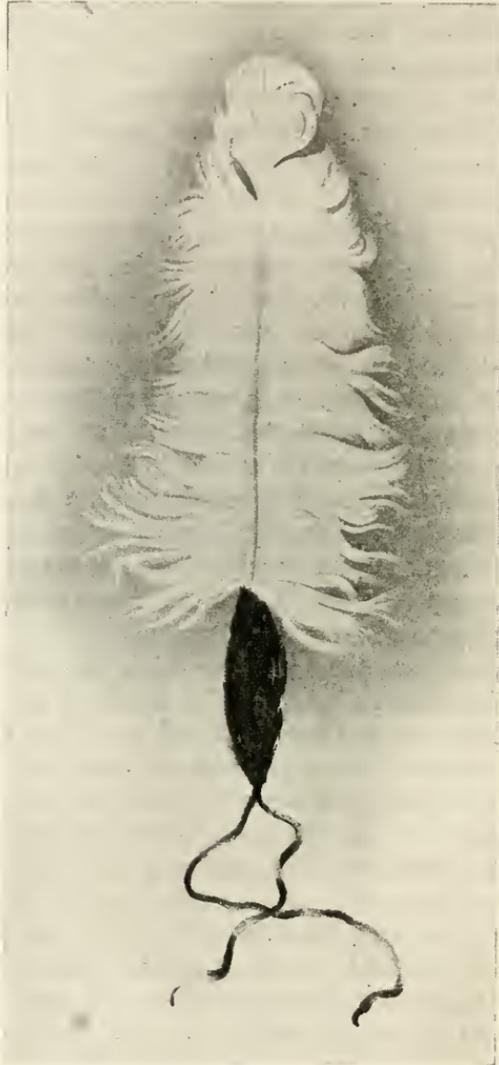
In the first part, an old man, "chosen because of his long life, and his having received many favors from the powers above, in order that similar gifts might be imparted to the child," touches the child with water from the symbolic bowl,—“shaped like the dome of the sky, because water comes from Tirawa-atius. The little child is to be cleansed and prepared for its future life by the water—sustained and made strong by water.” Afterwards, he touches the child with grass representing Toharu, the living covering of Mother Earth, which gives food to men and animals.

In the second part, the old man anoints the child with an ointment made of red clay and the fat of a sacrificed animal,—“the first animal killed on a hunt belongs to Tirawa. . . . This is in recognition that the life which has been sustained and nourished is now consecrated to Tirawa-atius, the father above, who gives life to all things.”

In the third part, the old man paints the child's face. First, with red paint, symbolizing the coming of the new day, the rising sun, the vigor of life, and, as the paint is spread entirely over the face, the full radiance of the sun, with all its power giving to the child its life vigor. Next, with blue paint, drawn in an arch about the forehead, down each cheek and down the bridge of the nose, so symbolizing the arch of heaven and the paths from earth to sky: “In these lines we see the face of Tirawa-atius, the giver of life and power to all things.”

“There is a group of stars which forms a circle. This is a circle of chiefs. Tirawa-atius placed them there and directed them to paint their faces with the same lines we have put upon the child, and all who are to be leaders must be so painted. From this circle of stars came a society called Raritesharu. . . . The members of the

society are chiefs, and these men are permitted by the star chiefs to paint their faces with the blue lines and to wear the downy feather on the head. The members of this society do not dance and sing:



THE FEATHER SYMBOL OF TIRAWA.  
*B. A. E.*, Plate XCI.

they talk quietly and try to be like the stars. I was told that it was from this society that permission was given to paint the child with the blue lines and to put the downy feather upon it.”

In the fourth part, the old man fastens the featherdown in the

child's hair. "The down is taken from under the wings of the white eagle. The white eagle is the mate of the brown eagle, and the child is the child of K̄awas, the brown eagle. The down grew close to the heart of the eagle and moved as the eagle breathed. It represents the breath and life of the white eagle, the father of the child." The white down also represents the fleecy clouds of the sky and the life of heaven: "ever moving as if it were breathing," it represents "Tirawa-atius, who dwells beyond the blue sky, which is above the soft, white clouds."

When the child is fully adorned it is "told to look into the bowl of water and behold its face. The running water symbolizes the passing on of generations, one following another. The little child looks on the water and sees its own likeness, as it will see that likeness in its children and children's children. The face of Tirawa-atius is there also, giving promise that the life of the child shall go on, as the waters flow over the land."

A black covering is now put over the child's head, "That no one may look on the holy symbols. Only Tirawa looks on them and knows all that they mean. We do not look on them, for they are holy."

18. In the Eighteenth Ritual the Kurahus marks off a symbolic nest. He does this with his toe, "because the eagle builds its nest with its claws."

"Although we are imitating the bird making its nest, there is another meaning to the action: we are thinking of Tirawa making the world for the people to live in. If you go on a high hill and look around, you will see the sky touching the earth on every side, and within this circular enclosure the people live. So the circles we have made are not only nests, but they also represent the circle Tirawa-atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people."

Over the symbolic nest the child is held so that its feet rest within the circle. A chief puts his hand under the robe which conceals the child's legs and drops within an oriole's nest so that the child's feet rest upon it. "The oriole's nest is used because Tirawa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skilfully made and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt." Tobacco and bits of fat "representing the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry meat home from the field" are placed in the nest. "No one but the chief and the Kurahus know what is being done beneath the robe."

"The child represents the young generation, the continuation

of life, and when it is put in the circle it typifies the bird laying its eggs. The child is covered up, for no one knows when the bird lays its eggs or when a new birth takes place; only Tirawa can know when life is given. The putting of the child's feet in the circle means the giving of new life, the resting of its feet upon the oriole's nest means promised security to the new life, the fat is promise of plenty of food, and the tobacco is an offering in recognition that all things come from Tirawa. The entire act means that the clan or tribe of the Son shall increase, that there shall be peace and security, and that the land shall be covered with fatness. This is the promise of Tirawa through the Hako."

The ritual closes with a thank offering of sweet smoke.

19. The Nineteenth Ritual contains the songs sung during the dance of thanks which follow the mystery. This is performed before the lodge and is accompanied by the giving of gifts, the recounting of exploits, and other social features. At its close the prominent members of the two parties return to the ceremonial lodge for the final rites.

20. In the Twentieth Ritual, within the lodge, a song of blessing is eight times sung over the child. The song means: "All that I have been doing to you, little child, has been a prayer to call down the breath of Tirawa-atius to give you long life and strength and to teach you that you belong to him—that you are his child and not mine."

The child is then unveiled, the symbolic painting removed, and the articles used in the ceremony are made into rolls and presented to the Son: "When the chief has finished speaking he puts the bundle in the arms of the little child and leads it to its father, the Son, who receives it, and the child runs off to play."

A final distribution of gifts ends the ceremony.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## THE SUPERPERSONALITY OF CHRIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE question of the personality of Jesus has come most powerfully into the foreground since liberal Christianity has spread more and more. Since the beginning of Christianity there has been a party who object to miracles and myth. They were led in the third century by Arius (256-336), and so this faction in the church was called Arians.

The Arians may be characterized as old Unitarians. Arianism had its strongest hold on the more sober-minded northern nations, especially the Goths, while the orthodox doctrine had its roots mainly in the southern peoples, the Greeks and the Italians.

The Arians' objection to orthodox Christianity is mainly based upon their rationalism. They want the truth in literally true statements. They object to allegory, and for this reason they throw out all ideas which are on the face irrational. They are religious free-thinkers, and object to believing that a man can be a god. Accordingly all the ideas connected with it, such as divine incarnation or the idea that God can be born, that there is a mother of God, that God can die, are blasphemies in their eyes, and since these notions are the characteristic features of the ancient paganism, since all pre-Christian religions possess a hero-worship which tells us of the birth of a son of some god, mostly of Zeus, of his deeds of valor, of his martyrdom and of his return to life, the Arians look upon the dogmas of orthodox Christianity as a revival of paganism.

This old contrast between the liberals and the orthodox is revived to-day in the discussion about the personality of Jesus. Modern criticism beginning with Bruno Bauer, the head of the so-called Tübingen school, and finding a classical representative in David Friedrich Strauss, resolved Christianity into an efflorescence of myth, and this movement has found new strength in the denial of the historicity of Jesus. The latest phase of this view has reached its

climax in William Benjamin Smith, who found an able prophet in the German professor Arthur Drews. Smith's work on "The pre-Christian Jesus" made a deep impression on Drews, and he by his scholarly and more popular methods gained the ear of the German public, claiming that Christ never lived, and that his figuring in history was due to the formation of a myth. These views he published in his two books, *The Christ Myth* and *The Witnesses to the Historicity of Jesus*. Drews found favor in the eyes of the masses, but naturally neither Smith nor Drews were recognized by theologians.

Our own position in this controversy has been set forth repeatedly on different occasions<sup>1</sup> and we may here summarize it thus: Christianity is a religion similar to its pagan forerunners. In fact Christianity is the sum total of pre-Christian pagan religions purified through the rigorous Jewish monotheism which served as a protest against polytheism and other outgrowths of superstition which had become unacceptable even to the uneducated masses of the Mediterranean nations. At the time of the beginning of the Christian era there were several rival religions among which Mithraism was most prominent. They resembled each other in tendency and doctrine, but in the struggle for survival Christianity conquered because it was the most vigorous protest against the objectionable features of the ancient paganism and also because the figure of its Saviour was more human and less mythological than the Greek heroes.

There were several saviour ideals, but Christ assumed a more concrete and definite personality than others such as Mithras, Apollonius, Seth and Hermes Trismegistus. Christ crystallized around the figure of Jesus, the Galilean, and there is a concreteness in the humanity of Jesus and in his martyrdom on the cross which endeared him most to the large multitudes of the lowest classes, the slaves, many of whom were quite prepared to end like Jesus on the cross. This feature is not sufficiently appreciated but is attested in the Roman comedy when Davus speaks of his prospective death on the cross with great indifference, stating as a matter of little concern that his father and grandfather had also died on the cross. This recalls the story of the captain who with carelessness speaks of his death in the ocean as a man would speak of his death in bed, and yet the bed does not for that reason become an object of disgust

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's little book, *The Pleroma*, and several discussions of the New Theology in *The Open Court*: especially "Pro Domo," Vol. XIX, 577; "Christ and Christian," Vol. XXII, 110; "Modern Theology," Vol. XXII, 234, 407; "The Nazarene," Vol. XXIV, 26; "The Synoptic Gospels," Vol. XXIV, 600.

to the people whose ancestors have generation after generation quietly found their end in bed.

We must distinguish between Jesus and Christ. Jesus is the man, whether historical or not does not concern us here, of whom the Gospels tell us that he was born in Bethlehem, was educated in Nazareth, that he preached in Capernaum his city, that he wandered through the country healing the sick and preaching to the poor, that he went to Jerusalem, offended the priests and Pharisees, drew upon himself the suspicion of the Romans, was crucified, buried, and rose from the dead on the third day.

Christ is a superpersonality. It is the Saviour ideal, the incarnation of God, the God-man, and the claim of the Apostle St. Paul consists in this that Jesus is the Christ. The Gospel story has been accepted by Christians with more or less belief in the several details; the resurrection story especially has given offense to the Arians or people of their kind. The healing miracles have been doubted or explained in a natural way. The birthplace and the virgin birth have been subjects of fierce controversies, and the myth theory has almost at all times found many advocates. Scholarly critics have discovered traces in the detailed items of the Gospel story which are repetitions of pre-Christian saviours. One of the most obvious of them is the massacre of the innocents in Bethlehem, and for other details the temptation, the transfiguration, the raising of Lazarus have been declared to be inventions of pious imagination, which arose on the ground that Christ could not have performed smaller miracles than other prophets before him. Others have done or said this or that; therefore Christ must have blessed his enemies on the cross, therefore he must have raised the dead, therefore he must have had a supernatural birth, etc.

If we understand the nature of religious psychology, we must know that all people have a need of ideals. The Greeks admired Heracles as the Babylonians cherished the legend of Gilgamesh, as the Teutonic nations enjoyed listening to the stories of Siegfried, and such figures are most potent presences in the minds of the growing generation. Whether or not Heracles ever lived is indifferent. The Greek people of classic antiquity certain believed in his reality, and later on when rationalism made religious notions of the gods and other superpersonal presences fade away the decay of ancient Greece set in. At the same time there developed a dualistic soul-conception which replaced the ideals of heroism by a new and more ascetic conception of the saviour. The hero type changed into the healer type, the transition being formed by such a demigod as Æs-

culapius in Greece. The courageous leader in battle, the bold muscular conqueror changed into an ascetic, a wandering preacher, a man without a wife, without family, without property. It is natural that the religious ideals of the different ages change with our world-conception and we find such superpersonalities individualized by different nations in the same phase of development in a quite similar way all over the ancient world.

With the breakdown of the old religions and with the rise of a monotheistic religion a new saviour type was needed, and found expression for instance in the life of Apollonius, a wandering preacher, of whom stories were told very similar to those about Jesus. Apollonius was a kind of ascetic. He was not a hero like Heracles. He was the product of the same age as Jesus, hence the similarity of the picture, and Apollonius was not a mere myth, he was a real living personality. The historian does not believe the miracles attributed to him, and we need not believe that the sermons attributed to him are his own words, but no critic has as yet come forward to doubt his historicity.

The truth is that the mythology of superpersonalities very easily crystallizes around historical figures which resemble them and play a prominent part in history. Such figures are most drastic where they appear in the field of action, men like Alexander the Great, Cæsar, Napoleon. And how easily legends cluster around them, how naturally the stories of similar deities, of the incarnate son God, and even anecdotes are attributed to these extraordinary personalities may be seen in the fact that all the legends of Gilgamesh and of sun-heroes were attributed to Alexander the Great in books which were finally reduced to poetic shape in the Middle Ages. How easy was it for M. Pérèz and for Archbishop Whately to prove that Napoleon was a mere myth, and that therefore there is no inkling of historical fact about him.

It seems to me that the Christ-ideal has settled on the figure of Jesus in the same way as the myth of the similar heroes clustered around the persons of Alexander and Napoleon. What the scholars do is to trace the origin of the Christ-ideal back to its various historical sources, and when they have exhausted the whole figure of Jesus they come to the conclusion: *Ergo*, nothing human is left; there is no truth in the historicity of Jesus. This seems to me a *non sequitur*. On the contrary the existence of Jesus is plausible for the very reason that the most reliable and oldest Gospel reports of Jesus possess several features and a few mention sayings of Christ which stand very strongly in contrast to the later Christ-ideal. This

proves that there is a nucleus of the life story going back to a tradition which was not invented for the purpose of proving that Jesus was the Christ, but is a tale of a wonderful preacher and healer called Jesus.

We do not consider it probable that the stories which betray a Judaic character in Jesus have been invented by the Christians. Incidentally we will mention here that the existence of Jew-Christians was really a fiction of the church. The Jew-Christians were the Nazarenes of whom Jesus was apparently a member, and this little sect was decidedly a Jewish sect. It is not probable that the Nazarenes changed their entire creed and their communistic institutions into a Christian religion, such as was evolved in later days among the Greeks and Romans. The religion of the Nazarenes was apparently absolutely Jewish, and several passages critically examined prove that Jesus was a Jew of the Jews. He had no idea of preaching his Gospel to the world in spite of the passage in Matthew xiii, which has long been recognized as a very late interpolation. We can not assume that the passages which make Jesus believe in every diacritical dot and dash of the Mosaic law were inventions of the Gospel writers, they must be historical, and the same is true of the story according to which Jesus calls the Gentiles dogs. In fact we read that Jesus was opposed to casting pearls before swine, which latter word was a common epithet among the Jews to denote Gentiles. There is enough in the Gospel, although means have been found to cover it, which goes far to prove an original Jewish tradition that can not be the product of a mythological fiction.

The properly Christian sayings of Jesus are very questionable as utterances of Jesus. It stands to reason that the beatitudes and other passages of the Sermon of the Mount were transferred on Jesus because according to the logic of the times he as the Christ must have uttered them. The Gospel of St. Mark by no means reflects a Christ-personality after the type of the Christian Christ-ideal. Were we to read the Gospel of Mark through in one sitting as if it were a new book to us, we would find that the personality here portrayed is by no means very sympathetic. It is not exactly Jewish, but may very well be Galilean, a mixture of Judaism with the notions of surrounding nationalities. But upon the whole there are enough features in the story which make it probable that a certain Jesus existed who was the leader of a Jewish sect, and having offended at the same time the priestly authorities of the Jews and the Roman governor, fell a victim to political prejudices. It is not impossible that such a Jesus existed. In fact I deem it more probable than

not, but so far as I can see the historical existence of Jesus is as indifferent as the historicity of Osiris in Egypt, or Heracles in Greece, or Siegfried among the Teutons. The potency of the ideal is the real actual fact in the soul-life of believers, and I grant that to many people it is essential to believe that this ideal has been an actual historical man. So far as I can see the believers in the non-historicity of Jesus can only prove that the rise of the super-personality of Jesus is the rise of an historical development, and that the several features which have entered here can be traced to definite sources.

The orthodox conception that the main part of the Christian Saviour was his character as Christ, remains standing and will remain forever, while the theory of the Arians, of the rationalists, and all their kin is untenable from purely *a priori* considerations. What is the use of believing that a little more than 1900 years ago Jesus was born in Bethlehem, or died on the cross of Calvary? The mystics have preached that whether or not Christ lived and died, and rose to life again is indifferent. The main purport of the Gospel story is that every believer in Christ should make his life an imitation of Christ, and this is the burden of the most typical Christian preacher Thomas Aquinas. Angelus Silesius expresses these sentiments in some of his quaint rhymes:

God as a child is born  
 In stillest, darkest night,  
 Whereby He has restored  
 What's lost by Adam's plight.  
 Thus in a creature dark,  
 Here in thy soul so still,  
 God is becoming man  
 And that will mend all ill.

I say it speeds thee not  
 That Christ rose from the grave,  
 So long as thou art still  
 To death and sin a slave.

The resurrection is  
 In spirit done in thee,  
 As soon as thou from all  
 Thy sins hast set thee free.

Golgotha's cross from sin  
 Can never ransom thee,  
 Unless in thine own soul  
 It should erected be.

Thou must above thee rise  
 All else leave to God's grace:  
 Then Christ's ascension will  
 Within thy soul take place.

\* \* \*

In connection with the subject here discussed I have to mention that one of the most prominent defenders of the historicity of Jesus is Professor Benjamin W. Bacon of Yale Theological Seminary. Rather thoughtlessly and in a rash and ungentlemanly way he pitched into my propositions of the origin of Christianity published in my little book *The Pleroma*, and I answered him carefully, thanking him for corrections of little details, and calling attention to the

failures of his own logic. At the same time I invited him to state his views more fully in *The Open Court*. His main argument, explained at great length in voluminous works on his specialty, New Testament Criticism, is briefly the old theological method of constructing a Jesus ideal. He tells us much about the sane mind of the carpenter's son, and this carpenter's son, the man of the working people, must have done this or that and must have preached thus or so. Such argument is convincing only to men of his own type, and shows poor judgment before the tribunal of a scientific treatment of history.

I do not blame Professor Bacon for his errors, but I regret to find that the *furor theologicus* is also a powerful factor in his character. Instead of either accepting or rejecting my invitation to answer my reply and express himself more fully, his only method of justifying himself is by disposing of my answer with a shrug. But an insult is no argument. I will quote literally the few lines in which Professor Bacon refers to me. They are hidden in an article entitled "A Mythical Collapse of Historical Christianity," in which he disposes in like manner of other opponents. Very incidentally in speaking of "mythological theology" he says: "Whether Dr. Paul Carus, editor of *The Monist* and its satellites in Chicago, entertains similar theological ideas, those must tell who are better acquainted than we with the thousand or more publications to which he confesses." A footnote is added thus: "In reply to a review of one of these by the present writer pointing out a series of inaccuracies, Dr. Carus presents voluminous explanations and a counter-attack, offering the columns of his own publication, *The Open Court*, for reply. We do not require so much space. A footnote here will suffice. We refer Dr. Carus to a well-known saying of Josh Billings: 'It's better to be ignorant about a few things than to know such a terrible lot of things that ain't so.'"

It is a common experience that the scholar who has no arguments calls his adversary names. Professor Bacon in the same passage shows that he is unfamiliar with my writings, and yet by inference he classes them among "a terrible lot of things that ain't so."

## THE HUMANITY OF JESUS?

CONTESTING A PROTEST.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

IT is always pleasurable and profitable to meet Mr. Kampmeier in the arena of controversy. Always he has something interesting to say and says it with clearness, directness, and precision, so that one may join issue sharply and grapple hand to hand. In this regard he reminds one of Schmiedel and only by contrast of the majority of "historicists." Especially, however, his attacks offer admirable occasions for strengthening the positions attacked.

In the May number of *The Open Court*, Mr. Kampmeier directs a very earnest "Protest" to the present writer. His general complaint is against the air of confidence becoming more and more apparent in the ranks of the anhistoricists (if such a frightful word be justified by such analogies as anharmonic). Thus it seems that *Das freie Wort* announces that the pure-divine and non-human character of the Jesus may now be regarded as a settled fact. Such a proclamation may indeed be early, but it is not alone. In a review of *Ecce Deus*,<sup>1</sup> Baars some months ago called upon the liberals to abandon their position now rendered untenable and range themselves on the side of the new doctrine of the pure divinity of Jesus. Other reviewers have thought similarly; an illustrious Biblicist has in a private letter announced his abandonment of Jesus the Man, and to judge from their printed statements, a number of others are wavering and almost persuaded to become Protochristians. Whence it might seem that the German fortnightly, even if a little too previous, is nothing worse, but merely anticipates a fast-forming judgment.

However, the more especial grievance of Mr. Kampmeier lies

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Ecce Deus*, Jena, Diedrichs, 1910. English enlarged edition, *Eternal Gospel*, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1912.

against a recent statement made by the writer, that "no shred of evidence for the humanity of the Jesus has yet been produced." The statement may seem a trifle bold, but it is not too bold, and it is hereby reaffirmed with emphasis. If there be any such shreds of evidence the world would be much indebted to any one for their early production. The nearest approach yet made thereto seems to be found in the Pillars of Schmiedel, generally recognized as a if not *the* "chief bulwark" of the liberal position. Schmiedel himself has distinctly declared that there are no other really cogent proofs of the historicity, that but for these or similar passages we should not be able to affirm the human existence of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> But how has it fared with these Pillars? Windisch in the *Theol. Rundschau* admits that they have been "powerfully assailed," that *Ecce Deus* proves that Schmiedel has attempted the impossible, and that at least five of the nine must be surrendered as "not convincing," "not able to bear" (*nicht tragfähig*) the burden of proof. Among the five thus surrendered is what seems to be by far the strongest (Mark x. 34), the cry on the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" than which nothing in the New Testament sounds at first more human. All of these Pillars are examined carefully in *Ecce Deus*, where it is shown that none of them yields one scintilla of the evidence for which they have been invoked. Windisch would still "let four of them count," especially the word to the rich man, "why callest thou me good?" But this reads in Matthew, "Why askest thou me about the Good?" and it is shown clearly in *Ecce Deus* that the passage offers no evidence in point. Meyboom in the *Theol. Tijdschrift* seems disposed to accept the contentions of *Ecce Deus* at this point. But in any case, when five of the nine Pillars admittedly crumble, who can any longer put faith in the other four? And how bizarre to rest the historical character of Jesus on four uncertain, ambiguous, and isolated phrases! Neumann and Meltzer have tried to strengthen these pillars by adding to their number, but with what nugatory results is clearly shown in *Ecce Deus*. Even Windisch puts little trust in this second colonnade, declaring they must be "sifted," and the conservative Dibellius had already shown (1911) that much the strongest-seeming pillar in this group (Matt. xi. 18, 19) is by no means historical but merely the church's interpretation of a parable of Jesus. We may repeat then that these passages at present present no evidence of the historicity in question.

It seems highly important to observe closely the logical situation at this point. It *might* very well be that we should find some

<sup>2</sup> See the quotation, *Eternal Gospel*, p. 33.

passage in very early canonic or uncanonic Scripture that seemed quite irreconcilable with the notion of the primitive divinity and non-humanity of the Jesus. True, no such passage *has* thus far been found, but it *might* be. Would that prove the humanity? Very far from it! As argued in *Ecce Deus* and as now conceded by Windisch, what might appear to us to be a contradiction need by no means have seemed such to some mind or minds among the primitive Christians. Their ways of thinking and types of consciousness were very varied and in some cases departed very widely from the European and American of to-day. It is entirely futile then for even Schmiedel to attempt to wrest the historicity from a few isolated verses of doubtful interpretation. Such a weighty doctrine can not be supported by such slender and sporadic pillars, even were they of granite and not of sand. If the doctrine of the pure-human Jesus were true, it would not have to rest on a few such lonely props; it would be found ingrained in the history of the epoch, a part and parcel of the whole web of events. To take it away would not be like removing some more or less superfluous thread or flounce from the garment, but like unraveling its whole texture and reducing it to a shapeless mass. The human personality of Jesus, if it be indeed the center and emanative focus of Protochristianity, must pervade, permeate, and penetrate the whole fabric of the new religion, must vitalize it at every point, must form at once the necessary and the sufficient explanation of most or all of its distinctive features. Now it is notorious that such is not the case. The example of Paul alone is sufficient at this juncture. However much Paulinism may employ the notion of the divine Christ, it makes no use at all of the human life, teachings, and personality of Jesus.

Liberals have felt keenly the imperative necessity of finding the human Jesus in the very earliest doctrine and history of the Christian propaganda; hence not only the strenuous striving of Schmiedel and his school to establish the Pillars, but also the un-resting zeal of nearly all in trying to discover, decipher, and delineate that marvelous human personality. All such efforts have proved utterly futile, fanciful, and mutually contradictory. In *Ecce Deus* this famous argument from personality is carefully considered, and it is shown clearly not only that there is no shred of evidence for the existence of any such single human personality, but that there is a large number of clear indications of its non-existence; that the witness of early Christian history is at many points directly against the historicity in question, that so far from explaining the course of history, the hypothesis of historicity makes everything unintelligible

and unexplainable. This most famous of liberal arguments has indeed been exactly reversed; its tenfold weight now falls wholly into the opposite scale. Professor Meyboom, of Groningen, who is surely not sympathetic with *Ecce Deus*, nevertheless in writing of the book in *Theol. Tijdschrift* (1912), after quoting from its treatment of this argument from personality, sums up the situation in these words (p. 44): "Am I in error when I maintain that here the finger is skilfully laid upon a weak spot in the traditional conception of the course of events at the appearance and first development of Christianity?"<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy also that in Case's recent work on the *Historicity of Jesus*<sup>4</sup> the favorite proof from personality shines most through its absence.

But the two foregoing arguments are not the only ones that "in dim eclipse disastrous twilight shed on half the" critics "and with fear of change perplex" professors. The Pauline witness is fundamental and in the minds of some (as Reinach) is the only one that has genuine evidential value. Now in *Ecce Deus* this witness is cross-examined and with the result, that it not only fails to attest, but also tells powerfully against the historicity in question. In his recent *Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum*, Heitmüller, certainly a most acute and liberal critic, seems to surrender the citadel itself (as is noted in *Eternal Gospel*), recognizing as contended in *Ecce Deus* that the view set forth in 1 Cor. xi. 23 ff. is a later "theologizing interpretation" of the earlier view given in 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. Moreover Schläger in a very recent thorough and methodic study (published in *Theol. Tijdschrift* because the German journals shrank from printing it!) has confirmed these conclusions (of *Ecce Deus*) at every point, so that we may now safely say that the Pauline witness is not *for* but distinctly *against* the "historicity."

Mr. Kampmeier does indeed cite the celebrated verse in 1 Cor. xv. 28, that "the Son shall be subject to the Father, that God may be all things in all," as evidence that Paul thought of Jesus as a human personality. One would think this would be among the last verses in the New Testament to be called by Mr. Kampmeier to the witness stand. His notion seems to be that the subjection of Son to Father implies that the Son was the "Jewish Messiah" "of human descent." Here must the present writer also be allowed to "protest." It is not a pure Jewish consciousness that is speaking.

<sup>3</sup> Heb ik ongelijk als ik beweer, dat hier op handige wijze de finger gelegd wordt op een zwakke plek in de traditionelle vorstelling van den gang van zaken bij het optreden en de eerste ontwikkeling van het Christendom?

<sup>4</sup> University of Chicago Press, 1912.

So much is plain in the phrase that "God may be all things in all." This (as set forth in *Ecce Deus*) is the homeomery of Anaxagoras, a profound and favorite Greek philosophic speculation, according to which the seeds of things were so universally diffused that in every thing were to be found the elements of all things. Indeed it is well known that the writings of "The Apostle" (by whom is not necessarily meant Saul of Tarsus) are deeply tinged with Stoicism and other Hellenisms as shown, e. g., in the argumentative use of "God forbid," a use peculiar to Stoical disputation.

Now it is not at all strange that a half-Greek half-Hebrew consciousness should strive to reconcile the notion of Jesus the Saviour-God with a pure philosophic monotheism. The task may not be an easy one, in fact it seems never in 1900 years to have been accomplished perfectly. But it is not the only persistent problem of theology or philosophy. Indeed it is only one aspect of a perpetual riddle, the relation of the individual and the universal, which not even Hegel could unravel or see through. Perhaps there is nothing better to be said about the relation of Jesus to God Most High than is hinted in the great Pauline phrase "the light of the glory of God in the person (aspect, countenance, *προσώπω*) of Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 6). It might remind one of a particular, or of the all-important singular, as contrasted with the general solution of a differential equation.

The at least half-mythologic conception of the relation in question as that of Son to Father seems to have made the strongest appeal and to have established itself most firmly. Alongside thereof has asserted itself the far more philosophic idea of the Spirit, identified by "The Apostle" with the Christ, but later sharply distinguished therefrom. The "Father" also has been recognized as only an aspect of Deity so that we now have the orthodox dogma of the three persons (aspects) of the one God, "not confounding the Persons nor dividing the Substance." There is in truth nothing to say against such a doctrine, unless one should ask, Why three rather than four or thirty or a thousand? We might ask a similar question about the dimensions of space, and neither question may be finally unanswerable. Three is in fact a very odd number. With such matters, however, we have no present concern, further than to insist that there is nothing at all in the Corinthian verse to imply any natural human history of the Son who surrenders to the Father. The old-world consciousness felt perfectly at home in dealing with Son-Gods as well as Father-Gods.

Nay, we must not even think of the Jewish mode of thought

as excluding the notion of purely heavenly beings subject to the Jehovah-God. It is well known that such celestials peopled the realms of later Jewish imagination, nor had they any human ancestry or earthly history whatever. Who were the parents of Michael, so prominent in Daniel? Or of Gabriel? If these, like Melchizedek, could dispense with parentage, what need of it for the Christ, for the Jesus, for the Saviour-God? Perhaps *some* did think of Messiah as earth-born. What of it? Others did not, and there was no reason why they should.

How familiar and even native to the Jewish mind was the idea of a Being purely divine yet subordinate to God Most High is clearly shown in the strange doctrine of *Metatron*. Hitherto in this whole discussion the present writer has carefully avoided broaching this all-important theme, since it deserves a volume rather than a paragraph. However, it seems hard to maintain this reserve any longer or to avoid saying so much at least as the following: The rigorous rabbinical monotheism with which we are all familiar was by no means the only recognized form of Judaism. The notion of Jehovah's angel (Malak YHVH), frequent in the Old Testament, and that of *Mediator*, already present in Gal. iii. 19, 20 and apparently current, pervade both Hebrew writings and the Apocrypha. In the latter this heavenly and even divine Being is often called Enoch, also Michael, and *Metatron*, which latter name he bears pre-eminently in the former. In Greek and Latin the word is written *Metator* and is said to mean *Guide*. It looks very like a disguised reflection of Mithra, as Kohut contends. Many scholars identify this Being with the Logos of Philo, against the protest of Cohn. That profound Talmudist, Max Friedländer, in his *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus* and elsewhere, identifies him with the early Gnostic Horus, "the surveyor or guardian of frontiers." Still other interpretations have been suggested.

For us the important point is that this *Metatron* is clothed with attributes and powers very nearly equal to those of God Most High. Thus, when Elisha b. Abuyah beheld *Metatron* in Heaven he thought there were two Deities (Hag. 15a). When God wept over the temple destroyed *Metatron* fell on his face, exclaiming, "I will weep, but weep not Thou," whereupon God answered: "If thou wilt not suffer Me to weep, I will go whither thou canst not come, and there will I lament" (Lam. R., Introduction § 24). Compare Jer. xiii. 17 and John xiii. 33, "Whither I go, ye can not come." *Metatron* shares in the functions of God: during the first three quarters of the day he teaches children in the Law, during the last

quarter God himself teaches them ('Ab. Zarah 3*b*). Involuntarily one thinks of freshman, sophomore, junior,—senior! He is a "mighty scribe," little lower than God (Ps. viii. 6). We are reminded of the secretary-angel of Ezekiel (ix. 2, 3, 11, x. 2, 6, 7). He is a youth, suggesting the mysterious youth of Mark xiv. 51, 52; xvi, 5—a supernatural being. He bears witness to the sins of mankind, recalling the "faithful witness" of Revelation. Most of all, however, he bears the sacred ineffable name, the tetragrammaton YHVH, for in Ex. xxiii. 21, it is written, "My name is in him." Nevertheless, he must *not* be worshiped, since the same passage commands, "Exchange not Me for him," (Sanh. 38*b*). However, it is conceded (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII, 408 *a, b*.) that "angel worship was not unknown in certain Jewish circles," and that prayers addressed to angels insinuated themselves even into the liturgy. Even in Daniel xii. 1, Michael appears as Intercessor, along with whom Meṭaṭron is frequently mentioned by Gnostics as the mediator of revelation. Even when Abraham ibn Ezra, commenting on the Pentateuch, finely says: "The angel that intermediates between man and God is reason," he is still not far from John and Theophilus, not far from Heraclitus and Philo, with all of whom the Logos (Reason) serves to link man with God. Enough. It is superfluously clear that in Jewish conception Meṭaṭron was quite in line with the Second Person in the Trinity, that, if not in official, at least in unofficial Judaism, the idea of a Vice-Elohim, a Pro-Jehovah, a Mediator-God, was perfectly naturalized, was popular, and was widely active. This mid-Being or *Mcsites* (by which latter term Lactantius describes Jesus) was wholly divine, without any tincture of humanity, and yet was distinctly lower than God Most High, with whom he was even contrasted. Herewith then not only Kampmeier's obstacles but all the Pillars of Schmiedel are swept aside completely and beyond recall.

It appears then that even if we should regard the consciousness in 1 Cor. xv. 28, as pure Jewish, there would still be no implication whatever of any historical humanity in the Son, the Jesus. Neither can any argument at all be drawn from any alleged preconception of the Jews that the Messiah was to be human. *On the contrary*, such a conception would merely *help to account* for the *humanization* of the Jesus conceived at first as a pure divinity. It is evident and generally recognized that much of the Gospel story was devised to fulfil supposed prophecy. Still later we find Justin Martyr and others reasoning with confidence that so and so must have happened, because it was already typified in the Old Testament. If

then "the monotheistic Jesus-cult" was accepted by some one who identified the Jesus with the Christ (Messiah), and who had the notion that this latter was foreseen by the prophet as a man, such a worshiper had no logical choice: he *had* to think of his Jesus as having lived in Palestine, and very naturally he would invent a plausible "Life of Jesus"—there was nothing else he could do.

Lastly we come to Mr. Kampmeier's *pièce de résistance*, the brotherhood of James. It seems a little queer that he should lean so heavily on such a broken reed. The matter has already been discussed, and it must suffice here to resume some of the principal points:

1. In the Gospels the brethren of Jesus are more than once defined as having no blood-kinship. "Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." "Go, tell my brethren," where plainly the disciples are intended. Unless then there be positive counter evidence we must understand the word brethren in this spiritual sense. No such counter evidence is found in the Gospels, as is shown in *Eccc Deus*.

2. In 1 Cor. ix. 5, "The Apostle" speaks of "the other apostles and the brethren of the Lord and Kēphas." Combine this with the fact that there were many parties in Corinth, that some said "I am of Paul," others "I of Apollos," others "I of Kēphas," others "I of Christ," and the suggestion presents itself instantly that "the brethren of the Lord" were such a party, the same or in line with those "of Christ," perhaps a select and inner circle of Messianists or other Christians. That these "brethren of the Lord" should be in Corinth or anywhere else a group of flesh-and-blood kinsmen of the man Jesus, who certainly cut no figure in the Gospel-story as even sympathetic with him, seems to be in the last degree improbable. The very name "brethren of the Lord" sounds very suspicious. Why not "brethren of Jesus," if such they were? Remember that Lord (Jehovah) is the very highest designation of the ascended Christ. Is it not incredible that such brothers-in-flesh, absolutely unknown as Christians, should receive such a superlative title?

3. In Gal. i. 19, we read of "James the brother of the Lord." The remarks already made apply with full force. As early as Jerome, already quoted in this discussion, the term brother was taken to refer not to blood-kinship but to spiritual likeness. Some one may say that this was done in the interest of the dogma of the perpetual virginity of Mary. But nearly 150 years earlier, before such an interest was felt, we find the highly enlightened Origen

taking the same view. In *c. Cels.* I, 47, he says: "Paul the true disciple of Jesus says that he saw this James as brother of the Lord (brother, that is) because not so much of blood kinship or community of their education, as of character and reason." If it be said that Origen himself accepted the humanity of Jesus and perhaps the blood-brothership of James, the answer is, Certainly! But this merely strengthens our contention. If, for entirely independent reasons, although he conceded that James was a natural brother of Jesus, the ablest of all early expositors still held on the face of the text that "brother of the Lord" must refer to spiritual rather than carnal kinship, so much the more are we justified in so understanding it, we who find elsewhere no ground at all for granting any such consanguinity. It seems hard to imagine any reply to this reasoning.

4. Finally the testimony of Josephus, in the phrase "James the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ" (*Ant.* XX, 9, 1). Can there really be any doubt that this clause is interpolated? Let the reader reflect on the considerations already advanced in the article on "The Silence of Josephus and Tacitus."<sup>5</sup> Neither have the arguments of Credner (who brackets the words as a Christian insertion) ever been answered. Let the reader also remember that Case claims no more than that it is "quite possible" that the Josephine reference to James is genuine (p. 256), while on the other hand Windisch (a hostile reviewer of *Ecce Deus*) admits that its demonstration of the "Silence of Josephus" hits the mark (*ist treffend*) in both cases<sup>6</sup> and that Zahn, who among conservatives has no superior in learning or in acumen, now concedes that the James-passage also is interpolated, a part of "the falsified Josephus." Notice further the advance on New Testament phraseology, which has "brother of the Lord," but not "brother of Jesus." Each writer seems to have expressed himself correctly. The New Testament does *not* mean "brother of Jesus" and does not say it; the late interpolator of Josephus does mean it and does say it.

It is true that an honored critic, Rudolf Steck, of Bern, has come valiantly to the rescue of the Josephine testimony (*Prot. Monatsh.*, 1912). But how and why? He perceives clearly, what Mr. Kampmeier should also perceive, that the phrase about James is most improbable in Josephus, *if there be no previous mention of*

<sup>5</sup> In *The Monist*, Oct. 1910.

<sup>6</sup> Also that the critique of the passage in Tacitus is "equally worthy of attention" (*ebenso beachtenswerth*). This passage can then no longer be produced in "evidence"; for even if not proved an interpolation, it is at least discredited.

*Jesus.* He admits also, what any unbiased mind must admit, that the total silence of Josephus is hard or impossible to understand and must throw the gravest doubt upon the historicity of Jesus. Furthermore, he can not deny that the famous section (*Ant.* XVIII, 3. 3) as it stands is a Christian insertion. What then does he do in this desperate plight? He follows the Hollander Mensinga, who in the *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1884, proposed the hypothesis that there stood originally in Josephus a scurrilous account of the relations of Joseph and Mary, suggesting the story of Paulina in section 4, and provoking some deeply offended Christian to supplace it with the extant section. In this way it is hoped to break the silence of Josephus and save the "historicity of Jesus."

This "bare hypothesis," as Steck himself calls it, has certainly the merit of boldness, but what other? An airier imagination has seldom been engendered in the brain of any critic. It is of course superfluous to oppose any such fancy, further than to note that it wrecks even before it fairly starts out, and on the very simple fact, already noted in "The Silence of Josephus," that section 4 is an immediate continuation of section 2, as is shown in the opening words, "About the same time a second terrible thing confounded the Jews etc." In section 2 the first "terrible thing" has been detailed, the merciless slaughter in Jerusalem. This close connection of sections 2 and 4 shuts out any section 3. Steck indeed would translate *δεινόν* by "strange" or "unusual" instead of "terrible." But that is not only against common usage but also against common sense. "Terrible" is the regular meaning of the word and in this case the necessary meaning. For only something terrible would have "confounded the Jews," that is, the Jewish people. To speak of an entirely unknown scandal touching two entirely unknown Galilean peasants as confounding the Jewish race, would be to move a smile hardly gentle enough for such grave discussion.

In all sincerity therefore we now ask, where are the shreds of evidence? Surely it is not enough to produce some fact consistent with the historicity but equally consistent with the anhistoricity. If the human character of the Jesus stood well established on independent basis, some of the facts passed in review might be regarded as confirmations. But which one can be regarded as a shred of evidence on its own account? It is by no means incumbent on us to show that our interpretations of the facts in question must be correct, but only that they may be correct, with no high degree of improbability. The Liberals do not advance their cause by producing passages that consist with their hypothesis of the historical

Jesus; they must produce something that requires that hypothesis for its reasonable explanation. This they have not done. Their texts are either equivocal or at best they lie under grave suspicion of being interpolations. In no court of justice would such texts be considered as "shreds of evidence." If a man owes you \$100 and offers you in payment a bill or draft that smells of forgery, it is not a legal tender; nor if it be drawn on a bank or other institution of doubtful solvency would you accept it. Not even if he offer you a stately heap of such dubious paper would you be satisfied. You would only wonder how he happened to have so much of that kind and none of any other. Such is the case with regard to the texts in question. Not one is convincing; not one raises any considerable probability; all may easily and even naturally be understood in exactly the opposite sense.

But are there no other proofs? The historicists hint vaguely at various others, but they do not state any clearly or even intelligibly. Nor do they come forward with any disproofs of the many counter-arguments developed in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* and especially in *Ecce Deus* and *Eternal Gospel*. It is not strange that they appear to German reviewers to "have nothing tenable (*stichhaltiges*) to urge against Smith's thesis." Under these circumstances, while fully nine-tenths of the most important argumentation of these books remains virtually unassailed, it would seem to be questionable whether the "Protest" under consideration be thoroughly justified.

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE ORIENT.

BY STANWOOD COBB.

THERE are many charges to bring against the Christian missionary—that he takes a wrong standpoint in attacking religions which are dear to their followers; that he is apt to be narrow in his theology, a generation behind the times; that his motives are mistrusted by the natives he works among because he lives at so much higher a standard of living than they do that his position seems to them a sinecure—all these things can be brought against a missionary; yet, I should like to give my testimony to his general nobility of character and his self-sacrifice.

It is true, he enjoys the luxury of foreign travel, he is assured of a living, and his children are educated at the expense of the Board—but that is as far as the advantages of his profession go. When he leaves this country with all the comforts and pleasures of high civilization, he goes among people who are far below him in every way, and leads an isolated life among them. He is always giving out—there are no friends he can go to to take in inspiration. The terrible monotony of missionary life in a far away town of an interior, can hardly be realized by home-staying Americans. It is a monumental sacrifice for a person of culture to go and spend the best years of his life in an Armenian town. Only the inspiration of religion could make such a sacrifice possible or joyful.

Many a missionary has had to endure more than mere hardships and loneliness. They have seen their wives or children die as a result of unhygienic conditions and the absence of good medical aid. One missionary in the interior of Asia Minor lost four out of five children in one year. Who can say that this is not a life of sacrifice? Moreover, almost every missionary over-works as a result of immense opportunities for service and only limited resources. I was in one missionary station where four men were doing the

work of eight—not because they were directed by the Board, but because they could not bear to cut down the work.

There are some missionaries who are lazy and enjoy an easy berth; there are some who are small and mean and bigoted; but on the whole, the profession of the missionary is one of constant sacrifice, a life of devotion which must command respect from all men.

We may not believe in sending people over to attack the foreign religions; we may not believe in proselyting; and there are many who condemn the foreign missions altogether, saying we should confine our efforts to our own country. Yet the work that missionaries are doing in educating the people they go among, in lifting them up to higher standards of living, and bringing joy into weary lives beaten down by centuries of despair, is without parallel on the face of the globe.

All over Turkey are mission-schools, bringing education to those who would otherwise never get any. I wish our young men who are so surfeited with education and so athletically negligent of it, could see the spirit and enthusiasm with which the boys of the East tackle study. To them, education opens the golden doors of opportunity—and they work like the immigrants in our night-schools.

Last year into one of the leading American schools of Turkey, walked an Armenian from an interior town some five hundred miles away—walked, tramped it all the way, getting his living by charity as he went along, for he had no money. How could we turn him away? He would work, do anything, to earn his living. And he accepted one of the most menial, and in Oriental eyes most degrading, tasks, and carried it on cheerfully and manfully, while he picked up an education as fast as he could.

I know of no more noble work in the world, nor any service more inspiring, than that of carrying education to these backward peoples—opening up to them all the vast knowledge of the twentieth century, the accumulated wisdom of the ages. This is the work the missionaries are doing, and I am proud of them. If they would modify their efforts to proselyte, and confine themselves more to education, to social upliftment, and to Christian influence; if they would free their schools from perfunctory and useless Christian ritual which offends the non-Christian students; if they would become broader and more tolerant; if they would come into the field with thoroughly trained minds, and an intelligent sympathy for the religion and customs of the people they go among,—if they would do these things, they would be sure of a welcome into whatever country they enter, and would be able to take a glorious share in

bringing to pass that brotherhood of man which the founder of their religion visioned forth.

In the near East the missions have done a wonderful work in uplifting and educating the different subject races of the Turkish empire—Bulgarians, Armenians, Syrians, Copts; and in Persia, the Nestorian Christians. When the first missionaries were started in Constantinople and Smyrna, some fifty years ago, efforts were made to convert Mohammedans. The success was not large. I inquired of one missionary who had just finished a service of fifty years in Constantinople, how many Mohammedans had been converted there within his memory. He thought of one. This one later turned out to be a rascal—the missionaries were therefore not inclined to boast of him. When Abdul Hamid came to the throne in 1873, he pledged the missionaries not to attempt to proselyte among the Mohammedan population of his empire. Since that time, therefore, the work of the missionaries has been confined to the Christian sects, Armenian, Bulgarian and Greek. The pictures shown by missionaries of their students in the native schools, sitting cross-legged with red fezzes on, might lead one to thinking them Turks. They are not Turks, in spite of the red fez. All subjects of the Turkish empire may wear the fez, and you find it on the head of Greeks and Armenians, as well as of Turks. This same condition is true in other Mohammedan countries—the mission work is largely confined to the native Christian population. In Persia, the missionaries work mainly among the Nestorian and the Armenian Christians. Very little proselyting among the Mohammedans is attempted, although medical aid is given them. Such a thing as a Mohammedan becoming converted is very rare. In Syria the work is among the Syrian Christians. They need education and social upliftment. In Egypt, it is the Coptic Christians who receive the attention of the missionaries. Although this country has been under French and English rule for some time, and protection has been given the missionaries, very little success has been attained among the Mohammedans.

I was speaking with one of the older missionaries who has been in Egypt for fifty years. "How many converts from Mohammedanism have been made in Egypt during these fifty years?" I asked.

"About one hundred and fifty," he answered.

"In all Egypt?"

"Yes, and even then you are not sure."

"What do you mean?" I said: "That they become Christians for interested motives?"

"Yes," he answered. "Some do it in order to get aid, or Christian patronage for business." (I was also told by native Egyptians that such was the case, and that the Mohammedans who became converted to Christianity were men of no character.)

"Do you think then," I asked, "that there is any hope of all Mohammedans ever becoming converts to Christianity?"

"No," he said, "I am afraid not."

This is the verdict of a man who has worked fifty years among Mohammedans under the most favorable conditions. Such opinions, however, do not as a rule, reach the churches of this country.

I asked the same question of a missionary who was born and brought up in Turkey, and whose father was a missionary before him—both men of learning and authority in the missionary world.

"Do you believe the Mohammedans will ever be converted to Christianity?" I asked.

"No, and there is no need of it."

"You think the Mohammedans have a good religion of their own?"

"Certainly."

"You would limit the mission work to trying to correct the faults of Mohammedanism?"

"Yes. And even then, have we not faults of our own? Can Christians afford to throw stones? I believe the Mohammedans will reform their own religion, as we did ours."

Here is one of the broadest missionaries one could meet. If all were like him, there would be more chance of the Mohammedans being, if not converted, at least influenced by Christianity.

This man's position is not altogether exceptional. It is the position of many other missionaries in the near East—to such an extent that these may be said to form a division or school, opposed to which are the opinions of the old school missionaries who continue to load their blunderbusses up with Gospel Truth (meaning the dogmas of their own particular sect) and discharge them at Mohammedanism, hoping to bring down a few victims.

We see then, not only that little success has been met with in the Mohammedan world, and that the work there is mainly among native Christians, but also that the more progressive missionaries have given up the idea of conversion altogether. They do not believe in it. In the first place they feel it is too difficult, and in the second place that more can be done by influencing Mohammedanism itself—letting the progressive followers of that religion bring about

a reform from within, adopting anything in the Christian religion which appeals to them.

The missionaries who have lived among Mohammedans are usually broader and more tolerant than their lay supporters at home. The reason for this is that no one can live long among Mohammedans, especially the Turks, without coming to admire them, and to respect their religion. One is obliged to recognize that it is on the whole a good religion, influencing its followers for good—not an invention of the Devil, to pander to the lusts of man, as we are often told by earnest Christians.

Let any fair-minded person compare the worship in a Mohammedan mosque with that in a Greek or Armenian church, and he will recognize that there is much more of real religion in the former. I have never been in a mosque without feeling a spiritual uplift. On the other hand, I have never been uplifted by the tiresome and irreligious service of the Greeks.

Let not any one suppose that St. Sophia, once the head of the Greek churches, has suffered any on being converted into a Mohammedan mosque, save in the effacing of a few mosaics. The simplicity of its present interior is in pleasing contrast to the Greek churches, where idolatry stares one in the face at every side—pictures of the Virgin Mary which are kissed—images and candles everywhere.

A second point in which I wish to correct impressions which seem to prevail in America, is in regard to the recent Turkish revolution.

It has been announced in sermons, in missionary books, and even in thoughtful magazines, that the chief cause of the freeing of Turkey from the tyranny of Abdul Hamid, was the influence of the missionaries who have been working for years in Turkey. Such a flagrant violation of fact staggers one who knows anything about this revolution. It is a statement which, unfortunately, is a proof of the small interest taken by Americans in Eastern affairs and of their entirely superficial knowledge in this direction.

A clergyman, a graduate from Harvard, Ph. D., preaching in one of the most cultured suburbs of Boston, remarked from his pulpit shortly after the revolution, that he had no doubt that Robert College had as much to do with the revolution as any one thing. Now as only one Turk ever graduated from the college, his statement is rather unfounded. Strangely enough, I find that this idea is held by many people of wide culture and education.

*The fact is, neither Robert College nor any of the missionary*

*schools contributed one iota toward freeing Turkey from the rule of Abdul Hamid.* The revolution was entirely a military affair, planned and brought to pass by Mohammedan soldiers and officers, few of whom had probably ever met a missionary, much less been influenced by him. It was planned in Paris, by exiled Turks, who, far from being influenced by American missionaries in Turkey, have been for the most part followers of the French materialism. It was carried out by soldiers who were faithful Mohammedans. It cannot even be claimed that the revolution was made possible by the *general* influence of the missionaries in uplifting the people—for their work has been wholly confined to the Armenians who had nothing to do with the affair. It was the army which did the thing.

If any zealous Christian still doubts about this matter, let him read the words of Prof. E. C. Moore, of Harvard in *Religious Education*, October, 1909. In speaking of the Turkish revolution he says: "Those are all abroad who have been hastily asserting that the work of modernization was the result of a changing attitude in Turkey toward Christianity, due to the permeation of the body of Young Turks with Christian ideas, or to the direct effect upon these men themselves of Christian education. The effect of Western education offered in Turkey by the collegiate institutions which grew out of the Protestant missions, the most distinguished of which is Robert College, has no doubt been great. But the effect has been the effect of education *qua* Western, and not *qua* Christian. The early Christian missions never influenced anybody but the constituency of the Oriental churches (Greek, Armenian, Syrian, etc.). The old colleges practically never touched the Mohammedan youth at all."

These are the words of a man who had just been traveling around the world studying missions, and is competent by learning and position, to give an opinion. He has analyzed the conditions perfectly. It is not the Christian religion, but the civilization of Christendom which has been influencing both Turkey and Persia to progress. *They are ashamed to stay behind the rest of the world.*

Let the Christians claim the credit, then, for the civilization of Christendom if they will, but let them remember that this civilization contains many elements which are not Christian in origin. Its intellectual culture it owes to the Greeks; its laws to the Romans; its love of liberty to the Teutonic spirit. Just to what height the modern world would have risen if the Carpenter of Nazareth had not appeared upon the scenes of history two thousand years ago, no one

can say. But surely, no one supposes we would all be barbarians still—Teutons wandering in the woods for game.

From what we have seen of missionary success in the near East, it does not look as if the Mohammedan world were to be converted soon to Christianity. The missionaries themselves have given up this hope, and seek to influence rather than to directly proselyte. The war cry "The World for Christ in one generation" does not seem possible of fulfilment in the far East either, in spite of a very considerable success in the past and present.

In Japan, Christianity has had as good opportunity as it could ask for—doors finally thrown open, a people looking for a new religion. Yet, in spite of the fact that many converts have been made, Japan as a whole has not accepted Christianity, and is less inclined to do so now than it was some years ago. It is a fact that at one time the leaders of Japan got together and discussed the advisability of selecting Christianity as a national religion, but decided that it was too narrow—too much wrapped up in theology and dogma—and so dismissed it from further official consideration.

In China, Christianity has had a longer history than most people realize. It reached that country as early as the eighth century A. D., carried there by the Nestorian Christians from Persia, and for a time prospered. Here too, it had full opportunity to spread as it was looked on with tolerance by the rulers, and met with little persecution. Yet, when the Catholic missionaries came in the sixteenth century, they found no trace of this early Christianity. If our religion had been adapted to the Celestials, why did it not spread as it did among the Gothic and Slavic races of Europe? Again, with the entrance of the Catholic missionaries in 1555, Christianity had another chance to spread and by 1664 there were nearly 270,000 converts, yet when persecutions arose and these missionaries were later driven out the native Christians died away, and upon the reopening of the field in the nineteenth century, the work had to be done all over again.

To-day, the missionary work of China is kept up chiefly by outside stimulus. If all missionaries should withdraw from China, would the native Christians lapse into their former national belief again as they did two centuries ago?

In India, we have an excellent field for missionary work. Here is a vast population of 300,000,000 tied down by foreign government, so to speak, and unable to resent the establishment of Christianity. How have the missionaries succeeded there? They have established many excellent schools, have converted thousands of

Hindus, and can even hold large conventions of Hindu native pastors and lay converts. They have done, and are doing, a noble work in uplifting women, in teaching more hygienic habits, and in raising their converts to a higher standard of living. But are there any signs that within forty years India's 300,000,000 souls will be Christian?

If we look into the facts we shall find that the converts are mostly from the lowest class of the population, the outcasts who have no caste at all, and have for centuries been spurned as clay under the feet of the high-caste Hindus. Is it a wonder that they are attracted by the attention of the missionaries, and that they are won by kindness and the readiness to serve? Beautiful as is this influence, it is not a proof of the ultimate success of Christianity.

Suppose the Brahmins should send missionaries among our negroes of the South—and by their kindness and willingness to live and mingle with them, should win them over to Brahmanism? Is it probable that the rest of the country would also be converts? Could that in any way be considered an entering wedge? Would our highly cultured, thinking white population be induced to become Brahmins because their colored brethren were?

In the East, even more than in the West, people follow the leaders. Whole villages take the religion of their chiefs. If you can win over some of the intellectual leaders, then the masses will follow. But the success among the masses is not likely to influence the higher castes. Christians have been made by the thousands, it is true, but what is the ratio of these thousands to the millions of India? Taking into account the vastness of the population, the length of time our religion has been among them, and the opportunities it has had for free play, the outlook is not very encouraging.

Here too, the native Christians have to be continually propped up by foreign missionaries. If all foreign aid were withdrawn the native Christians of India would tend to be reassimilated to the religion of their country. I doubt very much whether they could stand out against the environment.

We must remember that Christianity had an earlier chance in India—as in China—in the sixth century, when the Nestorian Christians came that way; and again in the sixteenth century under the Mogul emperors. Why did it not flourish there as it did in the Isles of the West?

In fact, the success of a missionary in converting a few people to his religion is no proof of the validity of that religion, or of its chances to predominate. Zeal and patience are all that is required in order to make converts. We have only to look about us in order

to see dozens of peculiar causes which win followers, hold meetings, and acquire some measure of success. It is a psychological fact that if a man be on fire with a belief he will set other people on fire with it. Let any man, with any belief whatsoever, settle in one locality and preach there for fifty years earnestly and steadfastly, and he will make dozens of followers.

A great religion is known by its *durability* and its rapid powers of assimilation. The great world religions after passing through their persecutions and their first struggle for existence, have swept like wildfire over certain races to which they seem adapted. Christianity spread thus through all Europe, but has never made any impression on Asia. Buddhism had a rapid growth in India and China. Islam swept over the brown races of the East—and is now having great success in Africa, where it is making a hundred converts to Christianity's one.

This historical fact would lead one to see a principle of adaptation in religion, as in all other forms of life. Why did China choose to follow Confucius rather than Lao-tze? Why did Christianity never spread east of the birthplace of its founder? Why has not Islam led captive the white races?

One who is interested in this aim—the world for Christ in one generation—should ask himself these questions, and then ponder whether it be possible to superimpose Christianity with all its Occidental trend, upon peoples whose religions have for hundreds of years grown to be a part of their racial life.

## A HIEROPHANT OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY THE EDITOR.

ONE of the chief blessings of the Religious Parliament of 1893 is the new spirit which pervades our religious sentiments in the endeavor to understand people of a different faith. The old narrow view which looks upon non-Christians as misguided by Satan is fast disappearing, and we learn to look upon the pagans as well-intentioned in their attempts to grope after a solution of the deepest problems of life.

Much progress has been made in deciphering the religions of other nations by personal contact and sympathetic inquiry. The religions of Asia have been studied by scholars and scholarly missionaries, while the religion of the American Indian has been undertaken at the expense of the Smithsonian Institute under the supervision of the United States, and we come to the conclusion that the Indian is full of inspiration and truly religious sentiment. While he is ferocious in war, he is by no means the savage he is represented to be in many of our stories, and that he might easily appear in the history of the white pioneers of the wild west.

Professor Hartley B. Alexander, of the University of Nebraska, has devoted much of his energy to a study of the religion of the American Indian. See his article "The Religious Spirit of the American Indian," *Open Court*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 45, 74.

The same author describes in the present number a mystery play which is characteristic, not only of the Pawnee Indians but generally of the religious ceremonies of many tribes in the Mississippi valley. In fact it may be considered as typical of the religious spirit at the stage of mankind when agriculture begins to take root, and changes hunters into tillers of the soil. He has also written a poetic version of the ceremonial here described which renders faithfully the great mystery of life as interpreted in the religious expression of these simple people. In scope and meaning it is anal-

ogous to the ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries and may also be looked upon as a primitive Passion play. It has been published in the current number of *The Monist* (July, 1912) under the title "The Mystery of Life."

Professor Alexander's "Mystery of Life" is not pure imagination. On the contrary it is based on fact, and the main change which he has permitted himself to make is that of abbreviation of the lengthy performance of the Hako, the veneration of the corn as the source of life representing divine dispensation through sustenance of food. The statement is based upon a report by Miss Alice C. Fletcher embracing a whole volume of the 22d Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and her report is based in turn upon the description of the Kurahus, the hierophant, or leader of the ceremony. Miss Fletcher says of this title: "This term is applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who commands respect."

This Kurahus, by the name of Tahirussawichi, a full-blooded Pawnee, had been invited to visit Miss Fletcher in Washington, and it will be instructive to read the characterization of this Indian priest because it will teach us best the deep spirit of the Indian religion. She says:

"Tahirussawichi is a member of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe and about 70 years of age. He is tall and well made, and preserves much of the vigor of his earlier days. He is mentally alert, quick to observe, possessed of a tenacious memory, and gifted with a genial nature. He enjoys a joke and is always ready with good-fellowship, but he never forgets the dignity of his calling, or fails to observe the conduct befitting his position as the guardian of sacred rites. Although he is childlike and trusting, he has a keen discernment of character and a shrewd common-sense way of looking at men and things. While he is not indifferent to the great changes which have overtaken his people, new conditions have failed to disturb in any way the convictions of his early religious training.

"He has struggled to avoid living in a house, and has held to an earth lodge until it has dropped to pieces about him. He said: 'I can not live in a white man's house of any kind. The sacred articles committed to my care must be kept in an earth lodge, and in order that I may fulfil my duties toward them and my people, I must live there also, so that as I sit I can stretch out my hand and lay it on Mother Earth.' Last fall (1901) I saw how he had propped

up a part of the ruins of his lodge so that he might still keep the sacred objects in a primitive dwelling.

"When he was in Washington in 1898 he was taken to the Capitol and the Library of Congress. While the vastness and beauty of these structures gave him pleasure, they did not appeal to him, for such buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his long life. He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: 'I will not go up. The white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them.'

"Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: 'I am glad to see you and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so. I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me) what I have said.'"

For some time we have published in *The Monist* philosophical poetry, translations from Schiller and Herder, and also original poems by Major J. W. Powell. The current number contains the Indian drama on "The Mystery of Life," based upon the report of Tahirussawichi and reduced to English verse by Professor Hartley B. Alexander.

By philosophical poetry we understand such expressions of sentiment in verse or in exalted diction as describe man's conception of life, and certainly in the same category we must range the religious poetry of the different stages of human development. Among them the American Indian represents one of the oldest types, and we need not hesitate to say that the aborigines of the Western Continent are more religious than is the white man of the twentieth century. The Indian more than we feels himself as the child of nature, and his poetry is deeper than we can imagine. He admires the marvels of civilization, our ships, our railroads, our towering buildings, but in contemplating our big monuments and cathedrals he does not feel the holiness of a religious inspiration such as impresses him when he thinks of the sacred mysteries of his own more primitive folks, by which they express thanks to the powers above them and establish among the members of the tribe and their confederates the spirit of love and good will.

## A GERMAN SCHOPENHAUER SOCIETY.

BY THE EDITOR.

UNDER the auspices of Dr. Paul Deussen, a professor at the University of Kiel, and also of Arthur von Gwinner, member of the House of Lords of the German Empire and director of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, a Schopenhauer society has been formed under the title *Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft*, the purpose of which is the study and development of Schopenhauer's philosophy. The society intends to institute an archive which shall contain all the documents and other pieces of interest having reference to Schopenhauer's life, personality and literary activity. Where the originals can not be obtained copies will be procured. The society further promises to bring all its members into personal contact and will publish membership lists with addresses so as to make it possible to reach one another by letter for an exchange of thought whenever it is desired. The home of the archive is not yet stated, but applications for membership may be addressed either to Professor Paul Deussen, Kiel, Germany, or to Arthur von Gwinner, Deutsche Bank, Berlin W. 8, Germany. The annual assessment will be 10 marks, or life membership 100 marks.

The Schopenhauer Society announces that it intends to publish all the collected works of Schopenhauer. The editor-in-chief is to be Prof. Paul Deussen. The works will be brought out in fourteen volumes, and the subscription prices for each volume will be: unbound, 6 marks: bound in linen, 8 marks: half-calf, 10 marks; and edition de luxe in Morocco, 28 marks. The price is decidedly high if compared to the cheaper editions in which Schopenhauer can now be had in the open market; but the editors promise that this edition will be unique by being supplied with notes of textual criticism based upon the private copy in which Schopenhauer copied his personal comments. This copy was lost and has only recently been discovered, which explains why it was not at the disposal of Greizebach and why Frauenstedt had used it only to a limited extent.

Wiltst du dich deines Wertes freuen;  
So mußt du Welt und Werth verstehen.

in Erfolg und zum Ansehen  
mancher verbanlichen Gespräche

Weimar, d. 8. May 1874 Goethe

Mihi.  
A.S.

The labor of the different volumes has been distributed among several scholars who will collaborate with the editor-in-chief, Professor Deussen. The price of each volume will be 12 marks higher in the book market than it is furnished to subscribers. The edition de luxe will be limited to 200 numbered copies, and while single volumes may be had of the other editions, subscribers must buy the whole set if they choose to buy a de luxe edition. Volumes VII, XII, and XIV are expected to be of special value because they contain much unpublished material. Volume XIV will discuss the most important contemporaries of Schopenhauer's works and thus will be indispensable for any one who makes a specialty of Schopenhauer in the interest of the history of philosophy.

The Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft published in its first annual a reproduction of one of Goethe's verses dedicated by the German poet to the pessimist philosopher Schopenhauer, and dated Weimar, May 8, 1814. It reads:

"Willst du dich deines Werthes freuen,  
So musst der Welt du Werth verleihen."

In this epigram Goethe has immortalized his critical view of Schopenhauer's pessimism. This is the sum total of his opinion of the badness of the world which he had discussed with Schopenhauer, in many confidential talks as Goethe himself says. The lines were written in consequence of these discussions as a souvenir for the philosopher. When this poem was published by Goethe's publisher, Cotta, in 1815, Schopenhauer wrote on the margin of his copy "*Mihi A. S.*," which means, "This verse was written especially for me."

No better answer could have been given to pessimism, no better criticism and no better comment could have been made upon it than is contained in this verse. We can very well imagine that Goethe was deeply impressed with the truth of Schopenhauer's views. There can be no question that the world is full of misery, and that at best "its strength is labor and sorrow." But after all the world as it is is the fact which we have to face and it is our business to make the best of it. The world to us is how we mold circumstances and what part we play in it, and thus the poet says:

"Thy worth, wouldst have it recognized?  
Give to the world a worth that's prized."

The question is not whether the world is bad or good, but whether our life is worth the living, and if it is not in our power to change the constitution of the world it is our duty to acquire worth ourselves.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### BUDDHIST OMISSIONS IN HASTINGS'S DICTIONARY OF RELIGION AND ETHICS.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Never before was there such an international and interreligious cyclopedia as this. Never before on the same leaf (see "Ages of the World") could the seeker for truth find the usual Christian claim made and contradicted. For in this remarkable article the Christian writer says that the Christian Age of Gold is in the future and the pagan age of gold in the past; while on the same leaf the great Buddhist scholar, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, gives the textual proof that Buddhism also has a future Age of Gold, when another Buddha shall appear.

But while the world's second great religion receives more justice than ever before in a Christian cyclopedia, there are still some grave omissions. Thus, in the article "Assumption and Ascension," there is no mention of the Buddhist Ascension story, which first saw the light, in English, in *The Open Court* for February, 1900, and has since been twice reprinted in a well-known work. (See also Strong's *Udāna*).

In the article "Councils and Synods, Buddhist," La Vallée Poussin, with all his vast learning, omits one of the keys to the whole situation, viz., the Great Council account of the first schism, translated for us by Samuel Beal in the Introduction to *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIX.

Then again, the same valuable critic, in his article *Bodhisattva*, gives the volume of the London edition of the Majjhima Nikāya where the Canonical story of Buddha's birth may be found, but forgets that the English appeared in *The Open Court* in August, 1898, reprinted as before.

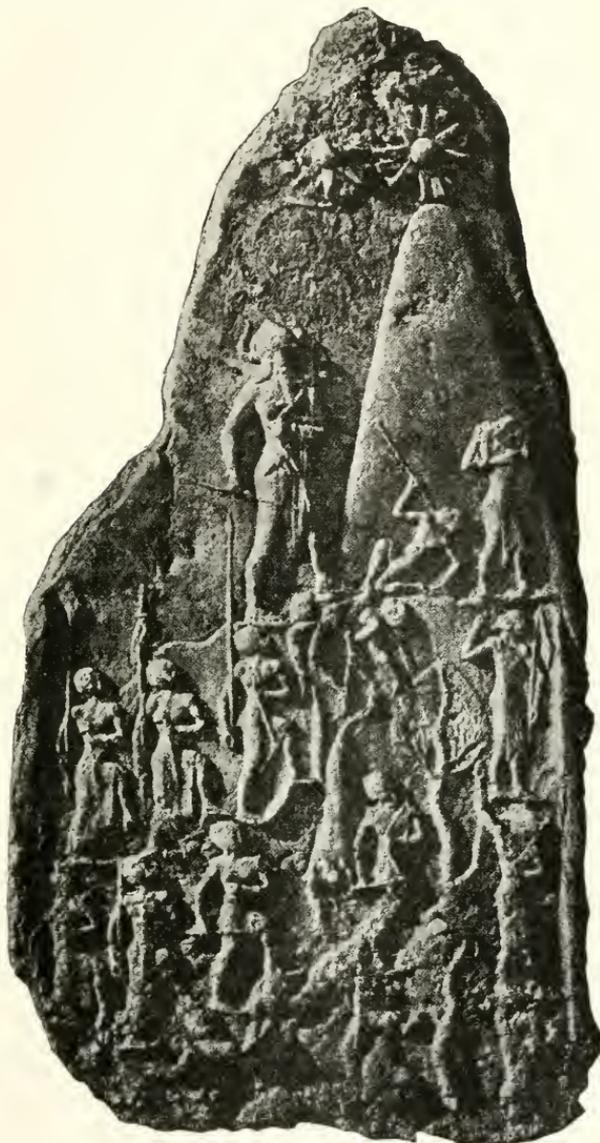
Finally, Anesaki, in his splendid account of Buddhist Docetism (a doctrine supposed to be wholly Christian before 1902) refers to Kathāvatthu XVIII, I, which only specialists will understand, but omits to state where that passage is to be found in English, viz., in a book edited and published by the modest professor himself.

So far the letter D has been reached, but it is to be hoped that no more important Buddhist parallels or doctrines will be overlooked, and that the English sources, when available, will always be given.

## BATTLE SCENES IN ANCIENT ART.

BY THE EDITOR.

Generally the idea prevails that art in its primitive shape represented human figures in action in a very stiff and crude way. This notion is based

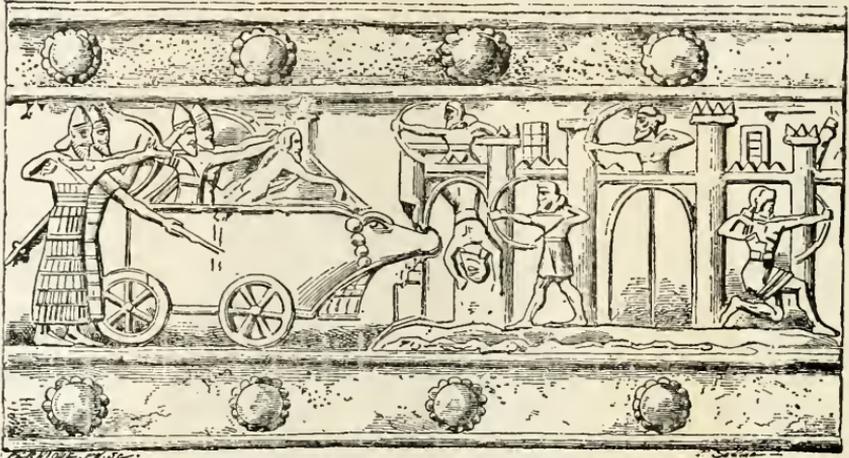


STELE OF NARAM-SIN.

Found in the ruins of Susa, now in the Louvre.

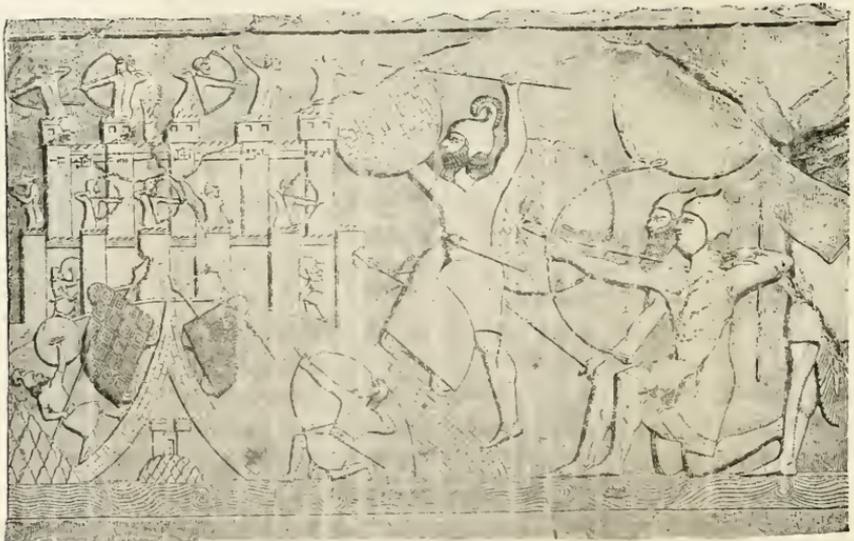
on Egyptian sculpture as it is preserved in Egyptian monuments, and we assume that Greek artists had gradually freed themselves from this tradition imported into Greece from the valley of the Nile.

But such is not the case. We find in ancient Babylonian and Assyrian monuments a remarkable freedom in many human figures which comes out most boldly in battle scenes such as represented on Naram-Sin's stele of the



ASSYRIANS BATTERING A FORTRESS.

Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, Fig. 10.



ASSYRIAN BOWMEN AND SPEARMEN ATTACKING A FORTRESS.

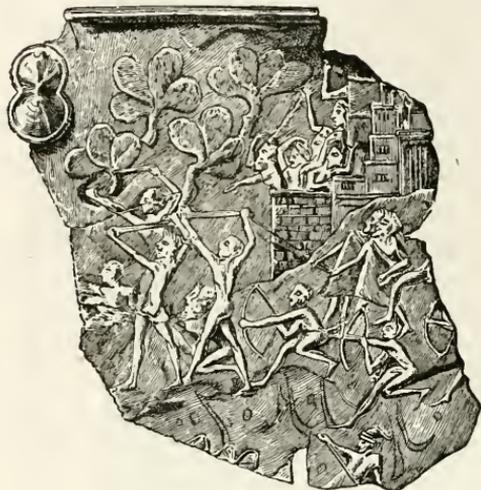
Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, Fig. 13.

fourth millennium B. C. (See the article "Naram-Sin's Stele" in *The Open Court*, XVIII, 563) and also in other monuments representing the defence of beleaguered cities. But it seems that these Babylonian monuments have



ASURNAZIRPAL IN BATTLE.  
Original in the British Museum. Photograph by Mansell. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, Fig. 100.

been eclipsed by Greek artists at the time when the technique of the sculptor was not as yet developed and the human figure was still represented in slim outlines. We here reproduce from Perrot and Chipiez illustrations which picture such battle scenes by the hand of prehistoric Greek artists. The



A PREHISTORIC BESIEGED CITY.

Fragment of chased silver from a tomb in the Acropolis of Mycenae.



CARVED GEM FROM A MYCENAEAN GRAVE.

larger one of the two, a relief, exhibits the defence of a beleaguered city, while the smaller one, a gem, shows a valiant fight of four men at the moment of a most vigorous onslaught. These attest the artistic promise of a nation that at the beginning of civilization could produce such works of art.

#### THE CAUSE OF ISLAM.

The world of Islam forms a more solidary unit than is commonly known in Christian lands. The fellow-feeling among Moslems is very strong and as an instance we cite a recent number of *The Islamic Fraternity*, a periodical published in Japan as an organ of the Mussulmans living in Japan, in which the editor publishes a report of a mass meeting held at *Kabul*, the capital of Afghanistan in the presence of His Majesty Ameer Habibullah khan. The ruler of "the God-granted kingdom" addressed his subjects in an animated speech in behalf of the Moslem brethren in Tripoli who are heroically defending their hearths, their home and their religion. He denounced the unrighteousness of the Italian aggressors and exhorted his people to show their sympathy in large contributions for the martyr-heroes of their faith. He expressed regret that geographical conditions and the great distance prevented him from taking an active part in the war and sending his valiant warriors to aid in the cause of Islam.

We have published in former numbers the position of the Italian invaders who claim to fight for civilization and righteousness and wish to show here our impartiality by pointing out that there is another side of the question.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE ESSENTIALS OF PSYCHOLOGY. By *W. B. Pillsbury*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911. Pp. 358. Price \$1.25 net.

The author makes no special claim of originality in furnishing a new text-book on psychology. Whatever differences may mark it as distinct from others of its class, Professor Pillsbury has set forth in the first paragraph of his preface as follows:

"The aim of this volume is to present clearly the accepted facts of psychology. Throughout, emphasis has been placed upon fact rather than theory. Where theories conflict, the better one has been chosen, the others merely neglected. This may seem dogmatic in places, but in a text dogmatism is preferable to confusion. The point of view is on the whole functional; more attention is given to what mind does than to what it is. With this goes an emphasis upon the outward manifestations of consciousness and upon the behavior of others to the subordination of the individual consciousness. Nevertheless, use is made of the results of structural psychology wherever they throw light upon function or are interesting for themselves. The position, it is hoped, combines the advantages of the rival schools." ρ

THE DOCTRINE OF CREATION. By *C. M. Walsh*. London: Fisher Unwin, 1910. Pp. 160. Price 3s. 6d. net.

Without chapter headings, table of contents or index, without even a secondary title or preface, it is difficult to gain an adequate idea of the purpose and scope of this book without a careful and consecutive perusal which we cannot give it at this time. On a cursory examination it seems to attempt an historical investigation of the subject. The author's conclusions are summed up on the last page as follows:

"The doctrine of creation from nothing is not a revelation, and has been taken for such only by a misinterpretation consequent upon faulty translation of the opening passage of Genesis. . . . Those who are not trinitarians may rest with the conviction that the proof of either the creation or the emanation of matter (and of soul too) is beyond our reach, and that we need not try to decide between which is not of importance for our salvation, or for any other purpose, and between which, in fact, there is at bottom no great difference." ρ

CHRIST'S SOCIAL REMEDIES. By *Harry Earl Montgomery*. New York: Putnam, 1911. Pp. 433.

This book emphasizes the practical value of Christ's teachings as applied to the various social and industrial problems which confront us to-day. While attempting in some degree to present remedies for current evils, the author does so in the spirit just indicated instead of following the teachings of economic or philosophical schools. The subjects discussed as indicated in the titles of the chapters are as follows: Responsibility of Citizenship; Was Christ an Anarchist?; Was Christ a Socialist?; The Kingdom of God; Non-Resistance; Marriage and Divorce; Crime and the Criminal; Wealth; Labor; Sunday Observance; International Controversies; Social Reconstruction. The

author belongs to a law firm in Buffalo and writes for the laity from the layman's point of view. p

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A COSMIC VIEW OF GOD AND MAN. By *J. Stirling Miller*. Glasgow: Chatterworth & Company. Pp. 267. Price 3s. 6d. post paid.

This "contribution towards the science of religion" distinguishes man from brute creation by defining him as "creative energy." The author believes in the fundamental truth of the laws of conservation of energy and of the survival of the fittest and is convinced there is a personality behind the evolutionary creation of the universe as surely as there must be a personality behind the invention of the telephone. He does not believe that man is a creature created by God, but is himself a creator begotten of God his Father. He agrees with Haeckel, that "Man's physique, its life and faculties, are fundamentally the same as that of the ape, from whom man derived them," but does not think it follows that "therefore mechanical evolution is established as the sole factor in cosmic history." p

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Professor Royce has published a collection of essays on a variety of subjects which he has collected under the name "William James and Other Essays on the Philosophy of Life" (New York, Macmillan, 1911; price \$1.50). He says concerning them in the preface:

"The final discourse on 'Immortality' approaches the familiar problem in a fashion different from that chosen for the purposes of my Ingersoll lecture on the same topic (published by the Riverside Press in 1900), and thus forms a sort of supplement to the Ingersoll lecture. The present way of dealing with the concept of immortality also gives me the opportunity to sketch anew some of my general idealistic theses, and incidentally to repudiate the frequent and groundless assertion that my own form of idealism regards time as 'unreal,' or the absolute as 'timeless,' or the universe as a 'block'.... I have ventured to make the honored name of William James part of my title. The first essay is a tribute to his memory. The others show, I hope, that, if I can oppose his views, I owe to him, as teacher, and as dear friend, an unfailling inspiration, far greater than he ever knew, or than I can well put into words." κ

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Dr. C. D. Spivak and Sol. Bloomgarden have published in a handy volume of 340 pages a *Yiddish Dictionary* which explains Hebrew words in Yiddish. The original title reads:

אידיש ווערטערבוך

The introduction (pp. V-XI) is followed by some indispensable comments on the Hebrew words which are used in Yiddish (p. VII ff.), and by other explanations on Yiddish grammar. The book is published by the Yehoash Society, 85 Canal Street, New York City. For people who take an interest in Yiddish we will state that any German who is familiar with the Hebrew alphabet can puzzle out the meaning of Yiddish, for Yiddish is actually German, as spoken by the Polish and Russian Jews. It is interesting to notice how certain odd pronunciations have here become fixed, and so we can see that even dialects have their own rights to determine what is correct. The spelling appears at first sight ponderous to a German but one grows quickly accustomed to its queer formations.

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Authorized translation by H. S. CARSLAW

Pp 268

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#### Introduction

The translator of this little volume has done me the honor to ask me to write a few lines of introduction. And I do this willingly, not only that I may render homage to the memory of a friend, prematurely torn from life and from science, but also because I am convinced that the work of Roberto Bonola deserves all the interest of the studious. In it, in fact, the young mathematician will find not only a clear exposition of the principles of a theory now classical, but also a critical account of the development which led to the foundation of the theory in question.

It seems to me that this account, although concerned with a particular field only, might well serve as a model for a history of science, in respect of its accuracy and its breadth of information, and, above all, the sound philosophic spirit that permeates it. The various attempts of successive writers are all duly rated according to their relative importance, and are presented in such a way as to bring out the continuity of the progress of science, and the mode in which the human mind is led through the tangle of partial error to a broader and broader view of truth. This progress does not consist only in the acquisition of fresh knowledge, the prominent place is taken by the clearing up of ideas which it has involved; and it is remarkable with what skill the author of this treatise has elucidated the obscure concepts which have at particular periods of time presented themselves to the eyes of the investigator as obstacles, or causes of confusion. I will cite as an example his lucid analysis of the idea of there being in the case of Non-Euclidean Geometry, in contrast to Euclidean Geometry, an absolute or natural measure of geometrical magnitude.

The admirable simplicity of the author's treatment, the elementary character of the constructions he employs, the sense of harmony which dominates every part of this little work, are in accordance, not only with the artistic temperament and broad education of the author, but also with

the lasting devotion which he bestowed on the Theory of Non-Euclidean Geometry from the very beginning of his scientific career. May his devotion stimulate others to pursue with ideals equally lofty the path of historical and philosophical criticism of the principles of science! Such efforts may be regarded as the most fitting introduction to the study of the high problems of philosophy in general, and subsequently of the theory of the understanding, in the most genuine and profound signification of the term, following the great tradition which was interrupted by the romantic movement of the nineteenth century.

Bologna, October 1st., 1911.

Federigo Enriques.

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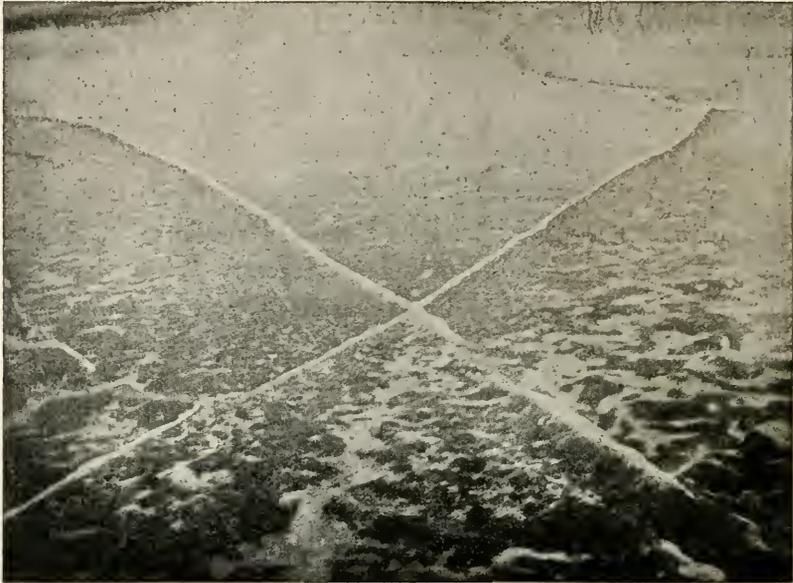
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GERMAN shell- cameo representing a nude man and a nude woman seated facing, with a figure of Death, holding a scythe, standing between them in the background. The woman has two infants in her arms, one of whom is being seized by Death. Before the man is an anvil, on which he is hammering a child, whilst he grasps another child tightly between his knees. This device appears to represent a somewhat pessimistic view of life. The child is thrust naked into the world to take part in the trials and penalties and pains of life: whether he wishes or not; Death stands by, awaiting him, and often seizes him, not during his troubles when he is being hammered on the anvil, but when he is happy and contented with life and does not wish to die.

## Memento Mori Medalets



Fig. 26

Obv.—Basilisk, with leaf-like wings, holding shield bearing the arms of Basel.

Rev.—Skull on bone, with worm; rose-tree with flower and buds growing over it. Inscription: HEUT RODT MORN DODT (“To-day red, to-morrow dead”). In exergue, an hour-glass and the engravers signature, F. F.



Fig. 27

Obv.—View of the city of Basel.

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones; above which rose-tree with flower and buds; beneath, hour-glass. Inscription: HEUT RODT, MORN DODT. (“To-day red, to-morrow dead”).

These two pieces belong to the class of so-called “Moralische Pfennige” struck at Basel in the seventeenth century. They were apparently designed to be given as presents, sometimes probably in connection with funerals. The medallist, whose signature on these pieces is F. F., was doubtless Friedrich Fechter or one of his family (F. F. standing either for Friedrich Fechter or for “Fechter fecit”). In connection with *memento mori* medalets of this class, it must not be forgotten that the devastating epidemics of disease in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave them an increased significance at the time when they were issued.

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*William Brenton Greene, Jr., Princeton.*

## From "Mind". London.

Dr. Carus has here brought together in book form, and supplied with a full index, the various papers on the nature of truth, (Pragmatism, The Philosophy of Personal Equation, The Rock of Ages, The Nature of Truth) which he has published during the

past three years in *The Monist*; an Appendix reprints certain criticisms of pragmatism from the same source. The writer's philosophical standpoint has been indicated in *Mind*, xix., 434 f. J. Waterlow

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### Chicago Evening Post. Dec. 8, 1911.

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The Ballad of the Lamp. By <i>Pathiko.</i>	Third Annual Meeting and Balance Sheet of the Society.
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