

The Open Court

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

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Bronze of the latter part of fifth century B. C. Now in Munich.
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ATHENIAN RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TRAINING.

(FIFTH CENTURY B. C.)*

BY FLETCHER H. SWIFT.

"There is one god, supreme among gods and men;
resembling mortals neither in form nor in mind."

—Xenophanes, *The Fragments*.

"And Paul stood in the midst of the Areopagus and
said, "Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that
ye are very religious."

—Acts xvii. 22.

"Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this
place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the
outward and inward man be at one."

—Plato, *Socrates' Prayer*.

I. THE CONDITIONS OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TRAINING.

WHAT is the place of religion and morals in a purely cultural education? What place were they accorded in the educational system of the most highly cultured people the race has thus far produced, that people whose contributions to the culture of the modern world surpass those of any other race? To what extent were they factors in the production of that culture? The answer

*In the present account the authority for a statement or a quotation is indicated by placing after it in the text in parenthesis a numeral corresponding to the number of the work as listed at the close of the present article. Following such a numeral and separated from it by a colon are numerals referring to the specific volume and page. Large Roman numerals (unless preceded by the abbreviation Chap.) refer to volumes. Small Roman numerals refer to introductory pages in a volume. The letters a, b, c and d, following the page numeral indicate respectively the first, second, third and last quarter of the page. *Examples* (4:I., 22c-23b) means the fourth work listed in the bibliography, volume one, from the third quarter of page 22 through the second quarter of page 23.
—Ed.

to these questions must be postponed until the next chapter for it is impossible to consider them intelligently until we have gained some understanding of the elements in Athenian life conditioning religious and moral education; namely, the nature of Greek religion and morality and the political, social and intellectual characteristics of Athenian life.

The story of Greece is the story not of a single nation but of a large number of small independent sovereign cities, i. e., cities which were states and which are therefore generally spoken of as city-states (Grk. sing. *polis*; pl. *poleis*). Owing to the fact that these independent city-states never united in a nation, no general account of Greek life or of Greek education is possible. The most that can be done is to describe certain city-states in certain periods. The present account must confine its discussion chiefly to one city-state and to one period, namely, to Athens from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century B. C.

The Athenian polis, consisted of the city of Athens and a small surrounding territory belonging to it and known as Attica. The Athenian polis, like other city-states of Greece, was the last stage in a long process of political and social evolution extending over many centuries (5:163ff.)* At the dawn of history we find the Greeks living together in village communities (5:53d). Each village community is the habitation of a *genos* or clan, i. e., a "family in a wide sense" (5:53). These communities are not, however, independent of one another, but several of them are bound together in a loose aggregation or larger community known as the *phyle* (sing. *φυλή*; pl. *φυλαί*) or tribe (5:54). Intermediate between the *genos* and the tribe stood the *phratra* (*φράτρα*) or brotherhood, essentially a religious association formed by the union of several families (5:54). Out of the union of village-communities gradually arose the polis (*πόλις*) or city-state (5:56).

It is neither necessary nor possible to trace here the process by which the character, basis, and ties of these constituent organizations changed in Athens.¹ The important thing to be noted is that the social life of the citizens of Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. centered in a number of social and political associations for the most part bearing the names, and in certain cases preserving some of the traditions and customs of earlier social and

* All accounts of the evolution of the city-state are largely hypothetical. The conclusions summarized here are those of Bury.

¹ See 5:211, 212 for an account of how religious, political and geographical ties were substituted for the earlier blood tie.

political units, out of which the polis had arisen, and of which these various constituent social and political units were survivals, or Each tribe was divided into three trittys (Grk. sing. τριττύς; pl. same). The entire area of Attica was divided into between one and two hundred demes, or townships. Every citizen born in Athens in the fifth century was born into membership in a phyle or tribe, a trittys, a deme, a genos or clan, a phratra or brotherhood, and a which they had supplanted. The entire citizen population of Athens was divided for political and military purposes into ten tribes. household, as well as into the city-state itself. His relation to each of these groups carried with it a wide range of duties and activities, military, religious, administrative and judicial. Let us now try to picture to ourselves the life of this city-state at the close of the fifth century B. C.

The total population of the city-state of Athens, including the city proper and its surrounding territory, is estimated to have numbered approximately 250,000. Of this number not more than 35,000 were voters. The remaining population included the wives and children of the citizens, 10,000 alien residents, and about 100,000 slaves.² The alien residents were largely engaged in commerce and business enterprises. Many of them were exceedingly wealthy, but however great their wealth it was difficult for them to secure citizenship, as no alien could become a citizen of Athens unless made so by special vote of the people.

The government is a pure democracy. All male citizens over twenty years of age are members of the Ecclesia, or popular assembly, which elects and tries the most important public officers and settles all important questions relating to war, commerce, taxation, and foreign relations. Approximately one-third of the voters are organized into popular law courts, which settle all ordinary law suits and often act as courts of appeal. Every male citizen is also a member of the army, since one small city-state in the midst of a multitude of jealous sister states, must at all times be prepared for war. As a result of these conditions the life of each citizen is largely devoted to public affairs. It has been estimated that Athens demanded fully half the time of all her citizens. We to-day speak of men "going into politics"; every Athenian citizen was in politics, it was his life.

Athens, as has been said, was only one of many *poleis*, among

² Various estimates are given. The data given here are the estimates of Clinton, Julius Beloch for the year 431 B. C. as given in *Die Bevölkerung der Griechisch-Römischen Welt*, p. 99.

which the land and rule of Greece was divided. None, however, of all this multitude was destined to equal her in intellectual, social, artistic, and scientific achievements. Only the immediate events which made Athens the center of the intellectual life of Greece and the eternal source of art, philosophy, and culture for succeeding ages can be told here.

The apparent weakness of the land divided among a large number of small ununited, jealous city-states made Greece an inviting field for conquest to any strong outside people. In 490 B. C. Darius, king of the mighty Persian Empire, sent an army numbering perhaps 30,000³ against Athens. Upon the plains of Marathan 9,000 Athenians, aided by 1,000 Plataeans, defeated a Persian force from two to five times larger than their own. Ten years later the Persians again attempted to subjugate Greece and were victorious in the world renowned encounter at Thermopylae. However, in the two years following this defeat the Greeks overcame the Persians on sea and on land.

The victory over Persia resulted in greatly increasing the prestige of Athens among her sister city-states. A considerable number of *poleis* organized a league for future protection against Persia. Athens was given the leadership of this league which she gradually transformed into what was practically an empire, thereby gaining a position of great influence throughout Greece. The taxes of tribute cities filled her coffers, her navies swarmed the seas, the commerce of the world came to her ports. Architects and sculptors of immortal fame were employed to adorn her streets and her holy hill with temples and statues such as the world has never again produced. In her public places, rhapsodists chanted to the accompaniment of the lyre the sublime epics of Homer.

At the opening of the fifth century B. C. opportunities for intellectual education at Athens did not go beyond the elementary school. Before the close of this period, the Periclean Age (461-429 B. C.), the most brilliant period in the history of Athens, had come and gone. In public porticos and groves teachers come from afar and known as Sophists, in addition to offering training in oratory and logic, lectured to groups of eager youth and grown men upon the deepest problems of ethics, politics, and religion. Schools of philosophy and of oratory had become established and new and revolutionizing tendencies had penetrated the entire educational system. This era of commercial and intellectual achievement was attended by the

³ Estimates vary from 20,000 to 50,000.

rise of rationalism, a growing skepticism in religion, a decline of patriotism, and an increasing moral laxness.

Earlier generations had not ventured to question either the state religion or the traditional social and moral standards. By them "What Homer hath written," "What the state demands," "What law and custom ordains," had been regarded as final authorities. But the Sophists, coming from alien lands, entertained no respect for these time-honored authorities. Over against the state, its laws, its demands, its religion, they set the personal opinion and happiness of the individual as the final authority. They taught that neither in science nor in conduct is it possible to discover principles universally valid, but that what is right and what is true in science, religion, and morals are merely matters of individual opinion. Agnosticism, atheism, and moral chaos were the inevitable results of their teaching.

Athens was rescued from the spiritual chaos of the Sophists' superficial rationalism by a number of constructive teachers, the most important of whom are Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Nevertheless the old conditions could never be completely restored, personal happiness as the end of existence and personal development as the aim of education were destined to represent the life aims of many.

In the field of religion men become grouped into three main divisions: (1) the intellectuals, a small group of honest doubters, monotheists, skeptics, agnostics, and free thinkers—men whose vigorous minds forced them to question or absolutely discard the accepted religious beliefs; (2) the mass of intelligent and cultured citizens, who, though discarding the immoralities and absurdities attached to the gods by mythology, continued to believe in the gods themselves; (3) a third group composed of the constitutionally superstitious, who accepted without question all that was taught in legend and myth.

These changes in religion and morals had their due effect upon family life, and upon the training of children. Among the most important of the changes in education were a weakening of discipline at home and at school, an increasing antagonism to the sacred but myth-permeated Homer and Hesiod, decreasing respect for parents and teachers, the introduction of many new studies which had as their aim to prepare for a personal career rather than merely for serving the state.

Greek religion was primarily a religion of joyousness. It had

⁴ Chthonic, pron. *thonic*.

its somber side, to be sure, represented by the chthonic⁴ gods (gods of the underworld). The pitiless chthonic deities must be appeased from time to time with sacrifices, and offerings of appeasement must also be made even to the gods of the upper air when some special circumstance seemed to indicate they had been angered, but the "normal form of worship" was the sacrifice, a joyous banquet, at which the gods were unseen guests (9:98). Whereas the religion of the Hebrews was dominated by lawgivers and moralists such as Moses and the prophets, that of the Greeks was dominated by poet, artist, and sculptor.

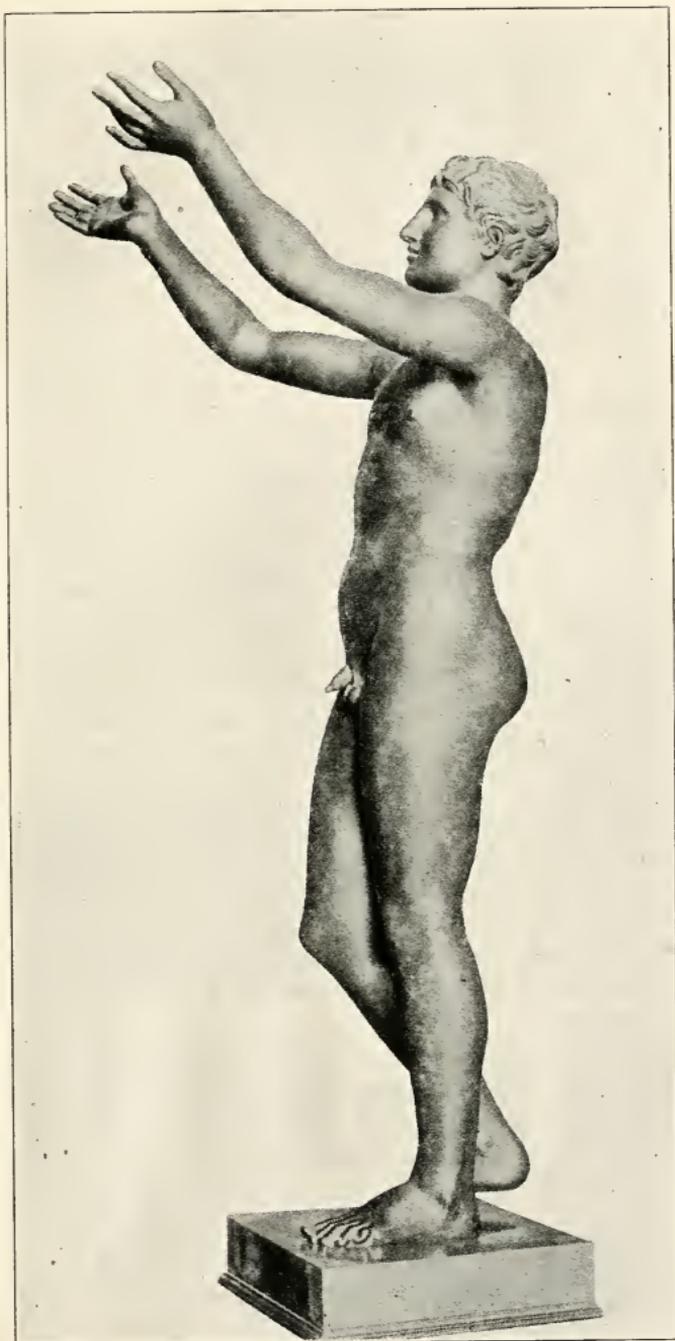
Greek religion was a gradual growth which paralleled and indeed formed a part of the social and political evolution. It claimed no divine founder such as Buddha or Jesus of Nazareth. It developed no priestly class with exclusive rights. Throughout its history the common people, as well as rulers and state officials, sacrificed at its altars.

With the exception of certain private cults it was a state religion,—supervised, supported, and protected by the state (9:315-321). Yet although its temples were state buildings, and its priests state officials, there was no state creed, no state religious dogmas, which must be accepted by all. "For one and only one period, (i. e., the fifth century B. C. in Greek history thinking men were brought into court on the charge of impiety." (9:262). The nearest approach to dogma was to be found in the myths of Hesiod and Homer, but no one was obliged to believe the myths for they were not religion, they were merely stories about the gods, which one might modify or reject entirely.⁵

What then was religion and in what did piety consist? Religion was essentially a matter of worship and piety consisted in observing with scrupulous care at home and in public the rites, sacrifices and festivals which law or custom prescribed. As long as one did this and did not openly proclaim any disbelief in the reality of the gods, or ridicule their rites, he might believe about what he chose.

The Greeks peopled the universe with a vast multitude of divine beings resembling mortals in characteristics and in form, hence called anthropomorphic. Every human instinct, every activity from horse racing and wrestling to writing poetry and painting was conceived to be under the protection of some guardian deity. Of this vast number of deities certain ones had gained positions of surpass-

⁵ In some instances, as in the Eleusinian mysteries, myths become incorporated with rites.



PRAYING BOY.

Bronze of the latter part of fourth century B. C. Now in Berlin.
(From Sauerlandt, *Griechische Bildwerke.*)

ing eminence during the seventh century. These were said to dwell on Mount Olympus, and were therefore called Olympian deities.

A striking characteristic of the Olympian gods is the variety of functions, spheres, and names assigned to each of them. Thus Zeus is the god of the storm, of battle, of the sky, and of agriculture, and Athene the goddess of wisdom, war and horsemanship. Not one but many temples were erected to the same deity, each honoring some different aspect or sphere of the deity. The local shrine was the fundamental unit of Greek worship: "Each shrine (temple or altar) is independent of any other religious authority, and the god of each shrine is ordinarily treated as if he were independent of the gods worshipped elsewhere," (9:22) whether in the same or in different cities. "At Athens Apollo Pythios, Apollo Patroos, Apollo Agieus, Apollo Thargelios, are practically independent beings for worship." (9:22).

"Each cult center in Athens is theoretically separate from every other; its forms and worship, its times of worship, its priests, are peculiar to itself. . . . (each deity) was treated in worship much as if no other gods existed." (9:23). This meant that all over Greece and in Athens itself there were in effect "as many religions as there were individual shrines." (9:23).

Every Greek worshipped his family gods, including his ancestors; local deities, including departed heroes; the patron deities of his deme, his phratra, his tribe, and his *polis*. He might in addition belong to some private religious society, organized for the avowed purpose of worshipping some foreign deity, and also to one or more of the many special, private societies, literary, athletic, or commercial, each of which had its patron deity, worshipped by its members, (9:126-128).

The Greek's gods were not separated from him by any impassable gulf. On the contrary, they were his ancestors and his comrades. He prayed to them, not kneeling as a slave or a subject, but standing erect with out-stretched hands, (9:89). His pleasures, his sins, as well as his struggles and aspirations were theirs. It was for their delight that he danced, wrestled, engaged in musical contests and took part in the chorus at the theatrical performance. The following table shows the names and chief province or characteristic of the more important Greek gods. As has been explained above, these divinities were not limited to one field, each presided over several departments or spheres.

I. OLYMPIAN DEITIES.

(Names arranged in alphabetical order.)

MALE		FEMALE	
NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS	NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS
Apollo	Light (the sun) Poetry, Healing Prophecy	Aphrodite	Love and Beauty
Ares	War (not strategic war)	Artemis	Moon, Hunting
Hephaestus	Fire	Athene	Great thunder storm goddess, Wisdom, Domestic Arts, War
Hermes (Messenger of the gods)	Wind, Eloquence, Athletics, Commerce, Thieves, Invention, Adroitness	Demeter (Earth- mother)	Agriculture, Harvest
Poseidon	Sea	Hera	Queen of Heaven Wife of Zeus Sky
Zeus	Father of the Shining Sky, Supreme god of gods and men. Chief god of Thunder Storm	Hestia	Hearth and Home

II. LESSER DEITIES.

1. Earth Deities.

MALE		FEMALE	
NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS	NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS
Dionysus	Wine, and the Vine Joyousness of Life		
Pan	Pastures Forests and Flocks		

2. Underworld Deities.

Hades (Pluto)	Departed Spirits Ruler over Hades God of the Earth's Wealth	Persephone	Daughter of Demeter— Wife of Hades
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III. MISCELLANEOUS.
Deities, Monsters and Heroes.

MALE		FEMALE	
NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS	NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS
Aeolus	Winds	Three Fates	{ Clotho Alotters of Lachesis life and Atropos death
Centaur	Probably Represent Rivers	Erinyes	
	Ungovernable Forces of Nature	Three Furies	Avengers of Crime— Especially Murder
Cerberus	Watch Dog of Hades	Three Gorgons	Sea Stofms, Serpent-haired sisters
Cyclops	A Race of One-eyed Giants		
Eros	Friendship, Love	Nine Muses ⁶	Art, Music, Poetry, Drama, History
Heracles	Strength and Courage	Nemesis	Divine Retribution, Alotter of Good and Evil Fortune
		Principle of Balance or Distri- bution	
		Scylla	A Whirlpool Monster with twelve feet and six heads
		Charybdis	A Sea Monster who sucks in the sea three times a day and discharges it again in a whirlpool.

The state religion, rich in rites and pageants, but destitute of any positive teachings, offered little either to those desiring a sense of spiritual union with deity or to those seeking assurance of a happy continuance of individual consciousness after death. It was inevitable that as the established religion became more and more a state affair and so more and more separated from the individual, men should look elsewhere for the satisfaction of their personal religious longings. A few found this in the worship of various foreign cults, introduced into Attica, but by far the greatest number obtained it through cults known as mysteries.

⁶ For a table showing the names and spheres of the nine muses see Fair banks, Arthur, *The Mythology of Greece and Rome*, p. 106.

A mystery may be defined as "a secret worship to which only specially prepared people (*δὲ μὴ θέντες*) were admitted after a special period of purification or other preliminary probation and of which the ritual was so important and perilous that the 'catechumen' needed a hierophant or expounder to guide him," (11:117c). Many mysteries were cultivated in Greece but by far the most important both for Greece and for Athens were the Eleusinia.

The limits of the present account permit only a most meagre reference to these rites.⁷ The Eleusinia included two festivals, the "lesser mysteries" celebrated at Agrae in March, and the "greater mysteries" celebrated at Athens and Eleusis in September.

The "greater Eleusinia" lasted nine days. They began on the thirteenth of Boedromion (September) on which day a body of epheboi, (youths, ages 18-20), marched out from Athens to Eleusis (11:119) a distance of about thirteen miles, to act as an escort to certain holy things to be brought to Athens the next day. On the fourth day, two Eleusinian priests by public proclamation invited all who were eligible to join in the mysteries at the same time warning away all others. Rites of purification followed. The next two days were spent in Athens, sacrificing and continuing the fast begun on the first day. Presumably all of the 19th of Boedromion was spent in marching from Athens to Eleusis chanting hymns, and sacrificing at the many shrines en route. Arrived at Eleusis, days and nights of fasting, sacrifices, revels, and dances followed. The night of the twenty-second "was spent in the torch dances, and visits to the spots made sacred by the Demeter legend. The fast of the previous nine days was broken by taken a peculiar drink." The hierophant delivered a discourse, a mystic sacrament was performed, and a pageant or passion play was presented, in which were shown scenes representing the underworld, (9:134) and designed to take away the fear of death and to leave with those initiated the assurance of a hospitable reception by the deities, with whom through the rites of Eleusis they had been mystically united.

The significance of the Eleusinia from the standpoint of the history of Athenian religious education is manifold: (1) in them the personal religion of the Greeks reached its highest expression; (2) initiation into them came in time to be the supreme religious desire of every Greek, and they counted their adherents by the thousands;

⁷ Excellent brief accounts of the Eleusinia so far as their character is known will be found in the works of Davis, Fairbanks and Farnell listed at the end of this chapter. Of these Farnell's is the most scholarly; Davis' the most vivid, being written in his delightful and intimate style. Fairbanks gives also a brief account of the Orphic rites.

(3) they were open to children (15:267d) as well as men and women;⁸ (4) they were the most important representative of the almost sole species of Greek worship (the mystery) in connection with which definite formal instruction was given.

It is probable that the instruction given in connection with the Eleusinia dealt almost exclusively with the meaning of the symbols. Attempts to prove that it included exalted ethical teaching have aroused vigorous criticism. Farnell writes: "That the Eleusinia preached a higher morality than that of the current standard is not proved. . . . But on general grounds it is reasonable to believe that such powerful religious experience as they afforded would produce moral fruits in many minds. . . . Andocides (*De Myster*, p. 36, par. 31; p. 44, par. 125) assumed that those who have been initiated will take a juster and sterner view of moral innocence and guilt, and that foul conduct was a greater sin when committed by a man who was in the official service of Demeter and Persephone." (11:121d).

There was no phase of Athenian life, no activity, public or private, with which religion was not associated. Of this there are many evidences. Of all social and political bonds, religion was the strongest and the most enduring. The *polis* and all its constituent units, family, *demos*, *phratra*, and tribe were knit together individually and collectively by religious ties. Each of these associations had its own patron deity, and its own forms of worship. The earliest unions between separate city-states were amphictyonies,⁹ leagues formed to protect some sacred shrine, and the most genuinely national gatherings were the great national festivals held from time to time in honor of the national gods. It was largely out of religious feeling that Greek poetical literature arose. It was religion that furnished the themes for the sublimest of the Greek dramas. It was on religious holidays and only then that plays were presented. It was religious gratitude and devotion that erected on the Acropolis of Athens, as temples for her gods, those buildings which have immortalized her name.

It must not, however, be inferred that religion in any sense dominated Greek life. As Farnell has well said, religion "penetrated the whole life of the people but rather as a servant than as a master." (13:530c).

The moral standards of the Greeks were the outgrowth of social conditions and communal experience,—the man who fulfilled his duties to the state, and displayed the qualities necessary for the

⁸ Only the "lesser mysteries" were open to children.

⁹ Pron. am-fik-ti-on-iz.

preservation of the city-state and its constituent institutions, was considered the moral man. In morals as in religion, the state took little cognizance of the individual's private life. He might act much as he chose, so long as his conduct or example threatened no public institutions nor conflicted openly with social standards or ideals.

Athens was distinctly a man's state. The women of Athens had no voice in its affairs, and no opportunities outside the home for education. They were treated in every respect, intellectually, morally, politically and socially as man's inferiors. Almost the only women of independence, education and accomplishments were the *hetairai* (sing. *hetaira*) (3: 247, 465) women who had sacrificed their virtue in order to become the intimate associates of the men of Athens. Amid such conditions the moral code was distinctly double—chastity being demanded of wives and daughters but little emphasized in the case of men. "The men of Athens were only too prone to disregard the marriage vow, and their evil practices were usually regarded by the community with indifference, and looked upon as inevitable." (21; 44b.)

The evils growing out of this attitude toward wife and mother were many, ranging all the way from simple infidelity to vices so degrading as to be left unnamed in all ordinary treatments. Again in a state where the labor was largely carried on by slaves and where at least in the period under consideration, self development and personal happiness became the ends of life and of education, such virtues as compassion, humility, meekness, renunciation received little emphasis and were indeed by many considered servile.

The difficulty, however, of generalizing concerning Greek morals is apparent to the moment one compares the statements of scholars or attempts to grasp the Greek point of view. Such an incident as the putting to death, at the vote of the people, prisoners of war, the father's right, sanctioned by law, of casting into the street unwelcome new-born infants, are indescribably abhorrent to all Christian standards. Nevertheless, there is scarcely a brutal custom or incident of Greek life which is not offset by some counter-custom or incident. Thus against the story of Alcibiades wantonly cutting off his dog's tail, must be placed the protests of his friends, and the death sentence passed by the court of Areopagus upon a boy who had gouged out the eyes of his pet pigeons. As to war, Mahaffy asserts that thruout the history of Greek wars, there is no record of the massacres and outrages of women and children that have characterized the warfare of Christian nations for centuries.

Greek religion exercised little direct moral restraint. It pro-

claimed no Ten Commandments, it taught no Beatitudes. It offered no god of righteousness inspiring and demanding righteousness of his worshippers. On the contrary, the Greeks created their gods in the moral as well as in the physical image of man, and from the sixth century on it was the constant effort of the few advanced thinkers to elevate these gods, created by earlier generations, to the best moral standards of later, and ethically more advanced, generations.

Moreover the practices and customs of certain Greek cults, dealing with generation and the growth of vegetation, were marked by intemperateness and licentiousness.¹⁰ Symbols to the modern mind vile and revolting, were carried in religious processions¹¹ and occupied a conspicuous place in home¹² and temple.¹³ No doubt the circumstances and traditions surrounding such symbols made their influence less degrading than might at first appear.

A comparison of the relationship between religion and morality in Christianity with their relationship in Greek life makes evident at once the weakness and ineffectiveness in the latter case. Christianity offers, in terms intelligible to the masses, as fundamentals of religion, divinely illumined and divinely endorsed rules and principles of conduct. It boldly asserts that none but the pure of heart and those of upright conduct are acceptable worshippers to the all-righteous Father. In Greece, on the contrary, any sense of vital relation between religion and morality, any conception that perfect righteousness was an indispensable attribute of deity was reached only by the few.

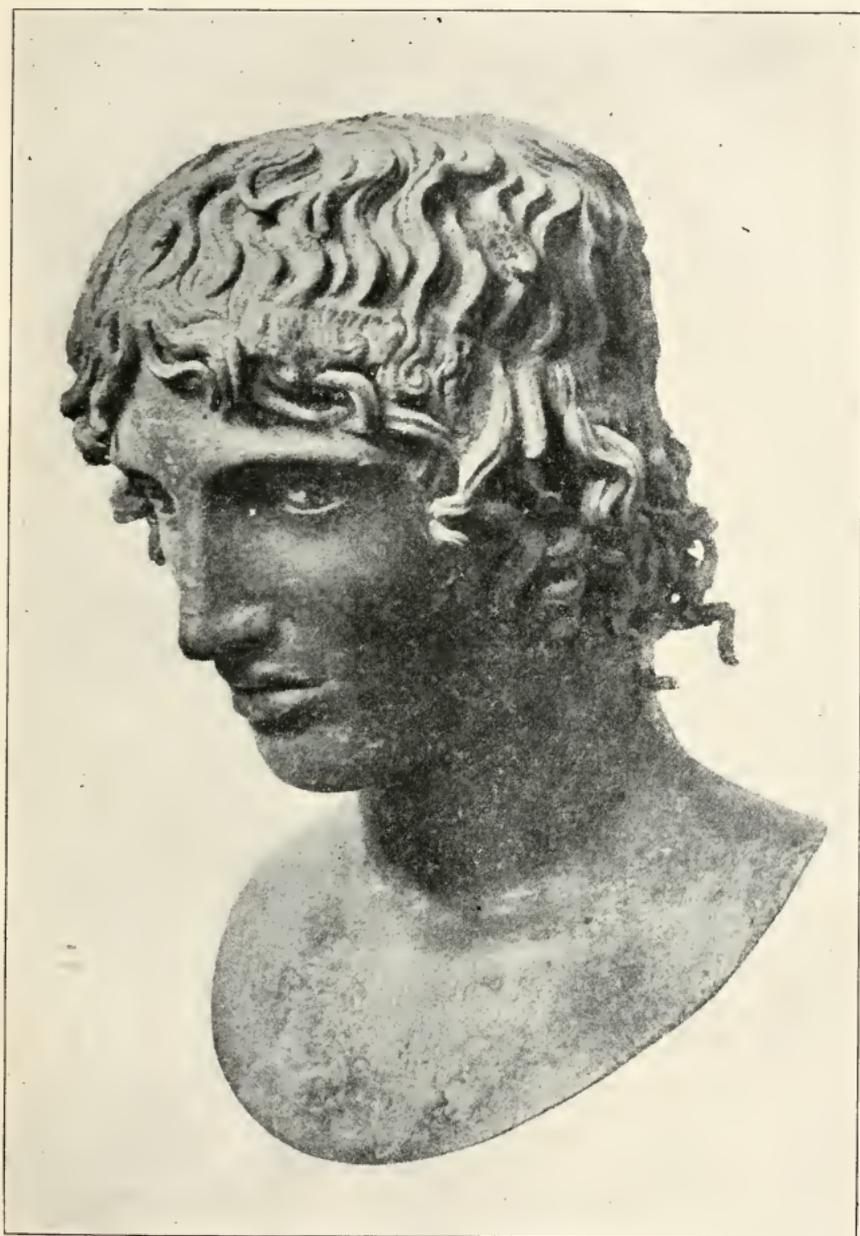
The thought of rewards, and punishment in a future life played but a small part in Greek conduct. The life to come was vague, shadowy, joyless, dreaded. To be sure, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Aeacus passed judgment upon the souls of the departed. But for

¹⁰ For a brief but exceedingly vivid account of the Dionysic Orgies, see Fairbanks, Arthur, *A Handbook of Greek Religion*, p. 241. Such cults are common to most primitive peoples and were inherited by the Greeks of later centuries from primitive stages.

¹¹ For a significant passage indicating the general character of these celebrations, see Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, Berg. edition, lines 241-279.

¹² See the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, articles on Dionysus, Hermes, Phallicism.

¹³ Rogers (20: p. XXIX) writes: "the pure and honorable maiden who coveted the distinction of bearing the Holy Basket in the procession of Dionysus, walked through the admiring crowds, accompanied by symbols of and songs of what we would consider the most appalling immodesty. Yet to themselves the question of decency or indecency would not even occur. It was their traditional religion, it was the very orthodoxy of the myriads who had lived and died in the city."



HEAD OF YOUTH.

Bronze of the fourth century B. C. Naples.
(From Sauerlandt, *Griechische Bildwerke.*)

the most part the rewards and punishments of the gods were thought of as meted out here and now. Moreover, such rewards and punishments were bestowed chiefly not upon a moral basis but upon the basis of ritualistic punctiliousness. It must not be forgotten, however, that with respect to certain crimes, it was the wrath of the Erinyes (furies) and the vengeance of the gods that the evil-doer most feared. But as Fairbanks points out, the very fact that the Greek mind found it necessary to create specific divinities as punishers of wrong doing, shows how little place such an element occupied in their conception of the gods at large, (9: 309d-310a). For the masses religion and morality remained for the most part distinct. Their gods were the gods of the myths of Homer and Hesiod, not the gods of the philosophers.

It would be difficult to indicate further than has been done in preceding paragraphs the final effects of Greek religion; with reference to Greek morality, however, a few concluding sentences may well be added. Many writers have called attention to the looseness of Greek morals even when judged by Greek standards. We are told that most of the lives of the greatest Greeks are stained by deceit and treachery and that such characters as Socrates and Plato must be regarded as rare exceptions. While giving full heed to the darker side of Greek life it must not be forgotten that the modern world owes much to the Greeks in the field of moral ideals as well as in the field of political and aesthetic ideals. The medical profession still turns to the Oath of Hippocrates¹⁴ for the expression of its ethical ideals. In like manner the Ephebic Oath embodies an ethical conception of citizenship far surpassing that of the masses of our citizens to-day. Moreover the care with which the Greeks provided religious and moral training, the standards espoused in the latter field, and the continuous supervision of the conduct of children and youth furnish abundant testimony to the importance they attached to morality and moral training.

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¹⁴ Hippocrates (fl. c. 460-370 B. C.) a Greek philosopher and physician. A translation of the Hippocratic oath will be found in *Monroe's Cyclopaedia of Education*, III, 281 c.

written, vivid in its picturing and the most popular in style of any work here listed. Number 18, long accepted as an excellent work for the general reader, is somewhat idealistic, and at many points presents a picture of Greek life which critical scholarship will not support.

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萬物美仁

THE UNIVERSE IS BEAUTIFUL AND BENEVOLENT.

Translated and elaborated from the Chinese text of HSUN TZU'S¹ famous essay.

BY HARDIN T. MCCLELLAND.†

I. *The Common Man's Viewpoint.**

WE have in every age and country which can be called the least civilized those who live unique lives and by a profound observation of what is obscure and an unwearied practice of what is difficult have become experienced and skilful in peirastic inquiry.² These are our critical thinkers, our scientists and philosophers. They are certainly not those who regard daily affairs as unimportant nor those whose petty purposes value lightly the governing principle of the universe. They aim always to be open-minded and reasonable regarding the essential and recondite ways of nature. And being thus not unfamiliar with the seriousness of external affairs they are also in no wise melancholy over the cares of their inner life. They have no conduct which disdains the use of reason nor yet are they strangers to many dangerous situations. Altho not living outside the danger zones of life yet they are not those who have any personal anxieties.

Melancholy and apprehensive people are constantly complaining about their unfortunate position in life. They do not understand the relish which animals have for hay and grain. Their ears hear bells and drums but they do not understand their sounds. Their eyes see elegant sacrificial garments and beautifully embroidered robes but they do not understand their significance of design. They lightly value the warmth and friendly calm suggested by beautifully

figured bamboo mats and their bodies know not the happiness of tranquillity. Therefore, even though they were inclined to seek the beauties and numerous excellences of the universe, they would still be incapable of holding reverent converse. Pretentious and yet desiring to realize, inquisitive and yet holding truth under cover, they are therefore incapable of either retiring or advancing.

Therefore, seeking to understand the beauty and goodness of the universe, they yet read into it a fulness of sorrow and anxiety. Seeking to comprehend the favors and benefits of the universe, they still consider it to be full of malice and injurious influences. Do people with such a disposition as this really know how to search into things? Do they ever improve their condition of life, seeing that their old age knows no other food than mush (abject poverty)? Is it even expedient to act thus upon the evidence or plea of inquiry?

Therefore pretentious ambition nourishes their desires but leads to a wrong manner of indulging their passions; it nourishes their natural dispositions but endangers their physical welfare. Ambition increases their pleasures in life but attacks their mental powers; it increases their reputation but confuses their righteous conduct. People who are like this, alas, although they may be feudal lords seizing a prince's throne, are veritable robbers, regardless of the apparent differences. Riding in a nobleman's carriage and bearing honor and respect for the time being or even consorting with him is quite insufficient to their covetous ambition. Alas, therefore, it is such as these who may be called self-serving or those who make everything and everybody minister to their selfish desires. Nature provides that they shall never know the ways of Heaven which are beautiful and benevolent.

They show no comparison with the tranquil mind and rejoicing heart peculiar to the laborer's exemplary mode of life, but are allowed to develop the vision necessary to see these qualities, even though lacking the energy and virtue to emulate them. Showing no comparison with the laborer's impartial attention and relish for musical sounds, they are yet able to develop the hearing necessary for such relish. Herbs cannot compare with vegetables and dumplings for food, and yet under the necessity or circumstance an appetite for them can be developed. Clothes of coarse cotton or hemp are common and do not compare with shoes with fine silk cords, but they just as well are capable of protecting the body. Although their residence is a cottage or a temporary covering of thatched bulrushes and straw sprouts they will do well to assume the laborer's humble attitude, esteeming it high and stately like an

elm tree shading a bamboo mat spread for a feast. Thus will they be able to develop a natural manner of life. Thus will they be able to look up to Heaven with a devout mind.

Alas, however, selfish people do not concern themselves about the beauty and goodness of the Universe and seem able only to seek ways and means for increasing their pleasure and ease. Lacking in the power to distinguish what constitutes true social position they seem capable only of increasing the vanity of fame. Folly like this is still being widely promoted throughout the world,—so much so that what indeed will soon become of the world!

Fortunately there are many who agree in regarding mere pleasure as really mean and vulgar. It is people like these who are serious thinkers on the affairs of life and whose sagacity leads them to decline the tempting rewards of government service. Without ascertaining what they say in expression of private opinions we never observe their good deeds and never hear of their plans for serving mankind. All princely men are sincere and considerate, acting carefully in regard to these principles.

II. *The Philosopher's Viewpoint.**

The universe is rational in every individual particle. It makes a path for everything and every creature to realize if it will the possibilities of its nature. The universe regards this path as quite singular, even onesided, while the individual thing or creature regards the universe as partial to its needs. Stupid people regard the individual creature or thing as onesided and act as though its very existence depended upon the partiality of the universe. Thence they themselves are unable to exercise energy to the utmost in any single duty or affair although considering themselves to understand the principle involved when they are really ignorant of it. Thence if they use such partiality regarding their understanding of the path of duty, how indeed can they have any true knowledge at all?

Shen Tzu³ has made observations on subsequent sages but did not look into the ways of the ancients. Lao Tzu⁴ has made some worthy observations on how to straiten out difficulties but did not adequately look into the meaning of faith. Mo Ti Tzu⁵ has made keen observations on uniformity and the principle of equality but did not look into the significance of odds and ends. Sung Tzu⁶ has made several remarks regarding the small and the few but has nothing to say about the great and the many. Therefore, under

* 儒師見

these several viewpoints, we have attention to later thinkers but not to the ancients, signifying that the multitudes of men have no school or profession in common; we have the overcoming of difficulties but no sincerity, showing that there is inability to distinguish the worthy from the ignoble; we have a doctrine of uniformity which overlooks the many crucial inequalities of life, proving that government administration nowadays is not permitted to distribute goods or give relief to the needy; and we have attention given to the small and few but not to the great and many, showing that the multitude of people are not readily reformed.⁷ In regard to these things the *Shu King* (Book of Records) says:⁸

"People who have not yet become good should be docile and follow obediently the principles laid down by the ancients, while those who have not yet become evil should follow the simple and virtuous ways of living practiced by the ancient rulers."

This is what the principle involved may be called. This is the vantage ground from which to view the beauty and goodness of the universe.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES.

¹ The philosopher Hsün Tzu,¹ or Hsün Ch'ing (Minister Hsün) as he is often called, lived approximately between the years 280-212 E. C. thus coming in contact with the reactionary aftermath of Mencius's influence as represented in the doctrines of "those two antithetical heretics," the epicurean Yang Chu and the altruist Mo Ti, whose opinions he commonly opposed. Hsün Tzu was a native of the Chao State but left there at 50 years of age, going to the Ch'i State seeking the association of philosophers and scholars. He there became chief libationer but through some covetous rival's intrigue he was impeached and withdrew to the Ch'u State where he was appointed magistrate of Lan Ling by Prince Ch'un Shen and in the comparative peace of his new post he became a teacher of philosophy and classical learning, and had as pupils the mystic Han Fei Tzu² and the jurist Li Ssu³ who subsequently became his great opponent, almost his nemesis. His numerous troubles and the career of periodical dismissals, intrigues and disgraces had made him a misanthrope, however, and perhaps accounts for his most famous essay arguing that "Human Nature is Evil at Birth." But the essay from which the present translation is a major selection serves as part of the preliminary argument, and according to Huang Chen

¹ 荀子

² 韓非子

³ 李斯

Fu (one of the editorial collaborators on the *Pai Tzu Chin Tan*⁴ "All Philosophers' Noble Precepts," reprint of June, 1904, Shanghai) it is "a critical examination of education and the proper conduct of life which contains some of his best thoughts and arguments relative to the beauty and benevolence of the universe. Hence what is herein recorded should be regarded as of chief importance in the regulation of human affairs." In both the translation and these notes I have incorporated some of the principal commentary remarks of Chia Shan Hsieh⁵ whose critical edition (1786) of Hsün Tzu's philosophical writings is now included in a twenty volume set entitled "Twenty-Five Philosophers"⁶ (Shanghai, 1893).

²The two words *ch'ang shih*,⁷ ordinarily meaning "to try by tasting," are used by the Taoists and office-holding literati in the sense of testing one's skill as in performing tricks or at an examination. But with Hsün Tzu, Han Fei Tzu and their more philosophical followers the phrase is dignified with a usage which resembles that of our "inductive logic," "empirical science," or "critical philosophy," and always implies that there is or has been much sampling, trial and experiment bolstering the bare hypotheses of man's inquisitive speculation. Therefore I believe I am translating simply and yet adequately by using our term "peirastic inquiry" in the sense of Baconian or philosophical induction.

³Shen Tzu⁸ (c. 390-337 B. C.) was minister under Prince Chao of the Han State and became famous as an authority on criminal law, interstate jurisprudence and ancient codes of government administration. He also wrote learned interpretations of the mystic speculations of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzu, but it seems that the great flaw in his works on these two ancient sages was that of too much legal doubt, whence he devoted more attention to what later writers had to say than to the simple words and ways of the mystics. On this account, after harking back to the intelligent principles and clearcut precepts of Lao Tzu⁹ and his imperial predecessor, Shen Tzu was strangely sidetracked and claimed neither to esteem them as virtuous men nor would he countenance the appointment to office of any man whose abilities were tinged with the least sympathy for Taoism. Thus, in commenting on Shen Tzu's scholarly attainments, Chuang Tzu,¹⁰ the great contemporary champion of

⁴ 百子金丹

⁵ 嘉善謝

⁶ 二十五子

⁷ 嘗試

⁸ 慎子

⁹ 老子

¹⁰ 莊子

Lao Tzu's doctrines, said: "If such a doltish person as I do not neglect Tao, why should such a great scholar (as Shen Tzu) not strive to emulate the thoughts and motives of the ancients?" This refers directly to what Hsün Tzu a century later called "observing the subsequent but overlooking the previous." According to a work entitled "I Wen Chih"¹¹ (Collected Records of Arts and Crafts) published in the Han period about 100 B. C., Shen Tzu's work first appeared in 42 sections, but later editions reduced this number to 34. And Pan Ku,¹² the famous historian (native of An Ling, c. 20-92 A. D.), says that "the influence of the ancients extended unaltered to the time of the Han State (403-273 B. C., and hence nearly contemporary with Hsün Tzu's time), but since then and especially in our own Han Dynasty many scholars have arisen to challenge and weigh their claims." Thus it seems that Hsün Tzu was clearly anticipating what was subsequently proven.

⁴ I do not understand what sort of view of Lao Tzu's teachings could have led Hsün Tzu to say that he did not "adequately look into the meaning of faith (sincerity)." If I read his "Tao Teh King" rightly and am not mistaken about the very scholarly and delightful interpretations of Henri Borel, Dr. Paul Carus, and C. H. A. Bjerregaard, sincerity and various other articles of faith were the very cornerstones of Lao Tzu's philosophy. I have counted the word *hsin*¹³ (sincerity, faith, believe) no less than 15 times, and its several approximate synonyms about 25 times throughout his famous book. "It is a common necessity both to realizing the way of Heaven and following the footsteps of the sages."

⁵ Mo Ti Tzu,¹⁴ a younger contemporary of Mencius, was an impractical utilitarian who believed in universal love and utter self-abnegation. His views were in almost diametrical opposition to those of Yang Chu, and Hsün Tzu considers them to be simply the two horns of the same dilemma—that either selfish hedonism or self-sacrificing altruism will get us anywhere that is still not a worldly vale of folly and delusion. There may be a general uniformity of principles and moral imperatives but there are certainly few of the world's ephemeral details which do not hinge on injustice, falsehood, and the odds and ends of finite interest. And Hsün Tzu criticizes Mo Ti for attending only to the ideal uniformity while overlooking

¹¹ 藝文志

¹² 班固

¹³ 信

¹⁴ 墨翟子

the more immediate problem of inequality and heterogeneity both in nature and in human life.

⁶ Sung Tzu¹⁵ was another younger contemporary of Mencius who regarded man's feelings as that which served to moderate his ambitions, whence if one's feelings are few and his power of sympathy is small (although he may quite possibly regard them as many and magnanimous), his private desires and public ambitions will become great and overbearing. The historian Pan Ku says that Hsün Tzu discussed this doctrine with Sung Tzu and pointed out that its principle had long ago been explained by the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzu.

⁷ Chia Shan Hsieh's note on this point seems to try to reverse the situation, and yet in a way his comment carries the speculation further and can be considered permissible. He says:

"However, if a certain sort of desire (that for personal virtue or world-betterment, for instance) is enlarged and importance is given to its realization then it will be possible for us to use exhortations and kindly advice to influence and encourage such people to become good. But if everyone's desires are vulgar and their ambition small, who then will be able to reform them?"

In this remark I believe Chia shifts the meaning of the word *to*¹⁶ from "many" to "great and magnanimous," and of the word *shoa*¹⁷ from "few" to "small and mean," for they are common words and have a very liquid usage which allows commentators too much latitude sometimes.

⁸ This quotation is from that chapter in the Shu King which embraces the ancient Viscount Chi Tzu's *Hung Fan*¹⁸—"Great Plan" which was the model system of just government which Chi Tzu¹⁹ bequeathed to Wu Wang upon the latter's conquest of the Shang dynasty. One of its provisions explains that if our virtue is partial and our love for the good is onesided then we will not be likely to follow the principles laid down by the ancients.

As a supplementary note I would like to remind readers of this magazine that if they wish a further and more general account of Early Chinese Philosophy just such a survey may be had in *The Monist* for July 1907, April and October 1908. It is capably and entertainingly written under the collaboration of D. T. Suzuki and Dr. Paul Carus.

¹⁵ 宋子

¹⁶ 多

¹⁷ 少

¹⁸ 大範

¹⁹ 箕子

SOME MARGINAL NOTES ON LAUGHTER.

BY SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN.

Amico: I do not quite understand Professor Scott's contention that Henri Bergson's theory of the comic is tainted by "ethical pessimism." Professor Scott is molested by the thought that Morality may become a target of clever sharpshooters with a penchant for comic effect. To be laughed at for one's sincerity is, I submit, not an altogether pleasant experience. Why should there be a contradiction—a hostility—between customary morality and a sense of humor?

Amicus: That's a very nice point you raise. Let us begin with some general truths about personal conduct. Everyone knows that to laugh at a neighbor is easier and more congenial than laughing at one's self. Does everyone surmise why? I suppose the simplest explanation of the problem may be summed up in one sentence: Man takes himself more seriously than he does his neighbor. In other words, he feels more keenly for himself than he does for his neighbor. Laughing at himself would pain these personal and serious feelings. Laughing at his neighbor wounds no such feelings. The inference seems to be that laughter has its roots in callousness. A drunkard's reels and gyrations do move to laughter—but not if the drunkard happens to be your father. Dirty jests about sex do make men leer and giggle—but not if the jests are about their sisters or mothers. We all enjoy laughing—at somebody's else expense. Laughter is a species of callousness. Laughter, rooted in callousness, is a weapon of advantage in the struggle for prestige. Those who laugh gain a tremendous sense of power; the

power to confound, bewilder, diminish, hold aloof. Laughter is a mode of self-glorification. For example:—Our laughing at the foreigner, especially if he be dressed queerly or speak unintelligibly is due to our veiled sense of superiority to him. Perhaps we really do not laugh at him! We laugh, perhaps, only at his predicament. It's a kind of advantage-taking we are guilty of when we laugh. Note how true to fact this hypothesis as a distinguished, upper-class personage, we no longer feel provoked into unholy laughter. Respect in lieu of derision becomes our stereotyped reaction. In some way, subtle or obvious, laughter, in a majority of cases, I believe, is interconnected with a feeling of advantage. The gods are the best laughers.

Amico: Let me read you a brief powerful excerpt I have saved from a book review by a distinguished young writer: "In his theory of escape from the strain of civilized thinking, Professor Patrick has found a clue to some long-discussed mysteries. Why do we laugh at a man who slips on a banana peel, especially if he was just lifting his hat to a lady? Why do we laugh at Sir Isaac Newton for boiling his watch while holding the egg in his hand? Why does an audience always laugh when any character on the stage says 'Damn'? It is the spontaneous outburst of joy whenever the old and natural suddenly appears amidst the restrained and artificial." It is 'the sudden or momentary escape from the constant urge of progressive forces. It is release from the decorous, the proper, the refined, the fitting, the elegant, the strict, the starched, the stiff, the solemn. The mind runs riot for a moment in the old, the familiar, the instinctive, the impulsive and the easy, knowing that the inevitable claims of civilization must soon force it into servitude again. Laughter represents a momentary and spasmodic rebellion against civilization, just as play and sport represents more deliberate periodic efforts to escape from it by resting a while before resuming the burden.'" What do you think, Amicus, of this explanation?

Amicus: The theory, as stated, is too broad for specific accuracy and specific verifiability. The loose terms "old and nat-

ural," "restrained and artificial," "civilization," "rebellion," need re-defining, clearer points of fixation. For my part, I shall continue to believe that laughter, whether "civilized" or savage or barbarous, is grounded in a specific theory of torture. The specific experiences of the race have produced in our brains (what Dr. George W. Crile calls) "Action-Patterns" of malicious delight, released and expressed whenever a human—not of our own flesh-and-blood—is in torture. Laughter is always, I believe, an enemy-delight.

Amico: Don't you believe that we often laugh good-naturedly, without malicious intent? It seems so to me.

Amicus: Yes, but you must remember that laughter originated among semi-human progenitors, crude, cruel, incorrigible. Do you believe that they laughed at a tortured victim good-naturedly? The wholesome laughter you refer to is a comparatively recent invention. There is very little of it in the world (as we intimately know it). When the stress of primitive aspirings has become softened by security and sweet philosophy, laughter may become good-natured. In the company of equals (economic or intellectual) laughter tends to be rather genial and benign. Even in such homogeneous groups, the chances are that laughter has become apparently good-humored only because the whole confraternity is laughing at a competitor or rival, or at an "outcast" against whom they all harbor a common grievance or for whom they all have a sprightly contempt. Laughter is, say what you will, shot through and through with maliciousness. No doubt of that. Wholesome laughter is very rare—even in the recreations and frivolities of mankind.

Amico: You are too hard in your judgments, Amicus. When people laugh convulsively at a play, do you mean to say that they are behaving maliciously? You know that, after all, they *are* aware of the mock-serious nature of the drama. When people laugh boisterously at the sight of a fat man chasing his hat with gusto and concentrated fury, are they really laughing malevolently? Do they intend any harm to the hapless fellow?

Amicus: If you were willing to realize that the mind of the adult is as childish and cruel in its pleasures as is the mind of the five year old child, you would not find my judgments so unpalatable. The more heart-rending the predicament, the more intense the laughter. Note that fact. Only superstitious fear can choke off malicious laughter. People laugh never so uncontrolledly as when a person makes a trivial mistake in the midst of a profound utterance! Any little eccentricity or irrelevant gesture will move an audience to laughter though the speaker be all sincerity and eloquence and wisdom. So it is at the theater. The laughter is really an outlet for pent-up joy at the sight of bewilderment and bafflement. That the actor does not suffer the consequences of the outburst is beside the mark. For all we know he is suffering in his inner self. Perhaps the light and scoffing laughter reminds him of other days when he was "seriously" laughed at for slips of the tongue or for some left-handed gesture. Perhaps he is impersonating a character very like himself. Oh, yes, all laughter is a little vindictive, a bit malicious, a trifle supercilious, somewhat derisive. Suppose at the moment you were laughing your heartiest at the rain-swept lady struggling against the driving wind with umbrella, hat, skirts and bundle as impedimenta, you should suddenly behold a vitagraph picture of her confusion, her sense of shame, her impotence and her resentment? Do you believe you would still continue laughing at her? . . . All laughter tends to be mean and callous. I hope I'm not pleading for a world of solemn-faces. Oh no! On with the dance: let joy be unconfined! Let there be peals and peals of laughter. We are human beings, not saints. . . . Tell me, good Amico, why God and the good men (like the saints) are never pictured as laughers, nor ever thought of as such? Why not? . . . Oh, I know, there is virtue in laughter. Laughter steels the mind against spiritual timidity. In laughter there is strength.

Amico: Don't you believe that a man can laugh at himself good-naturedly? I do.

Amicus: Well, sometimes, when I'm off my guard (as it were). I do. Always, after digging down deep into the experi-

ence, I find that laughing at one's self is not without its malicious intention. I am convinced that too often a brilliant satirist laughs at himself only because in the fulness of his bitterness he finds sardonic pleasure in biting at his own heart. You, the dear spectator, enjoy his predicament. You laugh with him at himself. He wantonly pounced down upon you, abused you for your shallowness, turned the jest against you, laughed at himself only to laugh the more wickedly at you. He has caught you unawares. He who laughs last laughs best. The satirist will see to it that he gets the best laugh first and last. Beware of the man who can laugh at himself. He will tear the heart out of you with a double pleasure. If you begin by laughing at him, you will end by laughing (and weeping, too) at yourself.

Amico: As usual, we have indulged in mind-wandering. Let us retrace our steps. I do not see the necessary connection between customary morality and humorlessness. Why should a man who behaves in prescribed modes on ordained occasions be an object of ridicule to the satirist or to the philosopher of the comic? If it were quite universal, that attitude would convince me of the baseness and callousness of laughing men. From my experience I know that on solemn, conventional occasions people look serious, and, I trust, actually are so. I can't believe that the seriousness is a mock solemnity, a mask worn for the occasion in order to conceal grinning wit and sly humor. That conviction would make life seem grotesque and horrible. Think of a face congealed in laughter haunting you on your wedding day. Ugh! It would be like kissing a skull. Ugh!

Amicus: To those who accept its sincerity, conventional morality is not laughable. It is ludicrous only to the non-participants. Do you recall what I said about Man's taking himself more seriously than he does his neighbor?... Laughter is the contribution of the detached, of the unrelated, of the unsympathetic. Seriousness is the attitude of the sympathetic, the related, the closely attached. The satirist is engaged in objective judgment; he observes from a distance. He laughs at solemn routine and at

pompous repetition (the mode of all moral conduct), because they appear so lifeless and mechanical, likely at a moment's notice to go wrong and to involve the whole unresourceful company of practitioners in side-splitting contradictions and humorous impotence. The essence of conventionally-moral conduct is stereotypy. The procedure is formularized. . . . Laughter is fed by the emotion of doubt. The laugher doubts whether stereotypy can maintain its rigidity without cracking under the strain. The least slip or mishap may render the whole "Dumb Show" ludicrous. Confusion! Non-preparedness. Suppressed laughter! Solemnity, standing rigid and impotent, not knowing what to do or what to say! How fill in the breach? What to do to continue the illusion of solemnity? Sympathy is on the wane. Humor comes to the rescue. Laughter winks maliciously and enjoys the spectacle hugely. The desire to "find" fun at another fellow's expense is simply irresistible. I am certain that elaborate ceremonials are the funniest dumb shows in the world—to the satirist. You mustn't forget the part cynicism and natural pessimism contribute to ironic laughter. In our hearts we know people for what they are:—irritable little creatures, stuffy, sensational, wicked, moody, quixotic. How can we suppress the mocking laugh when they pretend to be as *perfectly* solemn as the Christian God and as rigidly proper as sculptured saints? The contradiction is devastatingly funny. Without the quaint relief of unholy laughter, even the formalists would have perished under the insupportable strain of their pompous poses! The retaliation of the formalist is torture. The reply of the informalist is laughter. Both modes are soaked in malice.

Amico: As I recall Professor Scott's critique in the *International Journal of Ethics*, it may be summarized as follows: According to Bergson's view there is the closest affinity between the Comic and the Moral. Professor Scott says: 'The pessimism of this doesn't need to be labored. To rule out the mechanical, the rigid, from the life which society wants is plainly to withdraw the good from out of the reach of common men and make it the aristocratic privilege of the few. According to Bergson, the good

life is transmuted into a piece of high art, or into a game of skill in which the winners are they who possess the gifts and have cultivated the skill.—The moral imperative does not even say 'be good.' It only says 'be adaptable.'" I gather from these interesting criticisms that Professor Scott perceives an irreconcilable hostility between the good and the comic. I suppose he voices the deep-felt attitude of a majority of moral persons who see puritanism in solemnity and in informality something akin to wickedness. There is no doubt that the greater part of mankind privately believes in the superior noble grandeur of formality as keenly as it believes in the quite inferior ungrandeur of informality. These distinctions arise undoubtedly from a repressed-theory of man's original depravity; the feeling that the "natural," spontaneous, informal man is lax and loose and trivial, possibly indecent and scoffing. On the other hand, any rigid excavation of facetiousness and of too candid bonhomie is sure to leave at the cleansed bottom of personality the fine sediment of repose, formality, good behavior. Artificial, fixed poses moralize depraved man, so it is tacitly assumed by the formalists.

Amicus: You know how contemptuously I spurn pose and formalism and uncritical conformity. Wax uniformity I simply abhor. Individuality, informality, uniqueness, freedom, originality, differentness—these more creative modes I love. I hate mechanism; I adore spirit—certainly in human conduct. You will understand how unsympathetic I feel toward any view of life, however democratic that view may appear to be, which by ousting informality champions and celebrates formality. If the democratic ideal is to be measured by arithmetical units, I fear there will be a heap of unlovely idealism passing current for worthiness, simply because the undifferentiated many subscribe to it. If the majority are routineers, lovers of wax uniformity, devotees of regimentation, victims of monotony and sameness, let us pity the majority; but for wisdom's sake, let us not emulate or worship the poor blind beasts. I know of no finer or more liberalizing ideal than Bergson's: "The good life is transmuted into a piece of high art." Every creative idealist, looking toward the deeper

fulfilment of to-morrow, loving his fellowmen for what they may yet be (not for what they are!) will gladly embrace the Bergsonian philosophy of morals. To live artistically—what more beautiful or more worthy aspiration? I have worked out a more elaborate criticism of Professor Scott's ethics which you may care to consider.

Amico: There can be no subject more important than morality. As Professor Dewey says: the plane of a man's thinking is measured by his attitude toward the problems of conduct. I shall be glad to follow your analysis of creative morality, especially in its bearings upon the conventional theory of good conduct, as expressed by Professor Scott in the article already alluded to. Why does Bergson the more adequately express your own conception of conduct, of what the Greeks would call, the good life? Be as definite as possible, for clarity's sake.

Amicus: All right. Let me play Socrates to my dear Theaetetus . . . Paraphrasing Bergson, Professor Scott says that "it is comical to act according to fixed habit." To which I humbly add: Of course it is—in a *new situation*. Now the intellectual impotence of your habitualist lies in his mal-adjustability exactly. He assumes the eternal validity of his conformity. How then can he anticipate or prepare for a novel situation? The answer is simply that he can't. Hence his ludicrous plight in an emergency. Habitualism breeds unawareness. Slaves of habit—moral or immoral or unmoral—are hopeless in an evolving society. Alertness is the touchstone of preparedness. Preparedness guarantees adaptability. Education is, creatively viewed, a research in anticipations. Habitualism has nothing to anticipate. Why worship it as a moralizing force (in a society increasingly self-conscious and purposive)? As soon as moral conduct has become habitual, it is no longer quintessentially moral: it is only mechanical. For the very core of creative morality is readiness to reinterpret one's conduct in relation to *new* situations. Truly moral men are not rigidly moral. So many humans turn rigid in their morality because the pose of self-righteousness is easier to achieve than a genuine righteousness. In fact, rigidity in conduct encourages posing and imposing. Why cele-

brate it? . . . "It is comical to be like another mind," says Professor Scott, aiming a poisonless arrow at Bergson's "ethical pessimism." So it is, if your emulation or imitation is pure pretence. Who's the silliest creature on earth if he be not the parrot-disciple of genius? Some of our cleverest dramas are woven about this human weakness for pretence and pretentiousness. Being like another mind is comical as the voice of the ventriloquist is comical. The absence of the human element of individuality reduces man to mechanism and renders him a megaphone, or at best, a mood, not a mind. The assumption of mind where no mind is, *is* comical, precisely because pretence takes the place of reality: to the critic eye, always a humorous substitution. . . . "It is comical to repeat and insist" . . . *Naturally*, when repetition and insistence evidently fall upon deaf and obtuse ears. Is there any person more comical—and strangely self-deluded—than the professional preachers, dinning solemnly-grand unlivable platitudes into the souls of benighted poor wretches ill-equipped to eke out a bare hand-to-mouth existence? The preacher is portrayed in drama as the cunning simpleton because he never does anything (except repeat and insist) to make his highfalutin ethics live and *realize* itself. He is intellectually blind to the irrelevancy of his good intentions. His folly is,—measured by realistic standards.—ludicrous.

Amico: To be sure, the most distinctively human attribute which neither animal nor god shares with man is the comic spirit. Perhaps it is just as well for us to recognize its high value as a spiritual purgative. I recall the delightful comment of Romain Rolland apropos of the function of humor among a self-adoring mankind. He says: "Intelligence of mind is nothing without that of the heart. It is nothing also without good sense and humor—good sense which shows to every people and to every being their place in the universe—and humor which is the critic of misguided reason, the soldier who following the chariot to the capital reminds Caesar in his hour of triumph that he is bald." Indeed, it is worth while inquiring what there is in the nature of customary morality to make it so hostile to the comic spirit.

Amicus: The comic spirit, rooted in callousness (that is, in a sense of detachment), achieves a mighty analytic purpose. It laughs to scorn those prevalent human poses and pretences which make of life a torpid dumb show, an unanimated panorama, a procession of automata. The cosmic spirit cleanses the soul of its duplicities. It annihilates shams and poms and vacant ceremonies. From the lusty exuberance of the comic spirit, creative morality will suffer small hurt. Customary morality, conceived in fear and herd-imitation, perpetuated in habits of self-approval and customs of self-glorification, will undoubtedly suffer from the malicious ravages (so they must appear to the afflicted) of the comic spirit. . . . And the primary problem for ethicists is: Shall life be a work of art or a polished mechanism?

OCEAN I LOVE YOU.

BY GUY BOGART.

Ocean, I love you too.
Kissing the living sands where I sit.
Gray ocean, mist encompassed,
You are alive and soothing.
Your soul I know for I am the ocean,
And you, oh ocean, are myself.
Do not ask me how I know,
Dear sister waves,
Born of wind and water.
Your throbbing pulse beats and mine
Alike the Father registers.
You are a personality, dear ocean.
Your soul I know :
Your voice I hear—not the swish and surge of surf,
But the still small voice in which you whisper to me thoughts my
eternal spirit understands but which my flesh-brain cannot
translate into written words.
You live
And I live—
So lives the universe.
There is life within your deeps.
But you are yourself alive.
Not in symbols do I speak
But in sober reality.
Live with me, dear ocean.
Thanks for your spray spore, wind-born and life-giving
That baptizes me
As the gulls and I share your gray benediction.

WHEN JESUS THREW DOWN THE GAUNTLET.

BY WM. WEBER.

THE death of Jesus, whatever else it may be, is a very important event in the history of the human race. As such it forms a link in the endless chain of cause and effect; and we are obliged to ascertain, if possible, the facts which led up to the crucifixion and rendered it inevitable.

The first question to be answered is: Who were the men that committed what has been called the greatest crime the world ever saw? A parallel question asks: How did Jesus provoke the resentment of those people to such a degree that they shrank not even from judicial murder in order to get rid of him?

The First Gospel denotes four times the persons who engineered the death of Jesus "the chief priests and the elders of the people." The first passage where that happens is connected with the account of the Cleansing of the Temple (Matt. xxi. 23.) The second treats of the meeting at which it was decided to put Jesus out of the way. (Matt. xxvi. 3.) The third tells of the arrest of Jesus. (Matt. xxvi. 47.) The fourth relates how he was turned over to the tender mercies of Pontius Pilate. (Matt. xxvii. 1.) The expression is used, as appears from this enumeration, just at the critical stations on the road to Calvary and may be a symbol characteristic of the principal source of the passion of Jesus in Matthew. The corresponding term of the Second and Third Gospels is "the chief priests and the scribes"; but that is not used exclusively in all the parallels to the just quoted passages. The Johannine equivalent is "the chief priests and the Pharisees." (John vii. 32, 45; xi. 47, 57; xviii. 3.) The scribes and the Pharisees form only one class of people. For the scribes as the founders and leaders of the party of the Pharisees were designated either scribes, or Pharisees. The testimony of the last three Gospels compels us to identify the "elders of the people" of the First Gospel with the scribes.

That conclusion will be corroborated when we consider the meaning of the term apart from its parallels. It reminds us of the Latin *Tribunus Plebis* and directs our attention to the distinction which the Jews drew between the priests and the people, the clergy and the laity. Our noun layman is derived from the Greek word for people used in our Matthew passages. We might call therefore "the elders of the people" the lay-elders. The Jewish elders of the New Testament are as a rule supposed to be members of certain courts of judicature. But elders are also mentioned that were not judges. Matt. xv. 2, Pharisees and scribes ask Jesus: "Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders?" Those elders were doubtless scribes. (Matt. xxiii.) They were not necessarily the scribes of long ago. For the tradition of the elders during the lifetime of Jesus was not yet a closed book. The hedge of the law was still in the process of growing. Besides, we find Matt. ii. 4 a significant parallel to the elders of the people in the expression "the scribes of the people"; and what is even more to the point, those men from whom Herod learns where the Messiah was born, are in Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho* 78B) "the elders of the people."

Mark and Luke, however, seem to prove that the scribes and the elders are two different classes of people. For Mark xi. 27, xiv. 43 and 53 we meet the phrase "the chief priests and the scribes and the elders." Nevertheless, Mark xiv. 1, the parallel of Matt. xxvi. 3 and Luke xxii. 2, reads "the chief priests and the scribes." The tripartite designation of the enemies of Jesus in those instances must represent a conflated reading, a combination of the Matthew with the Mark and Luke text. That is quite evident Luke xx. 1 where we come upon "the chief priests and the scribes with the elders." If there had been three different parties, the author would have written "and the elders." Moreover, Luke xx. 19 "the scribes and the chief priests" are named alone. "The elders" probably did not invade the Second and Third Gospel until they had been translated into Greek. Some Gentile Christian student, who did not know what "elders of the people" meant is to be held responsible for them.

The enmity of the scribes or Pharisees antedates the arrival of Jesus at Jerusalem. The latter encountered from the very beginning of his public career the outspoken opposition of the former who may be styled the Jewish orthodoxy. Their rancor was due partly to jealousy. For the people preferred the teachings of Jesus to those of the scribes because "he taught them as one having

authority, and not as their scribes." (Matt. vii. 29.) But there was a by far weightier reason why the Pharisees could not agree with the man from Galilee. They defined religion as the strictest obedience to the letter of each and every law of the Old Testament as expounded by their scholars. The latter were working with unremitting zeal and industry to lay down a definite rule of conduct for any possible emergency in which any given law might have to be kept. That constantly growing commentary on the law was called "the tradition of the elders"; and it was the main duty of a pious Jew to study and become familiar not only with the law but also the tradition and to keep informed as to new rules and definitions which were published from time to time.

The Jew did not distinguish between moral law and ceremonial law, but divided their laws into such as prescribed man's duties towards God and such as regulated man's intercourse with his neighbor. If a law of one of these two classes ever conflicted with a law of the other class, that is to say, if one had the choice of serving either God or his neighbor, preference had to be given to God. Thus it was praised as the acme of religious perfection to offer as a sacrifice at the temple what otherwise might have relieved the urgent wants of one's indigent parents. (Mark. vii. 8-13.)

Jesus shared the Pharisaic definition of religion as conscientious observance of the law of God. He demanded with his adversaries that every true Israelite had to obey the law and the prophets. But he rejected the tradition of the elders as useless and pernicious casuistry. He proclaimed instead of the hedge of the law the commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" the beacon of the perfect will of God. He insisted that man could prove his love of God alone by loving his neighbor. Therefore, when somebody's divine and human duties apparently were opposed to each other, the divine had to give way before the human obligations.

In the controversy which was bound to rise over that question, Jesus acted not as the gentle, submissive, and self-effacing sweet soul as whom he is generally represented. On the contrary, he proved himself a man cast in a heroic mold. He never feared to state his convictions no matter what the consequences might be. He never hesitated to defend himself and to attack the Pharisees. No danger could cause him to shun his duty. The climax apparently was reached when Jesus entered a synagogue on a sabbath day and healed in the presence of his adversaries a man whose hand was withered. It was a trap artfully set and baited to convict Jesus of being a breaker of the sabbath. For the Mosaic law declares ex-

pressly: "Whosoever doeth any work on the sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death." (Exodus xxxi. 15.) The Pharisees evidently argued the man with the paralyzed hand was not in immediate danger and could wait to be cured till the sabbath was past. But Jesus did not care to compromise, but held it to be of prime importance to stand by his principle: "It is lawful to do good on the sabbath day." The pericope is contained in all three Gospels. Matt. xii 14 tells us that after the healing "the Pharisees went out, and took counsel against him, how they might destroy him." Mark iii. 6 is virtually identical with Matthew; only it adds that the Pharisees took counsel "with the Herodians" against him. The Herodians are officers of Herod who had orders to arrest Jesus and bring him before the tetrarch. (Comp. Luke ix. 9 and xiii. 31.) Luke vi. 11 reads: "They were filled with madness, and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus."

In the eyes of the Pharisees the life of Jesus was forfeited. Only the multitude would not allow them to execute that judgment because they regarded Jesus as a prophet. So they had to postpone his punishment to a more favorable time. It goes without saying that the leading Pharisees of Jerusalem, the scribes who taught in the halls of the temple, were in full accord with that sentence. We know they had been informed of his dangerous activity and had come themselves to Galilee to see and hear Jesus.

Thus the deadly hatred of the scribes is accounted for, on the one hand, by the spiritual blindness of the orthodox Jews who neither could nor would see the truth preached by Jesus and, on the other hand, by the fearless aggressiveness of the latter. Since he knew his enemies, he was quite aware of the final outcome of the struggle. He foresaw they would make common cause with any other party whose enmity he might incur in order to crush and annihilate him. Even that certainty could not induce Jesus to change his course.

The motives of the chief priests are not defined so easily. They do not seem to have taken any notice of Jesus before he came to Jerusalem. If they did, our sources fail to inform us of that fact. According to what we know about those men, they were not interested in such controversies as that between Jesus and the Pharisees. The chief priests together with their dependents, the ordinary priests, the Levites, and all the other employees of the temple, formed the party of the Sadducees. From their standpoint the Jewish religion was identical with the temple service, upon which their social standing, wealth, and income depended. As long as the people paid their

temple tax, attended the great festivals, and offered the prescribed sacrifices, the priests were satisfied. What they hated were new ideas and religious innovation. For one could never tell what fundamental changes they might bring about. For that reason, they did not accept the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, which the Pharisees worked out during the last two centuries before the Christian era. Uncompromising conservatives, they were impatient of the tradition of the elders.

Although the Sadducees did not love the Pharisees, they could not sympathize with Jesus. Such a hot head, bent upon reforming their nation, was an abomination in their sight. Still, Jesus as prophet and teacher had little to fear from the chief priests and their henchmen. They would have ignored him just as they had paid no attention to the Baptist and as they endured the fanaticism of the Pharisees. But the very moment, he should attempt to interfere with their office and its emoluments, they would not hesitate to employ any measures to destroy him.

As to the Messianic idea, they remembered with pride the time when the high priest had been the autocratic ruler of the independent Jewish state. They would have recovered gladly their lost sovereignty. But they were too world-wise to risk their very existence in a hopeless struggle against the power of Rome. When at last their nation in the madness of despair rose in revolt, they proved themselves patriots and brave men. Yet as for the Messianic kingdom of the Pharisees, they remained cynical doubters to the end. For they could derive no profit from such a kingdom. The Messiah was bound to shear their office of all royal powers and prerogatives, inherited from the Maccabeans, and to reduce them to a subaltern condition such as the priests had held under king David and his successors.

Jesus, according to the Gospels, crossed the path of the chief priests only once in his entire career. That happened when he cleansed the temple. Of that event we possess four accounts, Matt. xxi. 12ff., Mark xi. 15ff., Luke xix. 45ff., and John ii. 13ff. Some scholars believe Jesus to have cleansed the temple twice, the first time at the beginning, the second time, at the end of his career. They do so because the event is related in the Fourth Gospel in the opening chapters, in the Synoptic Gospels in the closing sections. But these men overlook that the original frame around which the present Gospel according to St. John has been built up, relates only the passion of Jesus and commences just as the corresponding part

of the Synoptic Gospels with the cleansing of the temple. Moreover, the chief priests were not the men to see that done more than once.

Matt. xxi. 12-13, Jesus chases the sellers and buyers from the temple and overthrows the tables of the moneychangers and the seats of those that sold doves. He justifies that strange proceeding with the words: "It is written My house shall be called a house of prayer: but ye make it a den of robbers." The statement is a combination of Isaiah vi. 7: "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" and Jeremiah vii. 11: "Is this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?" Mark xi. 15-17 presents essentially the same report, increased by some additions, which will be discussed later on. The version of the Third Gospel is rather short and deserves to be quoted in full. "He entered into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold, saying unto them, It is written, My house shall be a house of prayer: but ye have made it a den of robbers." Luke is not only silent as to the money changers and dealers in doves but also omits the purchasers of the goods offered for sale.

The Johannine account of the same happening is apparently independent of the Synoptic Gospels whereas the close interrelationship of the Synoptic versions is obvious. John ii. 13-16 reads: "The passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And he found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting; and he made a scourge of cords and cast out all of the temple, both the sheep and the oxen; and he poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables: and to them that sold the doves he said, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise."

According to this report, Jesus does not fall like a raging Roland upon the salesmen. He uses his improvised whip, not to beat the men, but to drive out the cattle. The sellers, of course, follow their beasts. In this respect, the Johannine tradition does not contradict that of the Synoptic Gospels. It is richer by a few details which render the picture more distinct. The main point is, neither in John nor in Luke does Jesus chase the buyers from the temple.

This single feature establishes the superiority of the accounts of the Third and Fourth Gospel over that of the first two. It is easy enough to decide who the salesmen must have been. They did not sell general merchandise but exclusively animals needed for sacrifices, oxen, sheep, and doves, and shekels, or rather half-shekels

with which the temple tax was paid. A market of that kind in one of the temple courts must have been opened originally for the convenience of pilgrims from the Diaspora who could not bring along victims from their distant homes. The business was, of course, conducted under the authority and for the benefit of the chief priests, who appointed priests of a lower degree to do the selling. As long as the buyers were given a square deal, nobody could have taken exception to that commerce, and nobody would have supported Jesus if he had tried to stop it. Especially the Diaspora Jews must have felt thankful for finding within the temple a place where they could obtain at a fair price the animals they needed for their sacrifices, guaranteed officially to be without fault or blemish. The half-shekels had to be bought in the age of Jesus very probably by all Jews, including those of Palestine, from the priests. Since the priestly kingdom had ceased to exist, half-shekels were no longer coined and served no longer as medium of exchange in everyday life. (Comp. Luke xx. 24f.)

The salesmen retreated before Jesus without making even a show of resistance. That proves how unpopular their market was. If the mass of the pilgrims had not applauded the deed of Jesus and taken his part in the most outspoken way, the priestly traders would not have been afraid of the Galilean and his few companions. For having to accommodate hundreds of thousands of customers, they must have outnumbered the disciples many times. But the unpopularity of an institution which in itself is innocent enough and serves a want, spells flagrant abuse. What kind of abuse must have prevailed is indicated by the words of Jesus: "Ye have made it a den of robbers," vouched for by the Synoptic Gospels. The Hellenistic Jews as well as those of Palestine were very angry at the priests because they were robbed by them. Wherein that robbery consisted may be deducted from certain business practices that are in vogue even to-day.

The profits which the chief priests derived from the sale of victims to Jews attending the feasts from abroad, must have suggested to them the idea of making the purchase of those animals at the temple compulsory for all Jews without exception. It was not very difficult to do that. The Jews living in Palestine might bring their home-raised animals along and have them sacrificed. But the priests had first to examine them and decide whether they were perfect. If the priests had any doubts as to the proper qualification of the animals brought to them, they had to reject them. In that case, the owners could only sell them at Jerusalem and buy

others which would be acceptable to the priests. Such, however, could be found only in the temple market.

The chief priests could instruct their subordinates to accept for sacrifices only animals purchased in the temple and refuse all others under the pretext of having no time to examine them carefully during the rush of the feasts. As a result the chief priests could buy all the animals they needed far below the market price because there were no other purchasers. By selling those animals in the temple at the ordinary quotations, they secured very large profits; but those profits were stolen from the people. The pious Jews were defenceless against that systematic spoliation. They might compel the priests to pay the regular market price for the victims they needed by keeping them at home and waiting for the priestly purchasers to come after them. But in that case, the selling price at the temple would be high enough to cover all extra expenses and still leave a handsome surplus. As for the shekels, the chief priests owned and possessed the whole amount of those coins and sold them for what the market would stand, receiving back the sacred money as fast as it was handed over the counter.

The scribes to whom the people might appeal for help supported the priests. They might in their heart condemn their avarice. But they would tell the complainants: You offer your sacrifices and pay your temple tax, not to the priests, but to God. God can and will repay you in full for whatever the priests take away from you. He will punish the priests if they are wrong. But remember you cannot give too much to God. In sacred things it is better to suffer than to do injustice. Besides, the priests cannot be too particular with things to be sacrificed. They may be right in spite of appearances. For they prevent the offering of imperfect victims. That their method is rather expensive, and that the people have to bear the cost, cannot be avoided.

That must have been the situation which caused Jesus to challenge the chief priests. A more intensive study of the history of the Jews during the age of Jesus may bring to light direct testimony in support of the just given explanation. B. I. Westcott (*Gospel according to St. John*, London, 1901, I. 90) speaks of "the court of the Gentiles where there was a regular market, belonging to the house of Hanon (Annas)."

We are now enabled to decide whether the text of Luke and John or that of Matthew and Mark is to be preferred. In the first place, the testimony of two independent witnesses deserves greater credit than that of any number of almost identical copies of the

statements of only one witness. Besides, how could Jesus at the same time champion the cause of the pious people against their unrighteous priests and chase both people and priests out of the court of the Gentiles? Moreover, he needed the presence of the multitude for his own protection. With the multitude at his back, he could defy the chief priests with their temple police who were sure to appear upon the scene as soon as the report of the disturbance created by the man from Galilee, reached them. Therefore, we are compelled to eliminate the words "and bought" Matt. xxi. 12) as well as "and them that bought" (Mark xi. 15) as later additions to the original Synoptic text. The party who penned those glosses did not understand the true significance of what Jesus did. He imagined the holy place to have been desecrated by the act of selling and buying within its precincts. Also the statement "and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold the doves" of Matt. xxi. 12 and Mark xi. 15 is in all probability foreign to the original text, because absent from the Luke version. Those words were borrowed very likely from the Johannine account.

Mark xi. 16 contains still another spurious addition to the text: "and he would not suffer that any man should carry a vessel through the temple." These words have no meaning in the mouth of Jesus. Some commentators suppose the inhabitants of Jerusalem had become accustomed to carry all kinds of things from one quarter of the city to another through the courts of the temple in order to save time. By doing so they showed disrespect for the house of God in the estimation of Jesus. But a mere glance at the map of Jerusalem and the topography of the temple discredits that explanation. The temple and its courts formed a separate unit, a citadel. There was no shortcut across the temple area from one part of the city to another. The difference in height alone between the temple mount and the city proper excluded that. Another argument against the genuineness of the words under discussion is based upon the following reflection. That the temple was defiled by carrying a burden through it, was a Jewish belief and expressly forbidden for the inner court. But that is no reason why Jesus should have extended such a prohibition, resting as it does upon the Pharisaic conception of religion, even beyond the Pharisaic line. Jesus did not share the belief of the Jews that the temple at Jerusalem was the only dwelling place of God on earth. And the idea that sin had its seat and origin in matter and could be imparted to places and persons by merely bodily contact was absolutely foreign

to his way of thinking. In addition to all this, neither Matthew nor Luke confirm those words of Mark.

It does not suffice to point out glosses; their presence in the text has also to be explained. The just discussed additions to the Mark and Matthew text are apparently of Jewish origin. Some Jewish Christian reader did not grasp the true significance of what Jesus did. He imagined him to have taken offence at the careless indifference with which the holy place was treated and enlarged the text so as to emphasize his interpretation.

Also the words "for all nations" (Mark xi. 17) have to be crossed out. They are found indeed Isaiah lvi. 7; but Jesus was bound to modify the saying of the prophet. He was thinking not of Israel and the other nations but only of the incompatible contradiction between a house of prayer and a den of robbers. Somebody who was aware that Jesus cited Isaiah, took it for granted that he quoted the words just as they are written.

The present Luke text of our pericope has preserved the common Synoptic source more faithfully than either Matthew or Mark. Luke alone as confirmed by John enables us to comprehend the import of the cleansing of the temple by Jesus. But even the Johannine account arouses certain objections. It opens: "and the passover of the Jews was at hand." The date agrees with that of the Synoptic Gospels. But the expression "the passover of the Jews" is impossible in the mouth of one of the first disciples of Jesus. For he and his first followers were Jews themselves; and the latter remained Jews even after the death of their master. Somebody has suggested that the term "Jews" denotes in the Fourth Gospel the inhabitants of Judaea as apart from the Jews of the other districts of Palestine. While that may be so in some instances, it cannot be so in this case. For "the passover of the Jews" cannot be anything else but the passover of all Jews without exception. The Judaeans never observed a separate passover of their own. Westcott, in his commentary to the Fourth Gospel, referred to before, says: "The phrase (passover of the Jews) appears to imply distinctly the existence of a recognized 'Christian passover' at the time when the Gospel was written." While it cannot be admitted that the early Christians ever celebrated a Christian passover,—only the Christians of Jewish descent continued to hold the Jewish passover—Westcott is right in ascribing, although indirectly, the authorship of the words "passover of the Jews" to a Gentile Christian.

That strange term seems to indicate that John ii. 13ff. was composed by a Gentile Christian. In that case the author could not have

been an eyewitness. But how could a Gentile Christian furnish a report of the cleansing of the temple which is in most of its details so correct and objective? Even Jewish Christians, as is demonstrated by the Mark version, failed to appreciate the account of the old Synoptic source. That fact compels us to consider another possibility. The word "Jews" in our section may belong, not to, the author of John ii. 13ff., but to a later compiler who put the account of the cleansing of the temple into the Fourth Gospel. That conjecture is not invalidated when we look at verse 17 and 21-22. In both instances, the original text has evidently been enlarged. Verse 21-22 is a comment on verse 18-20. The commentator draws in verse 22 a clear line of demarcation between the disciples and himself. If he had been a member of their circle, he would not have said: "His disciples remembered that he spake this; and they believed the scripture," but rather: "We remembered. . . and believed." Verse 17: "His disciples remembered that it was written, Zeal for thy house shall eat me up," is another instance in which the writer does not identify himself with the twelve. Moreover, the scripture quotation does not fit the situation. It was not zeal for the house of God which prompted Jesus to close the temple market, but his righteous anger at the unworthy priests who robbed the pious worshippers. We observe therefore in verse 17 the same old misunderstanding of the deed of Jesus as in the additions to the Matthew and Mark text.

The words put into the mouth of Jesus in verse 16: "Make not my Father's house a house of merchandise" are subject to the same criticism. They are indeed in harmony with verse 17. But that does not recommend this reading. The term "my Father's house" reminds us of what the twelve year old Jesus asked his parents: "Knew ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" But the idea of God and the temple cherished by the boy was no longer held by the grown up man. He had put away childish things. To him the temple was no longer the place to which God's presence on earth was confined. The expression "house of merchandise" is just as objectionable as "my Father's house." Jesus cannot have called the temple a den of robbers and a house of merchandise at the same time; nor can the two expressions be treated as synonyms. The unanimous testimony of the Synoptic Gospels is in favor of den of robbers. The later additions to the text of the first two Gospels as well as to that of John demonstrate how little the ancient readers realized the true significance of the episode. Therefore the conclusion arrived at in the case of the first two Gospels and John ii.

17 and 21-22 must apply also to John ii. 16. The compiler of the Fourth Gospel changed the genuine saying of Jesus, which has been preserved by the Synoptists, so as to suit his idea of what the situation demanded. But as long as the offering of bloody sacrifices at the temple of Jerusalem was held to be a religious duty, the honestly conducted sale of victims and the exchange of sacred money in one of the courts of the temple could not be condemned as a sin.

A certain scholar has suggested, Jesus, in cleansing the temple, intended to abolish the Jewish sacrifices. (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, 1908, II, 712.) If that were correct, his disciples would have abstained from that very moment to offer sacrifices at the temple. But *The Acts* report not only that the first Christians attended the temple regularly, but also that the apostle Paul, at the advice of the leading Christians at Jerusalem, offered a purification sacrifice for himself and four companions. (Act. xxi. 26). The Gentile Christians ceased to sacrifice as soon as they became converted. They did so not because of any commandment or act of Jesus to that effect; but because they were taught to avoid the heathen sacrifices as idolatry. The Jewish Christians, on the other hand, continued to sacrifice at the temple until the destruction of that sanctuary put an end to those religious exercises. The Gentile Christians could not take part in those Jewish services since they neither were Jews nor intended to be circumcised.

The cleansing of the temple was a direct challenge of the chief priests by Jesus, a defiance of the highest religious dignitaries on earth the Jews recognized. Before the Babylonian exile, a Jewish king or a prophet favored by the ruler might have done what Jesus did; and the priests would have obeyed him. But when Jesus lived, there was only one who, superior to the priests, possessed the authority of interfering with the management of the affairs of the temple. That was the promised and expected Messiah, at least, in the estimation of the Pharisees and the people. A Messiah, equipped with divine omnipotence, would have been worshipped by the priests on bended knees. But Jesus was not such a Messiah; he displayed no divine powers. He quoted the ancient prophets and appealed to the moral judgment of the people and the conscience of the evil-doers. Would they confess their wrong, make amends, and receive Jesus as master? Their conduct during the last centuries demonstrated that they were resolved in the first place to retain under all circumstances all the privileges of their inherited position which assured them of the highest honors and a constantly growing income.

The cleansing of the temple is accordingly the key for understanding the causality of the crucifixion as an event of human history and accomplished by human factors. At that occasion, Jesus acted for the first time as the Messiah. But he had also weighed beforehand the unavoidable results of his daring deed. He knew the priests. They would not give way before him without a bitter fight. He was fully aware of what kind of weapons they would use against him. He himself could not drive out the devil by Beelzebub. He might have called the multitude to arms. But that was not his idea of how to wage a religious war. Thus he was in a position of foreseeing and predicting the fate which awaited him at the passover because he was firmly decided on the irrevocable step he was going to take against the chief priests.

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