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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.



BUDDHA AS A FISHER OF MEN.
(See page 357.)

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CHICAGO

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BUDDHA THE FISHERMAN.

From the collection of the late Jos. M. Wade of Boston.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE CABALA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

THE MOST IMPORTANT DOCTRINES OF THE CABALA.

AFTER having become acquainted in previous articles* with the principal actors in the cabalistic drama, we are now prepared to examine the tenets of the Cabala.

Different from the system as exhibited in the Book of Creation or Jezirah is that of the Zohar, because the more difficult, since it embraces not merely the origin of the world, but likewise speculates on the essence of God and the properties of man; in other words it treats of theology, cosmology and anthropology.

God.—Starting from the idea of the Supreme Being as boundless in his nature—which necessarily implies that he is an absolute unity and inscrutable, and that there is nothing without him—God is called *En Soph*, i. e., “endless,” “boundless.” In this boundlessness God cannot be comprehended by the intellect, nor described in words; for there is nothing which can grasp him and depict him to us,¹ and as such he is in a certain sense not existent (*ayin*); since, as

* “The Cabala,” March, 1910, and “The Zohar and Its Influence on the Cabala,” April, 1910.

¹ Rabbi Azariel in his commentary on the ten Sephiroth tells us that “the En Soph can neither be comprehended by the intellect, nor described in words; for there is no letter or word which can grasp him.” With this compare what Proclus, the neo-Platonist, says in his *Theology of Plato*, II, 6: “Although the Divinity is generally called the unity (*τὸ ἓν*) or the first, it would be better if no name were given him; for there is no word which can depict his nature—he is the inexpressible (*ἀρρήτος*), the unknown (*ἀγνωστός*). Isaac ibn Latif (1220-1290) even says “God is in all, and everything is in God.”

far as our mind is concerned, that which is incomprehensible does not exist.

Creation.—The En Soph, not being an object of cognition, made his existence known in the creation of the world by means of attributes or mediums, the ten Sephiroth, or intelligences, radiations, emanations, emanating from the En Soph, and which in their totality represent and are called the *Adam Kadmon*, the “Primordial or Archetypal Man.”

The first Sephirah is called *Kether*, “Crown”; the second *Chochma*, “Wisdom”; the third *Bina*, “Intelligence”; the fourth *Chesed*, “Mercy”; the fifth *Din*, “Judgment”; the sixth *Tiphereth*, “Beauty”; the seventh *Nezach*, “Splendor”; the eighth *Hôd*, “Majesty”; the ninth *Jesôd*, “Foundation”; the tenth *Malchûth*, “Kingdom.”

Now the first Sephirah, which is called the Crown, the Aged,² the Primordial or the Smooth Point,³ the White Head, the Long Face, *Macroprosopon*, the Inscrutable Height,⁴ contained the other nine Sephiroth and gave rise to them in the following order: from the first Sephirah proceeded a masculine or active potency designated (2) *Chochma*, “Wisdom,” and an opposite, i. e., a feminine or passive potency, called (3) *Bina*, “Intelligence.” These two opposite potencies are joined together by the first potency, and thus yield the first triad of the Sephiroth. From the junction of the foregoing opposites, which are also called “Father” (*abba*) and “Mother” (*imma*) emanated again the masculine or active potency called (4) *Chesed*, “Mercy or Love,” also *Gedulah*, “Greatness,” and from this again emanated the feminine or passive potency called (5) *Din*, “Judgment,” also *Geburah*, “Judicial Power.” From this again emanated the uniting potency (6) *Tiphereth*, “Beauty.” We have thus the second trinity of the Sephiroth. Now Beauty beamed forth the masculine or active potency (7) *Nezach*, “Splendor,” and this again gave rise to (8) the feminine or passive potency *Hod*, “Majesty”; from it again emanated (9) *Jesôd*, “Foundation,” which yields the third trinity. From *Jesôd* finally emanated (10) *Malchuth*, “Kingdom,” also called Shechinah.

The Cabalists delight in representing the ten Sephiroth under

² This must not be confounded with “the Aged of the Aged” as the En Soph is called.

³ “When the Concealed of the Concealed wished to reveal himself, he first made a single point; the Infinite was entirely unknown, and diffused no light before this luminous point violently broke through into vision.” (Zohar, I, 15a).

⁴ So called by Rabbi Azariel.

different forms; now as *Adam Kadmon*, "Primordial or Archetypal Man," now as the cabalistic tree or the *Ilân*, in which the crown is represented by the first Sefirah and the root by the last.

As to the *Adam Kadmon* which is shown in the following figure, the Crown represents the head; Wisdom, the brains; Intelligence which unites the two and produces the first triad, the heart or the understanding. The fourth and fifth Sefiroth, i. e., Love and Jus-

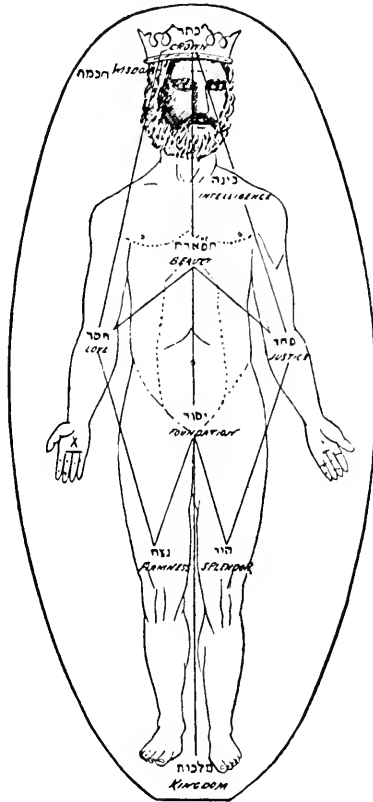


Fig. 1. ADAM KADMON, THE ARCHETYPAL MAN.

tice are the two arms, the former the right arm and the latter the left; one distributing life and the other death. The sixth Sefirah, Beauty, uniting these two opposites and producing the second triad, is the chest. Firmness and Splendor of the third triad represent the two legs, whereas Foundation, the ninth Sefirah, represents the genital organs, since it denotes the basis and source of all things. Finally Kingdom, the tenth Sefirah, represents the harmony of the whole Archetypal Man.

Now in looking at the Sephiroth which constitute the first triad, it will be seen that they represent the intellect; hence this triad is called by Azariel the "intellectual world" (*olam muskal* or *olam ha-sechel*). The second triad which represents moral qualities, is called the "moral" or "sensuous world" (*olam murgash*, also *olam ha-nephesh*); and the third, representing power and stability, is called the "material world" (*olam mutba* or *olam ha-teba*).

As concerns the cabalistic tree (the *ilân ha-cabala*), the Sephi-

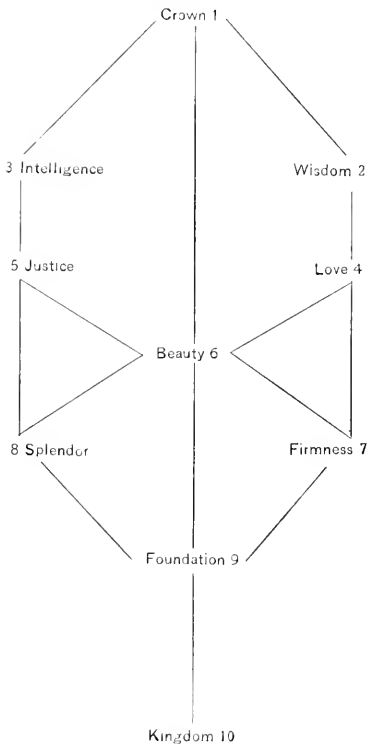


Fig. 2. THE CABALISTIC TREE.

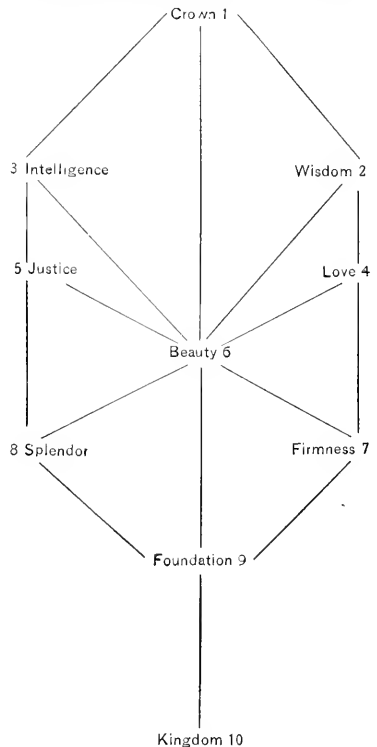


Fig. 3. THE PILLAR ARRANGEMENT.

roth are so arranged that the first triad is placed above, the second and third are placed below, in such a manner that the three masculine Sephiroth are on the right, the three feminine on the left, whilst the four uniting Sephiroth occupy the center, as shown in Fig. 2.

According to another arrangement the Sephiroth are so ordered that they form three pillars, a right one (*sitra dimina*, also *amuda de-chesed*, i. e., the pillar of mercy); a left one (*sitra dismola*, also *amuda de-dina*, i. e., the pillar of judgment), and a middle one (*amuda de-emza'ita*). In the right pillar to which belong the Sephi-

roth Wisdom, Love and Firmness, is Life; in the left with the Sephiroth Intelligence, Judgment, Splendor, is Death. The middle pillar comprises Crown, Beauty, Foundation. The basis of all three pillars is the Kingdom. Fig. 3 illustrates this.

So far as the Sephiroth represent the first manifestation of God they form a world for themselves, an ideal world which has nothing to do with the real, material world. As such it is now called the primordial, the Archetypal Man (*Adam Kadmon*), now the Heavenly Man (*Adam Ilai*). As for the Adam Kadmon, different views exist in the cabalistic writings. He is sometimes taken as the totality of the Sephiroth, and he appears as a pre-Sephirotic first emanation and superior to them, by which God manifested himself as creator and ruler of the world, as it were a prototype (macrocosm) of the entire creation. In this case it would seem as if the Adam Kadmon were a first manifestation, inserted between God and the world, so to say a second God (*δεύτερος θεός*) or the divine Word (*λόγος*).

According to a later theorem four worlds proceed by an emanation in different gradations. This is expressed by Ibn Latif thus: As the point extends and thickens into a line, the line into the plane, the plane into the expanded body, thus God's self-manifestation unfolds itself in the different worlds.

In each of these four worlds the ten Sephiroth recur. The first Sephirah gave birth to the *Olam azila* or "world of emanation," containing the powers of the divine plan of the world. Its beings have the same nature as that belonging to the world of the Sephiroth or to the Adam Kadmon. This world which is also called the *olam ha-sephiroth*, i. e., "the world of the Sephiroth," is the seat of the Shechinah. From the *olam azila* proceeded the *olam beria* or "world of creation," in which according to Rabbi Isaac Nasir⁵ are the souls of the saints, all the blessings, the throne of the Deity, and the palaces of all spiritual and moral perfection. The *olam beria* gave birth to the *olam jezirah* or "world of formation," in which dwell the holy angels, whose prince is Metatron.⁶ But there are also the

⁵ He flourished in the first half of the twelfth century and is the author of a treatise on the Emanations (*Massecheth Aziluth*) reprinted by Jellinek in his *Auswahl Kabbalistischer Mystik*, Part I, Leipsic, 1853.

⁶ Graetz, *Gnosticismus und Judentum*, 1846, p. 44, derives the word from *μετὰ θρόνον*, because this angel is immediately under the divine throne. Cassel (Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, section II, vol. XXVII, s. v. "Juden," p. 40, note 84) derives it from *metator*, i. e., "messenger, outrider, pathfinder." Wünsche also connects it with *μετάτωρ*. According to the Zohar, I, 126b, Metatron is the first creature of God; the middle pillar (in the essence of God) or the uniting link in the midst, comprising all grades, from top downwards.

demons, which on account of their grossly sensual nature are called *Keliphoth*, "shells," and inhabit the planets and other heavenly bodies or the realm of the ether.

The fourth world is called *olam assiya*, the "world of action." Its substances consist of matter limited by space and perceptible to the senses in a multiplicity of forms. It is subject to constant changes, generations, and corruptions, and is the abode of the Evil Spirit.

Like the Talmud and the Midrash, the Zohar represents the optimistic view, that the present world is the best. Thus we read (Zohar, III, 292*b*): "There were old worlds, which perished as soon as they came into existence; they were formless, and were called sparks. Thus the smith when hammering the iron, lets the sparks fly in all directions. These sparks are the primordial worlds, which could not continue, because the Sacred Aged had not as yet assumed his form (of opposite sexes—the King and Queen), and the Master was not yet at his work." And again we read (III, 61*b*): "The Holy One, blessed be he, created and destroyed several worlds before the present one was made, and when this last work was nigh completion, all the things of this world, all the creatures of the universe, in whatever age they were to exist, before they entered into this world, were present before God in their true form. Thus are the words of Ecclesiastes to be understood, 'The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done.'"

Since the Cabalists viewed all things from the anthropological point of view, they also transferred to the world of the Sephiroth the difference of sex. The male principle, called *Abba*, is white and of an active nature, appearing especially in the Sephirah Love, but also at the bottom of the three Sephiroth on the right side. The female principle, on the other hand, which owes its origin to the male principle, is red and of a receptive nature. It is mainly visible in the Sephira Justice, but is also at the bottom of the three Sephiroth on the left. The sign of the male principle is the "Y," that of the female the "II" in the divine name YHVH. What we learn is this: the Sephiroth teach that everything which exists is imperishable and like God. As nothing perishes in the world or is fully annihilated, thus the stamp and seal of divinity is stamped on all beings. God as the Invisible and Endless (En Soph) became

and from the bottom upwards (*ibid.*, III, 127*a*); the visibly manifested Deity (*ibid.*, III, 231*a*).

visible and intelligible by the Sephiroth; the human mind can come to him, can know and conceive him.

The Realm of the Evil.—Besides the heavenly realm of the Sephiroth of light or of the good, there is also a realm of the Sephiroth of darkness or of evil. Over against the supreme emanation of light, the Adam Kadmon, stands as opponent the Adam Belial. The same is the case with every light-sephirah, it is opposed by a Sephirah of darkness. Thus both are related to one another as the right side to the left; the light-Sephiroth form the right side, the darkness-Sephiroth the left side (*sitra achra*). The realm of darkness is figuratively called also the kingdom of Cain, Esau and Pharaoh (Zohar, I, 55a). Like the kingdom of light that of darkness has ten degrees. As the kingdom of light is inhabited by good spirits, so the kingdom of darkness is inhabited by evil spirits (demons, shells). Their prince is called Samaël (angel of poison or of death); his wife is called the Harlot or the Woman of Whoredom. Both are thought of as having intercourse with each other just as in the realm of light God as king has intercourse with Malchuth as queen. Through the influence of the evil powers the creation is continually disturbed. Men are seduced to apostasy from God, and thus the kingdom of the evil grows and the Keliphoth or shells increase. In the figurative language of the Zohar this disturbance of the creation is described as if the king and queen kept aloof from each other and could not work together for the welfare of the world. But this discord is finally harmonized by repentance, self-mortification, prayer and strict observance of the prescribed ceremonies, and the original harmony of things is again restored. It must be observed however that the teaching about the opposition of the two kingdoms belongs to the later doctrines of the Cabala, and its development belongs to the thirteenth century.

The Messiah.—Closely connected with the doctrine about evil is that of the Messiah. His coming takes place when the kingdom of the Keliphoth is overcome through the pious and virtuous life of men here on earth; then also takes place the restoration of the original state of affairs (*tikkun*). Since under his rule everything turns to the divine light, all idolatry ceases, because the Keliphoth no longer seduce men to apostasy. Cabala as mistress, rules then over the slave philosophy. In the upper world, too, great changes take place at the coming of the Messiah. The king again has intercourse with the queen. Through their copulation the divinity regains the destroyed unity. But Wünsche says that cabalistic literature, especially the Zohar, often describes this union of the king and the queen in

terms bordering on shamelessness and shocking to decency and morals.

Man.—The whole universe, however, was not complete, and did not receive its finishing stroke till man was formed, who is the acme of creation, and the microcosm uniting in himself the totality of beings.⁷ The lower man is a type of the heavenly Adam Kadmon.⁸ Man consists of body and soul. Though the body is only the raiment or the covering of the soul, yet it represents the *Merkaba* (the heavenly throne-chariot). All members have their symbolic meaning. Greater than the body is the soul, because it emanates from the En Soph and has the power to influence the intelligible world by means of channels (*zimmoth*) and to bring blessings upon the nether world. The soul is called *nephesh*, "life," *ruach*, "soul," and *neshâmâ*, "spirit." As *neshama*, which is the highest degree of being, it has the power to come into connection with God and the realm of light; as *ruach* it is the seat of good and evil; as *nephesh* it is immediately connected with the body and is the direct cause of its lower functions, instincts, and animal life.

Psychology.—Like Plato, Origen, etc. the Cabala teaches a pre-existence of the soul.⁹ All souls destined to enter into human bodies existed from the beginning. Clad in a spiritual garb they dwell in their heavenly abode and enjoy the view of the divine splendor of the Shechinah. With great reluctance the soul enters into the body, for as Zohar, II, 96*b*, tells us, the soul, before assuming a human body, addresses God: "Lord of the Universe! Happy am I in this world, and do not wish to go into another where I shall be a bondmaid, and be exposed to all kinds of pollutions." Here, too, we notice again the influence of Platonic and Philonian doctrines. In its original state each soul is androgynous, and is separated into male and female when it descends on earth to be born in a human body. At the time of marriage both parts are united again as they were before, and again constitute one soul (Zohar, I, 91*b*). This doctrine reminds us of Plato and Philo no less than that other (viz. of ἀνάμνησις) that the soul carries her knowledge with her to the earth, so that "every thing which she learns here below she knew already, before she entered into this world" (Zohar, III, 61*b*). Of great interest is the metempsychosis of the Cabala. How this doctrine, already espoused by the Egyptians, Pythagoreans

⁷ Zohar, III, 48*a*.

⁸ Zohar, II, 70*b*.

⁹ Compare Book of Wisdom, VIII, 20; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, II, 12, speaks of the Essenes as believing in a pre-existence of the soul. Philo's views are given in his *De somniis*, I, 642; *De gigantibus*, I, 263 f.

and Plato, came into Jewish mysticism, is not yet fully explained.¹⁹ But it is interesting to learn of the destiny of man and the universe according to the Cabalists.

It is an absolute condition of the soul to return to the Infinite Source from which it emanated, after developing on earth the perfections, the germs of which are implanted in it. If the soul, after assuming a human body, fails during its first sojourn on earth to acquire that experience for which it descends from heaven, and becomes contaminated by sin, it must re-inhabit a body again and again, till it is able to ascend in a purified state. This transmigration or *gilgul*, however, is restricted to three times. "And if two souls in their third residence in human bodies are still too weak to resist all earthly trammels and to acquire the necessary experience, they are both united and sent into one body, so that they may be able conjointly to learn that which they were too feeble to do separately. It sometimes happens, however, that it is the singleness and isolation of the soul which is the source of the weakness, and it requires help to pass through its probation. In that case it chooses for a companion a soul which has more strength and better fortune. The stronger of the two then becomes as it were the mother; she carries the sickly one in her bosom, and nurses her from her own substance, just as a woman nurses her child. Such an association is therefore called pregnancy (*ibbur*), because the stronger soul gives as it were life and substance to the weaker companion."

This doctrine of the *Superfoctatio* was especially taught by Isaac Loria or Luria. It is obvious that this doctrine of the *Ibbur* naturally led to wild superstition and fraudulent thaumaturgy. Loria himself claimed to have the soul of the Messiah ben Joseph. Connected with Loria's system is the doctrine of the *Kawânâ*, by which is meant the absorbed state of the soul in its direction towards God when performing the ceremonies, in prayer, self-mortification, in the pronouncement of the divine name and reading of the *Zohar*, whereby the bounds are broken and the fulness of blessing from the upper world is brought down upon the lower.

The world, being an expansion of the Deity's own substance, must also share ultimately that blessedness which it enjoyed in its first evolution. Even Satan himself, the archangel of wickedness, will be restored to his angelic nature, since he, too, proceeded from the Infinite Source of all things. When the last human soul has

¹⁹ According to Josephus (*Antiq.*, XVIII, 13; *Bell. Jud.*, II, 8, 14) it would seem as if the Pharisees held the doctrine of the metempsychosis, but see Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, vol. II (3d ed., 1868) p. 301; on Philo's view, see *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 561.

passed through probation, then the Messiah will appear and the great jubilee year will commence, when the whole pleroma of souls (*otzar ha-neshamoth*), cleansed and purified shall return to the bosom of the Infinite Source and rest in the "Palace of Love" (Zohar, II, 97a).

The Scripture.—The exegetical ingenuity of the Cabala is interesting to the theologian. The principle of the mystic interpretation is universal and not peculiar to one or another school, as every one will perceive in ecclesiastical history, and even in the history of Greek literature. We find it in Philo, in the New Testament, in the writings of the fathers, in the Talmud, and in the Zohar; and the more such an interpretation departed from the spirit of the sacred text, the more necessary was it to bring the scriptures to its support by distortions of their meaning.¹¹

Passing over all manner of subtleties of the pre-Zoharic times, we will consider the masterly performances of the Cabalists. According to them the letters, words and names of the scriptures contain divine mysteries of wondrous, mystical thoughts and ideas, of significant symbols and riddles, on which depends the continuance of the world. (Zohar, II, 99a). "Is it conceivable," the Zohar makes one of Simon ben Joehai's circle exclaim, "that God had no holier matters to communicate than these common things about Esau and Hagar, Laban and Jacob, Balaam's ass, Balak's jealousy of Israel, and Zimri's lewdness? Does a collection of such tales, taken in their ordinary sense, deserve the name of Torah? And can it be said of such a revelation that it utters the pure truth? If that is all the Torah contains, we can produce in our time a book as good as this, aye, perhaps better. No, no! the higher, mystical sense of the Torah is its true sense. The biblical narratives resemble a beautiful dress which enraptures fools so that they do not look beneath it. This robe, however, covers a body, i. e., the precepts of the Law, and this again a soul, the higher soul. Woe to the guilty, who assert that the Torah contains only simple stories, and therefore look only upon the dress. Blessed are the righteous, who seek the real sense of the Law. The jar is not the wine, so stories do not make up the Torah" (*ibid.*, III, 152a). Thus the Cabalists attached little importance to the literal sense; yet not a single iota was to be taken from it and nothing was to be added to it (*ibid.*, II, 99).

¹¹ For a strange interpretation of scripture in modern times, the reader is referred to Canon Wordsworth's *Commentary on Genesis and Exodus*, London, 1864, p. 52.

In order to elicit the mysteries from the scriptures, the Cabalists employed certain hermeneutical canons,¹² viz.:

1. *Gematria*,¹³ i. e. the art of discovering the hidden sense of the text by means of the numerical equivalents of the letters. Thus from the Hebrew words **וְהָיָה שְׁלוֹשָׁה** (*vchinch shetoshah*) translated "lo! three (men stood by him)" in Gen. xviii, 2, it is deduced that these three were the angels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, because the letters yield the numerical value of 701, viz. $\aleph = 6 + \eta = 5 + \beth = 50 + \eta = 5 + \psi = 300 + \beth = 30 + \omega = 300 + \eta = 5 = 701$; and the same number yield the words **אֵלֹהֵי מִיכָאֵל גַּבְרִיאֵל וְרַפְאֵל**, viz. $\aleph = 1 + \beth = 30 + \aleph = 6 + \beth = 40 + \daleth = 10 + \beth = 20 + \aleph = 1 + \beth = 30 + \daleth = 3 + \beth = 2 + \daleth = 200 + \daleth = 10 + \aleph = 1 + \beth = 30 + \aleph = 6 + \daleth = 200 + \beth = 80 + \aleph = 1 + \beth = 30 = 701$.

A like figuring we find in the Epistle of Barnabas, ch. ix, with reference to the 318 servants of Abraham, mentioned in Gen. xiv. 14. The author lays stress upon the fact that in the Hebrew the "eighteen" are mentioned first, and the "three hundred" afterwards. In the eighteen expressed by the Greek letters I = 10 and II = 8 he sees Jesus (**ΙΗΣΟΥΣ**), and in the three hundred he sees by the letter T = 300, the cross.

With this canon may be compared the "number-oracle," by means of which one can tell from the number of the letters of the name and the dates of the birth important years and days in the life of a man. Thus, for instance, Emperor William I, was born March 22, 1797; $3 + 22 + 1797 + 7$ (number of the letters of the name) = 1829, the year of marriage; $1829 + 1 + 8 + 2 + 9 = 1849$, campaign to Baden; $1849 + 1 + 8 + 4 + 9 = 1871$, coronation as emperor; $1871 + 1 + 8 + 7 + 1 = 1888$, year of death. Napoleon III, born 4, 20, 1808; $4 + 20 + 1808 + 8$ (number of the letters of the name) = 1840, the *coup* at Boulogne; $1840 + 1 + 8 + 4 + 0 = 1853$, first year as emperor; $1853 + 1 + 8 + 5 + 3 = 1870$; end of his rule.¹⁴

2. *Notarikon* (from the Latin *notarius*, a short-hand writer, one who among the Romans belonged to that class of writers who abbreviated and used single letters to signify whole words), is employed when every letter of a word is taken as an initial or abbreviation of a word. Thus, for instance, every letter of the Hebrew

¹² On the interpretation of the scriptures among the Jews in general, see my article s. v. "Scripture, Interpretation of, Jewish," in McClintock and Strong.

¹³ The word is not like *γεωμετρία* as Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, I, 324, thinks, but is derived from *γραμματεία* or *γράμμα*.

¹⁴ For a somewhat different mode compare *The Open Court*, Feb. 1909, p. 88.

first word in Genesis, בְּרֵאשִׁית, is made the initial of a word, and from "in the beginning" we obtain "in the beginning God saw that Israel should accept the law"; or the word "Adam" (ADM) is made "Adam, David, Messiah." Sometimes very curious and ingenious combinations are derived from this system. For instance the word *passim* (פַּסִּים) used in the passage "And he made a coat of (*passim*) many colors" (Gen. xxxvii. 3) is made to indicate the misfortunes which Joseph experienced in being sold by his brethren to Potiphar, Merchants, Ishmaelites, Midianites: פ = Potiphar, מ = Sochrin (merchants), י = Ishmaelites, מ = Midianites.

It appears that the Christian fathers sometimes made use of the same rule; as for instance Christ has been called by them ΙΧΘΥΣ, "fish," because these letters are the initials of the Greek words Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour." Thus St. Augustine tells us (*De civitate Dei*, XVIII, 23) that when they were speaking about Christ, Flaccianus, a very famous man, of most ready eloquence and much learning, produced a Greek manuscript, saying that it was the prophecies of the Erythrian sibyl. In this he pointed out a certain passage that had the initial letters of the lines so arranged that those words could be read in them. Then he went on and gave these verses, of which the initial letters yield that meaning, and says, "But if you join the initial letters of these five Greek words, they will make the word ἰχθῦς, that is 'fish,' in which word Christ is mystically understood, because he was able to live, that is, to exist, without sin in the abyss of this mortality as in the depth of waters." It is worthy of notice that Augustine only gives twenty-seven lines¹⁵ of the thirty-four, as contained in the *Oracula Sibyllina*, VIII, 217 ff., where the acrostic reads: Jesus Christ, Son of God (the) Saviour, (the) Cross (σταυρός). In its full form it is also given by Eusebius in the *Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*. For the benefit of the reader we subjoin Neale's translation of the acrostic as given in the *Christian Remembrancer*, October, 1861, p. 287:

"Judgment at hand, the earth shall sweat with fear:
Eternal king, the Judge shall come on high:
Shall doom all flesh: shall bid the world appear
Unveiled before his Throne. Him every eye
Shall, just or unjust, see in majesty.

"Consummate time shall view the Saints assemble
His own assessors: and the souls of men

¹⁵ English translation by M. Dodd, *City of God*, Edinburgh, 1871, where the Greek letters at the beginning of the lines are retained.

Round the great judgment-seat shall wait and tremble
 In fear of sentence. And the green earth then
 Shall turn to desert: They that see that day
 To moles and bats their gods shall cast away.

"Sea, earth, and heaven, and hell's dread gates shall burn:
 Obedient to their call, the dead return:
 Nor shall the judge unfitting doom discern.

"Of chains and darkness to each wicked soul:
 For them that have been good, the starry pole.

"Gnashing of teeth, and woe, and fierce despair
 Of such as hear the righteous Judge declare
 Deeds long forgot, which that last day shall bare.

"Then, when each darkened breast He brings to sight,
 Heaven's stars shall fall, and day be changed to night;
 Effaced the sun-ray, and the moon's pale light.

"Surely the valleys He on high shall raise;
 All hills shall cease, all mountains turn to plain;
 Vessels shall no more pass the watery ways;
 In the dread lightning parching earth shall blaze,
 Ogygian rivers seek to flow in vain:
 Unutterable woe the trumpet blast,
 Re-echoing through the ether, shall forecast.

"Then Tartarus shall wrap the world in gloom,
 High chiefs and princes shall receive their doom,
 Eternal fire and brimstone for their tomb.

"Crown of the world, sweet wood, salvation's horn,
 Rearing its beauty, shall for man be born:
 O wood, that Saints adore, and sinners scorn!
 So from twelve fountains shall its light be poured:
 Staff of the Shepherd, and victorious sword."

We may also state that words of those verses which are regarded as containing a peculiar recondite meaning are ranged in squares in such a manner as to be read either vertically or boustrophedonally beginning at the right or left hand. Again the words of several verses are placed over each other, and the letters which stand under each other are formed into new words. This is especially seen in the treatment of three verses in Exod. xiv. 19-21 (each containing 72 letters), which are believed to contain the three Pillars of the Sephiroth and the Divine Name of seventy-two words. Now, if these three verses be written out one above the other, the first from right to left, the second from left to right, and the third from right to left, they will give 72 columns of three letters each. Then each column will be a word of three letters, and as there are 72 columns,

there will be 72 words of three letters, each of which will be the 72 names of the Deity. By writing the verses all from right to left, instead of boustrophedonally, there will be other sets of 72 names obtainable. The reader who is interested in these niceties will find ample information in Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, IV, pp. 230 ff.

3. *Temurah* or permutation.—According to certain rules, one letter is substituted for another letter preceding or following it in the alphabet, and thus from one word another word of totally different orthography may be formed. Thus the alphabet is bent exactly in the middle, and one half is put over the other; and then by changing alternately the first letter or the first two letters at the beginning of the second line, twenty-two permutations are produced. These are called the "Table of the Combinations of Tziruph."

Tziruph. For example's sake we give the method called Albath, thus:

A	B	G	D	H	V	Z	Ch	T	Y	K
L	Th	Sh	R	Q	Tz	P	Ay	S	N	M

The method Abgath is thus exemplified:

A	G	D	H	V	Z	Ch	T	Y	K	L
B	Th	Sh	R	Q	Tz	P	Ay	S	N	M

The names of the twenty-two permutations are: Albath, Abgath, Agdath, Adbag, Ahbad, Avba, Azbav, Achbaz, Atbach, Aibat, Achbi, Albach, Ambal, Anbam, Asban, Aaybas, Afba, Azbaf, Akbaz, Arbak, Ashbar, Athbash. To these must be added as (23) Abgad; (24) Albam.

I will only remark that by the system called Athbash, it is found that the word *Sheshhach* in Jer. xxv. 26 is the same as Babel, and that Jerome is said to have confidently applied this system.¹⁶

Besides these canons the Cabala also sees a recondite sense in the form of the letters, as well as in the ornaments which adorn them. The more multifarious these trifles, the easier it is to arrive in every given case at a result, and the less wit or thought is required.

Although the canons mentioned above are already applied in the Talmud and Midrash, the Cabalists made a more copious use of them. The names of God became a special object of their fancy. With them they imagined they could accomplish everything and perform miracles, heal the sick, extinguish the fire, etc. The most miraculous effects were ascribed to the Tetragrammaton. Whoever

¹⁶ Hottinger possessed an entire Pentateuch explained on the principle of Athbash.

was in possession of the true pronunciation of that name could enter in relation with the upper world and receive revelations. Each letter of the sacred name was considered as something mysterious. The letter Y (of YHWH) referred to the father as creator (*abba*) and H to the mother (*imma*). Because the letter H occurred twice, they distinguished an upper and a lower mother. The permutation of the letters of the Tetragrammaton brought about a multitude of new divine names which, either spoken or written, influenced the course and laws of nature. As was the case with the name of God consisting of four letters, so it was with that consisting of twelve, twenty-two, forty-two and seventy-two letters. All were believed to contain great mysteries.¹⁷ The names of angels were treated in like manner. Thus the Cabalists greatly misused the Old Testament, especially the Thora. And, as says Professor Wünsche, by making the Bible a text-book to elicit deeper ideas, the greatest nonsense and rubbish came to light. The so-called hidden mysteries and revelations were nothing but fancies whirling in the heads of the Cabalists. The exegetical literature of the Cabala clearly proves that its representatives had completely lost the sense for a suitable understanding of the words of scripture.¹⁸

EFFECTS OF THE CABALA WITHIN JUDAISM.

It must be acknowledged that the Cabala intended to oppose philosophy and to intensify religion. But by introducing heathenish ideas it grafted on Judaism a conception of the world which was foreign to it and produced the most pernicious results. In place of the monotheistic biblical idea of God, according to which God is the creator, preserver and ruler of the world, the confused, pantheistically colored heathenish doctrine of emanation was substituted. The belief in the unity of God was replaced by the decade of the ten Sephiroth which were considered as divine substances. By no longer addressing prayers directly to God, but to the Sephiroth, a real Sephiroth-cult originated. The legal discussions of the Talmud were of no account; the Cabalists despised the Talmud, yea, they considered it as a canker of Judaism, which must be cut out if Judaism were to recover. According to the Zohar, I, 27*b*; III, 275*a*; 279*b*, the Talmud is only a bondmaid, but the Cabala a controlling mistress.

¹⁷ Compare what we stated above in connection with Abulafia.

¹⁸ A somewhat different view on the cabalistic treatment of scripture is given by the late Jewish scholar Zunz (died 1886) in his *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* (Berlin, 1832), p. 403: For the passage in English see my article "Scripture Interpretation" in McClintock and Strong, vol. IX, p. 480.

The Cabalists compared the Talmud to a hard, unfruitful rock, which when smitten yields only scanty drops that in the end become a cause of controversy; whereas the study of the Cabala is like a fresh gushing spring, which one needs only to address to cause it to pour out its refreshing contents.¹⁹

And as the Cabalists treated the Talmud, they likewise treated philosophy, which defined religious ideas and vindicated religious precepts before the forum of reason. Most Cabalists opposed philosophy. She was the Hagar that must be driven from the house of Abraham, whereas the Cabala was the Sarah, the real mistress. At the time of the Messiah the mistress will rule over the bondmaid.

But the study of the Bible was also neglected. Scripture was no longer studied for its own sake, but for the sake of finding the so-called higher sense by means of mystical hermeneutical rules.

Even the rituals were variously changed and recast. The putting on of the phylacteries and prayer-mantle (*talith*) was accompanied by the recitation of cabalistic formulas and sentences; special prayers were also addressed to the Sephiroth. Connected with all this was an extravagant, intoxicating superstition. To enable the soul to connect itself with the realm of light and its spirits, or to be transplanted after death into its heavenly abode, one underwent all manner of austere ascetical exercises. With the mysterious name of God they believed themselves enabled to heal the sick, to deliver demoniacs and to extinguish conflagrations. By application of the right formulas of prayer, man was to have power and influence on both the kingdoms of light and darkness. When the Cabalist prays, God shakes his head, changes at once his decrees, and abolishes heavy judgments. The magical names of God can even deliver the condemned and free them from their torments in their place of punishment. In this respect we even meet with the doctrine of the Catholic mass for the souls.²⁰ The Book of Psalms with its songs and prayers was especially considered as a means of producing all manner of miracles and magic, as may be seen from the *Sepher Shimmush Thehillim* (literally, "the Book of the

¹⁹ A collection of passages abusing the Talmud is given by Landauer in the *Orient*, 1845, pp. 571-574; see also Rubin, *Heidenthum und Kabbala*, Vienna, 1893, pp. 13 f.; also his *Kabbala und Agada*, *ibid.*, 1895, p. 5, where we read that according to Abulafia the Cabalists only were genuine men, and the Talmudists monkeys.

²⁰ Wünsche, whom we have followed, evidently refers to the prayer called Kaddish, for which see my article *s. v.* in McClintock and Strong, vol. XII. A very interesting article on "Jüdische Seelenmesse und Totenanrufung" is given by Dalman in *Saat auf Hoffnung* (Leipzig, 1890) pp. 169-225.

Cabalistic Application of the Psalms"), a fragment of the practical Cabala, translated by Gottfried Selig, Berlin, 1788.

This sketch of Professor Wünsche is by no means exaggerated.²¹ *Mutatis mutandis* we find the cabalistic notions among the Chasidim, a sect founded in 1740 by a certain Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer Baal-shem (i. e., "lord of the name" = *θεοῦργος*, a man who by words of conjuration and other formulas knows how to exercise a power over the visible and invisible world), also called Besht. Baal-Shem made his public appearance about 1740 in Tlusti, in the district of Czartkow, from whence he subsequently removed to Medzilboze, in Podolia. The miraculous cures and prophecies attracted attention in large circles; his mode of life, consisting of contemplation, study of the Zohar and frequent washings in rivers, soon spread a halo around him. Added to this were the many miraculous reports circulated by his disciples; for instance, that his father had been visited by the prophet Elijah to predict his birth, and that his mother was a hundred years old when she was delivered of him; that, when a youth, he had victoriously struggled with evil spirits, etc.—all of which may be found in the book *Shibche ha-Besht*, published in 1815 by the grandson of Baal-Shem, Rabbi Bär Linz. Baal-Shem²² and his successors received the name *Tsaddik*, "Saint," and his fame attracted multitudes of Jews from all parts of Poland, who submitted themselves to his guidance. As long as he lived, the sect formed one great whole, of which he was the head. After his death, which took place in 1780, it was divided into separate congregations, each of which had its own Rabbi or Tsaddik or Saint, unreserved devotion to whom is the most important of all the principles of the sect. In a word, before Pius IX was declared infallible, the Chasidim²³ already had their infallible popes, whose number is still very large in Poland, Wallachia, Moldavia, Galicia, and Palestine. Of these popes of the Chasidim, a modern Jewish writer, the late David Cassel (died 1893), says: "To the disgrace of Judaism and modern culture the Tsaddikim still go on with their disgraceful business, and are thus the most essential hindrances to the dissemination of literary progress in Galicia and Russia. There are still

²¹ Orelli in his article "Zauberei" in *Realencyklopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche*, vol. XXI, 1908, p. 618, remarks: "The Jewish Cabala has promoted the magic degeneration of the religion; to a great extent it furnished profound expressions and formulas for the exercise of superstitious arts."

²² Compare Kahana, *Rabbi Israel Baal Schem-Tob, sein Leben, kabbalistisches System und Wirken*, Sitomir, 1900.

²³ Compare Perl, *Megalleh temirin*, or *Die enthüllten Geheimnisse der Chassidim*, Lemberg, 1879; Ch. Bogratschoff, *Entstehung, Entwicklung und Prinzipien des Chassidismus*, Berlin, 1908.

thousands who behold in the Tsaddik the worker of miracles, the prophet, one who is in close communion with God and angels, and who present him with rich gifts and promulgate the wonders which they have seen. Covetousness on the one hand and spiritual narrowness on the other are the channels through which the evil is fed anew."

THE CABALA IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

As soon as the Cabala became better known, Christians betook themselves to its study and paid it the greatest attention because of the supposed agreement of its teachings with the dogmas of the Christian church. It was thought that the Cabala was the connecting link between Judaism and Christianity. The dogmas of the Trinity, of the Messiah as the Son of God and his atonement, were the salient points which especially attracted attention. The first to be drawn to the Cabala was Raymond Lully, the "Doctor Illuminatus" (1236-1315). He regarded the Cabala as a divine science and as a genuine revelation whose light is revealed to a rational soul.

The progress of Christianity towards the Cabala was greatly helped by the conversion of a large number of Jews to Christianity, "in which they recognized a closer relation to their gnostic views, and also by the Christians perceiving that gnosticism could become a powerful instrument for the conversion of the Jews." Among the converted Jews we notice Paulus de Heredia of Aragon (about 1480), author of *Iggeret ha-Sodot* or *Epistola Secretorum*, treating of the divinity, death, and resurrection of the Messiah, which has been ascribed to a certain Nechunjah ben-ha-Kanah, who lived towards the end of the second Temple. Another convert was Paul Ricci,²⁴ of the sixteenth century, the friend of Erasmus, and physician to the Emperor Maximilian I; Julius Conrad Otto, author of the "Unveiled Secrets," consisting of extracts from the Talmud and the Zohar, to prove the validity of the Christian doctrine (Nuremberg, 1805); John Stephen Rittangel, grandson of the celebrated Isaac Abravanel, the translator of the Book Jezirah into Latin (Amsterdam, 1642). Among Christians we may mention Count John Pico di Mirandola (born in 1463), author of *LXXII conclusiones cabbalisticæ*, Rome, 1486; more especially John Reuchlin (Capnio), 1455-1522. Reuchlin, the first German scholar who studied the Cabala, wrote two cabalistic treatises, entitled *De Verbo Mirifico* (Basel, 1494), and *De Arte cabbalistica* (Hagenau, 1516).²⁵

²⁴ See my article *s. v.* in McClintock and Strong.

²⁵ These and some other treatises of the same kind are collected by Pistorius in a collection entitled *Artis cabbalisticæ scriptores*, Basel, 1587.

The first treatise is written in the form of a dialogue between an Epicurean philosopher named Sidonius, a Jew named Baruch, and the author, who is introduced by the Greek name Capnio. Capnio would have it that the doctrine of the Trinity is to be found in the first verse of Genesis. He submits, if the Hebrew word *bra* (*bara*), which is translated "created," be examined, and if each of the three letters composing this word be taken as the initial of a separate word, we obtain the expression *ben, ruach, ab*, i. e., Son, Spirit, Father. Upon the same principle we find the two persons of the Trinity in the word *abu* (*eben*), "stone," occurring in Ps. cxviii. 22—"the stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner," by dividing the three letters composing the word *abu* into *ab ben*, i. e., Father, Son.

The second treatise is also in the form of a dialogue between a Mohammedan, a Pythagorean philosopher and a Jew. The dialogue is held at Frankfort where the Jew lives to whom the others come to be initiated into the mysteries of the Cabala. The whole is a more matured exposition and elaboration of the ideas hinted at in the first treatise.

How the truths of Christianity can be derived from the Talmud and the Cabala, the Franciscan Pietro Galatino endeavored to prove in his treatise *De Arcanis Catholice Veritatis contra obstinatissimam Judaeorum nostrae tempestatis perfidiam* (Ortona di Mare, 1518).

Much as Lully, Mirandola, Reuchlin, and others had already done to acquaint the Christian world with the secrets of the Cabala, none of these scholars had given translations of any portions of the Zohar. To this task Knorr Baron von Rosenroth betook himself by publishing the celebrated work *Kabbala Denudata* ("the Cabala Unveiled"), in two large volumes, the first of which was printed in Sulzbach, 1677-78, the second at Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1684, giving a Latin translation of the Introduction to and the following portion of the Sohar: the Book of Mysteries; the Great Assembly; the Small Assembly;²⁶ Joseph Gikatilla's Gate of Light (*shaar orah*); Vital's Doctrine of Metempsychosis (*ha-gilgulim*), and the Tree of Life (*etz chayim*); Cordovero's Garden of Pomegranates (*pardes rim-monim*); Abraham Herera's Gate of Heaven (*sha-ar ha shamayim*); Naphtali ben Jacob's Valley of the King (*emeq ha bacha*); Naphtali Cohen's Vision of the Priest (*maré Kohen*) etc., etc. with elaborate annotations, glossaries and indices. Knorr von Rosenroth has also collected all the passages of the New Testament which contain similar doctrines to those propounded by the

²⁶ These three parts are Englished by Mathers.

Cabala. In spite of its many drawbacks²⁷ the work has been made use of by later scholars, especially by Chr. Schöttgen in his *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (Dresden, 1733) and *Theologia Judaeorum de Messia* (*ibid.*, 1742).

The powerful preponderance of the religious and ecclesiastical interests, as well as those of practical politics which became perceptible in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, giving to the mind a positive impulse, and to the studies a substantial foundation, arrested the further development of the Cabala; and thus it came about that in the course of time the zeal for cabalistic studies among Christians has cooled. It has become generally understood that the Cabala and Christianity are two different things. The idea of God according to the writings of the Old and New Testaments is entirely different. The same is the case with the notion of creation. When the first triad of the Sephiroth (Crown, Wisdom and Intelligence) is referred to the three persons of the Deity, their inner immanent relation is not thereby fully expressed, as Christianity teaches it. The three Sephiroth only represent three potencies of God or three forms of his emanation, the other Sephiroth are also such divine powers and forms. One can therefore rightly say that the Cabala teaches not the Trinity, but the Ten-Unity of God. Also the other characteristics, when e. g. the Zohar ascribes to God three heads; or when it speaks of a God-Father (*abba*) of a God-Mother (*imma*) and of a God-Son; or when we are told (Zohar, III, 262a: comp. 67a) that "there are two, and one is connected with them, and they are three; but in being three, they are one," this does not coincide in the least with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.²⁸

In one codex of the Zohar we read on the words "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts" (Is. vi. 3): "the first 'holy' refers to the Holy Father; the second to the Holy Son; and the third to the Holy Ghost"; but this passage is now omitted from the present recensions of the Zohar, and has been regarded by some Jewish writers as an interpolation.²⁹

²⁷ Buddens in *Introductio in Historiam Philosophiae Hebraeorum* (Halle 1702) calls Knorr von Rosenroth's work "confusum et obscurum opus, in quo necessaria cum non necessariis utilia cum inutilibus, confusa sunt, et in unam velut chaos conjuncta." Knorr von Rosenroth has also written a number of hymns.

²⁸ Compare also Bischoff, *Die Kabbalah*, p. 26.

²⁹ Compare Joel, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Sohar*, Leipsic, 1849, pp. 240 ff.—The Zoharic passages referring to the Trinity are given in the original with a German translation in *Auszüge aus dem Buche Sohar* (by Tholuck; revised by Biesenthal), Berlin, 1857; 4th. ed., 1876; also by Pauli, *The Great Mystery; or How Can Three Be One*, London, 1863.

As to the doctrine of Christ, the God incarnate—it cannot be paralleled with the confused doctrine of Adam Kadmon, the primordial man. According to the Christian notion the reconciliation is effected only through Christ, the Son of God; according to the Cabala man can redeem himself by means of a strict observance of the law, by asceticism and other means whereby he influences God and the world of light in a mystical manner. For the benefit of the reader we give the following passages which speak of the atonement of the Messiah for the sins of people, passages which are given as the explanation of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. “When the righteous are visited with sufferings and afflictions to atone for the sins of the world, it is that they might atone for all the sins of this generation. How is this proved? By all the members of the body. When all members suffer, one member is afflicted in order that all may recover. And which of them? The arm. The arm is beaten, the blood is taken from it, and then the recovery of all the members of the body is secured. So it is with the children of the world; they are members of one another. When the Holy One, blessed be he, wishes the recovery of the world, he afflicts one righteous from their midst, and for his sake all are healed. How is this shown? It is written—‘He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities. . . . and with his stripes we are healed’ (Is. liii. 5).” Zohar, III, 218*a*.

To the same effect is the following passage: “Those souls which tarry in the nether garden of Eden hover about the world, and when they see suffering or patient martyrs and those who suffer for the unity of God, they return and mention it to the Messiah. When they tell the Messiah of the afflictions of Israel in exile, and that the sinners among them do not reflect in order to know their Lord, he raises his voice and weeps because of those sinners, as it is written, ‘he is wounded for our transgressions’ (Is. liii. 5). Whereupon those souls return and take their place. In the garden of Eden there is one place which is called the palace of the sick. The Messiah goes into this palace and invokes all the sufferings, pain and afflictions of Israel to come upon him, and they all come upon him. Now if he did not remove them thus and take them upon himself, no man could endure the sufferings of Israel, due as punishment for transgressing the Law; as it is written—‘Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows,’ etc. (Is. liii. 4 with Rom. xii. 3, 4). When the children of Israel were in the Holy Land they removed all those sufferings and afflictions from the world by their prayers and sacrifices, but now the Messiah removes them from the

world." (Zohar, II, 212*b*). With reference to these passages³⁰ which speak of the atonement of the Messiah for the sins of the people, which are given in the Zohar as the explanation of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, Professor Dalman³¹ remarks that the Jews reject and object to cabalistic statements as something foreign to genuine Judaism. The theosophic speculations of the Cabala are at least just as Jewish as the religious philosophical statements of Bachja or Maimonides; yes, it seems to us that the God of revelation and of scripture is more honestly retained in the former than in the latter, where he becomes a mathematical One without attribute and thereby may satisfy a superficial reason, but leaves the heart empty. That these Jewish thinkers, influenced by Aristotle, had no inclination to find in Is. liii an expiating mediator, is only too inexplicable. He, who by his own strength can soar into the sphere of "intelligences" and thus bring his soul to immortality, needs no mediator. But we are concerned here not with a philosophical or theosophical thought-complex, but the simple question whether the prophet speaks in Is. liii of a suffering mediator of salvation. The answer of the Cabalists at any rate agrees with the testimony of many of them.

What are we to think of the Cabala? That there is a relationship between it and neo-Platonism is obvious. Erich Bischoff³² thinks that the Cabala represents a peculiar monism, which in some degree has influenced modern philosophy. In ethical respects it contains many fruitful and sublime thoughts, often indeed in fanciful wording. But as magic it has been of great influence on all kinds of superstitions and even on occultistic tendencies. It offers a highly interesting object of study whose closer investigation is rendered more difficult on account of the abstruse manner of representation and the many magic and mystic accessories. But that which is valuable is sufficient to insure for it a lasting interest.

³⁰ A collection of the passages referring to the atoning work of the Messiah is given in *Auszüge aus dem Buche Sohar*, pp. 35 f., more especially in Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias*, Leipsic, 1870, pp. 95-105; and by Dalman, "Das Kommen des Messias nach dem Sohar" (in *Saat auf Hoffnung*), Leipsic, 1888, pp. 148-160.

³¹ In his *Jesaja 53, das Prophetenwort von Sühnleiden des Heilandes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der synagogalen Literatur*, Leipsic, 1890.

³² The author of *Die Kabbalah. Einführung in die jüdische Mystik und Geheimwissenschaft*, Leipsic, 1903.

THE FISH IN BRAHMANISM AND BUDDHISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN India the most important story which refers to the fish as an emblem of the highest god, as a saviour of mankind who safely conducts his chosen ones over the ocean of death, is a myth told in the Mahabharata, Book III, page 187 ff. In different editions there are different versions, but they all agree in their main points.

According to Professor Richard Pischel,¹ the oldest version is recorded in the Satapalhbrahmana I, 8, 1-10 where the legend reads as follows:

“One morning when Manu was given water to wash his hands he found in it a little fish that spoke to him as follows: ‘Take care of me and I will save thee.’ ‘From what wilt thou save me?’ asked Manu. The fish replied, ‘A deluge will drown all creatures and I will save thee from it.’ Manu asked ‘How shall I take care of thee?’ The fish answered, ‘So long as we are small many dangers threaten us. One fish swallows another. First keep me in a pitcher and when I am too large for it dig a ditch and put me in that. When I am too large for the ditch take me to the ocean where I shall be beyond all danger.’ Quickly the fish grew into a *jhasa*, which is the greatest among the fish. ‘In such and such a year’ said the fish, ‘the flood will come. Then build a ship and call on me. When the floods rise enter into the ship and I will save thee.’ When the fish was grown Manu brought him down to the sea and in the year indicated he constructed a ship and then called on the fish. When the floods came he entered the ship. Then the fish swam up to the ship and Manu fastened the ship’s rope to his horn. After a while they arrived upon the Northern Mountains, and the fish said: ‘I have saved thee. Now tie thy ship to a tree so that while thou art on the mountain the water can not cut thee off. Come down from the mountain when the water falls.’ Manu did as he was bidden, and

¹ *Der Ursprung des christlichen Fischesymbols* (Berlin, 1905).

this place on the Northern Mountains is even to-day called 'the Descent of Manu.' The floods destroyed all creatures and Manu alone survived."

The story further continues that Manu prayed and fasted, anxious to procure posterity. He performed the cooking offering and from the offering which he made of melted butter, sour milk, curds and cheese thrown into the water there originated after a year a woman called Ida, and her foot-prints were melted butter. Both Mitra and Varuna desired that Ida should consider herself as their daughter, but she refused. Coming to Manu she delivered herself to him to be his daughter and called herself "Prayer." By her Manu begot the human race. Thus he became the father of mankind and the originator of the first religious sacrifice.

In the Mahabharata (§ 186), the same story is told.² Manu acquires merit by hard penance. He then saves a little fish who appears on the banks of the river and calls for protection. The fish grows rapidly and has to be placed in deeper water until finally he lives in the ocean. Then he foretells the deluge and advises that a ship be built. On leaving Manu he says: "This must thou do. Fare thee well, I depart. Without me thou canst not cross the great floods. Of these my words thou must have no doubt." Manu builds the ship and when the flood comes he enters with the seven *rishis* (sages). He thinks of the fish who at once makes his appearance and Manu ties the rope to his horn. Then the ship is towed for many years through the floods and at last reaches the highest mountain of the Himalayas, which therefore even to-day bears the name Naubandhana, "the Tying of the Ship."

When the fish leaves the seven *rishis* he makes this solemn utterance: "I am Brahma the Creator; there is none greater than I. Through me as a fish have ye been delivered from this danger. Through Manu all beings, demons and men, all the worlds, both the living and the dead, shall be created. By his hard penance Manu through my grace will acquire the knowledge to create all creatures, and he will not err." Having thus spoken the fish disappeared in a twinkling and Manu created the world.

In another version (quoted by Pischel) the divinity of the fish is recognized by Manu as soon as he acquires his tremendous size. Then Manu addressed him with fear and trembling: "Thou art some God, or perhaps even Vasudeva (the Good Lord). How could

²We follow the translation of Pratap Chandra Ray, Calcutta, Bharata Press, 1889.



FISH INCARNATION OF VISHNU.

The original is in the Indian Museum Collection and comes from Garhwa in the district of Allahabad. It is mentioned in the *Arch. Surv. Rep. of India*, III, p. 57, and in the *N.-W. Provinces List*, p. 136.

any one else grow thus? Whose body could develop to 20 million *yajannas*? Thou art made manifest in the shape of a fish. Thou overawest me, oh Keshava, (Hairy One),³ Lord of the World, Home of the World, homage be to thee! Thus addressed, the holy Janardana⁴ in the shape of a fish replies: "Well indeed, oh guiltless one, hast thou recognized the truth." Thereupon the story continues as in the versions previously told.



From Moor.



From Picart.

VISHNU'S FISH INCARNATION.

In the *Naradapancharata*, IV, 3, 57, the fish is called Vishnu and is spoken of as "the god in the shape of a fish, endowed with a great horn, who holds the ship containing the seat of the world, who playfully crossed through the ocean, the author of the four Vedas."

Professor Pischel also refers to a sculpture (p. 15) of a large black slate standing erect in the soil near the temple Mummura of

³ Epithet of Vishnu and Krishna, presumably with reference to the halo of light with which their heads are surrounded.

⁴ Literally "the harasser of men," an epithet also of Krishna, which we may assume has the significance of an avenger, he who punishes, he who sends visitations.

Chimmamastika Devi in the Tavjha Mahalla of Lalitapattana where Vishnu is represented as a fish. The place is the present Patan which lies one and one half miles East of Katmandu, the capital of Nepal.


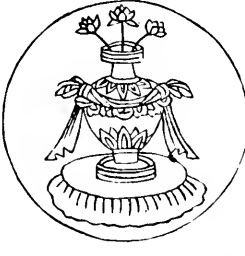
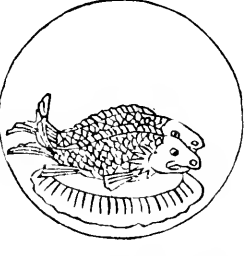

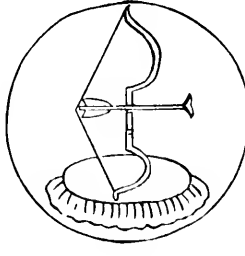

In close connection with the reverence of the ancient Hindu people for a fish as a symbol of the Good Lord, stands the belief in Vishnu's first avatar in the shape of a fish. Vishnu, the second person of the Hindu trinity, corresponding to the Christian God the Son, is the divinity of successive incarnations and first appears as a fish. In former centuries Vishnu was pictured simply as a horned fish without any indication of a human body, but since the fourteenth century the god in his first avatar is pictured as a fish whose upper part is a human body, or as a man emerging from a fish's jaw.

Sometimes Vishnu is represented as a fish holding in one hand the Vedas. In other pictures he is four-armed, holding in one hand a wheel, in another a disk, in the third a club and in the fourth a lotus flower, but none of these pictures which are common now all over India find any justification in the ancient literature on the subject, where, with the exception of Hemadri, Vishnu's first avatar is simply spoken of as being in the shape of a fish. Hemadri (in *Chaturvargachintamin* I, 327) says that for votive offerings Vishnu should be represented as a fish with two arms holding in one a shell, in the other a club.

In a religious ceremony performed on the 12th day of the month Margashiras, the first month of the Indian year, Vishnu is represented in the shape of a golden fish. Four priests officiate, representing the four Vedas, viz., the Rig Veda, the Sama Veda, the Yajur Veda and the Atharva Veda. Four golden pitchers of water are put up decorated with garlands and filled with sesame seed to represent the four oceans. In the middle stands an ornamental bench draped in cloth and a bowl filled with water in which the golden fish that symbolizes Vishnu is placed, and he is addressed as follows: "As thou, O god in the shape of a fish, has saved the Vedas hidden in the nether world so save also me, oh Hairy One (Keshava)!" The four pitchers are then presented to the four priests and the golden fish is given to the teacher of the man who performs the ceremony.

Nepal is now a Buddhist country, but it has preserved the traditional reverence for the fish as an avatar of Vishnu, by transferring it upon Buddha, the Lord of Compassion. There we find one of the oldest representations of Vishnu which shows him in the form of

a fish. It is preserved⁵ in the middle of a little pond near Katmandu, which was called Buddha Nilkarth, i. e., the submerged Shiva, situated in Nepal which country for some time was zealously de-

<p>宮 蟲 蝎 七</p>	<p>宮 瓶 寶 九</p>	<p>宮 魚 雙 七</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">七</p> 	<p style="text-align: right;">九</p> 	<p style="text-align: right;">七</p> 
<p>宮 量 秤 十</p>	<p>宮 弓 十</p>	<p>宮 蠍 摩 八</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">十</p> 	<p style="text-align: right;">十</p> 	<p style="text-align: right;">八</p> 

SIX MANSIONS OF THE CHINESE ZODIAC.

voted to Vishnuism. A little brook, called Budramati, flows out of the pond and in the middle of it lies an image of Vishnu. Near the southern gate of Katmandu stands a temple of Vishnu where the

⁵ As we learn from Pischel, (*loc. cit.*, pp. 15-16).

god is worshiped under the name *Mina-Narayana*, "Vishnu as a fish," a designation which the Buddhists have transferred upon *Avalokiteshvara*, the "Lord of Compassion" (literally, the looking-down Lord) who in common parlance is known under the name *Matsyendranatha*, "the Lord as prince of fishes."

In Indian mythology *Agni* was once betrayed by a fish when he hid himself from the gods in the waters. So *Agni* cursed all fishes,



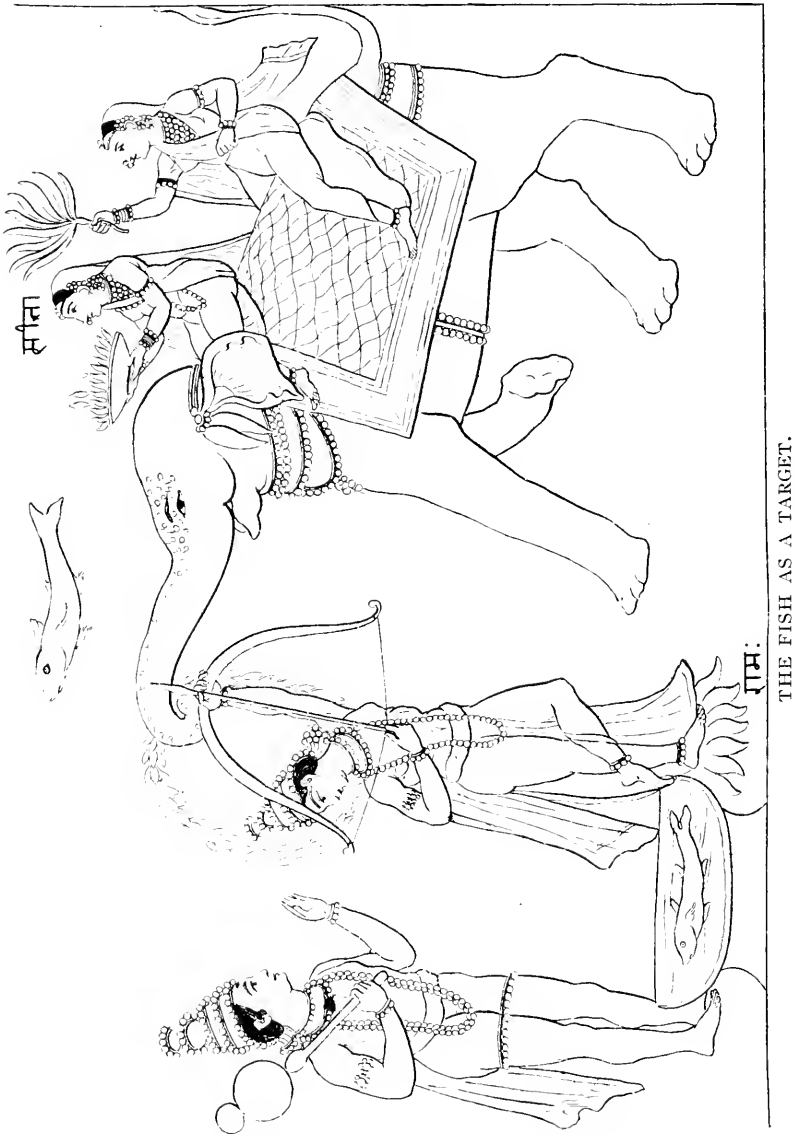
STATUE OF KWAN YON.

With two dragons on the pedestal.

condemning them to be killed by cunning devices. In the *Jatakas* we read that the path of the fish in the water is as difficult to trace as the character of woman. And the same simile is used with the opposite application for the pious in Brahman literature, where it is said: "As the traces of the birds in the air and of fishes in the water are invisible, so is also the path of him who knows Brahma and of the pious man when he dies," which means that his trace is

no longer found in this world, for he passes into Nirvana or becomes one with Brahma.

The Pisces of the zodiac have been represented as two fishes



ever since the time of ancient Babylonia. They are still so pictured in modern atlases of the starry heavens and appear in the same shape in both the old Indian and Chinese calendars. It will be difficult

or perhaps impossible to say why the fish has been doubled in this connection, because the reason of this duplication dates back to a prehistoric age.

The two fishes have become a good omen in ancient India and are not infrequently found on monuments and as a design for heraldic devices. An inscription of King Suridara Pandyadeva⁶ in the temple of Vishnu (Ranganatha) in Sriranga, in the district of Trichinopolis, Dekkan, shows on either side the image of a fish. Professor Pischel mentions two fishes on the bases of columns in a Brahman temple at Ghumli,⁷ and also among other symbols at the gate of a Jaina cave in Junagadh. The same authority tells of two fishes facing a swastika on a Jain votive tablet from Matura, and says that two also may be seen on a Chinese statue of Kwan Yon or, as she is called in India, Avalokiteshvara, though in the latter case they are apparently dragons, not as Pischel says "fishes."⁸ A field with two fishes was the coat of arms of the Pandya kings as can be seen from their frequent appearance on Pandya coins.⁹

The fish is used as a good omen and as such it is represented on illustrations as a target. An illustration of this kind is here reproduced from the *Hindu Pantheon* (page 52). Moor explains the scene as a shooting-match in which Rama contends for Sita's hand but Pischel suggests the explanation is doubtful because this incident is not mentioned in any version of the Rama legend. He thinks that the illustration refers not to Rama but possibly to Arjuna (Pischel, page 20).

Buddha is reported to have been incarnated three times as a fish. According to Jataka 75, he was once king of the fishes, and happened to be born at a time when a long drought threatened the life of all his fellow fish. Not only the fields dried up but also ponds and lakes. The fish were stuck in the mud and were being devoured by crows and other birds when the king of the fishes came to the rescue. He rose out of the mud, opened his eyes and by vowing that he had never eaten other fish, not even the smallest one, and had never done any harm to any living creature, he compelled the god Indra to pour down rain from heaven.

In Jataka 114, Buddha as the fish Mitacinti saved two of his

⁶ He ascended the throne 1251. Cf. Hultzsch, *El. VI*, p. 306, No. 11; *A List of Inscriptions of So. India* (Calcutta, 1904) p. 144. Note 5.

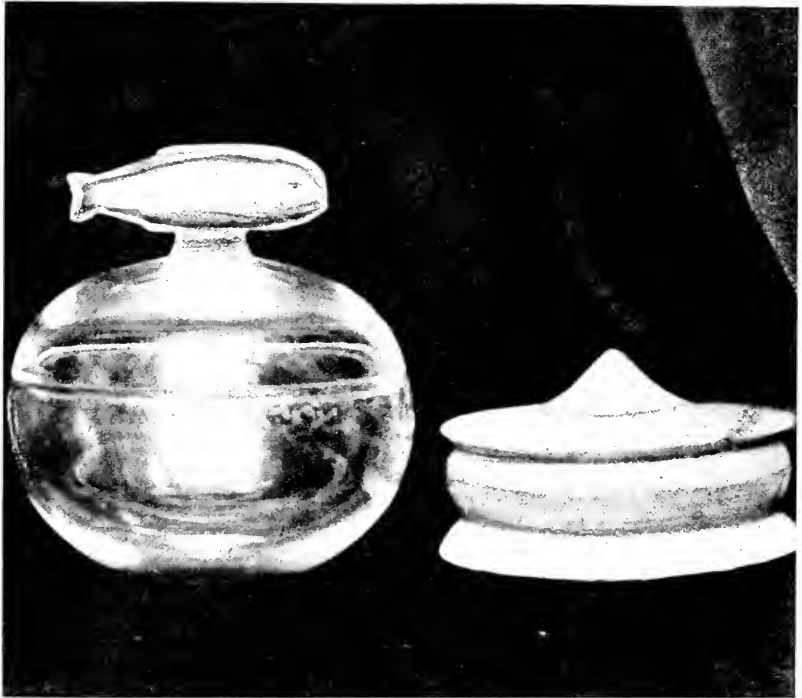
⁷ See Bühler *El. II*, 312; *Burgess Archeological Survey of Western India*, II, Plate XLIII, No. 9 and 17.

⁸ See illustration on page 349.

⁹ Taylor, *A Catalogue raisonné* (Madras, 1857-1862, III, 54; Hultzsch *El. III*, p. 8; Rapson, *Indian Coins* (Strasburg, 1898) 124 & 126. Table V, 10 & 13.

companions from the net of fishes, and in Jataka 236, he rescued the fish from the hypocrite crane, who sat down on the shore of the pond and by his pretended pity acquired the confidence of the fish.

None of these tales are of special importance but all of them confirm the traditional reverence in which the fish is held, so that even the Buddhists do not hesitate to have the Buddha himself incarnated as a fish who by his virtues saves his fellow fishes from perdition.



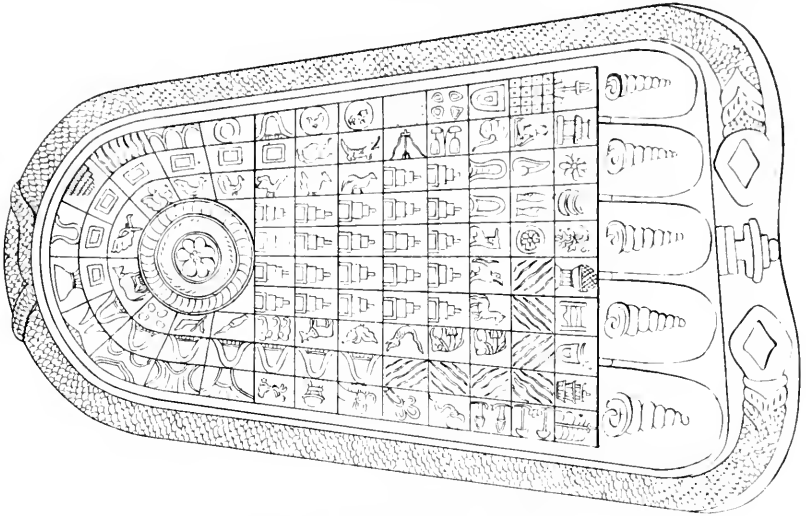
CRYSTAL BOWL FOUND IN BUDDHA'S TOMB.

The miraculous power of the rohita fish is well characterized in the Buddhist story¹⁹ of King Padmaka, a pious and just ruler whose subjects suffered from an epidemic of jaundice. The physicians declared that the only medicine that could be of avail was the flesh of a rohita fish, but in spite of all search no rohita could be found. Then the king decided to sacrifice himself for the salvation of his people. He mounted the highest pinnacle of his palace and made a vow to be reborn in his next life as a rohita fish. Then

¹⁹ Related in the Avadana Jataka.

he threw himself down. According to the earnestness of his desire he was reborn in the sand of the river as a big rohita fish. When the news became known the people came and cutting off the flesh of the fish cured themselves of their disease. Having saved them from perdition, he made his identity known and they praised the miraculous power of the Buddha.

The fish has also been used in India for funerary purposes and the most ancient instance of it has been excavated from the tomb of Buddha himself.¹¹ It is a beautiful crystal bowl, the lid of which has on its top a fish which serves as a handle. This crystal bowl stood by the side of the urn containing the sacred ashes and bears



FOOTPRINT OF THE BUDDHA.

From Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 204.

the dedication of the Shakyas, brothers and sisters with their women and children. The lid is ornamented with gilt stars and was surrounded with little urns, and a box containing offerings of various kinds, ornaments of gold and silver, gems, crystals, stars, flowers and statuettes, birds and elephants, pieces of leafgold bearing the picture of a lion, and other symbols. The fish on top of the lid can here only have served as a protective symbol, a kind of charm destined to ward off all harm from the relics in the crystal box.

The emblem of two fishes as a good omen is also found on various Buddhist monuments, especially on the footprints of the Buddha, where the dolphin as well as the two fishes appears among

¹¹ See the article "Buddhist Relics" in *The Open Court*, XXIV, 31.

many other symbols. Here we also find chakras or wheels, tiaras, bowls of the Buddhist priests in which they receive their provisions, a fan used by the priests in place of an umbrella, the palace in the form of a square and supposed to be seven stories in height, the royal standard, trumpets to announce the arrival of kings, the stone couch of Buddha, flags, ensigns, the royal palanquin, a salver, the large fan of kings, Mt. Meru, the seven great rivers, the six mansions or heavens of the celestial abode, the four great divisions of the world, the great sea, the two thousand smaller divisions surrounding the four great ones, two golden fishes which swim the ocean between Mt. Meru and the four divisions, etc. etc.¹²

Although the Buddhist monks do not eat meat or fish, the dinner gong in monasteries in China as well as Japan is usually made in the shape of a fish. For the same purpose wooden drums are also used, and they too are carved in the shape of a fish. Thus the fish is commonly considered a sacred symbol, but the meaning of it has been lost and Buddhist philosophers when asked to explain the significance of the fish have given various explanations which, however, are nothing but ingenious afterthoughts. The custom must be very ancient for we find a fantastic legend adduced as an explanation of it in the Vibhasha Shastra, one of the Abhidharmas reported to have been compiled under King Kanishka, of the third Buddhist council which was convened in the first century of the Christian era.

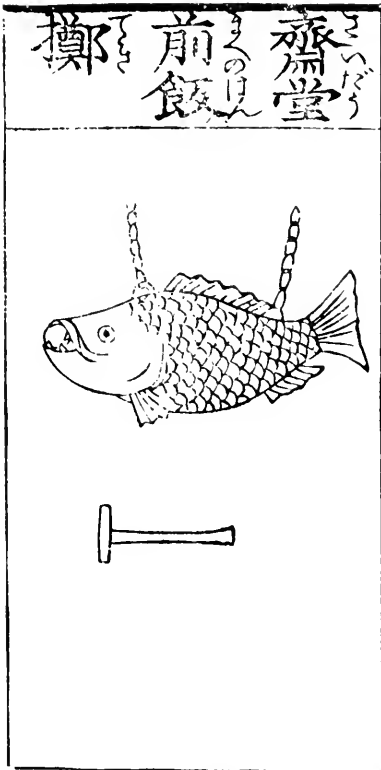
We reproduce here from a Buddhist picture book published in Japan two pictures, one of a fish-gong, the other a fish-drum, as used to-day in Buddhist monasteries. The inscription over the drum is an abbreviated account of the Vibhasha Shastra, which in Mr. Teitaro Suzuki's translation reads as follows:

"There was once a Buddhist monk in ancient India who neglected to study the Dharma. On this account he was reborn as a big fish, and on his back there grew a huge tree, which was extremely annoying to him. One day his former teacher passed him by on a boat, and the monk-fish who attributed the cause of his suffering to the wilful indifference of his teacher tried to wreak vengeance on him by raising a tempest. Being asked by his teacher why he did so the fish replied, 'You neglected to instruct me in the Dharma in my former existence, and for that reason I have to endure this unspeakable torture.' But the teacher explained how unreasonable the monk was, saying that the neglect was not the teacher's but the

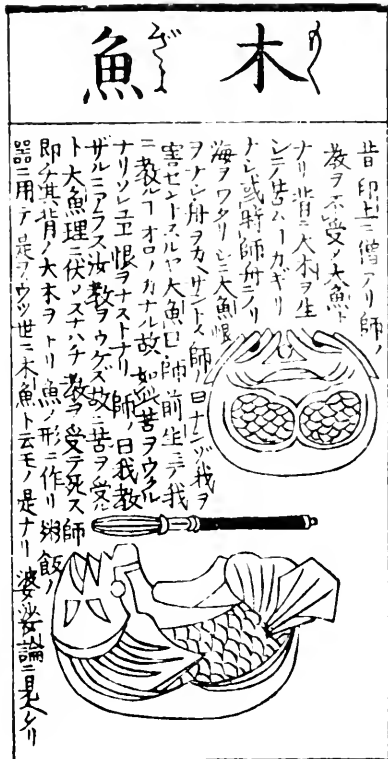
¹² For further explanation see Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus*, pages 208-212.

disciple's. When the monk-fish saw his fault he submitted to his teacher's instructions and died. The latter felled the huge tree that had grown on the back of the fish and made of it a large gong, which was used to call the monks together at meal time."

This story invented in explanation of the use of the fish as a gong is undoubtedly very old. It is assuredly not indigenous in China but has been imported by Buddhist missionaries from India.



FISH GONG.



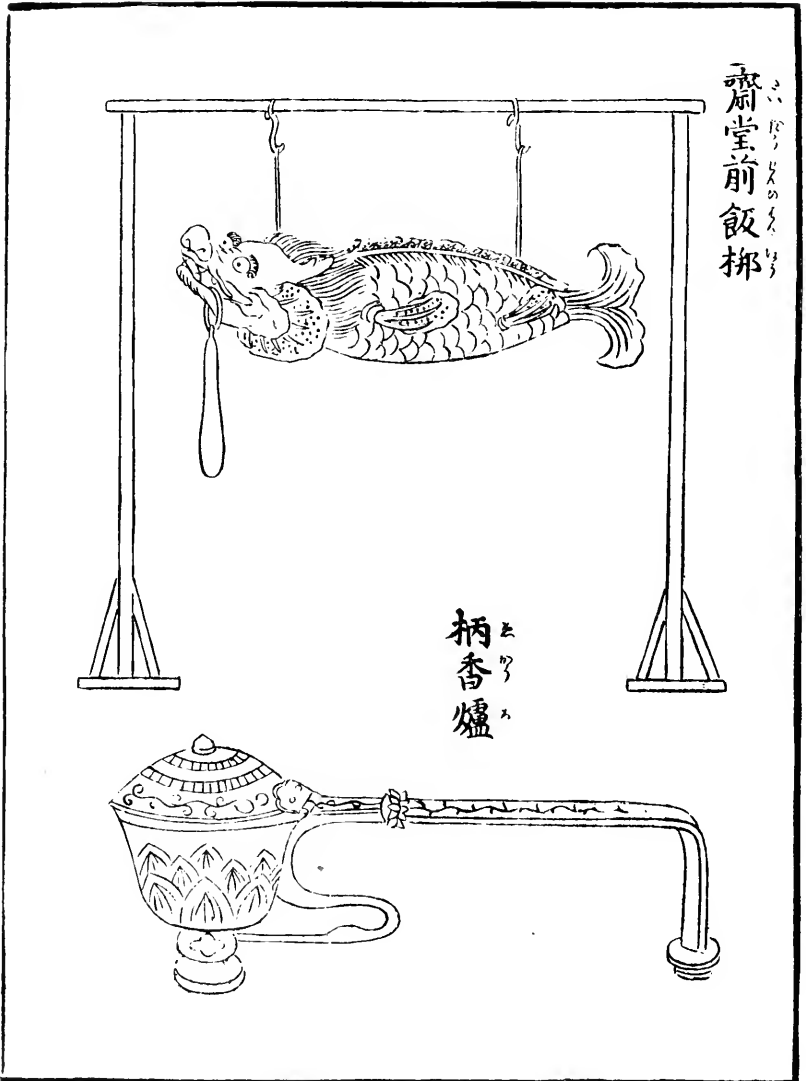
FISH DRUM.

The inscriptions read "Dining Hall, Front, Meal Gong" and "Wooden iFsh."

The source dates back to a pre-Christian age, and is obviously not the true reason why fish gongs are used for dinner bells, but, as is frequently the case in similar instances, was a mere afterthought to explain an ancient established custom.

Another reason given for always making these gongs in monasteries in the shape of a fish is attributed to a Chinese priest, the Master Wu Pien, who is reported to have said: "The fish never shuts his eyes by day or by night, and thus those who become converted

and lead a new life abandon all sleep and are bound to reach the path of perfection in constant watchfulness by day and by night.”



FISH SHAPED GONG.

Both explanations prove that the original significance of the fish must have been lost when these reasons were invented. Wu Pien's argument is simply the pious contemplation of a thinker who knows

that the fish is regarded with religious awe and tries to offer a reason that would satisfy his own curiosity and that of other people.

The custom of the fish-gong as well as the stories about it must therefore be regarded as evidence of the significance of the fish in the religious circles of a pre-Buddhist age. It was retained by sheer habit as is the case with other customs such as the tonsure which is pre-Buddhist and pre-Christian and continues in both religions although it has lost its significance.



CHINESE REPRESENTATION OF BUDDHA AS A FISHERMAN.

Christians are called "the little fish" and Christ is represented as a fisherman, while he promises his apostles that they shall be "fishers of men." It is a remarkable coincidence that in the Mahayana scriptures Buddha too is spoken of as a fisherman who catches fish, drawing them out of the ocean of Samsara into the light of salvation. This explains the strange fact that there are Buddhist pictures and figures which represent Buddha with rod and hook in the attitude of fishing—a highly un-Buddhistic action.

IMMEDIACY.

BY FREDERIC DREW BOND.

THEORIES of perception have been confronted by a seeming contradiction. On the one hand, the sight of an object appears to the beholder to occur without the intermediation of any other thing or of any other process. On the other hand, it is certain that waves of light fall on the retina of the eye and excite certain changes in the optic nerve when vision occurs, and it would seem that this impingement of light must be adverted to first as a change in the eye itself—in a word, as a “sensation.” From such sensations felt at the retina it would seem as though, at the best, there could be but a very rapid inference to that part of the physical world before one’s face as an assumed cause of their occurrence. Indeed, it is certain that our knowledge of the world has actually grown from earliest childhood in some such manner. Of course, beside the knowledge gained through the eye itself, other knowledge gained through the sensibility of the skin, through movement, through the muscular sense and through possibly other factors is added thereto. But as it is through eyesight that a view is held firmly in front of us and made, by this fact of permanence, different from other sorts of knowledge, it is to vision that attention must be chiefly given in attempting to untangle the matter.

Now, no matter how quickly we may assume sight of anything to occur it seems hard to get beyond the fact that the physical change must first of all be known as a sensation—that is, as an affection of the part of the body where it first happened; and that the perception of its cause must be later—an inference becoming quicker and quicker and more thorough each time an act of sight has occurred from birth, but which, no matter how shortened, must in some form always be there.

Yet if we accept the testimony of consciousness in the matter, nothing becomes more certain, the closer we examine it, than that no

inference, no reasoning of the most rudimentary or most abbreviated sort, occurs when we open our eyes to a view; the sight is instant, immediate. That something very like an inference did, in some factors at least, occur in childhood has nothing to do with the fact that at present every trace of it has vanished. What then does happen now when we look at an object?

To try and understand the matter, let us take an analogous instance which may throw some light on the subject. If one will recall his state of mind when absorbed in reading some intensely interesting argument or exposition, it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion that the knowledge derived from the printed page entered the mind directly; there was no direct consciousness of letters or words, sentences or paragraphs. We seem to see through the print, as it were, into the meaning behind it. It is true that the direction of our attention to the argument is conditioned by the print before us in a way apparently like that in which our perception of a stereoscopic view without the aid of the appropriate optical instrument is conditioned by the disagreeable squint of the eyes to see in two directions. But just as the stereoscopic view is directly perceived, so is the argument.

Now it is certain that the argument could not be perceived without the existence of the words printed. Nor could these words have been perceived in the past when learning them as a child, without the letters of which they are made; and again one step farther back, each letter itself depends for its existence on certain peculiarities of relative shape and size. Finally, each and every one of these factors, the shapes of the letters, the letters themselves, the words, had to be known before their meanings when combined could be learned. All this is obvious enough. Yet this vast complex process is non-existent in reading. It might be said that the original inference from relative forms of the letters and thence to words has been leaped over, so that now the inference is from the original forms of the letters to the argument at once. Similarly, it might be argued that we jump from a sensation on the retina at once to the perception of the sight which it connotes. Undoubtedly this argument simplifies matters; it is a step in the right direction. Yet it too has still the fatal difficulty of harking back to an "original sensation" from which in some way or other we make a lightning-like inference that no one ever suspected he performed till induced to think so by a theory. Whereas, if mature consciousness declares anything, it declares that this "original sensation" as now occurring is a myth. It simply does not exist. I open my eyes and see the avenue of trees

shade into the distance. But this view is direct, instant. The waves of light are the accompaniment of no sensation in the eyeball at all. They accompany immediately and directly the sight of the avenue, just as the page of the book may (if the book is interesting enough) excite directly the argument. It is not that an "original sensation" now occurring is the premise of a consequent, developed perception; rather is it that what was the "original sensation" (either in childhood or among far distant, lower forms of life in the past) is gone. Where it once was is now a perception. How can this be?

To understand this, let us ask first of all what we really mean by a sensation. For if by sensation we mean "feeling"—like pleasure or pain (not *a* pleasure or *a* pain) or like emotion—then a perception could not develop from such sensation, for feeling (an affection of the subject) cannot become knowledge (an intuition of the object). It is true enough that in common speech the word sensation often covers feeling as well as knowledge, while it is hard to say with some writers whether the possibility of this distinction is at all admitted. The fact is that the sensation itself is simply knowledge, at the very lowest, of some physical affection of some part of the body—it is knowledge, whether it be knowledge possessed by a jelly-fish or by a human being. Always the sensation means something either to jelly-fish or human being,—even if the meaning be merely that something is happening. There is hardly a stronger proof of this fact than the existence of the unnatural, i. e., unusual, feeling of pleasure or pain which hypnotism can excite on the occasion of a physical stimulus which ordinarily would be accompanied by feeling of a different sort. As soon as there is a little further development of mind above that of primitive organisms, a sensation means that something is happening to the subject at the surface of the body and is viewed by him in a certain relation to the rest of the body and to its physical needs.

But this physical agitation of a part of the surface of the body, though primitively it has this primary meaning of reference merely to that fact itself or to the physical needs of the body, is not restricted to such meaning. Other meanings to the subject may arise as circumstances change and as the beholding mind evolves. Now it is to the later meanings in the course of the development of mind that we have come to advert and especially is this so in the case of sight.

Thus the argument comes to this: We see immediately because, while a certain physical motion in the retina and optic nerve meant primitively to the subject that the eye was somehow affected, it also

could just as truly mean, and in the end came to mean, that something is occurring in the world outside of the body. The first meaning was prior in time, in the development of the race and of the individual, but the latter meaning having been learned, can just as well be attended to; and, in the case of sight, so constant have been the repetitions of seeing and so constantly has it been practical wisdom for the organism to attend to the later meaning that we have almost lost the power to know what has occurred within our organism following the impact of light on the eye, as meaning psychically (as well as being physically) an affection of the eyeball—so constantly have we come to know it as meaning, what it just as truly does mean, a manifold of things in the physical world. To mind, at first, the psychological accompaniment of the light impact was a sensation, now to a mature human mind it is something very different though something just as true. We see a hill directly and immediately because a hill is the direct and immediate meaning we give to the organic result of the impingement of the light waves in certain circumstances. And there is no sensation in mature life at all, because we utterly ignore the other possible and true meaning of the organic result of this same light impact.

To make the matter clearer, let us examine it from another standpoint. We often hear of a picture painted by the rays of light on the retina. Such a picture may appear on another's eye when seen with an ophthalmoscope, and such a picture may be seen in my eyes by another. But to the possessor of the eyes himself, no such picture exists subjectively at all. Primitively sight may have been an exquisitely veiled touch such as that experienced when one's eyes are oversensitive on passing from a darker to a lighter room. But gradually the veiled touches on this primitive fundus must have been discriminated in the course of the life of the race and far quicker in the course of the life of a higher organism after birth. But these eye-touches to the lower animal as to the child had but the meaning that that part of his body was somehow affected from without. This was the first perception, the first inference from the sensation. But when this inference was established, the perception, such as it was, became immediate even though the sensation may have persisted beside it, just as the perception of a rough surface is immediate when felt with a stick, or just as the perception of the point of a pin is immediate though the sensation is of the prick. But the sensational meaning gradually became completely ignored to the benefit of the perceptual one. This change in the meaning of the same physical fact in the case of eyesight involved the complete disappearance of

the sensation under normal conditions, probably through natural selection, because a sensation in the eye necessarily tends to evoke personal pleasure or pain, and this would be disturbing to the attention which safety requires to be given to outer objects. This involves that when the retina is electrically irritated and what we call a flash of light happens, there is no pleasure or pain felt in the eyeball. In fact the flash is a perception, though a primitive one; it is not the "original sensation" analogous to that given, though not exclusively given, by touch. This is, it seems, in the case of sight, no longer evocable.

Yet it is possible to revive something near the "original sensation," an older meaning of the physical result of the light impact. In proof of this I may recall a personal experience. My first knowledge of Berkeley was obtained when a boy through Huxley's little essay, and it seemed to me that I entered a new world. As I read the outline of the theory of vision and concluded that I really saw nothing of the outer world directly but only knew it through the intervention of visual signs, on a sudden the whole world of eyesight seemed to lift away from the room I was in, contract to my eyes and become a little painted picture on the skin of my face. Never shall I forget the startlingness of the experience which, however, my interest rendered awesome and convincing but not terrifying. A step further would have resolved this picture into shades and colors, and I dare say had I been reading the original essay of Berkeley and taken it as seriously as I did Huxley's version, this might have occurred also. As it was, I apparently went back as far as one born blind and made afterwards to see.

It may be said that, granting all the foregoing, still this means only that what we see is seen immediately, but not that it is the outer world which thus really is immediately seen; what we get directly (it may be said) is simply a meaning of the physical change in our own organism, which we "project" into space. Really, the objection may proceed, we are interpreting a certain molecular dance in our eyes and optic nerve, perhaps in the optic thalami, but not the world outside of the body directly.

In answer to this it may be replied that a molecular dance (if for brevity's sake we may use this expression) is no more a sensation than it is a perception. It is simply a bare physical fact without any meaning merely as such and apart from the attention of the subject. But its meaning to the subject may be a perception (knowledge of a state in the physical world) just as well as a sensation (knowledge of a state in one's own body). Because the physical changes are in

the body their meaning is not necessarily any more of their own character than the meaning of a printed word is of the ink with which it is printed. To talk of "projecting" into space the meaning of a physical change in the eyeball is nonsense based on a confusion of the mental and physical. To the mind there is no such thing as distance because distance is a physical category. The body is unutterable spaces from Sirius but the mind is just as near as to the chair in one's room. I can "project" a ball into space by the movement of the arm, but to "project" a perception, a meaning, is much like bounding geographically the theorem of the square on the hypotenuse. It is confusing the perception as meaning, as an act of mind, with the facts perceived (or meant) as actually existing and interrelated in space, of which facts, of course, the physical body is one. Meaning may be *of* here or there, but *is* neither here nor there, neither in nor out of the body. Moreover, meaning is necessarily instant, immediate, otherwise it were still inference, not meaning. We might say that the mind gathers directly the meaning of the outer world, which it views through sight, from the physical changes in its organism, just as it gathers the meaning of an interesting argument directly from the words of the printed page. The bare physical facts of the world of matter and energy have in themselves and apart from our interpretation, no particular meaning at all, not even that of their own occurrence or of their own configuration: thus in interpreting them we may take directly from them the meaning to our organism of their physical relations *inter se* (a sensation), or we may take directly from them, when we can do so, the meaning of other physical facts (as in the case of eyesight) or of conceptions (in the case of the printed page).

EVOLUTION OF THE DIVINE.

BY A. E. BARTLETT.

IN discussing the great problems which involve the infinite and eternal, we meet with objection from two opposite sources,—from the ultra-orthodox partisan and from the materialist.

Scientists and theologians alike would circumscribe our speculations by emphasizing the finiteness of human reason and its incapacity to realize the infinite. Without denying what element of truth there may be in these limitations upon the intellect, without claiming the power of the mind to comprehend fully the infinite and eternal, we can still assert that the infinite and eternal is the only thing that the mind can really conceive. The mind cannot focus itself upon the purely finite. The world of the finite belongs to the domain of the senses; and that world cannot, except through the element of the infinite pervading it, be brought within the cognizance of the intellect. Attempt in thought to imagine space as finite, as having a limit beyond which no space exists; attempt to think of duration as finite, as terminated either in past or future,—and you will realize how necessary to our thought is the conception of infinity with reference to space and time.

In all the great generalizations of science this intuition for the infinite finds gratification. "Every particle of matter *in the universe* attracts every other particle." The mathematical relations, the laws of motion—all the great principles of science are universal principles. The daily sustenance of the intellect is derived from the infinite and the universal. Whenever a great generalization is made, we regard its universality as a measure of its truth. The universe must submit itself to the critical review of the human intellect.

As the senses, quickened into existence by the properties of matter, are for that reason reliable interpreters of matter, so the intellect, developed by contemplation of relations, is a genuine interpreter of relations, and its demands can not be gainsaid. The divine

essence, by reason of its very infinitude, makes appeal to the intellect; therefore must the intellect be adapted to investigate and apprehend the divine.

In this study we propose to combat the static conception of the divine. The modern recognition of divine immanence, together with the modern acceptance of evolution, implies a recognition that evolution takes place in the divine itself. The evolution of matter is but the outward manifestation of force-evolution; and force-evolution is but another term for evolution of the divine.

Evolution is an unfolding of the fundamental force-entity of the universe in an effort to realize the ideal personality. But this ideal personality which is the goal of evolution must also be looked upon as the potential cause of evolution. Since the universe and all its parts have arisen from the fundamental entity, all phenomena in the universe must be involved in that entity. Whatever we find in nature we can predicate of that entity. But in nature, as the crowning phenomenon, as the supreme reality of creation, we find the great fact of personality, with its trinity of feeling, will and thought. Shall we not then conclude that the same trinity is also not merely a characteristic, but even the essential characteristic, of the creative entity?

But what we have shown deductively we can also show inductively. Does not the creative entity possess latent feeling? Whence, otherwise, that beneficence of nature which adjusts organisms to environment and invests us with joy and affection? Does not that essence possess will? Whence then those august laws that sway the universe and guide its progress ever into higher orbits of harmony and peace? Does not that essence possess latent knowledge and thought? Whence then that great principle whereby our most secret deeds of right or wrong are inevitably registered to bring us in due time an appropriate return? If the creative essence hears not our petitions, wherefore is it that our aspirations invariably set in motion forces that gradually work out in our character the results for which we long?

Point, if you will, to the imperfections of the universe; point to sin, that sign of immaturity; claim, if you will, that this divine personality has not attained to perfect consciousness or perfect mastery of its own dominion; nevertheless the fact remains that such personality must be involved in the fundamental essence, and that slowly but surely this personality is transforming the universe, re-creating ever more nobly its own creation.

This personality is real because it is implied in the fundamental

essence and in every stage of its development; it is real because it is creative, unfolding the wonders of being with more precision and perfection than could ever be accomplished by conscious design. It is divine because it is real, because it is personal, and because from the very nature of the laws of evolution this ultimate goal of evolution is ethically perfect, satisfying all our ideals. Through process after process this result is slowly approached, but the perfect consummation is in the infinite future. Thus the divine may be conceived of under three aspects, in all of which it is worthy of our reverence: first, as cause—infinite force; second, as process—finite forms of life; third, as result—infinite personality.

But just as in the individual the monistic basis of life is represented not by any approach to the fundamental homogeneity but only by a growing harmony of adjustment; so in the evolution of the divine personality there is no approach toward the eradication of the distinct individuality of persons, but the oneness of the divine is expressed in the growing oneness of feeling evinced in noble personalities. Development is characterized by ever-increasing variety combined with ever-increasing harmony. The personality of God is perfect unity of perfected individual personalities. The universe is a democracy, not an absolute monarchy.

For this opinion that the personality of God finds its sole embodiment in its progressive manifestation through nature there are two main reasons: First, the presence of evil in the world shows that the universe is not completely organized, that perfection, though implied in nature, is not fully realized; second, the tragic purposefulness of nature is best accounted for on the theory that evolution is a solemn struggle of the divine for self-realization rather than an unnecessary, a comparatively meaningless, and an only partially successful reproduction of a divine entity already possessing a fully organized existence.

The fallacy of popular theism lies in supposing a God who is infinite and yet engaged in a conflict with his creation—the whole at war with the parts. Now in a perfect organization the parts must be in perfect harmony with the whole and with one another. Just in proportion as the parts withdraw from such harmony, they withdraw from the whole and leave it proportionally circumscribed and further removed from the infinite. If God be infinite all things must be part of him, but if all things be part of him they must be in harmony with him and partake of his divinity. Since this harmony does not exist but is only in process of development, it follows that the universe is not yet fully organized and that the divine still re-

mains an ideal. The universe still contains chaotic elements; some of its quantities are still negative, subtracting from its infinite oneness and leaving it an inharmonious and finite universe.

If such difficulties are involved in the conception of a divine person as immanent, still greater are the objections to a transcendent deity; for if God rules the universe from without like an earthly autocrat, he must, like the autocrat, be held responsible for the evils of his government, and he cannot plead the human autocrat's excuse of impotence. The divine despot must have in his nature a strain of wickedness.

If, however, we frankly acknowledge that the divine principle is itself in process of evolution, if we invest even the divine with the pathos of struggling aspiration, we clear it from all reproach of guilt, making it appeal with equal power to heart and intellect. The statement previously made that to the divine essence belong all attributes which are manifested in the universe does not imply that to it belongs any evil; for under an evolutionary system evil is not a reality but only an imperfect stage in development. On the other hand, from the orthodox view-point according to which the divine nature is a finality, evil must also be a finality and therefore real. If the divine were actually embodied in a person it would be blamable for even the negative flaws in creation, while under the evolutionary theory here expounded the less pretentious divine essence escapes responsibility for evil and is all the more effective as an ideal.

Under our system, then, evil is not an essential attribute of nature, and evil is not abiding. Moreover, to this transient evil in the world there is no possible alternative. The omnipotence that lies at the basis of nature is conditioned by the natural law of inertia; even omnipotence must work by processes. In other words the divine element is omnipotent not in time but in eternity, and in eternity it must vindicate itself.

Moreover, a universe free from all pain and evil, a perfect universe in finite time, is a solecism, a contradiction in terms. A universe of life and action implies of necessity a process, a perpetual movement, implies strife and adjustment, friction and collision. The only conceivable perfection is the perfection that we actually find in our universe—the perfection that manifests itself as a perpetual progress toward ideal good implied in the process. To the mind that realizes this deep and sufficient perfection of the universe, this happy destiny reserved for all being, doubt and rebellion become

almost impossible. Only to him who worships an anthropomorphic deity will the problem of evil remain a problem still.

But when I speak of this divine principle as in process of evolution, I do not look upon it as unreal, or as possessing no present existence. If it were not a present fact, how could it thus be drawing up the phenomenal world toward the ideal? If nature is evolving God, God must be already involved in nature.

If force is latent will, and if will when organized in the personality directs its activities with reference to remote purposes, we are justified in taking a general teleological view of nature; but if the will-element latent in force can become conscious and definite only in personality, a late development of the evolutionary process, it is evident that we must find many details in nature at variance with teleological requirements.

"Infinite succession of causes," we say; but how account for the increment? When there is increase in velocity, a deepening of the volume of life, that significant fact implies some constant influence in addition to the succession. The creative element has not died in evolving life, but, like the embryo, has gained vitality through the differentiation of its constituent elements. This divine exists positively in the world, pervading and glorifying every lowliest form, and through all these forms striving to manifest itself in an ideal personality.

DISCUSSIONS.

QUESTIONS OF A PLURALIST RAISED BY THE REV. DR. JAMES
G. TOWNSEND.

I HAVE long been an admirer of your splendid work, but have been unable to accept your philosophic views; and knowing your willingness to receive criticism, I hereby send my objections in brief, and the statement of my own view. I know in doing this I express the feeling of many others.

Your philosophy, if I correctly understand you, makes the universe one unit of absolute reality, unchanging, ungrowing, entirely complete. Thus you make the imperfect, the ugly, the cruel, the evil parts as essential as the best. In your view, then, evil, ugliness, sin, have their foundation in this primal unit of fact,—that is in God.

Do you not, in this monistic conception, have the same difficulty which has always confronted scholastic theism?

I see no way of escape from this dilemma than the view I have long held—to free ourselves from the tyranny of the idea of monism and consent that the universe existed in more than one form, composed of different powers, principles or entities rather than one infinite and eternal energy as Mr. Spencer and Dr. Carus affirm. And from this conception it follows that evil is not an eternal necessity, but may in time be eliminated.

It follows from this view also that God is not omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient—an eternal monotony—but is “finite” as Professor James says; that he has his problems as we have ours, and that like us he may have his difficulties, his defeats, his victories!

I wish also to say a word respecting your “philosophy of form.” Do I understand you to mean that organic form is the cause rather than the creation of life?

Is it not rather true that life is behind all organism as its cause and architect? (I do not affirm that life is the creator of energy.) And does not the poet Spenser suggest (whom you quote with

approval) that it is the soul which forms even the body itself? Did not Kant affirm that all form, all empirical reality, was as the unfolding of a spiritual principle, a *mind* universal?

And is not this view now most common in biological and psychological speculation? I refer to the theories of Sir Oliver Lodge and others. That "life" may be a real and primal form of reality, of existence, is also an accepted hypothesis.

In making these criticisms, Dr. Carus must not think that I do not recognize his great work in the field of religion, science and philosophy.

Editorial Rcply.

In reply to Dr. James G. Townsend's remarks I would say that though I claim the universe to be one I would not use the term "absolute reality," I would not say that it is a "unit," nor would I characterize it as "unchanging, ungrowing and entirely complete." The universe is constantly changing before our eyes, and its very character is growth. The oneness of the universe is not external but intrinsic or immanent. I would characterize it as a unity but not as a unit. The unity of the universe manifests itself mainly in the harmony of its laws; all truths form a system, a great hierarchy of norms, and all uniformities observable in nature are variations or special cases of a general consistency which corresponds exactly with the consistency of our mental constitution as it has been developed in the formal sciences, especially logic and mathematics.

Whether the universe is also materially one large whole, whether all masses are bodily connected and interrelated, whether they are in touch by an all-pervading ether and whether all existences influence one another by the universal law of gravitation, is a problem which our present knowledge cannot solve. It is possible that there are worlds outside of this large stellar universe of ours which are not related with it, but it may be that all the many universes within and without the range of telescopes are an interconnected whole. I do not believe that this problem is of any consequence whatever for our thought, so I leave it alone and am satisfied to know that the immanent unity of the world is an established fact. The latter, the intrinsic oneness of the universe is of much more vital importance than the former, its probable external unity.

I understand by God the normative factor of the world; God in this sense is the former, the moulder, the creator. The work which he performs (to speak humanly of God as "he") is formulated by scientists in natural laws, and appears in the moral development

of social events as Providence, as the curse of sin and the blessing of the right mode of action. In this sense Fichte defined God as the moral world-order.

It will be noticed that my conception of God is not pantheistic. I do not identify God with the *Pan*, the All of nature. He is that part of nature which dominates its development and determines its destiny. I grant that God and nature are inseparable, but they are not identical; they are two aspects of the same reality of which God is the higher one.

Evil accordingly is not a part of God. Evil is an intrinsic and necessary part of nature. It is true that nature is a revelation of God, but the revelation of God is not one in which his divinity blazes up in all its perfection, but in its manifestation it gropes after the ideal and is everywhere limited in its exertions. God considered in himself as the normative factor of existence, is indeed eternal and unchangeable, but God as his own realization in nature appears in particulars, and every particular is one aspect only. Materiality is characteristic of concrete existence while law is universal. Every concrete existence is in a definite space and flourishes at a definite time. It is a creature, *ein Geschöpf*, i. e., a thing shaped, as the Germans call it, a fleeting form. It is limited in space, it is limited in time, it originates and it passes away, and its life is a constant struggle involving hardship, disease and final dissolution. These are conditions of all material existence and there is only one way to overcome them, which is by accepting the conditions, by not over-estimating or clinging to the transient, and by gaining the eternal aspect of existence.

The ills of life are indispensable and inherent in all temporal existence; but in addition to the ills of life we have evil, and evil is still less a feature of God than the ills of life. Evil is a moral taint and is a product of our own making. There need be no evil if we possess the right attitude, if we do not cling to selfhood and are always ready to surrender to death what is mortal. While the path of evolution is straight and narrow, while there is always but one solution of a truth, there are innumerable alluring by-paths sometimes very pleasant to look upon, and to every right solution there are a great many errors, some of them very attractive and plausible. These aberrations are evil; they lead astray, and in following them we meet with ills of all kinds which could have been avoided.

It is impossible to discuss the problem of evil without touching on the problem of free will. Philosophical schools are commonly

divided into two hostile camps, the determinists and the supporters of the theory of free will. I take a middle ground. I accept unhesitatingly the theory of determinism, but I would not for that reason deny that man is possessed of free will. The issues have been confounded by a wrong definition of free will. Both schools understand by free will the arbitrariness of chance decisions which is not free will but would be like a haphazard game of dice. The decisions of a free will are just as definitely determined as any resultant of mechanical forces, but they are plans of action in which the ultimate determinant is the character of the acting person, and such actions as are the results of a free decision alone possess moral value. If they were arbitrary they would, morally considered, be worthless.

Strictly speaking, all nature is possessed of free will; the flash of lightning takes place according to the nature of the electric tension in the clouds, and if the lightning could speak it would declare that its discharge is made because such is its free will and determination. In this sense all parts of nature act according to their constitution of their own free will, and they do so of necessity. What is like in character will act alike, and the samenesses of natural activity are formulated in what is called natural law. Things do not act because they are compelled or forced to act in this way, but because such is their intrinsic nature. The law of causation is not a ukase or tyrannical rule; it is simply a general description of a mode of action. In man the conditions are more complicated because his organism is a multiplicity of many different and often contradictory tendencies, but the general formula holds just the same, except that man must choose between several possible volitions. The choice is predetermined by his character, but if his will is free to act, is not compelled by threats, by compulsion or by outside forces, his decision will be determined by his character.

In other words, determinedness does not contradict free will. The opposite of free will is compulsion. The man who is compelled by a robber to give up his purse does not act by free will, but a man who hands his purse to a beggar because the latter appeals to his compassion acts of his own free will. His act characterises him, he is responsible for it, while in acts done under compulsion he cannot be held responsible.

This exposition of free will is indispensable for an explanation of evil. The general world-order is not responsible for the evils which we do. The evil deed is the work of poor mortal man straying away from the straight path, but the curse of evil, the punish-

ment that follows it, that, I grant, is the work of the divine dispensation of the world.

The quotation from Spenser does not say that "it is the soul which forms the body itself," but "For soul is form and doth the body make." Here Spenser identifies soul with form and says that the soul is the formative principle. In other words, mind is the product of organizations, not its cause, and if we speak of God as a mind we view him under an anthropomorphic allegory. By mind I understand an organism which has the faculty of deliberation, but God does not stand in need of deliberations. His thoughts are the eternal laws of nature, all of which constitute a spiritual organism like a personality but far superior to anything that is like a human mind. God is not a person but the condition of personality; therefore I characterize God as superpersonal.

Life in my opinion is indeed intrinsic in the universe. The potentiality of life is contained even in inorganic nature, and life is actualized by organization. In other words, organization is life and any substance in which the process of organization takes place we call an organism. That life should be a principle, or faculty, or power by itself outside of its own manifestations, appears to me as impossible as to assume that electricity is prior to electric currents and is a power which produces the currents.

I have answered Dr. Townsend's questions briefly but with sufficient clearness to indicate my solutions of these several problems, and I have given them a careful consideration because in these days of pluralistic tendencies there may be more readers of my writings who would naturally share the opinions of my kind critic.

Rejoinder of Rev. Dr. Townsend.

A word about your "reply."

Your speculations about the universe and God are very interesting and striking and may be true, but they are not knowledge. All truth which is known is part of knowledge, and all knowledge is *verifiable* and *communicable*.

How can you say *evil* is but a part of God? I mean with your definition of God. You aver that God gropes after the ideal, and is everywhere limited in his exertions. What is this but my idea of the limitation of God, his imperfection? That he has his problems as we have ours?

You say: "The general world-order is not responsible for the evil which we do, that the evil deed is the work of poor mortal man, but the *punishment* is the work of the divine dispensation of the

world." Whether this teaching is true or not, certainly it is not modern science, it is not monism, and it surely is dualism or pluralism.

Nor do I see how, in your definition of determinism, which seems to me scientific and true, you can make man free. Man acts according to his character and his environment. How can he do otherwise as you affirm?

I aver the differences in men are not made by their choices, by themselves, but by their endowments, their natures, their education, their environment. But it is a great theme.

Editorial Comments.

Dr. Townsend's criticism seems to be based on a misunderstanding of my definitions. He reads my explanations in the sense in which he uses similar expressions, and he does not correctly reword the ideas which he quotes from me. In doing so he supplants my conceptions by his own.

I define God as "the normative factor of the world." The norm is always the same. The norm is formulated by scientists as a law. It means "If you do this, a definite result will come about; if you do that, there will be other consequences. Whatever you do the result will be determined. The determinant is God. God is the universal norm; man is a definite concrete creature." Dr. Townsend quotes me as having said that God "gropes after the ideal, and is everywhere limited in his exertions." God, the eternal norm, does not grope. God is always like unto himself. Therefore God is not subject to limitation. Dr. Townsend will notice that I did not say that "God gropes," but that the divinity of God in its manifestation gropes after the ideal, and I hope I have expressed myself clearly. In evolution and especially in the history of mankind God appears as that power which makes for righteousness. He appears in the progress of civilization, of science and an increasingly nobler conception of life. Here God does not grope but we, created in his image, are groping after God.

Dr. Townsend says "What is this but my idea of the limitation of God?" and we will answer that in one respect Dr. Townsend is right. God is perfect if we take the absolute view of God, if we consider the ultimate norm by itself. But God manifests himself in the concrete world, and in his manifestation in this actual world of ours we see the divine unfolding itself in the process of evolution from the lower to the higher, and the course of evolution is naturally limited at every step. This manifestation of God, if we use the

language of religious symbolism, is the second person of the Trinity; it is God the Son; and though it is everywhere divine, though it is an incarnation of God, though it even may be pursuing the right path of the straight line of progress, it is everywhere hampered by conditions, it is imperfect by being of a particular kind, and therefore, as Dr. Townsend says, limited. In this sense and this sense only, God has limitations; however, it is not God in the eternal aspect of his being, but God as his revelation, God as he incarnates himself in his own creature.

My conception of God, when rightly understood, disposes of the criticism that evil must be part of God. If God is the norm and the result of infringing upon the norm is evil, evil is not part of the norm. Evil may be unavoidable, and I do not hesitate to say that it is. Evil may be part of existence, but according to my definition of God it is not part of God. I have expressly denied that I accept pantheism but I notice that Dr. Townsend tacitly assumes that my God is pantheistic. In my conception of God, God is not identical with the All; he is one feature of the All. God is the normative, the most important, the dominant feature of existence. He is not the sum total of existence, nor is he the totality of all conditions; he is their determinant and their ultimate *raison d'être*. Thus it happens that the old paradox of the ancient Greek sages becomes true that "the part is greater than the whole."

By monism I understand that all is consistent; all is subject to one rule. There are no contradictions in the rule, and thus all truths are different aspects of one and the same truth. But with all the consistency there are contrasts. We are confronted everywhere with opposites. There is rising and sinking temperature; there is heat and cold; there is action and reaction; there is inwardness and outwardness in man's experience; there is soul and body; there is matter and mind; there are always two possible standpoints in every proceeding and the details of the world are split up into an infinitude of particulars. If this is called pluralism let it be, and if the contrasts in existence are to be called dualism, I would have to be counted among the dualists. However, dualism is generally understood not to be a mere contrast of aspects or standpoints, but a contradiction of two independent realms, of two separate existences; and according to dualism, the world is a combination of two radically different factors. Dualism in this sense I reject, while the duality of contrasts is in my opinion an undeniable fact. Further, if pluralism means that the world consists of a plurality of concrete particulars, I would be the last to oppose pluralism;

but if pluralism denies the consistency and unity of the world I oppose it. The decisive feature which makes the world one is again its normative determinant which in the language of religion has always been called God, and this normative determinant manifests itself in the rigidity of form, of formal law and all formative agencies. Its result is the cosmic order of the world, what on former occasion I have called its "lawdom,"* and this alone makes reason possible; it alone constitutes the rationality of reason; it makes science possible and on its account alone can we speak of the divinity of man.

Evil has been the stumbling block in all philosophical and religious systems, but it seems to me that in the Philosophy of Science which simply formulates the facts it finds its proper place. Wherever life stirs, particular beings endeavor to actualize their aspirations. Life is everywhere struggle, and struggle is impossible without exertion, without conflict, without competition, without wounds and occasional defeats. There is the one straight line of progressive movement, but there is also the possibility of innumerable aberrations on all sides and the various paths of aberration are tried. They lead astray and involve aspiring creatures into error and the consequences of error, into evil. Troubles and evils are therefore indispensable features of existence and we must not expect that this life is a millennium where we can reap without sowing, where we enjoy pleasures and have no pain, where we can celebrate triumphs without gaining victories. In a word we must make up our minds to face the truth that evil is part and parcel of existence, and he who does not recognize this fact will meet with disappointment.

My position concerning determinism and free will is simply this: If a man can act according to his character he is free; an act which he performs without let or hindrance is called an act of his free will, and this act is rigidly determined by his own character, by himself. Accordingly an act of free will is as much determined as an act of compulsion. Any conception of a free will which is undetermined and is the result of arbitrariness, in which a man could will and act against his own character, is to me merely a confusion of thought and has produced much unnecessary discussion. I do not affirm that man acts otherwise than "according to his character and environment."

* See especially "The Nature of Logical and Mathematical Thought," *Monist*, XX, 36; also "Truth on Trial" (Chicago, 1910), pp. 75 and 100.

THE GOD PROBLEM. IN COMMENT ON A. E. BARTLETT'S
"EVOLUTION OF THE DIVINE."

Mr. A. E. Bartlett's article on the "Evolution of the Divine" attempts to solve the problem of the shortcomings of the world, especially the existence of evil, by conceiving God as "a principle in the process of evolution." The author goes too far when combating the theory of "the static conception of the divine." God is both static and dynamic. He is the eternal and he is also the principle of evolution. This is a contrast but need not be a contradiction, and a synthesis of these two opposites furnishes the third characteristic of the deity, going far to justify the old trinitarian conception.

Our author uses many expressions which appeal to the average reader, though when closely considered they are but glittering generalities. Such are the terms "infinite" (as here used, which is not always in its strictly scientific interpretation), "divine essence," "fundamental essence," "creative energy" and "the absolute." The author's conception of evil follows the popular trend of to-day when he says "evil is not an essential attribute of nature," and "evil is not abiding." This point of view is untenable. Evil, with all that is implied thereby, pain, disease and death, is unavoidable, and in addition to physical ills there are moral aberrations which will crop out under the most favorable conditions as necessarily as weeds will grow wherever there is a chance. This principle was enunciated for the first time by the great founder of Buddhism, Gautama Siddhartha, called by his adherents the Buddha. Evil may be limited. Many of its most dastardly forms may be overcome, pain may be reduced more and more, but that evil could be absolutely removed is as unthinkable as the hope that death can be eliminated. According to the argument of Buddha it lies in the very nature of corporeal existence that things are compounds and compound things originate by combination and will in time be dissolved. Life is change; it involves both the building up and breaking down of organized forms, and thus occasional pain and finally death are inevitable.

Our author is carried away by a modern notion of God which has not yet been matured by a rigid scientific critique. Thus the idea of personality slips in and attributes to God "latent feelings," whatever that may mean, and the "trinity of feeling, will and thought."

There are many striking comments which our author makes by the way, such as "the universe is a democracy not an absolute mon-

archy," and "the divine despot must have in his nature a strain of wickedness." Further we would call attention to the appreciation of the infinite as the indispensable background of the finite. The finite is the object of the senses while the infinite is the mental frame in which sense-perception is set.

Our own method of approaching the problem of God is twofold: partly it is historical, partly philosophical. We try to understand what people meant by God, and we find that whatever superstitions are connected with the idea, they always think of God as that something which determines our duties; or, briefly stated, God has always been the authority of conduct and this authority of conduct is an actual fact of our experience. The question is not whether God exists or no, but to investigate and to determine the nature of the authority of conduct with which we are confronted. Since I have devoted a book of over two hundred pages to this problem I can simply refer my readers to my own solution (*God, an Enquiry and a Solution*, Open Court Pub. Co., 1908); and will now sum up by stating that the God whom science must recognize is an omnipresence governing the world with the unflinching dominance of natural law. He is not a personality like man, but he is a super-personality, the prototype of man's own personality. Further, God, or to use another term the cosmic world-order, is like logic or arithmetic, immanent in nature and yet at the same time supernatural, for the principle of the world-order is independent of nature and would exist even if nature were non-existent. P. C.

A THING AS THE UNITY OF SEVERAL SENSATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO F. D. BOND'S "IMMEDIACY."

The current number of *The Open Court* contains a thoughtful article by Frederic Drew Bond, entitled "Immediacy," in which he explains the immediacy of the meaning of vision and generally of sense-perception. The editor of *The Open Court* has discussed a kindred subject when dealing with the problem of the inverted picture on the retina, stating in this connection that the problem is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of vision.

The truth is we do not see the picture on the retina, but the picture on the retina in connection with its brain structures in the center of vision sees the object. Thus the direction in which the object lies is laid down in seeing. Points which we look for above naturally appear on the lower part of the retina. What we see is not a speck on the lower part of the retina but a direction which, passing through a point on the lower part of the retina, turns our eyes up-

ward. To repeat, the picture which an outsider could see on the retina is not the object seen but is the function which performs the act of seeing in cooperation with other sensations, among them the sensed muscular motions of the eye.

The same is true of the interpretation. We do not feel the sensation but the sensation is the feeling itself and this sensation culminates in its interpretation. We look for the purpose of our sensation and have grown accustomed to think of this our aim upon which our sensation is concentrated. We are interested in the result and this flashes into consciousness. Here all our attention is concentrated. A number of subconscious states coalesce into a unit and this unit, this product of a number of physiological activities, is lit up by consciousness. The cooperation of a number of feelings creates a new unit. Our attention is not focused in the several parts but in their combination, which as such is called perception.

Thus the immediacy of perception is due to the origin of a higher unity, and the unity becomes conscious, not its several subconscious elements. We are here confronted with the complicated problem, one portion of which is the problem of the one and the many discussed in our recent little book on *Personality* (page 31 or 36).

It is a mistake which is met with quite frequently even in the philosophies of great thinkers, to look upon the elements of existence, or as in our present case the elements of perception alone, as actualities and to overlook the actuality of the unities which are produced by a combination of parts.

The truth is that these unities, and not the elements, are the actual facts. The elements are stable, they persist if a unity has been dissolved, but the unity is the actual thing and the living presence. A unity originates and passes away. It may reappear according to the laws of formation. Its nature is determined by the eternal laws of causation, and causation depends on the laws of form, static as well as dynamic. Hence the enormous significance of the laws of form which reveal to us the nature of becoming and furnish us with the key to the explanation of the world problem.

Mr. Bond condemns the theory that perceptions are projected into the world of space, and as he means it he is right. There is an interpretation superadded to sensation and this interpretation is immediately perceived. It appears as the result of sensation in consciousness projected into space. We do not contradict Mr. Bond on this point, but we wish to say that if Clifford speaks of things perceived as "ejects" and if others in the same way speak of pro-

jecting our interpretation of retinal sensations into the outside world, physiologists and philosophers make use of figurative speech which is quite allowable, for our interpretation locates the cause of certain sensations in outside space, and we may very well call this operation a projection.

Mr. Bond concentrates his attention mainly upon the interpretation of vision, as in the meaning of printed pages when read. We actually read the sense and overlook or rather neglect the elements from which sense originates, and here again the real explanation must be found in the significance of the unity which is worked out in our interpreting the combined figures of letters, or figures of any kind. The problem of the one and the many, together with the significance of the origin of new unities by a combination of parts dimly followed by Plato and discussed with great vigor in his "Pythagoras," has a much greater significance than to our knowledge has ever been noted by any philosopher.

We sum up. Several sensations combine into a unity and this combination is the perception of a thing. Our attention is concentrated in the unity; while the details, the elements of the sensation and the parts of the thing are not specifically noted. Thus the thing itself, the result of a number of sensations, flashes up in consciousness in a wonderful immediacy; the object seen is the work of our own mind and it comes to us like a mysterious revelation, while the data from which we construct it, or, perhaps better, from which it rises, remain unobserved.

P. C.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DR. EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

Dr. Edmund Montgomery, the hermit philosopher, died April 17, 1911, at Liendo Plantation, near Hempstead, Texas, where he had passed a great part of his life, having sought there a peaceful home near to nature like so many other idealists after the fashion of the Brook Farm colony. His wife was the late Elizabet Ney, the artist, who retained her maiden name and was noted for her work in painting but especially in sculpture. She has left some valuable marbles, many of which now stand in her studio at Austin, Texas.

Dr. Montgomery was of Scotch extraction and birth, but he was educated in Germany where he studied medicine. He came to the United States in 1870,



LIENDO PLANTATION.

and led here a retired life in his Texas home. They lost one child in infancy while another son has grown up on the farm and is the father of a family of three children.

Dr. Montgomery has published a number of books, among which we will mention his recent and most extensive work, *Philosophical Problems in the Light of Vital Organization* (New York, Putnam's Sons, 1909), which has been carefully summarized by Mr. Charles Alva Lane in an article in *The Monist* of October, 1909; and his last volume *The Revelation of Present Experience* which the same writer has reviewed for the coming number of that quarterly (July, 1911). Not the least valuable of his thoughts have been con-

tributed to *The Monist* and *The Open Court* in the articles entitled: "Monism in Modern Philosophy and the Agnostic Attitude of Mind" (*Open Court*, I, 9, 37, 65); "Are we Products of Mind?" (*loc. cit.*, 423, 459, 480, 512, 587, 617); "Cope's Theology of Evolution" (*loc. cit.*, 160, 217, 274, 300); "Karl Theodor Bayrhover and His System of Naturalistic Monism" (*loc. cit.*, II, 831, 865, 914, 934); "Psychical Monism" (*Monist*, II, 338); "Automatism and Spontaneity" (*Monist*, IV, 44); "To Be Alive, What Is It?" (*Monist*, V, 166); "Actual Experience" (*Monist*, IX, 359). The last of his contributions was a "Dialogue Between an Idealist and a Naturalist," which appeared in *The Monist* of January, 1909. For further references to his life see *Open Court*, I, 103, and *Monist*, XIX, 160 and 630.

Judge Reese was with Dr. Montgomery in his last hours, and other friends would have come if the letter of his faithful servant written in German could have been deciphered.

Mrs. Joseph B. Dibrell, wife of Judge Dibrell of the Texas Supreme Court and a friend of Elizabeth Ney, sends us a photograph of the plantation house in which Dr. Montgomery lived and died, taken in August, 1908.

THE HISTORICITY OF JESUS AGAIN QUESTIONED.

Prof. William Benjamin Smith of Tulane University, New Orleans, is by profession a mathematician but by avocation a theologian. He is one of the best-informed men on New Testament criticism and he has come to the conclusion that Jesus never lived. Others have held the same view but reached their conclusion by other arguments. Professor Smith introduces modern methods and brings into the field a formidable array of critical theology. He could not find a publisher in the English speaking world for his first book *The Pre-Christian Jesus*, but he excited interest in his theory among personal acquaintances in Germany. Professor Schmiedel, an orthodox theologian, went so far as to encourage the publication of a German translation because he deemed it necessary to bring Smith's views broadly before the public so as to have them thoroughly refuted.

Professor Smith's theory caught fire in another German scholar, Arthur Drews, professor of philosophy at Carlsruhe, and strange to say Drews succeeded in attracting public attention where Smith had failed. He concentrated the interest of all Germany upon this new conception of Jesus as a humanized god and now Smith becomes better known even in his own country. Drews lectured before large audiences and entered into debates with his orthodox opponents. The dailies were filled with reports and the ecclesiastical government of the German states became alarmed. Finally he published his theory under the title *The Christ Myth* (English edition, London, T. Fisher Unwin).

In the meantime Professor Smith has written a second volume entitled *Eccle Deus* in which he takes the positive ground and shows that Jesus is originally a god and that all the stories reported in the Gospels will indicate the divinity of his character. It is typical for the Jew that he cannot accept a myth. Stories of gods are to him superstition. He humanizes the gods with whom he becomes acquainted. This can be seen in the stories of the Old Testament and this also is the character of the synoptic Gospels.

Professor Smith's second work shares the fate of the first one. It has appeared first in a German edition.

As Horace says, *Habent sua fata libelli*, "books have their destinies," but

among all the books there has scarcely been one heretofore which has had to appear in a foreign tongue before the author became known in his own country. When the original appears it will come to us after the world has become acquainted with its contents through a German version, and when published will make its appearance as if it were a translation.

Both books of Professor Smith, *Der vorchristliche Jesus* and *Ecce Deus*, can be ordered through the Open Court Publishing Company, 623-633 Wabash Ave., Chicago.

JONAH AND NINEVEH.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

A propos of your article "The Jonah Story" the following may be of interest to some readers. *Why is Jonah the hero of the book bearing his name?* The Jonah story, one of the later books of Hebrew literature according to its language and other reasons, is obviously a condemnation of narrow Jewish national hatred and patriotism as introduced by Ezra. To Jonah nothing is sweeter than the destruction of Nineveh, the great national enemy of Israel. But think of it, Yahveh, the national God of Israel, is merciful to the city. It is therefore significant that the author, who has embellished his parable with all kinds of wonderful elements, the fish story, the miraculous plant, Nineveh a city of three days journey, has chosen for the hero of his book a prophet mentioned in 2 Kings xiv. 25, who seems to have been a great patriot of the northern kingdom. The passage says that Jeroboam II restored "the border of Israel from Hamath to the sea of Arabah according to the word of Yahveh spoken by his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai, of Gath Hepher." As we know from the Old Testament, Hebrew prophets often played a great political rôle. From the little said in 2 Kings xiv (comp. rest of chapter), Jonah seems to have been one of those characters. This Israelitish Chauvinist is surely a well-chosen hero for the parable.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

While it is true that the book of Jonah forms an exception in the Old Testament on account of the breadth of its view, while it lacks the narrowness and chauvinism of the typical Jew, it must have been written by a Jew of the Dispersion who had broadened out into humanitarian sympathy in all respects. We do not believe that this is the outspoken tendency of the author, for it is nowhere especially emphasized, and while Jonah is indifferent to the faith of Nineveh, he bears no grudge toward the Ninevites on account of Israel's suffering through the old Assyrian kings. If the book had been written with this tendency of condemning narrow Judaism the idea would have been made more prominent. Therefore it seems that the book is simply the expression of the Jew living in the Dispersion, presumably living in Assyria, the country of which Nineveh is the capital. The story is probably located there because the original from which it is taken belonged to Assyrian folklore, and it seems more than likely that this Assyrian original made the prophet preach in the streets of Nineveh.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF HIGHER BUDDHISM. By *Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D.* Edinburgh: T. H. T. Clark, 1910. Pp. 275.

The author regards this New Testament as consisting of *The Awakening of Faith* of Ashvaghosha and *The Essence of the Lotus Scripture*. The pres-

ent volume consists of translations of these two works with introductions to each and a General Introduction to the whole. The former of these treatises together with its introductory material was published in Shanghai in 1907 and was reviewed at some length in a recent issue (April, 1911). Dr. Richard says his rendering is interpreted according to a standard Buddhist book, and claims that it harmonizes fully with Christian philosophy and religion. With regard to the second treatise he says: "I have to show that in *The Essence of the Lotus Scripture* as interpreted by Chinese and Japanese 'initiated' Buddhists (but not as by the enlarged version in Kern's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*) we find the same teaching as in the Gospel of St. John in regard to Life, Light, and Love, a teaching which forms a wonderful bridge crossing the chasm between Eastern and Western religion and civilization."

This Christian missionary among Buddhist people has faith in a millennium when the world will unite in one system of religion, and to this end offers the present volume as a contribution. He says: "By following the interpretation of a standard work on *The Awakening of Faith* and by relying on the judgment of the 'initiated' as to the true teaching of the Lotus Scripture, Western readers will be in a better position to understand the vital connection between Christianity and Buddhism, and to pave the way for the one great world-wide religion of the future."

p

The Siepmann Modern Language Texts (published during 1910 by the MacMillan Company) are selections from the best German and French literature which have been edited by Otto Siepmann assisted in the case of the French texts by Eugene Pellissier. They are intended for use in schools and are of convenient size and excellent type. Each text contains sufficient material for two terms' work, and is interesting in its subject-matter, literary in style, practical and useful in its vocabulary and instructive with regard to the life and manners of the country to which it relates. Besides a short biography and critical introduction each volume is supplied with notes giving explanations of textual difficulties and obscure allusions in the text. The Elementary and some of the Advanced texts contain comprehensive vocabularies, and all are provided with Appendices offering lists of "Words and Phrases for *viva voce* Drill," "Sentences on Syntax and Idioms for *viva voce* Practice," and "Passages for Translation." Some are provided with lists of the irregular words used, some with instances of word formation, while the six Classical French Texts contain summaries of the chief grammatical peculiarities, and are to be studied not only from a philological but also from a literary and historical point of view.

The selection lying before us consists of (1) Elementary German Texts: Wachenhusen, *Vom ersten bis zum letzten Schuss*; Schrader's *Friedrich der Grosse*; Goebel's *Rübezahl*; Zastro's *Wilhelm der Siegreiche*. (2) Elementary French Texts: Bourget's *Un Saint*; Daudet's *La Tour des Maures*; Laurie's *Une année de collège à Paris*; Biart's *Monsieur Pinson*; Lany's *l'oyage du novice Jean-Paul*. (3) Advanced French Texts: De Barnard's *L'anneau d'argent*; Sandeau's *Sacs et parchmins*; Daudet's *Lettres de mon moulin*; Coppée's *Contes Choisis* and Daudet's *Jack*. (4) Classical French Texts: Corneille's *Nicomède*; Pascal's *Pensées*; and Marivaux's *Le jeu de l'amour et du hasard*.

p

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A few copies of ZARATHUSHTRA, PHILO, THE ACHÆMENIDS AND ISRAEL, pp. 460+xxx. (Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1906, price \$4.00 net), are still to be had of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. and of the leading booksellers in Oxford at 12s. 6d. "He treats his subject thoroughly and exhaustively. . . deep and patient studies." J. J. Modi, Head Priest of the Parsi Colaba, Bombay, in the *Parsi of Bombay*, 1900.—"A wealth of learning and thought." *Nation*, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1906.

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH DANIEL AND REVELATIONS, by L. H. MILLS, (published by the Open Court Pub. Co., 1908, 50 cents net). SAGGI DI LETTURE, TENUTE ALL' UNIVERSITA' DI OXFORD, SULLA RELIGIONE DELL' AVESTA, dal Prof. LORENZO MILLS. Being sections of lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, translated into Italian by an accomplished Italian man of letters upon his own initiative. Torino, 1909. To be had of G. Sacerdote, Turin, Italy. Pp. 75. Price, 2s.

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