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NOVEMBER, 1912

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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



AN OPEN JADE RING; CHINESE SYMBOL OF SEPARATION.
(See pages 673-675.)

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

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THE FOUR SIBYLS.

Raphael's Fresco in the Church of Santa Maria della Pace at Rome.
Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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VOL. XXVI. (No. 11.) NOVEMBER, 1912.

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PAGAN PROPHECY.

SOME CURIOUS FACTS IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS
DEVELOPMENT.

BY F. CRIDLAND EVANS.

Emerson assures us that

“One accent of the Holy Ghost,
The heedless world hath never lost.”

But this optimistic saying may be looked upon with some dubiety when we take into consideration the various views that have prevailed as to the vessels wherein the outpourings of the divine spirit have been stored. The iconoclastic hand of modern criticism has sought to eject from their tabernacles the variously shapen urns and reduce them to shreds and fragments, until the sacred storehouse were well-nigh depleted. Conservative Protestantism with the exception of the bodies that hold to the doctrine of a personal dispensation from the Inner Light, are united in believing that the Old and New Testaments are unique in their inspiration, and rigidly exclude all other writings with pretensions to divine origin. When we turn to the church of Rome, however, we find Holy Writ enlarged by the fourteen books elsewhere known as the Apocrypha. Moreover we find a different point of view regarding the works of the Fathers, and a much augmented reverence for the vast body of lore known as the traditions of the church. If not put in the same class as scripture, these writings are at least set apart from profane literature in a way that would indicate that they are supposed to speak in some measure with the “accent of the Holy Ghost.”

Parallel to this indication of a broadening of the Holy Spirit's field of operations, we come to a belief in another and stranger

source of inspiration, viz., in the literature of heathendom. To the modern church there is something repugnant about this notion, and



PYTHIA, THE DELPHIC ORACLE.*

in truth, as Symonds has shown, it does contain an insidious solvent of many Christian principles. But the early and medieval church

* The illustrations in this article are all from Michelangelo's famous frescoes.

ignored such disturbing inferences, in order to lay stress on those portions of the theory which appeared to corroborate her teachings. As precedent for the doctrine of pagan inspiration they could cite Balaam the Midianite. If he could prophesy, what would prevent any other Gentile from receiving the same inspiration? Thus reasoned the medieval mind. So the heathen texts were overhauled and the heathen prophecies examined, and verses from Virgil and the Sibyls were placed alongside those of Isaiah and Malachi.

The Christian respect for pagan founts of inspiration may have been due to the newly-converted bringing with them into the church many of their old habits of thought, prominent among which was a profound reverence for the sibyls. These personages were reputed to have been wise virgins who had dwelt in certain temples, usually of Apollo, and were especially *en rapport* with the deity. Their number is uncertain, but various writers have mentioned those of Erythrae, Persia, Libya, Cumae, Tibur and Delphi.

The Delphic Sibyl, or Pythia, was unique in the fact that instead of being a single individual she was an institution. When a Delphic priestess died, her successor was appointed, so that we have a dynasty of seeresses, enduring for centuries. The Delphic utterances were delivered among so many curious circumstances that the reverence with which they were regarded is not at all surprising. The Greek and Latin worlds received them with awe, and Christian writers were unable to come to an agreement on the subject. This reverence lingered on as late as Jeremy Taylor, who in his life of Jesus Christ (sec. 4) mentions the sibylline prophecies with belief. Even Milton, if the expressions in his "Ode to the Nativity" be any thing more than poetic fancy, had a notion that there was something in the pretensions of Delphi and "the oracles were not dumb" until the birth of Christ.

Plutarch, who resided near Delphi, has given us an account of the proceedings. It seems the priestess became intoxicated by inhaling some sweet-smelling vapor that issued from an orifice in a cave beneath the Temple of Apollo. The gas known as "laughing gas" has an odor of almonds, and the source of the oracles may have been an allied composition of natural origin.¹ Plutarch gives an instance of one poor priestess who took too great a dose of the divine vapor and died of *delirium tremens*. But most of her sisters attained great age. Under the influence of the gas, the Pythia would rush into the courtyard, and her ravings would be forced into sense and

¹For an interesting account of how it feels to be under the influence of "laughing gas," see *The Will to Believe* by William James.

sometimes into verse by the *prophetes* or official interpreter. Plutarch, in his essay on the "Pythian Responses," records a few. A



THE LIBYAN SIBYL.

metrical one reads, "God pardons everything that can't be helped," which answered the anxious inquiry of a youth who had unwittingly responded to the advances of a young woman while he was in a

state of intoxication. Collections of these oracles were made by Herodotus, Philochorus, Theopompus and other ancient dilettanti,



THE ERYTHRAEAN SIBYL.

but their labors have perished. The Delphic oracles were generally characterized by ambiguity.

The other sibyls differed from the Pythia. Their power was

personal. When they died, the inspiration of their shrine came to an end. Few facts of their history can be gathered, and these few are ascribed by different authors to different sibyls. In all probability none of them are derived from any historic personage. Some natural phenomena, like the gas of Delphi, may have originated the legends. Northwestern Asia Minor seems to have been the original seat of the belief, and the fact that the Trojan princess Cassandra was inspired by Apollo to prophesy, may have some bearing on the subject.

According to Pausanias, the Libyan sibyl was the daughter of Zeus and Lamia, and the original of the mystic sisterhood. Another author, however, gives the same parentage to the first Pythia. In fact it is impossible to disentangle the legends, excepting those that apply to the several of the more important sibyls. But collections of mysterious writings existed, which purported to have been their utterances, and almost every Greek city had a collection in the *sanctum sanctorum* of a chief temple. The books which Pisistratus consulted in the Erechtheum furnish a case in point.

The oldest, or at least the most famous, of these sibylline books was made in northwestern Asia Minor. Its inspired authoress is said to have been Herophile, who dwelt either at Marpessus on the Hellespont or at Erythrae. The book was preserved in the temple of Apollo at Gergis. Thence it passed to Erythrae, where it became well known. Some authorities believe that it was this collection that made its way to Cumae and thence to Rome.

According to the old Roman legend, the Sibyl of Cumae offered to sell nine mysterious volumes to King Tarquin the Proud, and being refused, destroyed first three and then three more, demanding the same price after each incineration, until the king was impressed enough to buy the remaining three at the figure that was asked for the original nine.

The Cumaeen sibyl was beloved in her youth by Apollo, and the god promised her anything she might ask. So she pointed to a heap of dust and begged to be allowed to live as many years as there were grains in the heap. Angered that she did not ask for himself, Apollo granted the request, but took advantage of her neglect to stipulate that she was to retain her youth. So she grew horribly withered and ugly, until she dried up. By last accounts she had shrunk into a mere voice and was kept in a vase in a temple near Naples.

This legend reminds us of the lady of Lübeck who rashly wished to live forever, and she is now so fallen away that the people

of the old Hansa town keep her in a small bottle that hangs on a column in the high church at Lübeck. Once a year she stirs and



THE CUMAEAN SIBYL.

then they feed her with the Holy Sacrament. But to return to the Sibylline Books.

Tarquin stored the precious volumes in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter and created a college of patricians to be their caretakers. It is uncertain of just what the books consisted, for the members of the college were under oaths of secrecy regarding them, and these obligations were kept all the more strictly by reason of the remembrance that one of the guardians who had ventured to reveal some of the contents was condemned by Tarquin to suffer the punishment of a fratricide. Most of our knowledge on this point has been gathered together in Niebuhr's *Roman History*, a work whose apparent neglect is probably due to its poor English translation.

Niebuhr thinks that the Sibylline Books consisted of palm leaves covered partly with symbolical hieroglyphics and partly with Greek hexameters. This latter peculiarity required the custodians to know Greek and had its share in the Hellenization of Rome. When consulted it was probably shuffled and a page opened at random, in the same way that Orientals use Hafiz or the Koran, and many Christians make predictions from the Bible. Such was the custom at Præneste, where a similar collection existed in the Temple of Fortune. Here the pages were slips of wood, which were taken up together by a boy and one of them drawn by the inquirer. Tradition said that a nobleman of Præneste found them in the cavity of a rock which in a series of dreams he had been commanded to cleave open.

It is certain, however, that the Roman collection of sibylline writings did not concern the future. They were questioned as to the proper rites and ceremonies that were required in time of special danger, like famine or an impending battle, when the ordinary means of access to the gods seemed inadequate. They could be consulted only on the express order of the senate. It was through them, or some other of the *libri fatales*, "the books of fate," that the Romans buried alive two Greeks and two Gauls, a man and a woman of each nation, for in fact, along with the Cumaean books, the college instituted by Tarquin the Proud guarded the Etruscan prophecies of the nymph Begoe, and the Latin one of the Marcii brothers, the Tiburtine Sibyl, and others of the same sort. They were all books of fate. Like the Greeks, every Etruscan city seems to have possessed such. We know of the Veientine ones from their having touched the destiny of Rome and the Veii in connection with the draining of the Alban Lake. But the Roman library of supernatural wisdom perished in the year 83 B. C., when fire destroyed the Capitoline temple during the first civil war.

The Greek origin of the Sibylline Books is indicated by the

fact that when the temple was rebuilt, ambassadors were sent to Erythrae to obtain duplicates, and after inspecting the sacred writings of this and other shrines, returned to Rome with about a thousand verses. This collection became even more famous than its predecessor. It mingled prophecy and warning with its liturgical instructions, and many political events were affected by the mysterious sentences said to have been found in it.

Needless to say, the influence of many personages was sufficient to swell the number of sacred runes. One of its most notorious sayings was that which declared that Parthia could be conquered only by a king, with the inference, that as Julius Cæsar was about to invade that kingdom, he was also about to assume the crown. Strange to say, this prophecy was fulfilled, but it was not a Roman king that conquered Parthia. But the scandal caused by these so-called predictions assumed such proportions that Augustus thoroughly revised the collection and cast out many verses as spurious. Rome seems to have been flooded with this class of literature and Augustus destroyed all that could be found in private hands. The authorized version was placed in the Temple of Apollo Patronus and was burned in Nero's time. Soon another collection appeared, and it may have been this one that we hear of existing in the year 363. In 399 the Christian emperor Honorius commanded its destruction, together with that of the other pagan memorials of Rome. This order was obeyed by Stilicho, probably in the following year.

But it was none of these Sibylline Books that found favor with the Christians. Quantities of writings attributed to the Gentile prophetesses were in general circulation at a very early date, and in them the Christians found passages relating to their affairs. Augustine, Justin and Jerome allude to them favorably, the last declaring that the sibyls were rewarded with prophetic powers on account of their chastity. Lactantius carried the subject to the extreme. He and other preachers were fond of quoting them to the pagan philosophers, who were made merry thereby and who declared the whole literature fraudulent. These sibylline leaves are still in existence, and were printed at least four times in the nineteenth century. In 1890 a translation by Terry of some selections, under the title of *Sibylline Oracles* was issued in New York. Modern scholars consider them to be a conglomerate of Christian and Jewish writings, though Bishop Horsley in the early years of the last century argued in their favor with learning and ingenuity.

Another reason for the Christian respect for the sibyls lay in a strange tradition concerning one of their number. It was said

that Augustus inquired of the Tiburtine Sibyl if he should accept the divine honors decreed by the senate. The sibyl, after some days of meditation, took the emperor apart and showed him a vision of an altar, and above the altar an opening heaven, where, in a glory of light stood a beautiful virgin holding an infant in her arms, and a voice said, "This is the altar of the son of the living God." Whereupon the emperor caused to be erected near the Temple of Jupiter an altar bearing the inscription, *Ara primogeniti Dei*. The temple is now gone and on the site stands the church now known as the *Ara Coeli*, "the altar of heaven." In the east transept is a chapel now dedicated to St. Helena. The altar of this chapel is reputed to enclose the very altar of Augustus. Nearby, a bas-relief illustrates the story in rude fashion. Church traditions give this work of art a fabulous age; it dates at least from the twelfth century, while the legend itself can be traced to Byzantine writers of the eighth. But it is a strange and suggestive fact that the sibyl is commemorated at a place possibly identical with the spot where the Sibylline Books were once deposited.

Alongside of the Tiburtine sibyl, the church also revered her of Cumae. Virgil, in his strange fourth bucolic, declares that the golden age and the expected infant of which he sings, fulfil the final prophecy of the Cumaean song. As Christian commentators long regarded this bucolic as a prophecy of the coming of Christ, sometimes of his second coming, the Cumaean Sibyl was therefore considered to have foreseen the Messiah. And even though some modern theologians now shrink from finding their worthies in other than Biblical dispensations, we find a trace of the older attitude in one part of the Roman Catholic liturgy. The service for the dead still includes the *Dies Irae*, the masterpiece of medieval Latin poetry, composed by Thomas of Celano in the fourteenth century. The poem opens with a stately warning of the day of judgment, which the author declares to have been predicted by David and the sibyl: *Teste David cum Sibylla*. Translators, both Catholic and Protestant, have softened the word "sibyl" into prophet.

In the days of the Renaissance the revived interest in paganism increased the respect for the sibyls. They received independent attributes and histories. One was actually reputed to have married a son of Noah, and to have foretold the Tower of Babel and the coming of Christ. This seeress is the one who seems to have been known either as the Sabbaean or the Babylonian, but whom Michelangelo labeled Persica.

The sibyls frequently appeared in art. They figure in the win-

dows of Beauvais Cathedral. Raphael painted them over an arch in the church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome. Finally with



THE PERSICAN SIBYL.

Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes the cultus found its grandest expression in the apotheosis of the sibyls alongside of the prophets of Israel.

But the sibyls were not the only pagan worthies to receive a kind of reverence among thoughtful souls. In the eastern church many of them have official honor. Dean Stanley saw in the porticoes of several churches of Moscow and in the Iberian monastery in Mt. Athos pictures of Homer, Solon, Thucydides, Pythagoras and Plato, as pioneers preparing the way for Christianity. In the west Pavia looked up to Boethius like a saint; the Venetian Republic sent to Alfonso of Naples as its most precious gift, a bone reputed to be the leg of Livy; and Plato narrowly escaped canonization. In early Christian times Tertullian spoke of Aristotle as *patriarcha haereticorum*, while Luther called him *hostis Christi*. Some writers saw in the Alkestis of Euripides a prefiguring of the death and resurrection of Christ. Above all, Virgil was honored. In the protection of Naples his bones assisted those of the patron saint Januarius. The authors of many miracle plays bring him on the stage as one of the Messianic prophets. On a twelfth century stall in the Cathedral of Zamora in Spain, he appears in the company of many Old Testament figures, carrying the word *progenies*, taken from the famous line of the fourth bucolic. He also appears in Vasari's pictures in a church in Rimini, while in Raphael's fresco his words *iam nova progenies* serve to indicate the Cumaean sibyl.

Nor is this reverence for Virgil incomprehensible. The noble character of the man and of his poems made it pitiable that his name should be omitted from the roll of the blessed, because of his one involuntary fault of not being baptized. This feeling is well illustrated by the legend of St. Paul's visit to the poet's grave at Naples, when the apostle cried out in tears, "What would I not have made thee had I found thee still alive, O greatest of poets!" As late as the fifteenth century a sequence narrating this incident used to be sung in the Mass of St. Paul, in Mantua, the poet's birthplace.

Virgil's reputation as a prophet constituted one of his strongest claims to ecclesiastical veneration. Some perfervid critics have found in the warning that he puts into the mouth of Helenus, in reference to the dangers of the Straits of Messina, a prophecy of the earthquakes of 1693 and 1908. Less surprising are the conclusions that have been drawn from his fourth bucolic, where he sings the birth of a wondrous child who shall herald the dawn of a golden age. Many readers have thought that here Virgil was foretelling the approaching advent of Christ. Some modern commentators believe that he may have been acquainted with some of the Hebrew prophetic literature. At any rate the fourth bucolic probably played

its part in the evolution of the popular idea of the poet, changing him first to the saint of Naples, and then to Vergilius, the mighty magician. The history of this development has been beautifully worked out in Professor D. Comparetti's study of *Vergil in the Middle Ages*.

Seneca might also be included in the ranks of the pagan prophets. His "Medea" contains some curious lines, which seem to anticipate the discovery of America. They are thus Englished by Ella Isabel Harris:

"And the times come with the slow-rolling years
When ocean shall strike off the chains from earth,
And the great world be opened. Tethys then,
Another Tethys, shall win other lands,
And Thule cease to be earth's ultimate bound."

Can it be that some tradition pervaded the classic world of the existence of a western continent? Perhaps some Phœnician ship crossed the Atlantic. It is possible that Columbus knew these lines and that they gave him a stronger hope that the mystery of the western ocean was not impenetrable. John Fiske remarks that in a copy of Seneca's tragedies, bought at Valladolid by Ferdinand Columbus and now to be seen in the Biblioteca Colombina, there is appended to these prophetic lines a marginal note in script to the effect that they have been fulfilled by Admiral Christopher Columbus in the year 1492.

LITERARY GENIUS OF ANCIENT ISRAEL.

BY AMOS KIDDER FISKE.

IN some respects the most remarkable of ancient literatures and that which has had the largest influence in the development of human civilization for a long period, has been so obscured and distorted by the sanctity imposed upon it by the people who produced it, that due credit has never been given to their literary genius. It is by no means the earliest of literatures in its origin, and before its completion that of Greece had reached its highest excellence.

The tenacity of the sacredness originally imposed upon it, and its preservation as a conglomerate but compact mass for so many centuries, has been mainly due to the fact that it is not merely a collection of the "works" of individual authors laboring independently, and is only in a small measure identified with the time or personality of the actual writers. It is the composite production of the highest genius of a whole people working in the main with one purpose and toward one common end during several centuries of an experience such as no other people ever passed through. In this colossal work of unconscious literary cooperation there was no pride of authorship, and no respect for the personal claims of authors. What one generation produced another was free to work over and adapt to the conceptions and aspirations of its own time, casting into oblivion any material that did not serve its purpose. There was excision and expansion, blending, transmuting and re-cension until at last the whole mass was compacted, roughly and with little skill but with sufficient cohesion, into one body and sealed as a sacred heritage to posterity. Thus it became, in a broad but legitimate sense of the term, the epic of that people's life for a thousand years, embodying their history and experience as their best minds interpreted it, their highest conceptions, their best thoughts, their loftiest sentiment, their utmost wisdom and highest hopes. This treasure was imbedded in much grosser matter and it varied in qual-

ity and value, but it received a kind of consecration that for ages forbade analysis.

That this literature was worked out and finally wrought together in this unexampled manner was due to the peculiar character and circumstances of the people from whose genius it emanated. Coming together as a congeries of nomadic tribes and clans, mostly of kindred blood, seeking a country in which they could settle down and become a nation, they had gained by conquest a narrow territory which was shut in from the sea, and isolated at the time from the sovereignty of the great powers which had previously ruled over it in succession, though it was still traversed by the caravan and military route between them. For a long time they were beset by enemies and had to struggle for national existence; their first kingdom fell apart and formed two rival nations with a varied history, and finally one after the other of these was destroyed by the powers of the East. But there survived a remnant of that peculiar people which saved its treasures of literature, gave them their final gloss and put upon them the seal of sanctity.

This people brought into the country which they conquered a religion and a worship which they cherished as their exclusive possession. They had a conception of one deity who was their God alone and whose sole people they were. This conception grew with their progress until from a tribal deity, watching over his own, jealous of other gods, fighting against them and destroying their worshippers, he became the God of the universe, the creator of the heavens and the earth, the sovereign power over all mankind, but was always peculiarly the God of Israel, who would finally make them the great ruling nation of the earth, as they fondly believed.

Faith in this deity, fear of his anger and his power, and trust in his love and goodness, as they conceived of his attributes, were fostered until devotion to him became the ruling passion of the people's teachers and the constant burden of the literature that they held worthy of preservation. This faith was the chief inspiration of the writers; and as it expanded, it moulded the growing mass of their work into one body, by no means homogeneous, harmonious or symmetrical, but sufficiently coherent to be held together and consecrated as the "word" of their God, uttered through his chosen speakers and writers.

That the genius of Israel, inspired with this faith, should have left such a body of literature as a sacred heritage to the people out of whose life and experience it had grown, is not so remarkable as the reverence in which it was afterwards held by peoples of wholly

different origin and character. This was partly due to the fact that Christianity sprang from the bosom of Judaism, but far more to the fact that, when it took root and spread outside of Semitic soil it developed dogmas which were derived largely from other sources but were linked with promises and fore-shadowings in this old literature of Israel. This gave it a new consecration and a new vitality. The Jewish sanctity became a kind of divinity which it was sacrilege to question, because upon it rested some of the chief dogmas of the Christian church. This distorted and obscured the work of Israel's literary genius, placed it in a false light and threw over it a delusive glamor to awe the superstitious soul into submission to teachings of which that genius never dreamed, but which it was forced into supporting.

It is only within two or three generations that modern scholarship has grown bold enough to disregard the ban of sacrilege and by rational study to reveal in its true character the one great literature which in its beginnings and highest development antedated the earliest classics of Europe. Hardly yet can the literary genius of Israel be treated as a power of the human mind working according to its natural lights and capacities and within the limitations of its heredity and its environment, without giving offense to sensibilities that have been wrought into a morbid state. But only by such treatment can its work be truly appreciated and its real value be estimated. By treating the literary production of that genius as human in the fullest sense a new interest is given to it, and it may be rescued from the neglect or indifference into which as a whole it has fallen in recent years, notwithstanding the fact that it is still more widely published and disseminated than any other. Few read it at the present day except in detached parts, and the younger generation knows little of it save by what it hears expounded from the pulpit, mostly in the old doctrinal way. Humanly regarded, it is of exceeding interest, and it loses nothing of genuine ethical or religious value by being truly understood. It is open to reason, as to faith, to believe that there is a divine power behind all human development and progress, but it cannot reasonably be confined in its direct activity within the limits of one contracted country, working through one small people, however "peculiar," at one particular stage of human history. The literature of ancient Israel is by all intrinsic and external evidence shown to be as human in origin and character as that of Egypt, or Babylon, Persia or Greece, or that of any modern era.

Like other literatures it began with oral tradition of primitive

days and the early movements of the people. To aid the memory these became embodied in fixed forms of tales and songs, recited or chanted from generation to generation. It was after the kindred or allied tribes and clans had been roughly welded into something like a nation and was divided into two kingdoms that the floating traditions of old days were reduced to written legends and stories of heroes and deeds of the past. Later, as reflection and imagination developed in this genius, it created a mythical ancestry of the people and their various tribes, and for all the human race, and sought to account for the origin of things, as human genius has been doing from the earliest to the latest day in history, and will continue to do while history lasts. The first writers were not without material for their work outside of their own traditions and imaginings. Long before their nation was born their land had been ruled successively by the empires of the Euphrates and the Nile and was still on the great highway between them. They were neighbors of an older people than themselves in Phenicia. They borrowed or appropriated conceptions and suggestions where they came within their mental reach and transmuted them to their purpose.

Mythical accounts, largely borrowed and transformed by the native genius, of the creation of the world and the origin of its inhabitants; of the destruction of the first race of men by the baffled deity, except for one favored family from which had descended all the known peoples, dispersed abroad by the confusion of their language when they had the temerity to seek cohesion and to scale the abode of the gods by building a tower to heaven; and of the choice of a progenitor for all the tribes of Israel and a promise to make of them a great nation in which all the world would be blessed,—these appeared in more than one version in the two kingdoms, not far from the time when the material of the epics of Greece was accumulating, less than a thousand years before the Christian era. Stories, equally mythical or fabulous, were developed regarding the descendants of Abraham, the ancestors of the tribes and of the related peoples of the region in which they dwelt, symbolizing their kinship, real or fancied, their early alliances and their enmities. To account for their wanderings and struggles before they gained possession of the land which became their settled home, stories were told of how their patriarchal ancestors had been driven by famine within the borders of Egypt, where they fell under a galling servitude from which they were rescued by their God with wonderful demonstrations of his superior might.

After one of the two kingdoms had been destroyed by Assyrian

conquerors the different versions of the early myths were blended and expanded and turned to account as a framework for the laws by which priests and rulers were to induce submission and obedience to their authority, giving to these ordinances the character of divine commands and the awful sanction of a direct revelation of the deity's resistless will. Israel was not the first or the last people to impute the ruling authority or the source of law to the deity; but no other people ever established so intimate a relation between their God and themselves, or made themselves so abjectly dependent upon his power and his favor, which was to be won only by unswerving devotion to him. Their earliest writers taught that their God had brought their ancestor from the East and given him their land, promising that his descendants should become a great nation and binding them under a solemn compact to worship and obey him and him alone.

The essentially mythical character of this material in the story of Israel cannot be doubted by any one who will read that story with an unbiased mind, nor will he doubt that it is the work of genius of a high order. Divested of the sophistication of the latest priestly writers, who sought to transform it more completely to their purpose, it has an exceeding human quality, sometimes grossly human, and a marvelous simplicity and force. As illustrations of that peculiar myth-making genius, note well the stories of Abraham and Lot, symbolizing the remote relationship with the hated people of Moab and Ammon; of Hagar and Ishmael, imputing to Israel's great ancestor the origin of the lawless denizens of the Arabian peninsula; of the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, and of Jacob and the daughters of Laban, as a twofold cementing of the relationship with Syria and as exemplifying the superior craft and skill of the younger people; of the successful supplanting of the primacy of Edom by defrauding Esau of his birthright as the elder of twin nations; and finally the immortal story of Joseph and his brothers as an explanation of the tradition of the sojourn in Egypt, which was to give occasion for the marvelous rescue under the lead of Moses and the tremendous demonstration at Mount Sinai, as the prelude to that promulgation and development of law which was not complete until a thousand years later, but was all attributed to that great revelation in the wilderness.

How deny that work like this is compact of myth and fable and not at the same time accept as facts of history the tales of gods and men, the miracles and the marvels, which make up so much of the material of the epics of ancient Greece? Why deny to the

writers of ancient Israel the imagination, the power of invention and the motive for glorifying their own origin and history which have been the common endowment of men since the human intellect awoke to an interest in their fate? Why deprive that one people of the gift of literary genius and make dummies of their greatest writers?

I have dwelt upon the mythical element in this literature because it is best calculated to impress the idea of its human rather than divine origin, since all human genius has worked in that way in its primitive stages, and because the enlightened modern mind cannot accept the results as either representations of fact or of divine truth. In other ways the literary genius of ancient Israel worked in a very human fashion; but its unique peculiarity in its later stages was the idea that everything in Israel's life was dominated by the direct influence of the deity, conceived as in a special sense the God of his own "chosen people," to whose destiny everything else was subordinate. That idea was the product of an enormous race pride which has preserved the offspring of Judah from extinction or absorption "even unto this day." This appears in the legends and the history, as well as the myth and fable, of the literature that was wrought into one great epic of their life; and it is the dominating note of the ardent and eloquent utterances of the orators whom translators of their language have converted into "prophets."

Legends of the heroic age, when the tribes were slowly growing and preparing for the coalescence under the pressure of necessity for mutual defense which ultimately resulted in a loosely united nation, were originally mere stories of the doughty deeds of warriors in the conflict with enemies. Bands of invaders were repelled, predatory neighbors were driven back, tribal wrongs were avenged, and there was continual conflict with the Philistines who held the land between the hill country and the sea. As first written down, after the establishment of a monarchy and the division into two kingdoms, these tales of the old days, when there was no ordered government and "every man did that which was right in his own eyes," were of a truly barbaric character. So far as the supernatural entered in, as it did in all heroic tales of primitive times, it was of the mythical order. Mutilated fragments of the oldest metrical form survive. One of them pictures the God of the people as coming to their rescue in battle, careering over the mountains of Edom from his abode on Mount Sinai in storm and tempest.

There were defeats as well as victories, and oppression as well

as triumph. It was long after one kingdom, that in which most of these tales had originated in written form, had been destroyed, and the other was beset by powerful enemies from the East, that a new doctrine of theocracy was developed and embodied in a code of divine commands, carried back to the last days of the struggle in "the wilderness" and the eve of the conquest of "the promised land." This was in itself a work of genius, but it was the culmination of generations of progress in conceptions of the relation of the people to their God. Its central doctrine was their absolute dependence upon him, and the necessity of his exclusive worship and of unquestioning submission to his laws, as revealed through priest and prophet, for the salvation of the nation from its enemies and the fulfilment of the promise of perpetuity in the land which their God had given to their great ancestor.

In the light of this doctrine all the historic legends were newly edited. Defeats and calamities were attributed to disobedience to Israel's real lord and king or neglect of his worship as their one God and the enemy of all other gods and their worshipers. Each rescue from peril, each victory over enemies, was due to repentance and calling upon him and the raising up of a deliverer. What in the relation of events did not accord with this doctrine was in rude and imperfect fashion suppressed or modified to conform to it.

When the history of the kingdoms was roughly compiled from the rude annals of the successive rulers, it was treated in the same manner. It was the favor of the deity that brought victory or success or prosperity in any reign, for some reason that was made palpable. It was his anger that brought disaster or calamity of whatever kind, and reason was found for that. Marvels and miracles were matters of course in human experience under the beliefs of those days in all lands. One kingdom was destroyed and its land was devastated by Assyrian armies because its people and their rulers had been false to the worship of Israel's God and had failed to observe his laws and obey his chosen servants. That, at least, was the doctrine and the belief of the writers of the other kingdom who recorded their fate. Every menace that hung over the surviving nation was a warning or a threat, and when that was unheeded and reliance was placed upon other power than the great God Yahveh, his favor and support were withdrawn and the power of Babylon was used as a chastisement. The holy city was desecrated and Mount Zion became a subject of wailing and lamentation until the expiation was complete.

This theocratic doctrine was the creation of the Hebrew genius,

and it has had a powerful influence in human history from that time to this. It was the burden of the solemn warnings, the eloquent appeals, the fierce denunciations and threats of those ardent orators, who have been called "the prophets," and who made a harsh and inflexible language vibrate and resound through the world and down the generations, imparting its tone to other tongues. In these and a few poets imbued with the same spirit, the literary genius of Israel reached its culmination.

Its chief inspiration was not a power outside of itself, through it uttering what it did not know or understand and imparting to the world truths of nature, truths of history or truths of religion of permanent validity. The mass of its work was as purely human in kind, in character and quality, as that of any other ancient people.

But that doctrine of theocracy, as developed by the "prophets" and afterwards debased by the priests, served to transmute it sufficiently to weld it together into one mass and give it a kind of sanctity that preserved it as a single whole and made it in effect an epic of the life, the achievement, the contribution to the world's progress, of one of the least of ancient peoples in its dominion and secular power, but the only one that has sent a clear strain of itself down through history with an invincible solidarity.

FISH AND WATER SYMBOLS.

BY J. W. NORWOOD.

IN the issues of *The Open Court* for May, June and July, 1911, are some very interesting articles concerning the fish in Oriental symbolism and pointing out some of its Christian as well as "pagan" uses and meanings.

In these same articles it is to be particularly noted that the fish is almost invariably (and naturally) associated with water or some aquatic symbol. In the August issue, the essay on the catacombs, showing numerous primitive Christian pictures in which Christ is associated, as the Good Shepherd, with the same aquatic symbols, well displays the Christian use of symbols of "pagan mysteries."

The same author, the editor of *The Open Court*, in the October issue, makes some interesting remarks upon "Rivers of Living Water," accompanied by allusions to Christian and Buddhist scriptures and Greek and Oriental picture symbols. His concluding paragraph in "Rivers of Living Water" indicates a correct interpretation of the basic principle upon which the construction of fish and water symbols rests:

"We cannot doubt that the idea of a divine body, consisting partly of flames (or perhaps more correctly of light) and partly of water inhabited by creatures of earth, air and water, was not isolated, and the question arises whether this view does not come down to us from a primeval age and so would naturally be common to all mankind. This conception of divinity *may have acquired a definite meaning in some mystic rite indicative of the attainment of the highest degree of perfection.*"¹

Since the science of symbolism is but very little cultivated by men of intelligence and erudition now-a-days, and such as do pretend to the ability to translate original meanings mostly have a very

¹ The italics are mine.

superficial knowledge of the subject for lack of some authoritative sources of information, the following is here offered merely as suggestion to the general reader and is not asserted as fact.

Those who may be interested in ascertaining upon what foundation these assertions rest, will find plenty of corroborative evidence in the mythologies and symbols of all ages, races and religions. This should perhaps satisfy them, and if not, then their investigations may lead them eventually to the conclusion that there may yet remain traces of "some mystic rite," which might further enlighten a student but would scarcely be of interest to the average reader.

As a first hypothesis, it may be generally stated that the growth of symbolic representations betrays an apparent theological system as a base. It is conceded by most investigators that primitive language consisted largely in, if it was not actually preceded by, signs and picture writing, which gradually evolved into the more ornamental and exact conventionalized symbols of ancient religious and mystic rites. This came about as man's appreciation of harmony and proportion in nature's geometry grew.

Upon one side it produced our alphabets, mathematical and other scientific symbols, and upon the other, those systems of symbolic instruction whereby in certain "ancient mysteries" the allegories and dramatic representations of mystery legends were fully illustrated and concealed from the initiated.

A second hypothesis involves the idea that the original source of all mystery legends, and consequently of their various dramatizations and explanatory symbols, is to be found in some primitive natural conception of nature and deity, perhaps inherent in man, or at least universally diffused.

Such a conception is the ancient universal notion connected with the creation of the world and man, the introduction of the arts and sciences and the progress of civilization.

Briefly stated, the supreme intelligence or builder of the visible and material universe, is conceived as first creating the earth from chaos, in much the same manner as stated in the first verse of Genesis and as expanded and amplified in detail by modern geological theories.

Northern nations imagine a terrific combination of fire and ice and consequent steam resulting in the formation of a universal sea or ocean from which land emerged. In the midst of this sea dwelt a huge serpent.

As we proceed toward the south, the creation legend assumes various forms, sometimes fire alone being the first element to be

followed by water and earth and sometimes the gods building the world from various materials, but always we find the common notion of a completely water-covered globe before land appeared. And always we find this great sea said to have been inhabited by one particularly huge serpent or fish or other representative of aquatic life.

This creation theory seems to have been connected with the theological notion (perhaps allegorical) that deity or the creative forces of nature might be likened to a great sea of space, but space curiously endowed with intelligence. In this sea of universal intelligence floated all created things, which therefore appeared to the imaginative mind of man as the results of the divine thought.

An elaboration of such ideas probably produced the cabalistic representation of the "Ancient of Days" as a huge head, and the curious descriptions of its features, thoughts, beard, etc. Similar allegories are to be found in Oriental characterizations of the supreme deity.

This universal sea of divine intelligence found its counterpart in the terrestrial sea covering all the land. The created thing, or creation thought into being by the universal intelligence, such as the physical world, found its symbolic counterpart in the great fish or serpent inhabiting that sea.

Expressed mathematically, the sea represented the whole and the fish or serpent the part—of divine intelligence. For a fish or serpent to emerge from the waters in the form of one of the numerous fish and serpent gods of antiquity, was equivalent to saying that individual intelligence proceeded and was evolved from the universal.

At this point it may be interesting to observe that in the Phœnician, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English alphabets, all derived from the same source, the letters M and N have a peculiar significance which may be considered mere coincidence, or thought worthy of consideration.

The letter M is *Mu* in Greek and *Mcm* in Hebrew and Phœnician tongues. This word means "the sea," and the early as well as present shapes of the letter indicate its derivation from the hieroglyphic form of a wave or water mark.

The letter N is *Nu* in Greek and *Nun* in Hebrew and Phœnician and means "fish." These letters follow one another as if we read, "The sea; the fish."

Another singular matter is observed in the two zodiacal signs

of Aquarius followed by Pisces. Symbolically they are represented as wave marks and the double fish respectively.

With this conception of the universal intelligence or universal soul of nature represented by the sea or its symbol, we find it easy to comprehend many singular notions of the ancients connected with sea serpents, fish gods, serpent gods, arks, anchors and other symbols derived from them.

A certain class of legends concern the sudden arrival of a god, half fish and half man, who teaches the arts and sciences, especially letters. He usually arises from the sea. Every possible form of this legend can be traced, from the primitive fish-god to Aphrodite arising from the sea foam.

Another class represents the creator of the world, born from an egg spewed from the mouth of the great sea serpent. This form is found among the aboriginal American legends as well as with the Oriental races.

Still another, and no doubt later, version represents the creator god born from a lotus or water lily. This flower is the flower of light in which Hindu and Egyptian gods are observed sitting.

Every conceivable combination of these legends seems to be found among the complicated mythologies of the more esthetic races of antiquity, until in Christian times there appears the greatest profusion of aquatic symbols apparently used in connection with every theological, gnostic, cabalistic and mystic or spiritual exposition of the nature and attributes of deity.

Various Greek and Roman gods, not to mention those of the Oriental nations, were attended in their travels by fishes. From the story of Noah to similar ones of pagan deities, we note many gods saved by dolphins or other denizens of the deep. Oriental and Occidental fairy tales have stories of the intelligence of fishes who act as friends of man, recovering lost valuables.

In some myths the fish becomes translated into a ship, *argha* or ark. The Hebrew Noah, saved in the great ark to repeople the world and preserve human knowledge, finds his counterpart in every deluge story of which there are many versions.

The ark becomes sacred and mystical as the keeper of the holy relics and scriptures; and through curious etymological connections it seems to throw light upon certain of the mystic rites of the Egyptians to be found in the Book of the Dead—more properly the chapters of the "Coming Forth by Day"—in which the Holy Royal Ark figures.

Again we find the Greek and Latin words for archaic, arch, ark,

arc, all apparently connected in an intricate symbolism in which there is more than a suspicion that there is an etymological as well as a mystical interconnection. It would seem as though the roots of such words derived their meaning from the mysteries, rather than that their mystical meaning was the result of coincidence.

However that may be, we find connected with the ark, the symbol of an anchor. While the Greek root from which the word anchor is derived, plainly means a hook, or hooked, it may be suggested that the form of the anchor when used as a symbol, frequently appears to be a combination of two symbols, the ancient Egyptian *ankh* or symbol of life concerning which so much has been written, and the phallic symbol of the lunar crescent in which the phallic sun's ray stands erect. Even in Christian symbolism the anchor is sometimes represented with prongs resembling fish or serpents.

It may be suggested as a third hypothesis in connection with

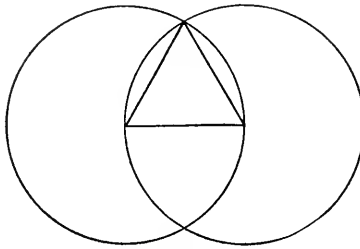


Fig. 1. FIRST PROPOSITION OF EUCLID.

the fish and water symbols, that to one who makes a careful study of the subject as a whole, there appear to be certain underlying harmonic principles upon which the science of symbolism rests and which enable the investigator to trace, with a tolerable degree of accuracy, the gradual evolution of each symbol from its root until it becomes fused with other symbols analogous to the etymology of words. Thus the science of symbolism demonstrates that all symbols of any particular system form an intricate network of hieroglyphics covering the entire range of philosophy which they are meant to illustrate.

While it would require a considerable volume to trace all the allusions to the fish and water symbols and their combinations with other symbols, it may be of interest to suggest some of these.

The guilds of traveling freemasons of the Middle Ages, who built the great Christian cathedrals of Europe, and whose existence is erroneously supposed to have terminated several hundred years

ago, had certain secrets of the trade which were concealed in geometrical formulas and diagrams.

One of these concerned the construction of the pointed or "Gothic arch," the foundation upon which the "Gothic" style of architecture rested. This was no doubt derived or adapted from the Arabians, though this question does not directly concern us here. This important trade secret is contained in the first proposition of Euclid, namely, to construct an equilateral triangle upon a given line, which proposition is the base upon which the Euclidean system of geometry is built. This is evidenced by the fact that Euclid's 47th problem, which closes the first book of his Principles, was and still is the symbol of the Master Architect among all guild masons, several of whose ancient lodges still do active work in England though fast falling into obscurity. The reason for this is that the 47th problem requires a knowledge of all preceding ones back to the first, for its proper solution.

The solution of Euclid's first proposition requires Fig. 1 which of course forms the Gothic arch.

The intersection of the two circles whose respective centers are the ends of the given straight line, encloses a figure popularly known as the *vesica piscis* or fish-bladder from its supposed resemblance to that object. Not only was the *vesica piscis* used in the construction of the arch, but also to enclose the images of the saints as we find it both in Christian and pre-Christian times where it frequently surrounds the pictures and statues of gods.

This symbol had a mystical meaning to theologians as well as guild masons as it formed the "Womb of the Logos," in that with *two* strokes of the compasses, a figure appeared making possible the construction of the equilateral triangle of perfection, representing the sacred *delta* or "Word."

In Milton's *Paradise Lost*, this idea is brought out when God is said to have cut out the world with one stroke of the compasses and the heavens with another stroke. After creation only, came the appearance of man, his fall, and subsequently, as in *Paradise Regained*, his redemption by Him that was called the Logos.

This symbolic idea of the "Word" will be at once recognized as adapted and not original with the Christians. The Word within the fish (*vesica piscis*) no doubt was connected with the astronomical and astrological notions of the ancients concerning the supposed birth of Christ under the sign of Pisces. Indeed modern astronomy tells us that the "Star of the East" was a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars in the sign of Pisces, B. C. 4.

That this Euclidean *vesica piscis* was an ancient property of the guilds, at least in some crude form, is attested by the use they made of the fish symbol as a common mark to designate their work. Among the many collections of these old marks from European and Asiatic temples extending over a period of several thousand years, are to be found many symbols of two intersecting arcs of circles in the shape of a fish. Sometimes the double fish is used. (See Fig. 2)

Also it may be but a curious coincidence that the water mark so much used in Arabic and Moorish architecture, is a frequent ornament in Gothic architecture. Among the Arabs and Moors particularly, the wave lines are frequently seen in combination with an arch of any description.

A matter that at once carries us back to the original notion of universal intelligence and light enclosing and giving birth to individual creations, is the heraldic name of a certain fish known as the "luce," a shining fish, the perch. Luce of course means light and

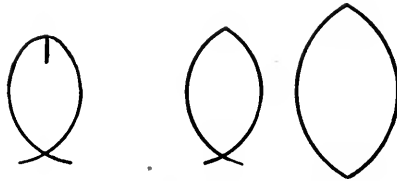


Fig. 2. MASONS' MARKS.

is derived from the same root that gives us *lux*, light, luck, etc. *Lus* is the old French for fish and the Low Latin makes it *lucius*. Thus in the Middle Ages we find the fish as an emblem of light just as we find *luces* and *fleur-de-lis* in French and Norman-English heraldry.

Among the many other masons' marks of antiquity we find the letters or figures M and N frequently used. Their significance in the alphabet has been referred to above. The figures or letters Z and W which so often are used as marks also, betray the antiquity of these signs, probably used without a knowledge of their original significance save as "sacred" symbols.

One of the "monograms of Christ" was an anchor of curious design between two fishes, an obvious allusion to the old astronomical notion of the Egyptians who set the sign of the fishes (Pisces) as a symbol of courtship and love in the spring, the survival of which we still have in St. Valentine's day.

This sign of Pisces in the Hermesian alphabet corresponds to

the "arch symbol" of the modern "Arch Masons" save that it has a true arch in place of the third *tau*, as will be noted from the figure (Fig. 3). It appears to be an arch surmounting the sign of the double fish—a figure resembling the letter H, and in the Greek zodiacal signs very pronouncedly indicating the "given straight line" and two arcs of circles of Euclid.

Again we must refer to the old guilds, for this "H" figure also plays a prominent part in their symbols and "marks." Indeed it

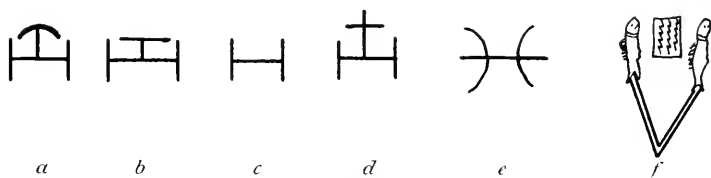


Fig. 3.

- a*, Egyptian Sign of Pisces from Hermesian Alphabet of Ben Waseh.—*b*, Egyptian Symbol used by Freemasons.—*c*, Masons' mark common to guilds of Middle Ages and found on ruins of Solomon's Temple by Palestine Exploration Association.—*d*, Christian symbol, especially of the Society of Jesus; also used by some European orders of knighthood and by the Pulijanes of the Philippine Islands.—*e*, Astronomical Sign of Pisces.—*f*, Sign of Pisces from Dendarah zodiac.

appears as a representation of brotherly love in other systems in the form of two men clasping hands, which takes us back to the double fish mentioned above, between which the anchor of hope is seen to be grounded in love. It also seems to refer to similar symbolic allusions among the ancients, whose type is Damon and Pythias or Castor and Pollux, the celestial twins who appear in the zodiac as Gemini.

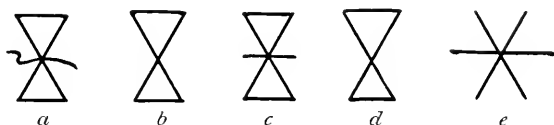


Fig. 4.

- a*, Hindu symbol of the upper and lower "elements" from which the world was built or created.—*b*, Egyptian symbol of the hand. The hand meant building or architect.—*c*, *d*, *e*, Masons' marks.

A careful examination of the numerous uses of the fish as a symbol leads us to suggest a fourth hypothesis in explanation of why in some instances we see the double fish as in the zodiac and in others a single fish. The reason may be that when "light" or "intelligence" is individualized in the person of a single god or deity, one fish appears; but when an abstract idea in connection with this

emanation of individual life denoting celestial light and intelligence from the universal sea, is denoted, then we find the double fish.

In the ancient cosmogonies, there was conceived to be a dual principle in nature which, among other ways, is displayed in the formation of the upper and lower expanses, symbolically indicated by a figure in which the division was marked in a striking manner. Thus two triangles set apex to apex and having a short line of division between would be such an appropriate figure (Fig. 4); or the image of a god, one half of one color and the other half of another color, would likewise be appropriate.

We find in the Cabala the curious imagery of God, the great *One*, reflecting himself in the waters below in order to become *Two*. By the One and the Two were all things created, said the Chinese. The Cabala is paralleled in this by the Hindus. In this sort of imagery the Supreme Creative Light proceeds from a triangle. The

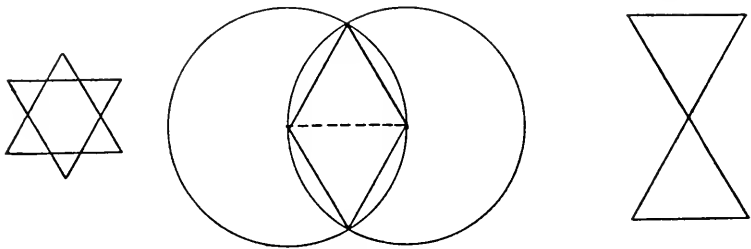


Fig. 5. THE DOUBLE TRIANGLE IN THREE WELL-KNOWN ORIENTAL DESIGNS.

reflection of the triangle in the upper expanse produces the second triangle. Their combination gives us, among other forms, the six-pointed star, the triangles placed apex to apex, and also the diamond or lozenge formed of the triangles placed base to base.

In every instance it is to be noted that "the waters," or the universal sea, is regarded as the symbol of that which is below, while the triangle represents that which is above and by "reflection" descends into the waters.

This double triangle may be perfectly produced in the *vesica piscis* (Fig. 5) before alluded to, and is common either in the apex-to-apex form or the six-pointed star, throughout the mystic systems of the ancients.

The Hindus (Buddhist) had a figure of the former type with a waved dividing line at the juncture of the apexes (see Fig. 4) which indicated the elements fire and water (or light and water) as representative of the upper and lower expanses. The Egyptians

had the same figure without the dividing line, as the hieroglyph for hand. The Romans indicated the number ten ("the perfect number of heaven") by the letter X, supposedly because it represented the "double hand," since "V" or five, was denoted by one hand.

In the Hebrew alphabet the name of the letter *yod* meant hand, and its numerical value was ten. So it is obvious that while numbers and arithmetical ideas were derived from counting the fingers of the hand, their relation to symbolism through the Cabala was the result of associating mystical and practical ideas.

The open hand appears to have been universally considered a symbol of friendship and peace. As such it tipped the wands or ceremonial staves of the Egyptian hierophants. Joined hands among the Romans was an emblem of fidelity, and regarded as the image of the god Fides, being in fact practically the same as the Castor and Pollux symbol before alluded to.

The idea of a dual principle pervading everything in nature is thus well displayed in this hand symbol. The Egyptian double triangle is the "hand of Providence" so to speak and as such becomes identical in meaning with the Hindu form denoting the upper and lower elements, from which it was probably derived.

This double triangle also forms a very common "Masons' Mark" (see Fig. 4), both with and without the dividing line, and very frequently appearing as merely two crossed lines divided by a third, upon which the six-pointed star could easily be constructed.

Applying this dual triangle idea to images personifying deity, we may understand the reason why the figures shown in Dr. Carus's article on "Rivers of Living Water" in *The Open Court* of October, 1911, have attenuated waists. Here the god or goddess represents in his or her own body the heavens and the earth. The "rivers of living water" pour forth from the lower triangle for the reason that he suggests, that they are waters of life and light, emanations of deity.

In conclusion it may be suggested that a consideration of this somewhat chaotic exposition of the fish and water symbols, which it is hoped will not be considered too ambiguous or too lightly touched upon, is meant to set out the following fundamental meanings of these symbols.

I. The waters, denoted by the wave marks, represent the lower expanse always and denote a universal sea, whether it be of light, life, love, intelligence or soul, or merely a physical ocean inhabited by aquatic life.

II. The fish is representative of that which comes from the sea

whether this be individual light, life, love, intelligence or soul, or merely a physical thing such as an incarnated deity, a land or island brought up from the ocean bed on the tip of a rod, or a god of learning.

According to the nature of a legend therefore, it is easy to distinguish the meaning of these symbols. The water-symbol is rarely denoted by other than wave marks while the fish-symbol appears in many guises, and enters in the composition of many other symbols. The one is an abstraction, a universal. The other is concrete, an individualization.

If the waters represent the divine wisdom, the fish-god emerging therefrom is the god of letters and science. If the waters are called the waters of Truth (for wisdom means possession of the truth) then that which is in the waters, whether fish or triangle, stands for that part of the whole which is comprehended by man.

FISH SYMBOLS IN CHINA.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

[The Field Museum of Chicago contains a great number of valuable jade ornaments which, together with many archeological objects, were collected by Dr. Laufer. We take pleasure in here furnishing our readers with illustrations of some of them together with Dr. Laufer's explanations,¹ and we begin by reproducing a peculiar Chinese girdle ornament called *küeh*, which consists of a ring open in one part and symbolizing separation. Wu Ta-Ch'eng, Dr. Laufer's authority, published the picture of one of them which he considers the oldest type of *küeh*.]

THE symbolism relative to the incomplete rings called *küeh* is peculiar. Wu Ta-ch'eng alludes to it in figuring a specimen in his collection (see accompanying illustration) in which I believe



KÜEH. AN OPEN JADE RING, SYMBOL OF SEPARATION.

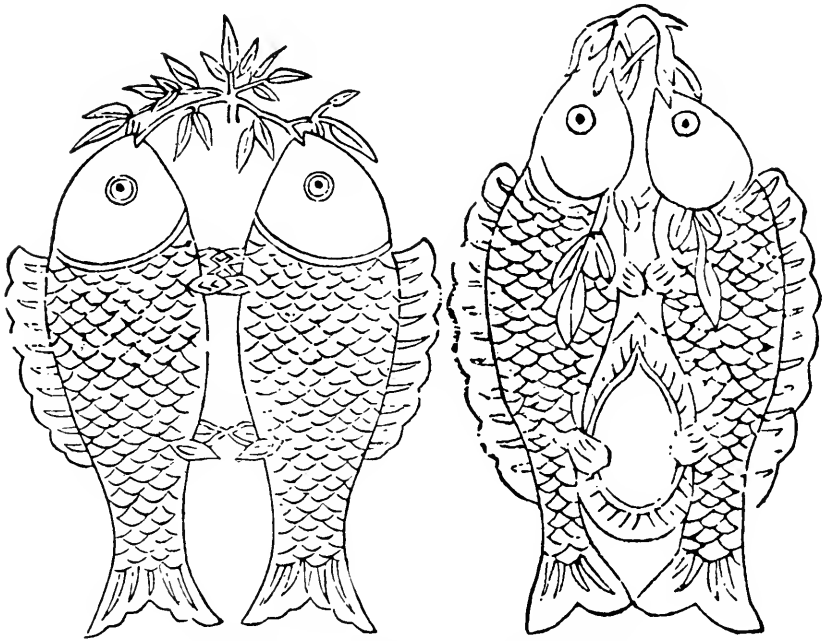
The Chinese archeologist Wu Ta-Ch'eng regards the figures on the obverse as two dragons, though they look more like fishes.

the oldest type of these rings may be found. It is carved from green jade with a black zone and has a double dragon (*shuang lung*) engraved on the one face and "the scarlet bird" (*chu kio* or

¹ Berthold Laufer, *Jade; a Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*. Chicago, Field Museum, 1912.

chu niao), the bird of the southern quarter, on the other face. The form as here outlined exactly agrees with that on a tile disk of the Han period (*Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, Plate LXVII), Fig. 4). It is not known what its proper significance is on the tile nor in this connection on the ring. The break in the ring is effected by a narrow strip sawn away between the two dragon-heads which cannot touch each other; it symbolically indicates the rupture or the breaking-off of cordial relations between two people.

The gloomy half-ring *küeh* originally meant separation, banishment, nay even capital punishment; or, what could not appeal either

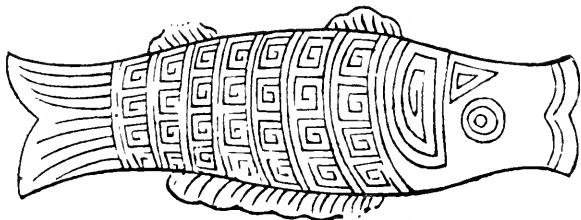


JADE GIRDLE PENDANTS. PAIRS OF FISHES.

to the people at large, the decision in literary disputes. But this entire symbolism must have died out during the Han period; for then a new style of girdle-ornament gradually seems to have come into general use, carved into graceful designs not pointing to any serious disaster for the wearer. It is useless to raise here a question of terminology, and to argue that these ornaments differ from the ancient half-rings and may have developed from another type which may have even existed in the Chou period under a different name. This may be, but the fact remains that the long series of these objects is designated *küeh* by the native archeologists, and that in some of

them the type, and above all, the designs of the *küeh*,—and these are presumably the oldest in the group of the new *küeh*,—have been faithfully preserved.

The two illustrations of double fishes, here reproduced, are carved from green jade. In the first their fins are connected, and they are holding in their mouths the leaved branch of a willow (*liu*), according to the Chinese explanation. It should be added that, during the Han period, it was customary to pluck a willow-branch (*chê liu*, see Giles No. 550), and to offer it to a parting friend who was escorted as far as the bridge *Pa* east of Ch'ang-ngan where the branch of separation (*küeh!*) was handed to the departing friend.² The significance of this ornament is therefore simple enough: we must part, but we shall remain friends as these two fishes are inseparable. It reveals to us at the same time how the *küeh*, so formidable in the beginning with its message of absolute divorce, was mitigated into a more kind-hearted attitude which made it acceptable



JADE GIRDLE PENDANTS. SINGLE FISH.

to all people—it became a parting-gift, a farewell trinket. The date of this piece is set at a period covering the Wei and Tsin dynasties, i. e., roughly the third and fourth centuries A. D., but I have no doubt that the pattern goes back to the creative period of the Han.

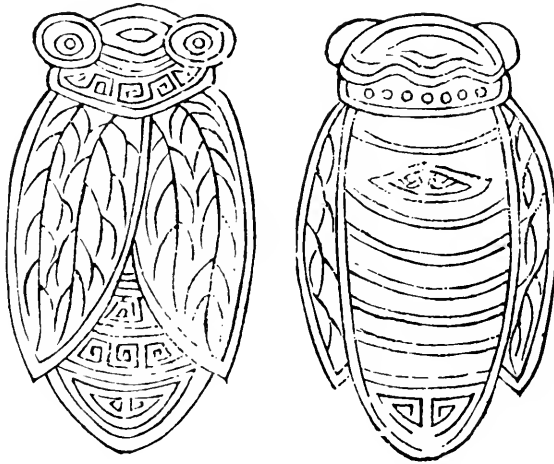
The second figure displays a similar design of a pair of fishes, the same carving being brought out on both faces. Also here, the editors explain the plant design as that of a willow. The leaves are represented here on the bodies behind the gills, and a leaf-shaped wreath (with the perforation of the ancient *küeh*) appears between the lower fins. Another difference is that the tips of the tails here touch each other which seems to hint at a more intimate union of the party concerned, while there is a gap in the previous piece in correspondence with the break in the ancient half-ring.

[It is noteworthy that the fishes frequently appear in pairs in the Christian catacombs where the idea of a parting suggests itself very obviously. Here the two fishes are usually separated by an anchor, the common symbol of

² Pétillon, *Allusions littéraires*, p. 172.

hope, so as to suggest very plainly the idea of a parting with the hope of meeting again. We may add that the pair of fishes as they appear in the zodiac are very different in nature and presumably in meaning, and should not be confounded with either the Chinese fish, with the *küeh*, or the Christian fishes in the catacombs; and further the figure of the single fish has again a significance of its own. In Chinese it means loneliness, independence and uniqueness. We here reproduce such a single fish.]

The scales are conceived of as meander fretwork; but I do not know whether, for this reason, this fish is associated with thunder. The peculiar feature is, at all events, its single-blessedness in distinction from the common fish couples. There is a huge fish in the Yellow River, called *kuan* (Giles, No. 6371, Pétilion, *loc. cit.*, p. 500)³



JADE GIRDLE PENDANT. CICADA.

supposed to be a kind of spike, noted for its solitary habits of life, and therefore an emblematic expression for anybody deprived of company like an orphan, a widower, a bachelor, or a lonely fellow without kith or kin.⁴ A girdle-ornament of this design was perhaps a gift for a man in this condition.

Among the jade amulets placed on the corpse to prevent its decay the fish occurs on the eye and lip-amulets. But there are also

³ The Chinese theory that this species is not able to close its eyes is certainly mere fancy, as in all fishes the accessory organs of the eye like the lids and lachrymal glands are poorly developed.

⁴ In this sense, it is mentioned as early as in the *Shu king*. In one poem of the *Shi king*, No. 9 of the songs of the country of Ts'i, Wên Kiang, the widow of Prince Huan-of Lu, is censured for returning several times into her native country of Ts'i where she entertained an incestuous intercourse with her own brother, the prince Siang. The poet compares her to the fish *kuan* who is restless and sleepless at night for lack of a bed-fellow (see Legge, *Shi king*, Vol. I, p. 159, and Vol. II, p. 293).

instances of large separate carvings representing fishes which have no relation to the body, but have been placed in the coffin for other reasons.

The Field Museum of Chicago contains two mortuary jade fishes unearthed from graves of the Han period. One of them⁵ is a marvelous carving of exceedingly fine workmanship, all details having been brought out with patient care. It represents the full figure of a fish, both sides being carved alike, 20 cm. long, 11 cm. wide, and 2 cm. thick, of a dark spinach-green jade. A small piece has been chipped off from the tail-fin. There is a small eye in the dorsal fin and a larger one below in the tail-fin. It is therefore likely that the object was suspended somewhere in the coffin; it is too large and too heavy (it weighs 1¼ pounds) to have served for a girdle-ornament. In this way,—with comparatively large bearded head and short body,—the Chinese represent a huge sea-fish called *ngao* (Giles No. 100).

Such large and fine jade carvings are likely to have had a religious significance, and the following passage may throw some light on this subject:

“In the Han Palace Kun ming ch’ih a piece of jade was carved into the figure of a fish. Whenever a thunderstorm with rain took place, the fish constantly roared, its dorsal fin and its tail being in motion. At the time of the Han, they offered sacrifices to this fish in their prayers for rain which were always fulfilled.”⁶

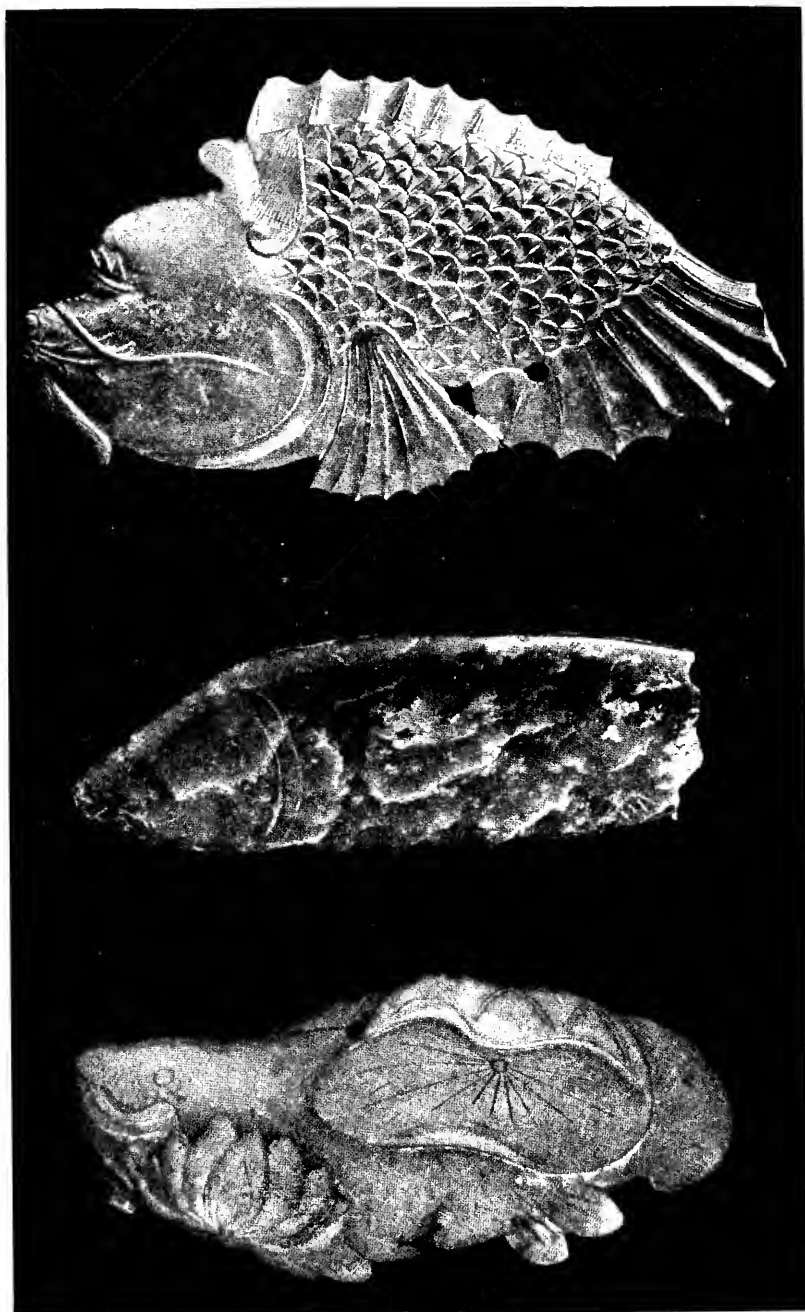
The middle figure on the same plate, a fragment, perhaps only the half of the original figure, is represented carved in the shape of a fish of leaf-green jade clouded with white specks, on the lower face covered with a thick layer of hardened loess. It is 11.5 cm. long, 4.2 cm. wide, and 9 mm. thick.

In the July number of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo* (Vol. XXVII, 1911), there is an article by Prof. S. Tsuboi describing some interesting figures of animals of chipped flint, one of them representing a well-formed fish (p. 132).

While the religious symbolism formerly connected with the fish has almost disappeared it continues as a favorite ornament, and jade girdle pendants in the shape of fishes are still much in use. The third figure of the same plate represents such a modern carving of white jade showing a fish surrounded by lotus-flowers (9.8 cm. long, 4 cm. wide). The contrast between this modern and the two ancient pieces in design and technique is evident.

⁵ The upper figure in the adjoined plate.

⁶ *Si king tsa ki*, quoted in *P’ei wên yüan fu*, Ch. 100 A, p. 6 a.



JADE CARVINGS. FISHES.

The butterfly carved from white and brownish-yellow jade is a unique specimen among mortuary offerings. It is alleged by those who found it that it was taken from the grave-mound of the famous Emperor Ts'in Shih (B. C. 246-211) near the town of Lin-tung which is 50 *li* to the east of Si-ngan fu. I am not fully convinced that this is really the case, though any positive evidence *pro* or *contra* this assertion is lacking; but there is no doubt that, judging from its appearance and technique, this is a burial object of considerable age and unusual workmanship, such as is likely to



MORTUARY JADE CARVING. BUTTERFLY.

have been buried with a personage of high standing only. It is a flat carving (12.6×7.6 cm., 0.5 cm. thick) both in open work and engraved on both faces, the two designs, even in number of strokes, being perfectly identical. The work of engraving is executed with great care, the lines being equally deep and regular. We notice that a plum-blossom pattern is brought out between the antennae of the butterfly; it is the diagram of a flower revealing a certain tendency to naturalism, which seems to bring out the idea that the butterfly is hovering over the flower. We further observe four designs of plum-blossoms, of the more conventional character, carved

à jour in the wings. The case is therefore analogous to that illustrated on a Han bronze vase (*Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, p. 283).

It is known that in modern times the combination of butterfly and plum-blossom is used to express a rebus (*mei tieh*) with the meaning "Always great age" (W. Grube, *Zur Pekingener Volkskunde*, p. 139).⁷ It is difficult to say whether, in that period to which this specimen must be referred, this notion was already valid, though the possibility must be admitted in view of the early rebuses traced by A. Conrady (preface to Stentz, *Beiträge zur Volkskunde Süd-Schantungs*). It would, however, be erroneous to believe that the rebus in all cases presented the prius from which the ornament was deduced, for most of these ornamental components are much older and may even go beyond an age where the formation of rebuses was possible. The rebus was read into the ornaments, in well-nigh all cases; while other single ornaments were combined into complex compositions with the intention of bringing out a rebus. It is not the rebus which has created the ornaments, but it is the ornament which has elicited and developed the rebus; the rebus has merely shaped, influenced and furthered the decorative compositions as, e. g., occurring in the modern Peking embroideries figured by Grube. In the present case, it is quite obvious that the association of the butterfly with a floral design rests on natural grounds, and was originally not provoked by a mere desire of punning, which is the product of a subsequent development.

A very curious feature of this specimen is that the two upper large plum-blossoms in the wings are carved out in loose movable rings turning in a deeply hollowed groove but in such a way that they cannot be taken out, a clever trick such as the later authors designate as "devil's work" (*kuei kung*). This peculiarity certainly had also a significance with reference to the mortuary character of the object. Such movable pieces are designated by the Chinese as "living" (*huo*); so we have here two "living" plum-blossoms in distinction from the two "dead" plum-blossoms below, and the two former might have possibly conveyed some allusion to a future life.

⁷ There is also the interpretation *hu-tieh nao mei*, "the butterfly playfully fluttering around plum-blossoms," alluding to long life and beauty (*Ibid.*, p. 138, No. 15).

THE PRIME OBJECT OF ORIGINAL CHRISTIANITY.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

THAT Christianity in its origin was a purely eschatological religion intended only for the time of its origin, is a fact which clearly stands forth in the writings of the New Testament. It is only the unhistorical sense of the church from a very early date down to our own days that has covered up this fact by twisted interpretations of the numerous passages of the New Testament clearly expressing the firm expectation of the approaching end of the world and the coming of the kingdom of God from heaven. These interpretations dominated Christianity for 1800 years.

It is natural that the church took refuge in such wholly unfounded interpretations, for to understand them as they were intended to be understood would have been to grant that Christianity in its origin was founded upon a great error, namely upon the non-fulfilment of that expectation—an error which Jesus and Paul and their immediate followers alike shared—and this would have been to assume the purely human origin of Christianity. Although the fact of that great error, and therefore the purely human origin of Christianity, is at present acknowledged by all unprejudiced Biblical scholars, nevertheless the great majority of Christians are not acquainted with this fact, not even the majority of the ministry. Even religious radicals who have grown up under the traditional interpretation of the eschatological passages do not seem to be clearly acquainted with their original meaning. Otherwise they would not always center their attacks upon other points of Christianity instead of upon this fact, which more than anything else clearly establishes the perfectly human origin of Christianity, at the same time showing that it can be understood in a truly natural and historical way, without assuming interested priestly motives as many unreasonable rad-

icals of the old type still do; or without looking for other secrets supposed to have mainly given rise to Christianity, as for instance the purpose to establish monotheism and to destroy paganism and idolatry, for which object Judaism was better fitted than Christianity and pagan philosophy itself offered weapons enough. I think it is not too daring to say that the historical understanding of the eschatological passages of the New Testament and their import for the origin of Christianity is as little known or felt among those attacking Christianity or seeking for secret motives for its origin in other directions, as among those who still see in Christianity a directly divine revelation once established for all times. In my personal experiences with ultraradical enemies of Christianity I have observed that they are as much under the ban of the orthodox traditional interpretations of the Bible as are its faithful believers. As an example I will give that of a radical writing fiercely against Christianity, who faithfully accepted the orthodox explanation of Gen. vi. 4, that the "sons of God" were Sethites and the "daughters of men" Cainites. I therefore look upon this article as a contribution to a true historical understanding of the origin of Christianity both for believers and unbelievers, not pretending to give anything really new—for Biblical scholars are acquainted with the facts—but only aiming to popularize results of historical Biblical research in quarters where there indisputably still exists a great necessity for a better acquaintance with them.

In directing our attention to the strong eschatological nature of original Christianity, much of its pensive, gloomy, ecstatic, enthusiastic and visionary elements will become clear to us. For it is a fact that at all times in the history of religions, when there existed a firm conviction that the end of the present and the beginning of a perfectly new world were near at hand, these elements were aroused, together with the wildest beliefs. Witness the Middle Ages when in connection with the immediate expectation of the Judgment there arose men of fanatical, apocalyptic-prophetic tendency, fiercely inimical to the papacy and its excrescences, who like Tanchelm (killed by a priest in 1124) assumed themselves to be incarnations of God, or like Eon (died in prison 1148), referred the phrase *per eum, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos* ("through him who is to come to judge the quick and the dead") to themselves; or again witness such strange and gloomy phenomena as the rise of the brotherhood of flagellants.

Early Christianity was strongly impregnated with these mystical elements, and the cause of this was surely to a great extent the

firm belief in the approaching end of the world and the miraculous establishment of a glorious kingdom of God, when all unrighteousness, all social and political injustice, under which those times were severely suffering, would be for ever crushed.

In order to give a clear proof that Christianity at its origin was strongly eschatological in character and that the new belief was intended only for that time, we must pass in review those passages which clearly pronounce this. In doing so I shall proceed in historical order, giving first the earlier and dominant views of the eschatological hopes, and closing with those passages occurring in the later books (historically considered) of the New Testament, which because the earlier expectations were not fulfilled either discard them altogether, or if they speak of the last days, speak of the circumstances introducing them in a different way from the earlier writers; yes, in the latest books the doubt is even met in Christian circles that because the expectation that the end was near has not been fulfilled, there will be no end at all.

I will insert here the almost superfluous remark that the eschatological passages have originated from the quite general expectation prevalent among the Jews of the first century which was based upon a false interpretation of the book of Daniel as shown in my article "The Successive Stages of the Jewish Idea of the Kingdom of God" (*Open Court*, October, 1911).

It may also be superfluous to repeat here, that no twistings whatever of all the interpreters up to our time in the effort generally to spiritualize the term "Kingdom of God," "Kingdom of Heaven," as meaning a state of the soul, or the glad tidings of the Christian doctrine of salvation, can evade the original meaning of the eschatological passages, even if a spiritual ethical meaning of that form may be attached to such passages as Romans xiv. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 20 or Luke xvii. 21.¹ The original meaning of that term is based on Daniel ii and vii, which speak of the final kingdom of God coming from heaven to destroy all previous kingdoms of the earth.

The teaching of John the Baptist, the stern preacher of repentance, is that this kingdom and its judgment are near, and Jesus follows him with the same note in the beginning of his preaching. But while these statements do not mention a definite date, Jesus proceeds to more particular statements, according to the Synoptics, saying that the end will come before the generation then living will

¹ Any one interested in the efforts of interpretational acrobatics to get around the plain meaning of the eschatological passages will find numerous examples in the commentaries. It is a sad example of the unhistorical if not untruthful sense of the church.

have passed away (Matt. xxiv. 34; Mark xiii. 30; Luke xxi. 32);² that there are some standing about him who will not see death, before the kingdom will come (Mark iv. 1); that his disciples will not even finish their preaching in the cities of Israel before the end will come (Matt. x. 23). The Synoptics further incorporate in their writings an apocalyptic document (in Mark xiii. 7-8, 14-20, 24-27, 30-31, called by critics "the small Apocalypse" and probably written during the last stages of the Jewish war and about the time of the destruction of the city), which reports Jesus to have predicted that event and that *immediately* after it (Matt. xxiv. 29)³ the end would come. Luke who incorporates the same document in his gospel, because the end did not come right away, assumes an interval between the destruction of the city and the end and says: "Jerusalem will be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (xxi. 24). Thereupon he says (verse 27): "*then* will come the Son of Man" preceded by cosmic signs, etc. (verse 25). According to Luke's expectation also therefore the end was soon to come.

Paul, who wrote his epistles (speaking of course here of the authentic ones) before the destruction of the city, clearly expresses his expectation that the end was near. Yes, he even expects to live to see it (1 Cor. xv. 52). Paul is so firmly convinced of the truth of his belief, that he calls it a *mystery*, i. e., a divine secret revealed to him (1 Cor. xv. 51). This is the meaning of the word "mystery" with Paul in other connections (compare Rom. xi. 25). He is firmly convinced that not all of his readers (including himself) will die but many will be transfigured. Those who shall have died, he says, will first be awakened at the blast of the final trumpet and then "we" will be transfigured. The same is stated in 1 Thess. iv. 16-17 with the addition: "Then we living and surviving will be snatched up with them (those awakened) in the clouds etc." To his Roman readers he reveals the other divine secret (Rom. xi. 25), namely that his own people, the Jews, had partly been hardened "until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." Then also the whole of Israel will be saved. Paul, like Luke, had an extremely limited knowledge of the extent of our globe; he naturally expected all this to happen soon.

In 1 Cor. xvi. 22, we have another proof of Paul's belief. In

² The Greek *γενεά* in these passages never meant anything like "the Jewish people," "the human race," etc. as traditional interpretation would make us believe. This is an entirely unjustifiable interpretation of the grammatical meaning of the word.

³ *εὖ θέως*; Mark. xiii. 26, *τότε*.

zealous emotion he writes at the close of his letter: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be devoted to destruction, *Maranatha*." This Aramaic expression means, "Our Lord is come," that he is near. The Hebrew preterite often has this meaning of something yet in the future but in fact near at hand, especially in asseverations.

In 1 Cor. x speaking of what had happened to the disobedient Israelites in the desert, he says (verse 11): "This is written for us as an admonition, to whom the end of the world has come."

2 Cor. v. 4, though not speaking of the end of the world, nevertheless also corroborates Paul's expectation, for the apostle expresses in that passage, written from out of the remembrance of his fatiguing labors on which he dwells so much in this letter, the fervent wish not first to feel the pangs of death but to be transformed at the appearance of the Lord. In Phil. iii. 21, written in his captivity, this fervent wish seems again to have risen in Paul's mind to the former firm conviction of what would become of his body. It must have been especially consoling to him at a time when he was uncertain about the outcome of his captivity. He says: "The Lord will transform our lowly body, etc." (he does not speak of his dead body).

In 2 Thessalonians (even if it is not accepted as of Pauline authorship) we still have the earlier belief of Christianity expressed, that the final coming of God's kingdom will be preceded by an individual in whom evil will become incarnate. The language describing this individual is borrowed from the description in the book of Daniel of Antiochus Epiphanes, the one-time arch-enemy of God's people. After the destruction of that individual likewise (as was said of Antiochus E.) God's kingdom will appear. Still no hint is definitely given as to who this individual may be, though from the obscure oracular language of the passage, and what we otherwise know of early Jewish and Christian views in this matter, a personality from the Roman government is hinted at.

The Apocalypse of John is more outspoken. In spite of all mythical language taken from more ancient and syncretistic pagan myths in which the book of Revelation is clothed, references to the history of the times are plain. Besides other plain hints mentioned in my article cited above and also in "The Number of the Beast" (*Open Court*, April 1909) in accord with other unprejudiced scholars, the references to "the great city having dominion over the kingdoms of the earth" (Rev. xvii. 18), and to the woman clothed in crimson sitting on a beast with seven heads, whose "seven heads are the seven hills, whereupon the woman sits" (Rev. xvii. 9), are so clear

that there ought no longer be any doubt that the book of Revelation points to contemporary Roman history. And even if the explanations of Revelation drawn from contemporary Roman history are not perhaps well founded in every case, still this fact stands out plainly that the Apocalypse is as definite and outspoken in its announcements of the approaching end of the world as any other book of the New Testament. The book declares right from the start that it is to reveal what will happen shortly (verse 1) and that "the time is at hand" (verse 3). After repeated utterances of this kind it closes with the words of the Lord himself: "Surely I come quickly," to which the answer is given: "Yea, come, Lord Jesus."

The letter to the Hebrews (of unknown authorship) also expects a speedy coming of the last day. After stating (i. 2) that "God has spoken to us in the last days" (namely the last world-period); that he had "suffered at the completion of the times"⁴ (ix. 26), it admonishes the readers to a steadfast and holy life, "and so much the more as the day is approaching," i. e., the last day (x. 25) and because "there is yet a *very very little* while,⁵ the coming one will come and not tarry" (x. 37).

With the Fourth Gospel and the epistles attributed to John we come to a different stage of the eschatological idea. 1 John ii. 16 still speaks of "the last hour" being at hand, but while the Synoptics bring the end of the world in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Apocalypse, presumably also 2 Thessalonians, expects the incarnation of evil (the individual Antichrist) to arise from the Roman empire, the writer of this letter sees the sign of the last times in the arising of many Antichrists (ii. 18), under the form of heretics coming from the midst of the Christians⁶ themselves, who deny that Jesus was the Christ and that Christ had appeared in the flesh. The Docetae, to whom reference is very probably made, taught that the *Æon*, i. e. Christ, as they expressed it, had not really appeared in the flesh, but only in a *seeming body*. This, says the writer, is the nature of the Antichrist. Similarly Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philippenses*) says: "Every one who denies that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is Antichrist, and who does not confess the testimony of the cross is of the devil." We have here a transformation of the eschatological idea of original Christianity; it is the beginning of the formation of church dogma in opposition to heresy.

In the Fourth Gospel the idea that the end is near has been

⁴ συντέλεια τῶν αἰώνων the same as τέλος.

⁵ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον.

⁶ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξηλθον.

entirely discarded, a very interesting fact in distinction from the Synoptics since this gospel seemingly pretends to give a historical statement with regard to the person of Jesus. But as the Jesus of this gospel is a pure abstraction and the divine Logos, it would not have been in place to attribute to him such an erroneous prediction as the coming of the end during the lifetime of the generation among whom Jesus himself lived. We notice the purpose—a sign that at the time this gospel was written the previous expectation that the end was near had not been fulfilled. This element was therefore discarded. It is only in the appendix to this gospel (xxi.) that the saying is attributed to Jesus concerning the pretended author of the gospel: “If I will that he remain till I come, what is that to thee (Peter)?” The notice then follows: “Therefore this saying went out among the brethren, that that disciple would not die.” We are all acquainted with the legend of ecclesiastical history, that John was only slumbering in his grave and by his breath moved the earth. The writer of the appendix has unwittingly (though otherwise the Fourth Gospel discards all expectation that the end is near) had in mind probably the saying of Jesus in the Synoptics: “There are some standing here, etc.” and has unconsciously testified again to the erroneous hope. The belief of the still living John, by the way, was truly Oriental. J. G. E. Falls in *Three Years in the Lybian Desert* (Freiburg, 1911) says that the Senussi (a Bedouin tribe of the oasis Siwa) believe that the sheik Sidi Mahdi, who died 1902, still lives.

In the pseudepigraphic second epistle of Peter the doubts of scoffers that there will be an end must be met. They say (iv. 4): “Where is the promise of his coming? For since the time the fathers fell asleep, everything remains as from the beginning of creation.” The erroneousness of the expectation of original Christianity was clearly felt in Christian circles. The writer of the epistle feels it himself, but he explains the nonfulfilment of that expectation as being founded in the clemency of the Lord, “who does not wish that any be lost, but that all may turn to repentance” (verse 9).

The prime object of original Christianity, in spite of its erroneous expectation, was an ethical one, and we need not seek for any other secret of its origin. We may not consider the motive behind the ethics of original Christianity a very high one and may agree with Schweitzer in his *Von Reimarus bis Wrede* in calling the ethics of Jesus “interimistic,” i. e., intended only for the short interval remaining before the end. Still the object of original Christianity, in striving to awaken self-reform and repentance from evil ways and to offer a means of salvation to the repentant in the belief of a

Saviour, must undoubtedly be admitted to be an ethical redemptory purpose; and in this Christianity simply followed in the wake of more ancient religious faiths. The so-called Orphic faiths, from whose terrible descriptions of the torments of the wicked in Hades such Christian works as the Apocalypse of Peter of the second century have taken their shocking and extended representations of hell, according to Dieterich in his *Nekya*, besides other Greek "Mysteries," aimed at the same purpose as original Christianity, namely to awaken repentance and self-reform and to offer redemptory means. The well-known passage in Plato's Republic, where he speaks of mendicant prophets going around to offer means of redemption and producing Orphic books, has been cited in former issues of *The Open Court*, if I am not mistaken, by some writers, and I need not repeat it here. Dr. Conybeare is right when he says: "We make a mistake if we think, that the awful shadow of the belief in hell was not cast across the human mind long before the birth of Christianity. On the contrary it is a survival from the most primitive stage of our intellectual and moral development. The mysteries of the old Greek and Roman world were intended as modes of propitiation and atonement, by which to escape from these all-besetting terrors, and Jesus the Messiah was only the last and best of the *lutherioi theoi*, i. e., redeeming gods. In the dread of death and in the belief in the eternal terrors of hell, which pervaded men's minds, a few philosophers excepted, Christianity had a *point d'appui*, without availing itself of which it would not have made a single step towards the conquest of men's minds." The old Persian religion in calling Zarathustra "the healer of life" who is destined to heal again the life of mankind made sick by the evil demons of sin, as its later daughter Mithraism with its ascetic and rigorous practices, aimed at the same ethical redemptory purpose as original Christianity. The same must be said of Buddhism. In the Lalitavistara (I, 1 and I, 2) Buddha is called "the King of physicians." It says of him: "Thou true physician, experienced in healing, place thou the long suffering ones soon by means of threefold redemption into the blessedness of Nirvana." Thus we find the same prime object of original Christianity in more ancient forms of religion that of an ethical, redemptory purpose. The strong eschatological element of Christianity connected with this purpose, was also an element of the religion of Zarathustra, Mithraism and Stoicism, all of which believed in cycles at the end of which the destruction of the world would come and a new era. Christianity perhaps only differed from these beliefs in that it felt so certainly and definitely that the end was near, and this expectation marks it as

being intended only for the time of its origin without any idea whatever of a religion intended to go down into history for 1800 years. Original Christianity could not have any such idea or any such foresight into the far future. The Roman empire had to appear to the first Christians as the last empire, because it was reigning over the whole world as they thought. The succession of ancient world-empires seemed to have exhausted itself in the last, the Roman empire. There was no idea, at the utmost but a very hazy one, of great realms beyond the Roman world.

The eschatological ideas of original Christianity, like those of physical punishment for evil doers after death and of blessings of the new heaven and the new earth for the repentant and saved, are exploded once for all. Nobody, except those who still follow the old method of trying to determine on the basis of the Apocalypse and other parts of the Bible, just when the end is coming, is concerned about that time any more, not even the orthodox. From science we know that the worlds of the universe do not come to an end so fast, and that our earth may yet exist many cycles of time. Similarly we know punishment in a future life can no longer be conceived in the old way of excruciating physical pains. Whatever may be the ideas about the state of the individual after death, all will agree that a disembodied spirit, if individuality would continue in this way, could not be punished by physical torments in a limited locality in the underworld.

There is no question that just the explosion of the ancient ideas of the end of the world and of future punishment have contributed more than anything else to a disbelief in Christianity in modern times and also to relax morality with the majority. Still the moral maxims of Jesus and original Christianity, which in spite of all contrary assertions are the same maxims—even those of the highest order—as those taught by other ancient moral and religious teachers (for Jesus taught nothing essentially new) these moral maxims still remain in their full value and can not be sinned against without evil consequences. And here we find that the ancient motive of fear of evil consequences, expressed in the idea of a future retribution, shows itself as strong as ever. While the lower moral type of man, even if he no longer believes in hell, is restrained from evil deeds by fear of temporal punishment administered by law, and a higher moral type is restrained from immorality and vice by the fear of losing self-respect, reputation and honor among fellow-men, social standing and position, livelihood, or by the fear of bodily and mental ills attendant upon vice, etc., even the highest moral type of man is kept from

doing wrong by the fear of losing his inner happiness and bliss, even if he is not governed by any fear of external consequences. It is hard to see that any ethics can be anything else but eudemonistic or not be guided by fear in some way or other. In order to bring every individual to the highest moral type—for before this is accomplished the general happiness of mankind will be little advanced—the doctrine of good or evil consequences in the soul of every man following right- or wrong-doing, with the aim of arousing fear in this respect, must be as strongly preached now as it was in original Christianity. There is no more danger that such preaching will not tend to develop the highest qualities of ethics, than the preaching of the fear of judgment in original Christianity precluded the demands of genuine forgiveness, mercy, charity and love.

Even the eschatological element of original Christianity, that the end of the world is fast approaching with its judgment for the individual and general humanity, will always retain its truth, though not in an external physical reality as antiquity accepted it, yet a reality nevertheless. Every individual is constantly nearing the end of his existence where an inner judgment will declare to him whether he has made his life a life of worth to himself or not and whether he leaves blessings or curses behind him. Likewise the life of whole generations or nations is constantly nearing periods in which their own verdict will declare whether they have lived a life of worth to themselves or not and whether they will leave blessings or curses behind them, for as Schiller says, *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht* ("The world's history is the world's judgment"). These seem to be commonplaces, but they nevertheless must be repeated again and again. Such final periods do not seem to be as vivid realities as under the external aspect in which the ancient mind conceived them, but they are as real and ought to be to the human mind as vivid. That they do not appear vivid enough to the general human mind is only a sign that the truly ethical and religious spirit is yet far from being fully developed and therefore needs a continual deepening and an inculcation of the idea that the spiritual life of mankind is as much an actual reality with an inner purpose in the life of the cosmos as is the life of the latter appearing to the outer senses.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN CHINA.

BY GILBERT REID.

THE political situation in China is bewildering. Those of us who have lived the longest in China are most ready to confess our ignorance. And yet we are all surmising or prophesying, sometimes with feelings of pessimism and sometimes with clear optimism. While a republic has taken the place of the old Manchu monarchy, there does not seem to be any great moral re-awakening. True reforms are as difficult to secure as they were under the Manchu rule. This is easy of explanation, if we consider some of the principles which lay at the basis of the revolution. The revolution was successful because of the spirit of disloyalty, either on the part of those who held or had held official position in the late government, or on the part of the soldiers who formed a part of the imperial army and were paid from the imperial treasury. Besides, there was the feeling of personal hatred to the Manchus, who belong to the same race as the Chinese but were looked on as aliens and usurpers. It is hard to secure unity after the cultivation of feelings of mutual animosity. In addition there was the desire on the part of many to secure better positions for themselves than they had under the old regime. It is true that many of the revolutionists were true patriots, but the establishment of a republican form of government is made difficult by the existence of these characteristics to which we have just referred.

As a matter of fact there is no sign of great improvement in matters of true reform. There is plenty of talk of liberty, equality and fraternity, but in too many cases the liberty is without the restraints of law, the equality is without any distinction of parent and child, man or woman, or between those in authority and those who are represented by those in authority, and the fraternity is largely

superficial, still maintaining the distinction between the five races of China, represented by the five colors of the new flag, and emphasizing the rights of the provinces in contradistinction to the rights of the central government.

It has been a matter of surprise that with those who are Christian converts, and even with some missionaries, there has been a profession of friendliness to the Chinese officials of the old regime in past years, in the hope of securing favors and contributions, while there has been a secret plotting to overthrow the old government



SUN YAT SEN.

The Leading Spirit in Chinese Politics. From a picture taken April, 1912.

and to bring about the revolution. This method of blowing hot and cold cannot command the respect of any right-minded person.

The financial difficulties facing China are colossal. We see no way for China to maintain either her sovereignty or her standing as a sound credit nation with the other nations of the world. She is in danger of bankruptcy, or of subserviency to the financial control of foreign money-lenders. What is the method of relief is beyond our comprehension at present.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and dangers, there seems little likelihood of the Manchu Dynasty being restored. In the opinion of some of us a constitutional monarchy, by preserving continuity

with the past and by observing the fundamental teachings of China's own sages, would have been better than an attempt at a republican form of government, which breaks down old traditions and throws the country into a state of anarchy. In saying this, it is not because any of us disbelieve in democratic ideas, for such ideas have always existed in China and would have been just as possible under a constitutional monarchy as under a republic.

We who live in China have great sympathy for the Chinese people, and we would be glad if relief could be found from her many calamities as well as from her present political difficulties. The problems to arise in the future call for sound judgment and full sympathy on the part of those who come to China from other countries and live here among the people. Any one who is not willing to help China had better stay away. There is much that we can learn from her past, and there is much that we can give her, if we consider what is really the best, and not what the Chinese for the moment may desire or demand.

The transformation that has taken place so suddenly presents an interesting spectacle to every student. The outcome will have a far-reaching effect on all the nations of the world.

THE POET LAUREATE OF JAPAN.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY THE LATE ARTHUR LLOYD.

[Baron Takasaki is the head of what is known as the *Uta dokoro*, or Poetical Bureau, of the Imperial Household Department, and it is his duty as such to keep a record of all poems composed by members of the imperial family, and especially to arrange for the *Uta kwai* or poetry meetings of which old-fashioned, aristocratic Japan is still fond. The greatest of these meetings is held shortly after the New Year, and prizes are awarded for which any Japanese subject may compete.

Baron Takasaki, though not fluently conversant with English, has had many friends among English-speaking literary men, including the late Secretary Hay, who sent him a poem which must have been written a few days before his lamented death. Before the poem reached its destination, the writer was no more. I herewith reproduce the lines as they will, I am sure, be of interest to American readers. They were written in acknowledgment of some verses which Baron Takasaki had addressed to him.

"I, a gray poet of the Sunset Land,
Greet you who sing by Nippon's shining strand.

"Out of the shadows of a day that's done,
I hail you, Poet of the Rising Sun!"

Plum-Blossoms in the Snow.

(1904.)

Our hardy plums this year have dared to bloom
Amidst the snow. Our hardy regiments
Bloom valiantly amidst Manchurian snows.

Pleasure-Seekers.

(1904.)

This spring the pleasers will sail in boats
Adown the river Oi, by Arashi,¹
To see the peaceful cherries; but their talk
Will all be of the tempest of the war.

¹ Near Kyoto, a place famous for its beautiful scenery.

Self-Culture.

My garden's full of weeds. I root up one,
To find another in its place, and thus
The summer's ended ere my work's half done.

Pure Love of Flowers.

I am not anxious for a long-drawn life:
Therefore, I plant the tall chrysanthemum,
Not as a symbol of longevity,
But as the fairest flower upon God's earth.

Patience May Be Exhausted.

(Referring to the long-protracted Russo-Japanese negotiations.)

1903-4.

E'en the long-suffering Buddha turns at last
In anger, when a man with insolence
Strikes his face more than thrice.²

The Peasant Heroes of the War.

Now will the patient ox³ think of the time
When he too was a warrior, and, with horns
Blazing, wrought havoc in the foemen's tents.

A Friendly Greeting.

To Tennyson, the noble Laureate's son,
And Governor of the Austral Commonwealth.

Mountains and seas, with bars material, keep
Our little lives asunder, as themselves
Are kept apart and distant; but beyond
The mountains and deep seas, the world of soul
Unites our hearts with pleasure.

It is good
To have a friend that speaks a different tongue,
And lives with people of another sphere,

² This is a proverbial expression. *Hotoke no koa mo sando.*

³ This refers to a Chinese story. The wars with China and Russia have had a tremendous moral effect on the common people. In the old days it was only the *samurai* that bore arms; now, even the lower classes feel that they have been raised to that dignity.

With different thoughts from those that I have known,
And yet a friend,

When shall I meet again
My peerless friend, and grasp his great good hand,
And speak once more with him as friend to friend?
I know not when, but still I long and wait.

To a Lark.

Lark, that thy matin lay dost bring
To Heaven's gate with soaring wing,
Then, falling like a droppèd stone,
Seek'st thy poor nest with grass o'ergrown,
To rise again—dost thou well know,
Thy course our human life doth show?
For man, successful, soars on high,
Then falls through some calamity,
To rise again. Vicissitude
Where man finds beatitude.
Rising or falling, may we sing,
Like thee, brave lark, on happy wing.

On the Occasion of Their Majesties' Silver Wedding.

[Their Majesties celebrated their Silver Wedding in the year 1893. The Empress, by birth a lady of the House of Ichijo, belongs to the ancient family of the Fujiwara. The *Fuji* is the wistaria.]

Some five and twenty years ago,
They took the climbing Fuji vine,
And wedded it unto the Pine,
And bade the two together grow.

And we have watched, as years have flown,
The Fuji twine her tender arms
Around the Pine's robuster charms,
Until the two became as one.

So now we pray that, thus entwined,
The two may stand for happy years,
One in their strength, and free from fears
Of storm or tempest, rain or wind.

The Poet's Son.

[The Poet's son, going to the war, as a lieutenant in the navy, receives from the Court the present of a brace of wild geese.]

You've had a royal gift. Now, in return,
Shoot that proud bird that haunts the Eagle's Nest,⁴
And bring him as an offering to your Lord.

[The poet receives news of his son's death before Port Arthur.]

Well hast thou kept the teachings of thy sire
That ever bade thee, in the parlous hour,
Yield up thy life for thy dear country's sake.

Now rest in peace: the son thou leav'st behind,
Thine only son, I take and nurture up,
A living monument of all thy worth.

[This poem being shown to Her Majesty, she writes as follows:]

We mourn for him, the son who lost his life
For his dear country on the battle-field;
Yet 'tis the Father's Heart that grieves us most.

Take thou his son,—he's full of life and hope,—
And use him as thy trusty bamboo-staff,
For serviceable aid in all thy work.

[To which the poet replies, in a small volume of verse entitled *Oya gokoro*, "The Father's Heart":]

I wept not for my son, yet now my sleeves
Are wet with tears, right gracious tears, that fell
Like rain-drops from the o'ershadowing Forest-Queen.⁵

Yes, I will take my dead son's only son,
And rear him gently.⁶ He shall be, to me,
A staff; to thee, a strong, protecting, shield.

[The poet goes to the railway station to receive the mortal remains of his son.]

To-day I go to meet his poor remains,
An empty shell—mere ashes—; for his soul
Lingers behind the body, till our flag
Has marked Port Arthur's fortress for her own.

⁴ The Eagle's Nest is the name of one of the forts at Port Arthur.

⁵ "Forest Queen," i. e., Her Majesty.

⁶ "Gently," in the sense of "as a gentleman."

Diplomacy.

The weak bamboo, no strength it has to stand
And wrestle 'gainst the onslaughts of the wind;
But pliant bows its head before the gale.
Its very pliancy doth show its strength.

Yet, Beware.

Draw but the sword from its white wooden sheath,
And straight, cold thrills course gladly through the frame
Of him that draws and flashes it aloft—
O autumn-frosted⁷ blade of Old Japan.

⁷ The phrase "autumn frost" (*Aki no shimo*) is often applied to the Japanese sword which is as delicate and yet as sharp as a thin piece of autumn ice.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A UNION OF RELIGIONS IN JAPAN.

Prof. Ernest W. Clement of the University of Tokyo sends us a clipping from *The Japanese Advertiser* of Tokyo in which a member of the Shingon sect, Mr. Saku Keijun, declares for the complete union of Buddhism and Christianity. Mr. Keijun's remarks are translated from the *Hinode Koron* as follows:

"I am not satisfied with the union of the various sects of Buddhism but advocate a union of Buddhism and Christianity. It is well known that the foundation of the Shingon sect is the dual Paradise (*mandara*), first, the one of fancy (*Kongokai mandara*) and second the real (*Taizokai*). The special characteristic of this mandara is the union of all the religions of the universe. All the gods of Brahmanism, Taoism, Shintoism, and the universe are brought together in this dual mandara. This being the nature of the mandara, the image of Christ who bore the cross and that of Mary should have had a place there from the beginning, and it is nothing less than marvelous that it is not so. The reason is this: Since the dual mandara recognizes the necessity of an infinite Buddha, it harmonizes with the customs and feelings of the Occidentals who adhere to monotheism, and this monotheism will appeal to them. Already this dual mandara includes the gods of Brahmanism, which teaches that the universe was the work of Brahma; therefore we can include in our galaxy the one true God whom the Christians worship. Especially when we take into account the spirit of esoteric Shingon we would make the person of Christ and God the Great Mandara. The cross we would make the center of our worship in the Jesus mandara, the Bible the Law mandara, and the infinite activity of the Christian church in the direction of mercy and salvation the sceptered militant mandara (*Katsuna mandara*) or mandara of works. Thus Christianity may be brought into the mandara under these four classes. Buddhism and Christianity in fundamentals are the same, but if we make minor distinctions we see Buddhism teaches we are related to the past; that is, all things existed in a former state, but Christianity explains existence according to natural laws. But progressive Christianity has become pantheistic. Those who entertain the idea that man may become a god are now found both in the West and in Japan. This idea is the same as that of being absorbed in and existing as Buddhas.

"There are some Buddhists who say Buddhism and Christianity have been separate and distinct from the beginning and a union of the two is impossible, but men of this type are uninitiated and have no clear comprehension of the principles of Buddhism. The Shingon is the most progressive of all the sects

and the mandara is the principle deity worshiped, and the fundamental spirit is that all religions may be reduced to a single religion, and taking their stand here they contend that the union of Buddhism and Christianity is possible. Some take a superficial view of the question and refer to the time when Buddhism was introduced into Japan, and when it clashed with Shinto the image of Buddha was cast into a pond at Naniwa. They say this is proof that Buddhism will not harmonize with other religions; but this is a mistaken view. The founder Kobo Daishi established the Ryobu Shinto and gained great strength, but the fundamental principles of our religion from the beginning favored the union of religions and the various Shinto gods were introduced. This establishing of the Ryobu Shinto was not the work of Kobo Daishi according to some. Whatever the facts are in the case the great virtue of the Shingon is that it recognized the essential harmony of Shinto and Buddhism, and labored to bring the two together. So it happened that the gods and Buddha were arranged side by side and worshiped without the least contradiction. There is no such thing as a Shinto believer casting away an image or a Buddhist taking down the shelves devoted to the gods. Families worship both at the same time and move on in perfect harmony. The advanced Shingonshu and the progressive Christian inclining to Pantheism are essentially one in principle, and there is no reason why the two should not be practised in the same family without the least disturbance.

"Religion is a thing where greatest liberty should be allowed. Even family restraint is not to be tolerated. At the present day in some families the father is Buddhist, the mother Shinto and the children Christian. In such instances there is ceaseless opposition and strife, but if the fundamental principles of religion were understood it would not be so. The fundamental principles of all religions are the same, and if it were only known that everything centered in the mandara of perfect harmony there would be nothing of this running to the extreme of breaking up ancestral tablets.

"The union of these two faiths is of the utmost importance to society. In what respect is this so? Heretofore the two have mutually hated each other, and if they only knew that really they were one and the same their intercourse would be perfect. If these opinions could only be put into practice the path of international relations would become much smoother. The various Buddhist sects are divided over minor points such as self-reliance (*jiiriki*) and reliance on another (*tarikiki*), or trusting and looking to the paradise of the Jodo; some interpret the teaching in a general way while others put all the emphasis on the mere letter. In fact all these have their source in the Buddha, which is enough to insure a union. There are many ways of establishing this, but the direct one is the reason evidenced in the infinite need of Buddha. It makes no difference whether we attain by the same methods or not, our objective is the Buddha. Herein is the explanation of my seeking to establish the *Ryobu Yaso Kyo*, or the union of the two religions. Hitherto my remarks have dealt with faith, but the mandara applies equally to doctrine and philosophy. The great battles of philosophy have centered around monism and dualism. Neither of these theories are complete in themselves. Idealism and realism at once become occult and mystic.

"Occult Shingon may be said to be monism and at the same time not monism, and it may be said to be dualism and at the same time not dualism, because monism and dualism are perfectly blended into one. The same may be

said of faith. From old times there have been conflicting opinions concerning self-reliance and dependence on a higher power. The fact is, both these views have been carried too far. No one has ever thought of taking a stand between them. It makes no difference how great are our efforts to become a Buddha or a god by our own strength, while we are finite men there is no possibility of accomplishing the feat. Buddha and the gods are infinite, always abounding in mercy and love which come to our aid when we would become perfect. So we see a power other than our own is necessary and when this power is in harmony with our own we attain our wish. This is the real nature of religion. Religion viewed from this point of view makes the reconciliation of all religions possible, and when a union of all is accomplished the result can not but be good.

"The explanation of the origin of religion is that man's nature demands it, but every individual has a different desire. For this reason some advance the view that faith is individual in the extreme and such a thing as making all religions into one is an impossibility. I am aware that faith depends entirely on the individuality of the believer, but I can not agree with those who say this makes a common religion an impossibility. Such advocates look only at the leaves and branches and do not bear in mind that in essentials all religions are one. It matters not how numerous the forms and how distinct the races, they may be reconciled by the great merciful heart bringing about a free change. To-day the world of thought is in great confusion, and it is a time when no one knows whither he is tending. Being wrapped up in western thought men in a superficial way advocate individualism. Things have come to a miserable pass. However, at present the tendency of thought is towards the intellectual and religious, but mixed with this is the tendency to agnosticism. At this time when men have crossed the danger line it is truly grievous to see what the attitude of religion is.

"Men are enslaved to vain forms and at the slightest difference engage in the fiercest quarrels. There is nothing so far-reaching in influencing the hearts of men as religion, and secular educators have begun to take notice of this fact. The responsibilities of religionists are going to be far greater than ever before, so it is binding on every one to realize what a great responsibility rests upon him. Failing to realize this, deterioration will succeed deterioration and corruption succeed corruption, until the rehabilitation of religion will become an impossibility. Why should I speak so despondingly of religion? Because in the life of man I consider nothing so important as faith. In fact faith is the final word when we would speak seriously of life. Religion is power, and if we would make sure of an objective by true religion everything must center on faith. In faith effort first has a meaning and new light is shed upon life. Let religionists clearly apprehend where they stand. I lectured on July 13 in the Imperial University on the dual Christianity so wished to publish my views hoping to be favored by the world's criticisms."

The Japan Advertiser comments as follows in conclusion:

"Mr. Saku is considered one of the Neo-Buddhists, and may be said to have few sympathizers. He might draw more weak Christians his way than Buddhists from their belief. His suggestion of putting Mary, Christ and the Supreme God in the mandara is gruesome. We wonder what name he would give Him. He would put the cross in the hand of the Hotoke as the symbol of militancy (*Katsuma mandara*). The astonishing thing about the whole

discussion is that Mr. Saku is logical and consistent as a Shingon believer in advocating this, and all his Shingon critics are inconsistent. Of course nearly all the other sects will strenuously oppose him."

PAN, THE ARCADIAN GOD.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

A propos your "Pan the Rustic" the following by W. H. Roscher in "The meaning of Pan" (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, I, 1898) may be of interest to you. "At bottom myths are nothing but more or less faithful mirrorings of the *entire* ancient life, feeling and thinking. Nothing would be more onesided than to assume with former investigators that only certain phenomena of nature, as the storm, sun, moon, rainbow, rivers, winds, etc., or only the facts of the 'soul-cult' caused the origin of myths. The truth is rather that all human experiences, both of the outer and inner life, can become myths if they are attached to any divine or demonic personality or condense themselves into such. It only depends upon this, to determine the sphere of representations or experiences more exactly and to examine which have given to the respective god or demon his characteristic contents. In this respect hardly any god is more transparent than just the old Arcadian shepherd-god Pan, whose different functions almost without an exception are exhausted in the facts of ancient shepherd life, and whose name, related to Greek *πάω*, 'to pasture,' Latin *pasci*, *paſtor*, *Pales* (a Roman shepherd divinity), Sanskrit, *goṣas* (*go*, cow) 'cowherd,' clearly denotes 'the herder, pasturer,' as will hardly be doubted any more. Πάν is the Arcadian for *πάνων*, present participle of *πάω*, just as the Arcadian 'Alkman,' 'Herman,' 'Lykan' answer to the forms 'Alkmaon,' 'Hermaon,' 'Lycaon.' 'Ἀλκμαν, Ἑρμαν, Λυκαν, = 'Ἀλκμαων, Ἑρμαων, Λυκαων."

Another interesting fact is what Roscher says of Πάν *ἐφιάλτης*, Pan "the oneleaper." He brings this in connection with the ancient idea of the incubus, nightmare, the German "*Alp*," figuring greatly in the life of primitive people as a hairy demon, appearing during sleep, which idea, as Hermann (*Deutsche Mythologie*) suggests, the hairy skin covering during sleep may have indirectly contributed to the dreamer. Roscher gives a number of examples in this direction from ancient shepherd life.

In this connection I am reminded of the Hebrew *שֵׁיר* (*Seir*, "the male goat"), goatlike hairy demons. That primitive mankind believed in such creatures as actual realities, there is no question. That Pan—as is also true of other deities and demons—had a good and ill will, there is also no question, just as German mythology speaks of good and bad "*Alpe*." Ancient shepherds attributed the sudden terror sometimes befalling a whole herd for some natural reason, to the ill will of Pan, who had consequently to be propitiated for the "panic terror" he had caused.

A. KAMPMEIER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

CHRISTIANITY. An Interpretation. By S. D. McConnell, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L. London, Longmans, 1912.

This book reflects the unrest of to-day, and it is remarkable that a man who has been rector in several Episcopalian churches would write so boldly

and frankly about the problems which confront Christian believers of to-day. He discusses problems such as "Are we still Christians?" He ventures to investigate the idea of salvation in a chapter headed "Immoral Salvation." He discusses the Christ of the gospels and the primitive Christ, the problem of body and soul, and the basis of immortality, not to speak of ecclesiastical history. Of special interest is his presentation of psychological problems, and here he formed a new word called "Immortality" by which he entitles the seventh chapter, pages 119 to 128. The following passage leads up to this question. He says (pages 115-116): "Does reason in man take on any new quality, in virtue of which every individual becomes immortal? The secret which we long to discover is this: Does the psychic life of an individual at any stage of evolution attain to such a high, stable, and independent existence of its own that it will be able to subsist in spite of the disintegration of the physical organism with which it is correlated? What are the conditions upon which a survival must depend? Are these conditions satisfied in the psychic life to be found in the lower animals? Are the conditions present in the case of every individual of the race which we call Man? Or is the possibility of individual immortality only reached at a point more or less defined in the progress of man himself? In fine, is man *immortal*, or is he only *immortable*?"

In reading over the chapter on "Immortality" we do not find a definite answer. Perhaps the author comes as near to it in the following passage as anywhere: "The considerations which would establish immortality for all men, in virtue of the qualities which they possess as men, are equally valid for many of the lower animals. The point at which we will probably have to look for immortality is not at that which separates man from the brute, but at that which separates between one kind of man and all the rest. The story is told of a distinguished Frenchman, who, to the long argument of a friend against the possibility of a future life, replied, 'You say you are not immortal? Very probably you are not; but I am.' This is much more than a smart repartee. It is the solution of a problem otherwise insoluble." Dr. McConnell holds out a hope for the future of the race. He says (page 128): "One thing science knows quite well; that is, that nature does not hesitate a moment to change or to reverse methods which she has used through long stretches of time whenever she has something to gain by such reversal."... "The inexorable forces of gravitation and chemical affinity had their own way in the universe for an eternity, until they were arrested and turned about in the interest of life. Overproduction, and the survival of the fittest held their ruthless sway until they were reversed in the interest of affection. The supremacy of the race at the expense of the individual we may expect to continue just until something in the individual comes to be of more importance than that law, and no longer." κ

THE EVOLUTION OF ANIMAL INTELLIGENCE. By S. J. Holmes, Ph.D. New York: Holt, 1911. Pp. 296. Price \$2.00.

An investigation of animal intelligence has been carried on vigorously by many specialists, and Prof. S. J. Holmes of the University of Wisconsin has here collected the results in this field. He says in his preface: "It has

been our aim to give a fairly clear conception of the activities upon which intelligence is based, to show how intelligence is related to these activities, and to sketch the general course of the evolution of intelligence in the animal kingdom. No effort has been made to deal with all the classes of animals in which intelligence is manifested, and some groups which were not essential to the development of our theme have received little attention."

The chapters in his book treat the following subjects: Reflex Action, The Tropisms, The Behavior of Protozoa, Instinct, The Evolution of Instinct, The Non-Intelligent Modifications of Behavior, Pleasure, Pain and the Beginnings of Intelligence, Primitive Types of Intelligence in Crustaceans and Molluscs, Intelligence in Insects, Intelligence in the Lower Vertebrates, The Intelligence of Mammals, The Mental Life of Apes and Monkeys. κ

GENIE INDIVIDUEL ET CONTRAINTE SOCIALE (Bibl. de Sociologie internationale), Paris: Giard et Briere, 1912.

How much individual genius depends upon social activity and society itself on the genius of the individuals is the question investigated in this volume; and it is a question both of psychology and of sociology at the same time. As soon as we try to pursue it we find it alive and present in all our discussions, whether they have to do with theory or with practice. The author of this book does not pretend to have exhausted the study of the relations between individual psychology and collective psychology so called. He limits himself to the consideration of those relations in the three domains of science, ethics and esthetics. Hence the work is composed of three separate studies entitled (1) Inventions and Social Changes, (2) Ethics and Legal Actions, (3) Arts and Crafts. In a somewhat extensive conclusion the author proclaims the supremacy of unconsciousness and instinct in their relation to the excessive individualist tendencies which they seem to contradict. ρ

Oran Catellev, and for all we know the name may be a pseudonym, has written a *Book Without a Name* which is the presentation of a new religion which he calls "Naturism, or the Religion of Science." The author introduces himself as of pure British but mixed race. Welsh, English, Irish and Scotch. He came to the United States and tells of his experiences in the religious field, Christian Science in Boston, Dowieism in Chicago, etc., while in Dixie Land he found a wonderful indifference, especially in money affairs. There is much humor in these expositions but also a certain crudity, especially in his criticisms of the ideas of God, soul, and world, prayer and other religious conceptions. He concludes his book by a comparison of the naturist's faith and the old druidism, and he hopes to see the old Stonehenge put into service again as a sanctum where flowers should be offered on the deserted altar in festivals in which Celt, Saxon, Gaul and Teuton might meet in discontinuance of their struggles to cut each other's throats. No place of publication is mentioned in the book, but the American edition is issued from the Norwood Press of Norwood, Mass., and the English publisher is said to be David Nutt of London. The price is 3s. 6d. or 85 cents. κ

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