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THE OPEN COURT

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

FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

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THOMAS J. MCCORMACK

Frontispiece to The Open Court

THE OPEN COURT

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THOMAS J. McCORMACK
1865-1932

WITH the death of Thomas J. McCormack on June 24th of this year, his part as a pioneer in secondary education has been brought to a close; but what he has accomplished in the La Salle-Peru Township High School and his influence in educational circles in general, as well as his many excellent articles and translations, insure him immortality, for something of the soul of a man is attached to the work which he has produced, and the good in it lives on for the future to use and to build upon as he has used the work of his predecessors to form his life and to create his ideas. Teaching is perhaps the most influential method of molding future lives, and Mr. McCormack, with the rare combination of his fine scholarship and administrative ability, was an inspiration to all of those who came into contact with him to accomplish great things in the spirit of Science and Truth.

Mr. McCormack came to the Open Court in 1888 soon after he had completed his studies. He was born in 1865 of Irish parentage in Brooklyn. Here he attended grammar school and high school. He then sought a classical education at Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., and was graduated in 1884. He continued his education in Germany spending a term each at the universities of Leipzig and Tübingen, where he devoted himself to the study of History, Political Science, and the Modern Languages. After his return to the United States, he took up the study of jurisprudence first at Columbia and later at the Chicago Law School where he received the degree of L.L.B. He was admitted to the bar, but he never practised law.

During the first years of Mr. McCormack's association with the Open Court his work consisted in translating from German and French some of the most notable essays of the foremost mathematicians, physicists, biologists, physiologists, psychologists, and theologians of Europe. Among these are included Lagrange, Grass-

mann, Poincaré, Klein, Schubert, Boltzmann, Hering, Wundt, Ribot, Binet, Delboeuf, Topinard, Haeckel, Weismann, Eimer, Carus Sterne, Lasswitz, Cornill, and Delitzsch. Although all of his translations are excellent his most noteworthy translation is that of Mach's *Science of Mechanics* on account of the difficulties of the subject-matter.

In 1897 Mr. McCormack became more closely associated with the Open Court in the capacity of associate editor.

Besides the many translations which he rendered into English, Mr. McCormack has edited works by De Morgan, Leibnitz, Hume, Berkeley, and Descartes. He wrote a series of biographies of mathematicians and philosophers which were published with portraits in the *Open Court*. During this time he also contributed many critical notes on current scientific literature, and articles on scientific and educational subjects both to the *Open Court* and to the *Monist*.

In 1903 Mr. McCormack was elected Principal of the La Salle-Peru Township High School. During the fifteen years of association with the Open Court he had always kept in mind the theories of education and the latest scientific methods of teaching. He knew the work of Dewey, Parker, and many others. Not only this type of work, however, but also the close association with the ideas and ideals of Dr. Carus—whose devotion to the history and philosophy of science established ideals for which the *Open Court* has stood—were of inestimable value as a foundation to his later work. His work as translator of the writings of the most eminent men in different fields of science and in the beginnings of new sciences added to this foundation. Thus we feel that he has carried many of the ideals of the Open Court into new fields.

As Principal of the La Salle-Peru Township High School, Mr. McCormack devoted himself to the problems of secondary education and with the sympathetic coöperation of the Board of Education he built up an outstandingly fine school, which has been a great influence in developing the cultural life of that small, industrial community.

In 1924 when the La Salle-Peru-Oglesby Junior College was started, he was made Director. Two hundred and fifty-two students are now enrolled in the Junior College, which is considered one of the best in the country.

The best known of Mr. McCormack's educational projects, made possible by the generosity of Mrs. Adele Blow and Mrs. Eda

Mathiessen and by their interest in this new venture, is the Bureau of Educational Counsel, organized in 1923 for the purpose of studying the individual needs of the young students. Two social psychiatric workers with the coöperation of psychiatrists and psychologists from the Institute of Juvenile Research in Chicago carry on the work. "The School," wrote Mr. McCormack in the introduction to his first report, "must be conceived as an ethical laboratory in which all the mistreadings of childhood are considered as material for ethical observations and as opportunities for ethical amendment. . . . The salvation, not the punishment of the child, is the goal of all disciplinary doctrine. The precedent is peace, inward harmony, emotional equilibrium." This bureau was the first to be established in a public school which supplemented to academic training the aid of mental hygiene, and similar bureaus have since been established in colleges, universities, and other schools.

Mr. McCormack has written many articles on educational subjects for national and technical journals and has been well known as a speaker. For a number of years he was associate editor of the *American Review*. He was given the honorary degree of Master of Science by Princeton University in 1919, and the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Northwestern University in June, 1930.

We are grieved to have lost this loved friend and noble man at an age when he still had useful years ahead of him in which to bear the fruit of his experience and his scholarship, but we are thankful to have known and profited by his wisdom and his rare ability.

THE MESSIANIC CAREER OF JESUS OF NAZARETH

BY ROBERT P. RICHARDSON

IN ATTEMPTING to fathom events veiled from us by lack of adequate contemporary records there is no principle more useful than the adage: History repeats itself. Light can always be shed on the aims and deeds of one personage by studying the activities of others in the same field. Those able to take up, without prejudice, the study of religious movements will find that these are no exception to the rule, and that one prophet often exhibits surprising similarities to another. And though the ardent disciples of each declare him to be *sui generis* and utterly unlike his rivals, the impartial observer will never find himself able to admit this contention.

Of Jesus of Nazareth, in particular, we can take a rational view only by ceasing to presuppose him to have been a unique member of the human race. We must consider him as a man of his times, profoundly influenced by the ideals and aspirations of the circles in which he moved. It is to the inspiration given him by the exhortations of John the Baptist that we must ascribe the appearance on the public stage of Jesus, the ex-carpenter of Nazareth in his new rôle of preacher and reformer. The authentic history of Jesus really begins with his baptism, the birth and infancy stories of the canonical gospels being obviously purely fabulous; as much so as the stories of the apocryphal gospels of the infancy. Accordingly we find that the Ebionites, the Christians who traced their spiritual lineage to the personal disciples of Jesus, had a gospel, which the Catholic Church did not allow to survive, beginning with the words: "It came to pass in the reign of Herod the king of Judea, when Caiphas was high priest, that there came a certain man, John by name, baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, who was said to be of the lineage of Aaron the priest, child of Zacharias and Elizabeth, and all went unto him." "After a good deal more" says Epiphanius (to whom we are indebted for the preservation of this fragment) the Ebionite gospel "continues that 'After the people were baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized.'" And in much the same way begins the story of the canonical gospel of *Mark*.

The various stories of the baptism of Jesus and an account of John the Baptist and his present-day followers, the Mandaeans, will be found in an article by the writer: "Jesus and John the Baptist" in the October 1929 issue of *The Open Court*. Here we need merely note that everything goes to show that, in the view of the early Christians, the baptism of Jesus marked an important epoch in his life. It was only then, the Ebionites held, that he became the mouthpiece of the divine spirit: that the Holy Ghost descended and entered into him. There may perhaps be some connection between this view, that the spiritual birth of Jesus took place in the waters of the Jordan, and the practice among the early Christians of symbolizing Jesus as a fish. Such a connection is in evidence in the hostile Mandaean tradition according to which John the Baptist, when asked to baptize Jesus, replied sharply: "Stinking fish is not a tasty morsel." Likewise the rival theory, that Jesus was the "Son of God" from his very conception (and not the son of Joseph even in a physical sense) could make use of the fish symbolism, since fishes were popularly supposed to be generated without carnal contact between the male and the female.¹

After being baptized Jesus, we are told, went out into the wilderness and fasted for "forty days." The "forty" should not here be taken literally, it was merely the conventional round number of Hebrew legend, and "a number of days" would be a more suitable rendition. We need not be surprised that after a prolonged fast Jesus should have had the hallucination of being tempted by the devil: on the contrary it would be surprising if in such a condition he had not been subject to hallucinations. But we must decidedly discredit that a hallucination of the character in question could come to one who believed himself to be the Messiah—the "Son of God." To a person so favored by Jahveh the devil would have nothing to offer. The diabolic bargain might indeed be alluring to a humble follower of John the Baptist, and it was presumably in this light that Jesus then viewed himself. Jesus, of course, withstood the temptation, and returned to the haunts of man firm in the Baptist faith. According to *Luke* it was "in the fifteenth year of Tiberias Caesar" that John the Baptist began his work. Just how long the ministry of John endured we have no means of as-

¹Of course the use of fish symbolism in religion is much older than Christianity. See "The Fish in Christianity" by Dr. Carus in *The Open Court* V. 25, p. 435 and "The Physiologus and the Christian Fish Symbolism" by R. Garbe, *ibid.* V. 28 p. 405.

certaining, but at all events it was brought to an untimely end by the arrest and execution of John at the command of Herod Antipas. The movement which the Baptist had inaugurated did not die with him, but has kept alive even until this day. Obviously then his work must have been taken up by his lieutenants: by certain of his disciples endowed with the gift of leadership, and we shall not go wrong if we rank Jesus as of this category: as one who in the beginning of his career was merely an ardent disciple of John the Baptist, determined at all hazards to carry on the work of his beloved master. The message he set forth to deliver, which other enthusiasts were simultaneously proclaiming around the land, was thus, in the beginning, not anything original, but was merely a reiteration of what had already been taught by John. As it has been put: Jesus caught up the lamp which had fallen from the hands of the stricken prophet and hurried on with it towards the same goal.

It is quite possible that Jesus may have worked previously side by side with John, shortly after being baptized, and it is implied that this really took place in the suggestion (originating with Brandt and Cheyne) that in certain remarks, concerning one greater than Jonah and Solomon, Jesus was referring not to himself but to John the Baptist. This theory, that a testimony of Jesus to John has been converted by Christian writers into a vainglorious boast about himself, has the merit of making clear some very puzzling passages. But it requires a bold and arbitrary rearrangement of gospel texts (i.e. of *Matthew* 11:7-9, 11; *Luke* 11:29,30; *Matthew* 12:41-42 and 11:13-15 and *Luke* 7:29,30) and moreover the substitution of "John" for "the Son of man" in *Luke* 11:30. Making the rather precarious assumption that this conjectural rearrangement of texts is justified, it would seem that on one occasion, naturally early in his career, Jesus was preaching as a subordinate of John the Baptist, to behold whom a multitude had gathered. Jesus begins by assuring his audience that John is much more worthy of attention than a reed-like Jonah or a luxuriously clad Solomon. "And. . . Jesus began to say unto the multitudes concerning John. What went ye out into the wilderness to behold? A reed shaken with the wind? But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold they that wear soft raiment are in kings' houses. But wherefore went ye out? To see a prophet? Yea, I say unto you and much more than a prophet. Verily I say unto you: Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen

a greater than John the Baptist. This generation is an evil generation; for it seeketh after a sign, and there shall be no sign given it but the sign of Jonah. For even as Jonah became a sign to the Ninevites, so shall also John be to this generation. The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; for they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and behold a greater than Jonah is here. The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall convict it; for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold a greater than Solomon is here. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. And if ye are willing to receive it, this is Elijah which is come. He that hath ears to hear let him hear. And all the [lowly] people that heard him, and the publicans justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected for themselves the counsel of God being not baptized of him."

Unquestionably there were, besides Jesus, other Baptist leaders and propagandists, and an illustration of their work is afforded by the episode of Apollos (*Acts* 18 and 19), the Alexandrian Jew at Ephesus who knew "only the baptism of John." As Overbeck has shown, this indicates that the first Ephesian community of "disciples" of which Apollos was a member had been founded by the followers of John the Baptist who knew more or less about Jesus but were unacquainted with what, in the view of the author of this passage of *Acts*, was the distinctively Christian doctrine: that of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon believers. And it has been held that the legendary association of John the Apostle with Ephesus, and the ascription to him of various New Testament writings emanating from that place had as its only foundation this fact: that the Ephesian Church was "Johannine" in the sense of tracing its origin to the teachings of John the Baptist. History shows that not all the followers of the Baptist were as amenable to Christian influence as Apollos and the disciples of Ephesus; others remained aloof, as is evinced by the line of spiritual succession traced back to such men by the Mandaeans of to-day, a religious body bitterly opposed to Christianity.

As field of his labors Jesus chose his native province of Galilee. "After that John was delivered up," says *Mark*, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying: The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and be-

lieve in the Gospel." In his preaching Jesus was following in the footsteps of John who had likewise proclaimed the imminent coming of the Kingdom of God; in other words the speedy realization of the Messianic hope of the Jews which has been well characterized as the "fixed social belief of the Jewish people that Jehovah would deliver Israel and erect it into a glorious empire to which a conquered world would be subject." The glories of the reign of David and Solomon were to be restored; "a conquering Israel, a Davidic king, a suppliant, terrorized, tortured [Gentile] world—these were the dreams which Jehovah was to make real."² Sometimes the phrase "Kingdom of Heaven" was preferred to "kingdom of God," on account of the Jewish aversion to using the name of the deity, but in both cases the meaning was the Kingdom of God on earth.³ Modern Christians however usually hold that the kingdom to which Jesus aspired and the approach of which he announced was not of this world. To the Fundamentalists this view is inevitable, for they believe that Jesus, having had divine foreknowledge of what was to befall the Jewish people, could not have dreamed of beholding nineteen hundred years ago the overthrow of Roman rule and the establishment of an independent Jewish state, since no such dreams came true. The orthodox theory thus interprets the predictions of John and Jesus of the glorious coming of the Kingdom as having meant, so far as the near future was concerned, that John was to be beheaded, that Jesus after a brief career of one year, was to be condemned as a criminal and executed, that the Temple was to be destroyed and Jerusalem razed to the ground, and that the Jewish people were to lose even the limited autonomy they had enjoyed. More reasonable than this is the view that Jesus

²Shailer Matthews: *The Messianic Hope in the New Testament*, 1905, p. 3.

³Keim well puts it, in discussing the expectations of Jesus, that "All existing evidence goes to prove that his kingdom of heaven was a kingdom upon earth." In fact Reimarus was fully justified in his contention that the movement promoted by Jesus had, as its essence, the political Messianic ideal: "Away with the Romans! Palestine to God and the Jews!" As regards the apparently authentic sayings of Jesus which seem to refer to an immanent Kingdom of God, we may quote the remarks of Prof. Shailer Matthews of the Department of Theology of the University of Chicago (op. cit. p. 80) that the adjusting the references of Jesus to "a present kingdom to his entire eschatological scheme... is by no means difficult.... The words of Jesus which apparently describe the present kingdom refer (1) to those who were to be received into the kingdom when it appeared, and (2) to the triumphs he and his followers were winning over Satan and his kingdom. The kingdom was among those to whom he spoke in the sense that there were men present who were to enter it when it appeared."

made mistakes in his attempts to foretell the future. And admitting that, like other men, he was fallible, and that his expectations were likely to outrun the harsh realities of life, we cannot assume that because certain hopes remained unrealized these were not in the mind of Jesus.

On the disappearance of John from the public stage Jesus began to preach independently, and gathered around him a little group of comrades who accompanied him and lent their aid to his mission. Probably the group was formed gradually. It was only after he had begun this preaching that he gained the support of the four fishermen: Simon (Peter) and Andrew and John and James (the two sons of Zebedee.) According to *Luke*, the fishermen were induced to abandon their work and follow the prophet of Nazareth after he had preached from Simon's boat on the Lake of Tiberias to an audience on the shore. The Ebionite gospel quotes Matthew as saying: "There was a certain man named Jesus, and he was about thirty years old, who chose us. And coming to Capernaum he entered into the house of Simon who was surnamed Peter, and opened his mouth and said: 'As I passed by the Lake of Tiberias, I chose John and James the sons of Zebedee, and Simon and Andrew, and Philip and Bartholomew, James son of Alphaeus and Thomas, Thadaeus and Simon the Zealot and Judas the Iscariot, and thou Matthew, as thou satest at the receipt of custom I called, and thou followedst me. You therefore I will to be twelve apostles to bear witness unto Israel.'" Some of the twelve apostles, tradition specifically tells us, were originally disciples of John the Baptist, and it is highly probable that all of the original group were picked from the Baptist fold.

Capernaum, where Jesus seems to have begun his preaching, was a town on the northwest shore of the Lake of Tiberias, and it has been conjectured that Matthew the "publican" (i.e. tax collector) might have had the office of collecting toll or customs duties on the important caravan route leading thence to Damascus. That Jesus should have fixed upon this particular place would indicate that the Baptist movement had already gained some support there. In other respects, indeed, it had distinct advantages for his purpose. As Klausner points out, it was a petty town, and in smaller places the audiences of Jesus would not have been sufficiently large, while in the cities the people were too sophisticated and the government supervision more severe. Jesus however does not seem to

have remained continuously at Capernaum for any length of time. Soon after beginning his preaching he found it advisable to move on, saying to his disciples: "Let us go elsewhere into the next towns that I may preach there also; for to this end came I forth." So he proceeded to preach his message in the "synagogues throughout all Galilee." Ultimately he found it more advisable to speak from a boat to hearers on the shore, and in this boat he quickly flitted from one place to another. Leaving the Galilee lakeside he crossed the lake into the country of the Gerasenes, apparently in some haste, for the crossing was effected during a dangerous storm. Going back to Galilee he went to his own countryside of Nazareth, where he had but scant success, and following this he gathered an audience in an unspecified "desert place," following which he again speedily took refuge in a boat, and crossed to the other side of the lake, to Bethsaida. There soon followed another crossing which took him to Gennesareth, and next he proceeded to make his way to the border of Tyre, and passing through Sidon went back to the Lake of Tiberias "through the midst of the borders of Decapolis." This frequent change of quarters, and especially the preaching from a boat, can have but one reasonable explanation: the fear of being arrested and meeting the fate of John. How harassed Jesus found himself by what we would now call the constabulary is shown by his bitter complaint: "The foxes have holes and the birds of heaven have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." To the officials who at that time had charge of keeping order in Palestine a Messianic preacher could, in fact, appear only as a dangerous agitator who must be quickly silenced in order to nip in the bud an incipient revolt. It is true that theoretically there were quietist Messianists among the Jews; dreamers who held that if the Jewish people bent themselves sufficiently to the whims of Jahveh as set forth by the priests, if the Israelites carried out in all their petty minutae the ordinances inflicted upon the people by the priests in the guise of the Law of God, then Jahveh would graciously restore the Kingdom without other effort on the part of the Chosen People. But in practice few of the quietists would have refused to give their support to any armed revolt had the occasion seemed propitious. Even the Jews who adhered to the Herods and usually supported the established order of things might not have been adverse to joining a revolt which appeared to have good chance of success provided it aimed at putting a Herodian monarch

on the throne of an independent Palestine, but to these practical men of affairs Jesus and his disciples appeared hopeless visionaries quite unaware of the tremendous power of Rome.

It is not improbable that among the entourage of Jesus were men who, not yet cognizant of the rank which Jesus was ultimately to claim for himself, dreamed of an alliance between the followers of the new prophet and the forces of the Herodian princes for the purpose of driving the Romans from the land. And it may well have been in reference to some such futile hope that Jesus took occasion to warn his followers to "take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod" (*Mark* 8:15) or as *Matthew* (16:6) has it: "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees." With this admonition we may perhaps connect the statement of *Luke*: "Now there were some present at that very season which told him of the Galileians whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." This can hardly have been anything else than a warning from men who, while sympathizing with the aims of the movement, were too sober minded to take part in it and were endeavoring to make Jesus realize that piety on the part of himself and his following would not avail them in the event of hostilities with the authorities. The context here would seem to have been mutilated or distorted, and moreover the inspired writer goes astray in his chronology, since the massacre referred to took place before the time of Pilate, under the rule of Archelaus, who had his soldiers attack his rebellious subjects while the latter were occupied with their religious duties, a large number of Jews (which Josephus, probably exaggerating, puts at three thousand) having been killed. It would seem that one of the disciples put forward the theory that the Jews thus killed must have been great sinners, or Jahveh would not have allowed the soldiers to strike them down while in the very act of worshipping him. And Jesus seized the opportunity to tell his followers that they were not yet sufficiently righteous to satisfy God. Those sufferers whose blood had been mingled with their sacrifices were not sinners above all the Galileians, but were merely on a par with the rest, and he added "except ye repent, ye shall all in like manner perish."

Jesus taught his disciples to pray for the speedy restoration of the Davidic Kingdom—the Kingdom of God on earth—this being the sense in which we must take the clause "thy kingdom come" in the Lord's Prayer, and his plans for bringing into being the

Kingdom of God could hardly have contemplated a purely human revolutionary movement against Rome. But this does not necessarily mean that the Prophet of Nazareth would have looked askance on an armed revolt provided Jahveh had first been placated and his intervention assured. The aid of Jahveh could, it was supposed, be obtained only by scrupulously obeying his mandates, and accordingly Jesus preached the necessity of righteousness. "For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." Righteousness was so paramount that all material things were to be neglected to attain it. "Be ye not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or What shall we drink? or Wherewithal shall we be clothed? . . . But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness: and all these things shall be added unto you." In fact, according to the prevailing belief, the inauguration of the Messianic Kingdom would be marked by rich gifts from God, extorted, as tribute and expiatory offerings, from the Gentile nations who had so long oppressed the Jews. And it was probably in order to show that this expectation had been fulfilled that, after the death of Jesus and the revamping of the Christian Messianic doctrine, there was fabricated the legend of the three Magi bringing gifts to Mary's new-born babe.

The scribes and Pharisees, since they did not sufficiently practice the piety they preached, were regarded by Jesus as standing in the way of obtaining the favor of Jahveh for the national aspirations, and sometimes came in for a share of his denunciations. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy and faith; but these ye ought to have done and not left the other undone." None the less the Pharisees could not, in the beginning at least, have been wholly unsympathetic towards Jesus as is shown by *Luke* 13:21. "There came certain Pharisees saying to him: Get thee out and go hence: for Herod would fain kill thee." His reply: "Go tell that fox:⁴ Behold I cast out devils and perform cures to-day, and to-morrow and the third day I am perfected" is, by orthodox Christians, taken as predicting the resurrection of Jesus from the dead on the third day. But in the phraseology of the Jews "the third day" was used in an

⁴Among the Semites the fox was regarded not as a cunning animal but as one bloodthirsty and rapacious.

indefinite sense, and "yesterday and the third day" was a well-known locution meaning merely shortly before. What Jesus was expressing was his firm conviction that quite soon in the future ("to-morrow and the third day") his plans for the establishment of the Messianic kingdom would come to full fruition, and he would be seated on the throne of David as monarch of an independent Palestine. So understood, these words, sent as a defiant message to Herod Antipas, are perfectly comprehensible. On the other hand, construed as meaning that Jesus was about to proceed to Jerusalem with the expectation of being executed and rising from the dead on the third day, his message would be ridiculous.

On occasions Jesus would acknowledge the authority of the wise men of Israel as expounders of the Divine Law. Said he: "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these observe, but do not ye after their works; for they say and do not." Other passages of the New Testament represent Jesus as in conflict with these interpreters of the Law. Some of these passages are certainly interpolations by Paulinist redactors. For instance, in view of the position taken by the Ebionites towards the Mosaic Dietary Laws, we cannot possibly believe *Mark* when he represents Jesus as "making all meats clean" by saying "There is nothing from without a man that going into him can defile him" (*Mark* 7:19 and 15, Cf. *Matthew* 15:11). For it was precisely the opposite stand that the Ebionites—the body of believers giving allegiance to the personal disciples of Jesus rather than to Paul—took against the Paulinists.⁵ Likewise we must reject as unhistorical the tales of Jesus healing, on the Sabbath day, a man with a withered hand, another with the dropsy, and a woman who was bowed (*Luke* 12:6-11, 14: 1-6, 13:10-17), since a healer who retained even the slightest reverence for the Jewish Law would recognize as reasonable the Pharisaic contention that works of healing which, like these, could well be delayed until the morrow, ought not be performed on the Sabbath. It is utterly unbelievable that Jesus thus went out of his way to offend the susceptibilities of his pious fellow citizens, and that he designated as "hypocrites" those who took the perfectly reasonable view of the ruler of the synagogue (*Luke* 13:14) "There are six days in which men ought to work; in them therefore come and be healed and not on the day of the Sabbath."

⁵See an article by the present writer: "Paul alias Simon the Magician" in *The Open Court* for August, 1930.

On the other hand we can well believe that the disciples plucked and ate raw grain on the Sabbath (*Mark* 2:23; *Matthew* 12:2). For the reply of Jesus to his critics implies that this hasty meal was snatched from the stalks as the little band passed hurriedly through a grain field while fleeing from the agents of the government. And the justification that this action was on a par with that of David who, commissioned by Jahveh to lead a revolt against Saul, while evading the emissaries of the reigning monarch, "entered into the house of God when Abithar was high priest, and did eat the shew bread which it is not lawful to eat, save for the priest, and give also to them that were with him" would be quite reasonable from the point of view of one who, like Jesus, believed that Jahveh sanctioned his own opposition to the constituted authorities of his country. The passage however shows a sad ignorance of Old Testament history on the part of the Prophet of Nazareth, for 1 *Samuel* 21:1-6 tells us that not Abithar but Ahimelech was the priest who fed the band of David on shew bread, and the fact that David was engaged in a divinely inspired revolt does not seem to have entered into the matter, the only scruple of Ahimelech being as to whether those about to eat had of late "kept themselves from women."⁶

It would seem however that Jesus (probably without actually infringing the Law) did offend the Pharisees by his disregard of certain niceties. He dined with sinners and publicans, he and his disciples, even when dining as guests of the Pharisees, ate without duly washing their hands, and they refused to take part in certain fasts. This last innovation was noted as a departure from the customs of John the Baptist, and indicated that Jesus now claimed higher rank than that of a mere preacher of John's gospel. In fact the ex-carpenter of Nazareth in a comparatively short time—certainly in less than a year—had come to regard himself as the very Messiah. Klausner conjectures that his name, Jesus (more proper-

⁶In the Israel of those days, instead of there being a single Temple at which officiated a High Priest, supreme in the Jewish spiritual hierarchy, there were a number of sanctuaries, that of which Ahimelech was the chief priest was at Nob. At Nob, and probably at every sanctuary, as later in the Jerusalem Temple, there was a table on which was kept continually exposed bread ready for God to eat should he prove hungry. At certain intervals this "shew bread" or "bread of the face" or "bread of the presence" was replaced by fresh loaves, and the discarded food of God might be eaten by priests or by men who had not been "defiled" recently by relations with women. David and his band, fortunately coming at a time when there was bread hot in the oven ready to replace that on the table, could eat the latter, since they were "pure" having kept from women for "about three days."

ly transliterated and pronounced Yeshua), which signifies "Jahveh shall save," may have had some influence in leading him to believe that it was he who was predestined to deliver Israel and restore the Kingdom. Just when he reached this conclusion we do not know. The first definite acknowledgement of his Messianic rank seems to have been given by Peter who, on the way to "the villages of Caesaria Philippi" in reply to the question put by Jesus, "Who say ye that I am?" replied: "Thou art the Christ!"

Emboldened by this putting into words his own thoughts, Jesus began to speak "the saying openly."⁷ "And Peter took him up and began to rebuke him. But he turned about, and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter, and saith: Get thee behind me Satan; for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men." Evidently Peter feared that the boast that Jesus was the Messiah, instead of making friends for the movement, might make foes. And this would indicate that the many wonders and miracles paraded in the gospel stories were not really impressive enough to inspire his audiences with any excessively high opinion of his powers. Even previous to this Jesus and the rest of the band had not always been open in their speech. The parables of Jesus, in fact, sometimes wrapped up in esoteric form what he could not safely say openly. And in this connection we must consider the alleged saying of Jesus to his disciples: "Unto you is given the mystery of the Kingdom of God; but unto them that are without, all things are done in parables; that seeing they may see and not perceive, and hearing they may hear and not understand; lest haply they should turn again and it should be forgiven them." As these words stand they ascribe to Jesus an unspeakably despicable character, for he is here represented as deliberately consigning most of his hearers to hell by speaking so obscurely that they cannot possibly understand the truths that alone can save them from damnation. It is probable however that the "inspired" writers who have transmitted his words to us have distorted them and done him gross injustice. What we can reasonably conjecture to have been meant is that in order to avoid the casual by-standers learning of his Messianic plans and betraying them to the authorities, Jesus spoke in parables in dealing with the Kingdom of God which he expected would soon come into

⁷Those who can give no credence to the stories of Jesus foretelling his failure and crucifixion must regard as an interpolation the passage in *Mark* which would make the "saying" spoken openly and meeting Petrine rebuke be the prediction that Jesus would be rejected, killed and resurrected.

being and sweep away all traces of Roman rule. His aim was perhaps to pose on occasions as a pure quietist who in no way advocated resistance to the governmental authorities. Such a stand is indicated by his famous reply to the question whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Caesar. Requesting that they bring him a piece of the tribute money he said, when a coin was put before him: "Whose is this image and superscription? And they said unto him: Caesar's. And Jesus said unto them: Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's—a reply that was certainly most ingenious, though showing a mind far from ingenuous.

It is not improbable that the story of the swine of Gerasa, which as it now stands is a rather silly miracle tale, may have originally been one of the Messianic parables. The story is that of Jesus driving out of a man a host of demons (two thousand in number) who called themselves "Legion" and sending them into a herd of swine who madly rushed over the brink of a precipice to their death in the lake below. In view of the fact that it was the Roman legions (each composed of several thousand men) which quartered in Palestine or Syria kept the Jewish people in subjection, and that some of these legions⁸ had depicted on their standards the insignia of a wild boar, it is by no means far-fetched to presume that Jesus may have related a parable whose significance was that when the Messiah set about the overthrow of the Roman rule and the establishment of an independent Jewish kingdom he would derange the minds of the Roman soldiers and make the legions bring about their own destruction. Another point of interest is the question as to how far some of the alleged miracles of Jesus may not have been, even in the beginning, pious frauds, pure and simple. Since belief in the miraculous powers of Jesus was undoubtedly an essential element in the hope for success under his leadership, we can have but little doubt that some of his co-workers, deeply devoted as they were to the realization of the national aspirations and anxious to gain adherents for the movement, would not scruple to spread reports of miracles performed by their master which had no basis whatsoever in fact.

⁸E. g. the First Italica, the Second Adjutrix, the Twentieth Valeria Victoria and the Tenth Fretensis. The last is known to have been stationed in Palestine from 70 to 135 A.D., and one of these legions may well have been there at an earlier date. The figure of the unfortunate demoniac, loaded with chains and wandering among the tombs, would symbolize the captive Jewish people. See "Mon Nom est Legion" by Theodore Reinach in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 1903, V. 47, p. 177.

From the very beginning it would appear (*Mark* 1:22) that Jesus spoke dictatorily: as one "having authority and not as the scribes." He did not, like the ordinary interpreters of the Law, search for a precedent and then, with inflexible logic, bring it to bear in juristic manner on the case in hand. Instead of saying "It is written" or "Thus saith the Lord" like an ordinary prophet, he would prefix his admonitions with "I say unto you." In connection with the dispute about his followers breaking the Sabbath, after pointing out that "the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are guiltless," he said of himself: "One greater than the temple is here." Naturally his pretensions were questioned, especially when he arrogated to himself the divine prerogative of forgiving sins (*Mark*, 2:5). Said the scribes: "Why doth this man thus speak? He blasphemeth! Who can forgive sins but one, even God?" Jesus answered by what he deemed a conclusive argument: an exhibition of his ability to cure the palsy; but though in later days Christian theologians accepted this as a valid syllogism, logicians can look upon it only as a *non sequitur*. The Wise Men of Israel too took the rational view that the performance of a prodigy cannot serve as verification of the doctrines of him who performs it, as is shown by a Talmud story. One day Rabbi Eliezer had put forth his interpretation of certain points of the Law which however the other Wise Men refused to accept. "Then he cried: If the Law is as I teach it, let the carob tree decide. Thereupon the carob tree moved a hundred yards, some say four hundred. But the Wise Men said unto him: No proof can be adduced from the carob tree. Then he said: If the Law is as I teach it, let the watercourses decide. Thereupon the watercourses went backward. But they said: No proof can be adduced from the watercourses. Then he said: If the Law is as I teach it, let the walls of the school decide. Thereupon the walls of the school assumed a slanting attitude, as if preparing to fall. Then cried out Rabbi Joshua: What though the learned dispute about the Law! How are ye concerned therein? So in deference to Rabbi Joshua they fell not, and in deference to Rabbi Eliezer they remained slanting!"

The demands of Jesus on those who acknowledged his pretensions were by no means slight. He who would share in the Kingdom was enjoined to give all his possessions to the poor and follow the Prophet of Nazareth. And when a disciple (identified by an extra-biblical tradition with the Apostle Philip) on the point

of joining the band, said to Jesus: "Lord suffer me first to go and bury my father!" Jesus replied: "Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead." The reward promised was indeed commensurate with the sacrifice. Said Jesus: "There is no man that hath left house or brethren or sisters or mother or father or children or lands for my sake and for the gospel's sake, but he shall receive a hundred-fold now in this time." It was quite natural that men who were asked to give up everything on the basis of such a promise should demand some sign indicating that Jahveh stood back of Jesus, insuring victory under his leadership. But notwithstanding the wonders Jesus is alleged to have worked, he never acceded to this reasonable request. "And the Pharisees came and tempting [i.e. testing] him asked him to show them a sign from heaven. But he answered and said unto them: When it is evening ye say: It will be fair weather, for the heaven is red. And in the morning: It will be foul weather to-day, for the heaven is red and lowering. Ye know how to discern the face of the heaven, but ye cannot discern the signs of the times. An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall be no sign given unto it save the sign of the prophet Jonah" (*Matthew* 16: 1-4). By the "sign of the prophet Jonah" is meant, most biblical critics admit, no sign at all, the words added in *Matthew* 12:40 "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" being a later interpolation. Jonah merely appeared as a prophet in Nineveh, and Jesus refused to do more. According to *Luke* (16:20,21) Jesus "being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God cometh," replied, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation," the last word here being perhaps better rendered as "computation." In the time of Jesus there were Messianic enthusiasts who attempted to calculate from the "prophecies" of Scripture just when the new era was predestined to be inaugurated, precisely as to-day Christians who read the Book of Revelations without understanding it, seek to figure out the exact date of the coming parousia. Of this character were those who put the question, and in his reply Jesus seems to deny that the Messianic kingdom would inevitably be inaugurated at a certain fixed time regardless of the attitude of the Jews towards Jahveh. To bring it into being the people of Israel, Jesus contended, must not waste their energy in idle computation, but must turn their attention to their in-

ner selves and heed his exhortations to repentance and righteousness. He was however so optimistic as to be convinced that the "signs of the times" indicated that his preachings would bring about the regeneration of enough Jews to placate Jahveh and insure the latter's restoration of the Kingdom to Israel.

It is probable that Jesus rebuked his hearers for demanding a sign on several different occasions; one perhaps being when he was speaking on behalf of John the Baptist. At all events the gospels in different places quote him as giving vent to the same sentiments in somewhat different language, as in *Mark* 8:11,12 and *Luke* 12:54-56. The latter passage makes Jesus say: "When ye see a cloud rising in the west, straightway ye say: There cometh a shower, and so it cometh to pass. And when ye see a south wind blowing, ye say: There will be a scorching heat; and it cometh to pass. Ye hypocrites! Ye know how to interpret the face of the earth and the heavens; but how is it that ye know not how to interpret this time?" There appears no justification here for calling "hypocrites" the men who disagreed with Jesus as to whether or not the times were propitious for the overthrow of Roman rule and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom in Palestine, and history shows that Jesus was wrong in his reading of the signs of the times and his opponents in the right. And we need not wonder that the scribes and Pharisees whom he addressed in such scathing language regarded all this as sheer arrogance.

The "casting out of devils" by Jesus, that is the cure or temporary palliation of nervous disorders by suggestion, was not acknowledged as proof that he was inspired by the spirit of God, since his opponents pointed out that a magician in league with the devil might equally well effect such prodigies. This, more than anything else, aroused the ire of Jesus. To say that he was under the influence, not of the Holy Ghost, but of some evil spirit, was in his eyes the very worst of crimes. Accordingly he proclaimed: "all their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies, wherewithsoever they blaspheme; but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin; because they said: He [i.e. Jesus] hath an unclean spirit" (*Mark* 3:28-30; Cf. *Matthew* 12:31,32).

That the hearers of Jesus were often very far from accepting his preachings is quite obvious. And *Matthew* 11:20-24 is perfectly explicit on the matter. "Then began he to upbraid the cities where-

in most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not. Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee Bethsaida! For if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago, in sackcloth and ashes And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? Thou shalt go down into Hell; for if the mighty works had been done in Sodom which were done in thee, it would have remained unto this day." In the neighborhood of his home Jesus fared worst of all, for there he "could do no mighty work, save that he laid his hands upon a few sick folk and healed them." And when he preached at Nazareth "they were all filled with wrath in the synagogue. . . . and they rose up and cast him forth of the city." It was, in fact, only the dregs of society that listened to his teachings; the "priests and elders" disdained it, and the Pharisees "scoffed at him" (*Luke* 16:14). And Jesus on this account reproached them bitterly, saying "the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you." (*Matthæw* 21:31,32).

The group surrounding Jesus cannot have been very well supplied with sustenance, to judge from the exhortations he made to them: "Be ye not anxious for your life, what ye shall wear; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. . . . If God doth so clothe the grass which to-day is in the field and to-morrow is cast into the oven; how much more shall he clothe you, Oh ye of little faith! And seek not what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind. . . . Your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. Howbeit seek ye his kingdom and these things shall be added unto you. Fear not little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" (*Luke* 12:22-32). In the meantime, while awaiting the advent of the kingdom, it was the duty of the less poverty-stricken of his adherents to sell all they possessed and give the proceeds towards the support of the more needy—at least this is the most plausible interpretation of his repeated admonitions to "sell all that thou hast and give it to the poor." And we may reasonably conjecture that this, like many another religious movement, would have fallen flat at the very outset had it not been for the financial support of certain pious and well-to-do women. For we are told by *Luke* that Jesus "went about through cities and villages, preaching and bringing the good tidings of the kingdom of God, and with him the twelve, and certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary

that was called Magdalene, from whom seven devils had gone out, and Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto them of their substance." Scant credit has been given to Susanna and Joanna (to say nothing of the latter's husband from whose pocket may well have come the greater part of the funds at the disposal of Jesus)—these names are all but unknown to the average Christian. As to Mary Magdalen she has had the sad fate of being celebrated only for the supposed indiscretions of her youth, though in point of fact the only reason we have for believing her to have been unchaste is the bad reputation of the women of Magdala. It would be quite as reasonable to take the contrary stand concerning the virtue of Mary Magdalene, and this is indeed done in the apocryphal *Assumption of the Virgin*, where we are told that when the "virgins" had been summoned, Mary the mother of Jesus, took the hand of "one of them, Mary Magdalene, now very old."

It seems probable that it was to convince his followers that they need not be discouraged over the small number of men who had given their adhesion to the movement that Jesus related two parables recorded in *Matthew* 13:31-33. "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a grain of mustard seed which a man took, and sowed it in his field; which is indeed less than all seeds; but when it is grown, it is greater than the herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the heaven come and lodge in the branches thereof." "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened." In other parables (*Matthew* 13:45-46) Jesus likens the Kingdom of Heaven to a treasure and to a pearl, so precious that a man will gladly dispose of all he possesses to procure it. And in a final appeal, before going to Jerusalem, he urged those who had not joined his movement in the beginning to come forward now, relating for this purpose the parable of the workers in the vineyard (*Matthew* 20:1:16). "For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man. . . . which went out. . . . to hire laborers into his vineyard," those who started work only at the eleventh hour receiving the same reward as those who had worked from the very beginning. Jesus apparently thought that no definite plan for the establishment of the Kingdom was necessary; that Jahveh would arrange the details—at least this seems the most natural interpretation of the following passage: "And he said: So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed upon

the earth; and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow, he knoweth not how. The earth beareth fruit of herself; first the blade then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. But when the fruit is ripe, straightway he putteth forth his sickle, because the harvest is come" (*Mark* 4:26-29).

It was with such visionary expectations that in some mysterious way the established order of things would be overturned and the independence of the Jewish nation restored, that the little band started on their journey to Jerusalem. Their hopes were high, as is shown by the fact that the sons of Zebedee (or their mother) asked that they might have the places of honor next to Jesus in his kingdom, which caused the other ten apostles to be much disgruntled. To the twelve apostles Jesus had, in fact, promised the highest ranks under him: "Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye shall also sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (*Matthew* 19:28). The disciples, we are told, "supposed the kingdom of God was immediately to appear" (*Luke* 19:11). And undoubtedly, as Bousset remarks, Jesus likewise, in his dreams of the future, was not thinking of a colorless and purely heavenly beyond, but was picturing to himself a state of things existing on this earth, though of course a transfigured earth, and in his own time. It was probably during this journey that Jesus encouraged his followers by painting in glowing colors the wonderful fertility that the earth would exhibit in the days of the Kingdom of God. According to tradition as transmitted by Papias, Jesus said: "The day will come when vines shall grow, each bearing ten thousand branches, and upon each branch ten thousand twigs, and upon each one of the twigs ten thousand shoots, and upon every shoot ten thousand bunches, and upon each bunch ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield twenty-five measures of wine. . . . So too the grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand ears, and every ear shall bear ten thousand grains, and every grain shall yield ten pounds of flour, white and pure." At this prediction Judas, less credulous than the other disciples, showed a carping spirit, for "Judas, the traitor, would not believe."

Near Jerico a blind beggar on being told that Jesus of Nazareth was passing, greeted him as "Son of David," a recognition of his claim to Messiahship, since the Messiah was commonly reputed to

come of Davidic stock. Although the genealogies of *Matthew* and *Luke* would represent Joseph as descended from David (of course implying that in the original documents Joseph was taken to be the physical father of Jesus) yet we know that Jesus himself made no such claim of Davidic descent, since (*Matthew* 22:41:46) he was at much pains to argue that the Messiah ["Christ"] would not be the "son of David." And hence we must conclude that these genealogies are hopelessly spurious. *Matthew*, in fact, in order to arrive at the number of generations desired by him, fourteen in each of the three series of his list, coolly leaves out three links in the series of the kings of Judah, viz. Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah. In this connection we may note the admonition of the Epistle to Titus (3:9) to "shun foolish questions and genealogies," indicating, perhaps, that at the time this epistle was written the Davidic genealogies of Jesus were being put forward by certain Christians in support of the Messianic claims, but were recognized by the more sober believers to be obviously fraudulent.

When the procession reached Jerusalem a dramatic entry was staged. As Keim remarks all the gospels are agreed that Jesus went into Jerusalem in an unusual manner and with accompaniments that unmistakably exhibited his Messianic claims. There was a widely believed prophecy that the Messiah would come riding on an ass, and Talmudic writers have devoted a good deal of attention to this phase of the entry of the Messiah, describing in glowing terms the beauty of the ass. In order to fulfill the prophecy Jesus solemnly mounted an animal of this species, his disciples having previously placed their garments on its back to serve as saddle, just as the officers of Jehu, when they made him king of Israel, "took every man his garment, and put it under him" (*2 Kings* 9:13). As Jesus rode into the city his adherents "spread their garments in the way, and others cut branches from the trees, and spread them in the way" crying out "Hosanna to the son of David, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the Highest." Not all the by-standers were pleased with this; apparently the Pharisees regarded Jesus as very far from having demonstrated his right to be accepted as the Messiah. So they "said unto him: Master, rebuke thy disciples. And he answered and said: I tell you that if these shall hold their peace the stones will cry out." *John* would have us believe that a great multitude of the populace of Jerusalem, hearing that Jesus was coming, took the branches of palm trees and

went forth to meet him. But as Keim points out "the enthusiasm of the Jerusalemites. . . never existed at all, according to the earlier gospels, which describe the astonishment of the Jerusalemites as contrasting violently with the jubilation of those who accompanied Jesus." In fact *Matthew* tells us that "when he was come to Jerusalem all the city was stirred, saying: Who is this? And the multitude said: This is the prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth of Galilee." Entering Jerusalem, Jesus went into the Temple, and "when he had looked about upon all things, it being now eventide, he went out into Bethany with the twelve." Apparently this was the first visit of Jesus to the city, for according to *Matthew* his disciples wished to show him the sights: "his disciples came to him to show him the buildings of the temple."

Bethany, where Jesus passed the nights during his activities in Jerusalem, was on the Mount of Olives, to the east of the city. Klausner thinks it probable that the reason Jesus withdrew to this place every night was that from the very first he feared arrest. The Mount of Olives seems moreover to have been regarded as the predestined place for the Messiah to abide. In messianology and apocalyptic literature it is repeatedly referred to, and the Old Testament apocalypse of Zechariah says (14:4) that in the coming day of the Lord "His feet shall stand. . . upon the Mount of Olives which is before Jerusalem to the east." Nor was Jesus the only pretender to the throne of David who made it his headquarters. Josephus tells us of an "Egyptian false prophet" who took up his post there. "A charlatan who had gained for himself the reputation of a prophet, this man appeared in the country, collected a following of about thirty thousand dupes, and led them by a circuitous route from the desert to the mount called the Mount of Olives. From there he proposed to force an entrance to Jerusalem, and after overpowering the Roman garrison, to set himself up as tyrant of the people, employing those who poured in with him as his bodyguard." The Roman procurator however took his forces and, joined by the Jews of Jerusalem that remained loyal to the authorities, went out to meet and fight the rebel. The result was that "The Egyptian escaped with a few of his followers; most of his force were killed or taken prisoner." There can be but little doubt that in those days a man who posed as a prophet and attempted to make himself master of the Jewish lands would have proclaimed himself as Messiah had the revolt been successful. A

confusion between this "Egyptian false prophet" and Jesus may perhaps have been the origin of the Jewish tradition which, admitting that Jesus was a worker of wonders, ascribed them to magic learned during a sojourn in Egypt.⁹

While Jesus was at Bethany in the house of Simon the Leper (or Simon the Lowly, as Chajes thinks it might be read) a woman "came with an alabaster cruse of ointment of spikenard, very costly; and she brake the cruse and poured it over his head." A question that here arises is whether this anointment had any connection with the expected inauguration of the Kingdom of God with Jesus as its king. "Messiah" in Hebrew (like "Christ" in Greek) means "the anointed one," and in early times the term had been applied to earthly kings because they only were anointed. It would seem not unnatural that when Jesus was about to enter upon his kingdom (as he and his disciples supposed) a ceremony of unction would be performed on him. The only other mention of anointment of Jesus in the gospels is in *Luke* where (as in *John* 12:1-8) the ointment from the alabaster cruse is poured on the feet of Jesus, and this is represented as taking place in Galilee at a much earlier time. At Bethany the time and place would be well suited for the anointment of Jesus as Messiah, and it has been held that what really took place at the house of Simon was a Messianic anointment of Jesus, and that what Judas betrayed to the authorities was the fact that this ceremony had been performed.

In attempting to discern the truth about the events narrated by the gospels we must keep in mind that religionists are none too scrupulous as to veracity when telling about a beloved prophet. And especially do they go to great lengths to keep out of sight facts that are unedifying and might be harmful to the cause which it is their dearest desire to promote. In the case of Jesus it would not do to admit that his expectations were entirely falsified by the events. Hence the gospel tales have been garbled to indicate that he had no intention of taking possession of an earthly kingdom, and that he all the while foresaw his own crucifixion: that he deliberately took a course which he knew would lead to his condemnation and execution because this disgraceful death would be of incalculable benefit to the human race. The rational view however is that the kingdom to which Jesus aspired was not that of a far

⁹See "Jesus and Jewish Tradition" in *The Open Court* for September, 1930, p. 552, note 6.

distant parousia, but was to be of this world and of those very days in which he gathered together his disciples. And it follows that we must presume him to have had in mind for the attainment of his ends much the same methods that were used by the other would-be Messiahs of whom history tells us. In this connection we must remember that it was not the desire of the Pauline Christians to antagonize the Roman government. Indeed tradition tells us that converts were soon gained in the imperial household itself, and these believers, of course, would have been compromised by a record being kept of a rebellious attitude on the part of the Christ. Hence the New Testament writers strove to exhibit Jesus and his disciples as lambs in the midst of wolves, and have obscured the facts which contravene this point of view. They were however somewhat clumsy in their work, and notwithstanding the reticence of the gospels there have been handed down to us sayings which distinctly point to warlike methods having been contemplated for bringing into being the Kingdom of God. One is the admonition recorded by *Luke* (22:36) as given at the Last Supper: "He that hath no sword, let him sell his cloak and buy one"—a text that must have good foundation in tradition, as it has no particular connection with the context, nor any *raison d'être* which would explain its interpolation if not founded on fact. The next verse does not fit in with this at all, but in verse 38 we find: "And they said: Lord, behold here are two swords. And he said unto them: It is enough"—a lame and impotent conclusion of the incident, the account of which has evidently been much mutilated by the redactors. It has been conjectured that the swords referred to here were the short stabbing weapons which the Sicarii or Zealots wielded so murderously while mingled in a crowd of their enemies. One of the twelve apostles, Simon the Zealot (whose other surname, "the Canaanite" is simply the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew word for Zealot) was presumably not unacquainted with the favorite weapon of his sect, and it might well have been he who came forward. And it has been contended that in all probability the reply of Jesus was meant as an expression of satisfaction that one of his followers had already been thoughtful enough to arm himself, and that a bloody affray was in view as the first step towards the inauguration of the Kingdom of God. In this connection we must remember that enormous shedding of blood was a prominent feature in the apocalyptic representation of the com-

ing of the "good times" of the Messianic kingdom. *Enoch* says the horses shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners (1 *Enoch* 100,3) while the Book of Revelations describes, for the delectation of believers, a scene in which "there came out blood from the winepress, even unto the bridles of the horses, as far as a thousand and six hundred furlongs" (14:20). Jesus himself declared, according to the Ebionite gospel (see *Clementine Recognitions* 6:4) "I am come to cast fire on the earth, and how I wish that it were kindled," a passage which in our *Luke* (12:49) takes the improbable form: "I am come to cast fire on the earth, and what will I if it is already kindled?" *Matthew* (10:34-36) quotes him as saying: "Think not that I am come to cast peace on the earth; I am come not to cast peace but a sword." According to the Ebionite gospel (see *Recognitions* 2:29) Jesus charged the believers to have peace *among themselves*, and it was only in this sense that he said "Blessed are the peace-makers!" Another passage which might be construed as bearing on the question—and certainly more reasonably than by taking it, as do Catholic theologians, to uphold the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation—is the remark made by Jesus at the Last Supper concerning "the blood of the covenant which is shed for many."¹⁰ It is quite possible that this may have been a reference to an uprising planned for the morrow on which occasion the disciples had been asked by Jesus to covenant to shed blood (that of others and if necessary their own) to bring about the establishment of the Kingdom of God. And this conjecture is given more plausibility by the fact that it was on this occasion that Judas finally decided to betray his master, and by the utterance with which Jesus closed the proceedings: "I say unto you I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God."¹¹ Nor can we regard as without significance the fact, recorded by *Luke*, that at this very supper the disciples had a quarrel over which of them should be the great-

¹⁰Biblical critics now admit that the appended words "unto remission of sins" is no part of the original tradition but is the interpolation of some redactor.

¹¹*Mark*, 14:24-25; Cf. *Matthew* 16:28,29. *Luke* (22:16-18) quotes Jesus as saying he will "not any more eat" of "this passover" "until it fulfilled in the Kingdom of God," and as the best opinion of biblical critics is that the Last Supper (at which no meat is recorded as having been served) was not the passover meal, this would seem to mean that Jesus expected the Kingdom of God to be brought into being before the time came for celebrating the passover—probably the next evening.

est: that is, which should have the highest rank under Jesus in the restored Davidic kingdom—the “Kingdom of God.”

It was some days before this supper, almost immediately after the arrival of the band at Jerusalem, that the so-called “Cleansing of the Temple” is represented as having taken place. According to *Mark*, Jesus, on the morning after he reached Jerusalem, “entered into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and them that bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money changers, and the seats of them that sold the doves; and he would not suffer any man should carry a vessel through the temple.” In doing this Jesus, of course, was interfering with the customary religious exercises of the worshippers in the Temple, the money changers and dove sellers being both there by permission of the ecclesiastical authorities for the convenience of the Jews who came to worship in the Temple. The former exchanged the pagan money brought by the worshippers for the Jewish coins which alone were acceptable as Temple tribute, while from the latter those who wished to offer sacrifice to Jahveh (as their religion bade them) could purchase doves for this purpose. And needless to say, all the Christians of to-day who applaud Jesus for this “Cleansing of the Temple” would regard analogous behavior in a modern Christian church as utterly outrageous.¹² The implication given by the gospel stories is that Jesus met no resistance, and that it was not until the next day, when he returned to the Temple, that the “chief priests, and the elders of the people” came unto him and timidly asked: “By what authority doest thou these things and who gave you this authority?” And Jesus is quoted as coolly replying: “I also will ask you one question, which if ye tell me, I likewise will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, whence was it, from heaven or from man? And they reasoned with themselves, saying: If we shall say from heaven, he will say unto us: Why then did ye not believe him? But if we shall say from men, we fear the multitude, for all hold John as a prophet. And they answered Jesus and said: We know not. He also said unto them: Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things” (*Matthew* 21:23-27).

It is surprising that this story should ever have been taken as a

¹²Luther, with sound common sense, said that the Cleansing of the Temple ought not to be taken as an example. Greatly scandalized at this, Canon Farrar stigmatized it as “an unbecoming and mistaken remark” showing “how even the best and greatest fail to rise to the height of that universal morality of which the life of Jesus is the sole human exemplar.”

precise presentation of fact. Unless Jesus had at his heels a mob of considerable size the Temple merchants and money changers would certainly not have tamely submitted to being thrown out, and Jesus would have found himself roughly handled by them and the Temple guards before getting very far in his work. The probabilities are that Jesus and his disciples came to the Temple, overturned a few of the tables and created an uproar, and then hurriedly left before the Temple police could be summoned. The only alternative to this—the supposition that Jesus had rallied a numerous body of men to his support—would have meant nothing less than a riot, an incipient insurrection, which Pilate would undoubtedly have severely suppressed and in so doing have killed a considerable number of the rioters. But all biblical accounts agree that Jesus was the sole victim of his attempts to install himself on the Davidic throne. It is however quite possible, not to say probable, that a riot was precisely what Jesus and his companions vainly endeavored to bring about in the Temple: that they were attempting to incite an insurrection of the people, aimed first at the Temple priests and next at the Romans whose puppets these were. This abortive attempt, bloodless though it was, must certainly have drawn the attention of the Jerusalem authorities to Jesus, and he could hardly have remained unmolested for as long afterwards as the gospels would lead us to suppose. So we must presume this episode to have been antedated. Most probably it took place on the day on which the Last Supper was held, and was the immediate cause of the arrest of the Prophet of Nazareth. And it would not be unreasonable to conjecture that the failure of this first attempt at inaugurating the Kingdom of God led Judas to realize how little chance of success had the project of Jesus, and brought to him the thought of selling to the police the information at his disposal concerning this pretender to the Davidic throne.

Jesus, while unwilling to abandon what he deemed to be his mission, was doubtless sad and disheartened at the ill success of his initial attempt to rouse the populace. And the tale of the passion of Jesus at Gethsemane may well reflect this momentary discouragement. If however he was then really so low in spirit as to anticipate his own arrest and death, the most plausible explanation is that on broaching his new plan at the Last Supper he had noted a decided lack of enthusiasm on the part of his followers. This plan, in fact, involved something more bloody than the rough and

tumble fight that had taken place at the "Cleansing of the Temple," since swords were to be used. Against whom these weapons were to be directed, the Temple guards or the Roman soldiery, we can hardly tell. But after the fight had begun Jesus unquestionably expected legions of armed angels to come to reinforce his band, as is indicated by the remark ascribed to him at his arrest: "Thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels!" (*Matthew* 26:53). It was doubtless this illusion that angelic forces would join themselves to his following that had made Jesus so sanguine of the success of his scheme. In reality the attempt to start a revolution would have been perfectly futile, and would have had as only tangible result the production of a number of widows and orphans. But the projected insurrection never came to pass, for that very night Jesus was arrested by the authorities, and thus his Messianic career was brought to a close.

THE KLEPHTS IN MODERN GREEK POETRY¹
AN INQUIRY INTO A GRAECO-TURKISH CULTURAL CONFLICT
BY GABRIEL ROMBOTIS

ONE phase of the history of Greece during the Ottoman dominion much misunderstood by historians and critics is the life and work of the Greek groups known as Klephts.

Historically speaking, the Klephts were a minority of armed Greeks who broke away from the Ottoman authority, and retired to the mountains in order to maintain their independence. They were not ordinary "highway bandits" or "brigands" but organized groups with their own code of ethics and regulations.

The opinions and judgments concerning the Klephts and their poetry vary according to the more or less adequate information or the personal preconceptions and prejudices of the authors. From Adamantios Coraes, Dodwell, John Comstock to the ethnocentric Greek historians of the end of the nineteenth century, to the writers of the Cambridge Modern History (X,173); from the German or French historians, or R. W. Seton-Watson, Finlay and F. Tozer to the precursor of the Greek Revolution of 1821, Rhigas Pherraios, and some of the contemporary Greek historians, the reactions toward the Klephts have varied from uncritical appreciation to extreme hostility.

The writer undertook the study of the character and work of the Klephts, as impartially and objectively as possible, in order to discover what was their quest for the good life, how they answered this quest, if they did, and how religion helped them toward the realization of their life-ideal. The problem seemed to be neither theological nor apologetic, but *religious*—as these people understood their own religion and their attitude toward the rival religion of Islam; also *ethical*, the term used etymologically, that is directed by the consciousness of these individuals and groups according to their *mores* and customs.

Information was taken from available sources, histories, memoirs, biographies, and particularly from the popular Klephtic songs. These sources have sufficiently passed through the higher and lower

¹This is the synopsis of the essential parts of a dissertation in candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Division of the Humanities, Department of Comparative Religion, the University of Chicago, June, 1932.

criticism of competent European and Greek scholars of whom the names of Campareglou, Candeloros, and Politis are outstanding.

The Klephts were an immediate outcome of the Ottoman conquest of Greece, where Islam came as an antagonist to Christianity. During the entire period of bondage of the Greek land until its independence in 1821, the Klephts stood against the tyranny of the ruler. To his arbitrariness they responded by violence; to his despotism, by insolence and defiance. To Islamic fanaticism and aloofness they opposed their own religion preserved by the Millet system. If the Ottoman Government had been true to the highest ideals of Islam, the Klephts, in all probability, would never have appeared. As an internal, intractable group of the Ottoman Dominion, the Klephts may, to a great extent, be considered as forerunners of the contemporary internal revolution in the Ottoman Empire. To understand the Klepht-situation is to understand most of the reasons and factors that caused the actual overthrowing of the bases of the old Ottoman political régime and culture by pioneer, progressive, Turkish leaders.

With the political and cultural conflict resulting from the Ottoman conquest of Greece, the Greek people, who were not completely assimilated by adherence to Islam, accommodated themselves to the best of their ability by a complete abandonment of self-responsibility in government affairs, and by taking refuge in the spontaneous forms of social integration within the Greek communities, namely the folk-memories, traditions, myths, political and religious beliefs, dogmas and creeds, ceremonies, the mores and customs of the community, which through public opinion were crystallized in the folkways.

However, among the masses of the Greek people there were some who openly refused to submit to the new political régime, and decided to defend themselves by their strength. Retiring to the mountains they maintained a warlike policy of systematic plunder, killing, kidnaping, often waging a many-day combat against the oppressor. They were known as Klephts.

The origin of the Klephts was, in all probability, from the Greek groups who, in the fifteenth century, joined those military bodies in Europe known as *stradioti*. The name *stradioti* derived from *strada*, meaning road; it was given to them because they were always on foot and had no permanent residence. The Greek *stradioti* were mainly under the patronage of Venice. After the loss of

her Greek possessions, Venice could not extend her political protection to them. On the other hand the adventurous life in Europe in the Middle Ages did not present a real interest to the Greek stradioti. Their groups were dispersed leaving to Modern Greek language the word *stratiotes* which now means 'soldier.' It was after the dispersion from Europe of the Greek stradioti that the wildest mountains of Greece were filled with...the Klephts.

There is no historical record as to the exact date when the designation "Klepht" was applied to these people; nor when they were organized. Apparently the word was used by the Ottomans as a term of contempt, because in Greek it was synonymous with the term robber. There exist, however, official records of appointments of leading Klephts as *Armatoles* in the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566). An *Armatole* was a chief of an authorized police body, copied by the Ottoman on the pattern of the Byzantine militia of the *Akritai* or guardians of the frontier in the tenth century. However, in the twelfth century the word used by Venice for similar bodies of *armed* men posted on the mountain passes and other places was *Armati*. The name "Armatole" is the Grecized word "Armati." What should be remembered is that whether as Klephts or as *Armatoles* these men formed a distinct class quite different from the non-Moslems or rayahs. The *Armatole* was paid by the Government and was granted certain privileges. The organization of the *Armatoles* was fundamentally the same as that of the Klephts. When the Government dissatisfied the *Armatole*, he returned to his previous status as a Klepht. People had a special name for the *Armatole*: He was a "tamed Klepht"; and when he ceased to be an *Armatole* he was designated a "wild Klepht." Thus as time went on the *Officio* of the *Armatole* and that of the Klepht became interchangeable in the mind of the people.

The tenacious and audacious attitude of the Klephts toward the Ottoman Government gradually attracted the admiration of some talented members of the Greek people out of whom the popular poets grew. As the Klephts were the result of the political régime in Greece, the Klephtic Poet was the outcome of the Klephtic situation. The authors of these songs were indifferent to honors of authorship. Thus by absorbing and assimilating from the individualities of their successive makers who brought casual changes in various verses, these songs became automatically *impersonal* and were considered as the "common property" of the Greek Com-

munity. Scholarly collectors such as Fauriel, Passow, Politis and others published these poems later in book form which are now the sources of the popular poetical Muse of Greece.

These songs, through successive generations, were gradually incorporated with the mores, customs, and traditions of the different communities thus crystallizing themselves in the folk memory. The tremendous appeal of these poems to the Greek people, their numerical supremacy over all other popular Greek songs, can be explained primarily by the fact that they answered the actual secret wishes of the folk. These poems were for oppressed people a psychic means of achieving the notion of power. The weak was no longer so ashamed of himself: at least now he could sing these songs, or hear others sing them. His thought and feeling, disintegrated as they were through fear, became for a moment harmonized through the refreshing imagery of constructive thought equal to his understanding, and corresponding to tangible realities with which he was acquainted in his everyday existence. His life then appeared to him more worthy of living. He could carry on more easily.

*The Component Elements of the Klephts' Character
and Personality*

One of the most important factors that entered into the composition of the Klephts' personality was the mountains, especially those where they had their strategic residences or *lemeria*. The most famous of these *lemeria* were in Thessaly, in Valto, Acarnania, in Maina and Morea, in Peloponnesus, in Souli, in Epirus. Many Klephtic songs reveal the effect of these mountains upon the attitudes of the Klephts.

Farewell high mountains and you fields full of roses;
Morning dew, nights full of moonlight, farewell.
Farewell you too, dear Sons of Klephts,
Who are so courageous that war cannot frighten you,
But you fall to it like lions.

Olympus and Kissavos

Olympus and Kissavos, these two mountains quarrel:
Olympus then turns toward Kissavos and says:
"Do not quarrel with me, O Kissavos, you Turk-trodden!
I am Old Olympus, so renowned o'er the world.
I have forty-two summits, sixty-two fountains.
On each fountain a banner, a Klepht on each tree-branch;
And on my highest peak an eagle is sitting."

The Klephtic life was really difficult. Nevertheless the Klepht's love for independence made him persevere. The following two poems depict the motives of the Klepht as well as the harshness of his occupation.

Vassili

"Vassili, be wise, be a landlord, get sheep, and oxen, and cows,
Fields and vines, and boys for your service."

"Mother, I don't want to be a landlord,
To get vines, and boys to serve me,
While I myself am a slave to the Turks,
A servant to the Elders.—Fetch me the light sword
And the heavy gun, that I may fly like a bird, high on the
mountain-peaks ;

Go along the mountains, walk through the woods, discover the
lemeria of the Klephts,

Their Chieftains' retreat ; whistle like a Klepht, join the
comrades

Who war against Turkey and the Albanians."

In the morning he kisses his mother, in the morning he starts.

"Greeting to you mountains with your precipices, gorges
covered with fog!"

"Be welcome, worthy fellow, valorous Pallikar."

The Life of the Klepht

Fellows, if you want youthful vigor, if you wish to be a Klepht,
Ask me and I'll tell you about the Klepht troubles and torments.
—Hard is the life we live, we poor Klephts!

Never change we our clothes, never wear white garments ;

We are all day at war, the night on guard.

I have been Captain of Klephts for twelve years.

I never ate warm bread, never slept on a mattress ;

I never even had enough sleep, never enjoyed the sweetness of
sleep ;

But I used, for a pillow, my hand ; my sabre, for a mattress ;

And as a sweetheart my arms embraced my dear gun.

The inequality of the Klephts' struggle against their adversary, numerically so superior, induced the Klephts to develop their physical strength as well as their sense perception to an almost incredible degree. Their ability in shooting, running, yelling with a formidable voice, using their sabres supremely well, equaled their capacity of resistance to hunger, thirst, and sleep. Their limited number made them extremely careful: they became acquainted with every path and precipice which they used either for attack or for escape. Vigilance, perseverance, sobriety were essential. In one of

many poems that describe these qualities of the Klephts, Captain Totskas is assumed to speak as follows:

“My boys, if you want a youthful vigor and a life of freedom
 Make your hearts hard as steel, give your feet the resistance
 of iron.

Never drink wine, love not sleep:
 Sleep is dangerous as death, and wine leads astray.”

As time went on the need of organization was more definitely felt and established. This organization was simple and essentially aristocratic in character: Only the bravest or the wisest could become chieftains. The men who composed the company were ranked in four classes according to valor. They were called *pallikars*, a word derived from *Palla.r*, meaning youth, brave, noble. Their number varied from thirty to one hundred, very seldom more. This strictly aristocratic organization was deeply democratic in mores: The strong ought to be also the righteous. The chief who transgressed this unwritten law of the group, generally, paid with his life.

Solidarity and mutual assistance were parts of the internal discipline of the Klephtic groups. This spirit continued after death also: It was an unspeakable ignominy for a dead Klepht to have his head taken by the Turks. So it became a custom among Klephts to save at any price the body of the slain companion; and if impossible, to cut and take his head with them.

It would be an error to think that the special hatred of the Klephts against the Turks and their associates made them lose their sense of humor. When hate is the outcome of a social conflict of the nature of our study, and possesses a purposeful activity deeply felt by the subject, such a hate becomes a social force par excellence. For the Klephts life became a sport and variation of vicissitudes, a definite expectation. When not at work, the Klephts recuperated their forces with plays and games of their own. They also participated in the festivities and religious ceremonies of their communities, often defying the Turkish authorities with their presence. It is a historical fact, for example, that the famous Klepht Zacharias Barbitsiotis, in the festival of Vresthena used to dance and sing his favorite quatrain:

I swore on my sabre
 And on my amulet
 To hunt down a Turk
 And deliver a Greek.

On such occasions their external personal appearance was very impressive: They girt their gold and silver embroidered shawls or *posia* around their heads, and their white kilt or *foustanelle* around their waist; they put on their ornamental guns and weapons, adjusted their vests and their *tsapratzia* or small shields protecting the knees and the hip. In the following poem the poet picturesquely described the celebrated Klephts, Colocotronis, when they appeared in public festivals.

As snow glistens on mountains and the Sun lights the gorges
 So are glittering the sabres of the Colocotronis.
 They are covered with silver, silver their swords.
 Five ranks of buttons on their vests, and six on their *tsapratzia*.
 They do not deign to step on the ground:
 Their bread they eat mounted just as they fight;
 Mounted they take the "holy bread" from the hand of the
 priest.
 Sequins is their offering to the Virgin and to the Saints.
 But to Lord Jesus they present their silver sabre:
 "O Christ, bless our sabre as well as our hands."

The home-ideal of the Klephts was admirable. Blood relationship, a large family were the bases of this ideal. This attitude cultivated a deep respect for women as demanded by the customs and mores of the Greek communities. Even when, for the sake of ransom, beautiful maidens (ordinarily from the class of priests or primates) were kidnaped, they were scrupulously respected by the kidnapers.

On account of the achievements of their chiefs, the Klephts' families were very proud of their lineage. And "family pride" contributed to the maintenance of family traditions of courage and tenacity of purpose. This was equally true of men and of women. Also their vigorous *esprit de corps* among members of the family developed individual habits of devotion and affection toward one another. In this respect the Greek family bonds proved superior to those of the Roman family where reciprocity of sentiments between its members was hindered by the very formalism and rigidity of the organization.

As hospitality has been an outstanding feature of the Greek social code, the Klephts were received everywhere it was possible by friends and relatives. However, by means of "koumparoship" (the nearest English equivalent of which would be "best man" and "god-father") the Klepht secured hospitality for himself more eas-



ANDRITSOS OR ANDROUTSOS VEROUSSOS

This famous Klepht from Livadia died in prison toward the end of the eighteenth century, betrayed and delivered by Venice to the Sublime Porte. This portrait, now in the National Museum of Athens, is the only original portrait of a Klepht, dated from his time, which has come down to us.

ily: Koumparoship was considered a "spiritual relationship." The element of socialization resulting from that relationship can hardly be overestimated, because the wandering Klephts made connections in different communities, which other Greeks could not make on account of lack of a system of communication between villages.

The dominant figures of the Klephtic groups were the Captains. Each group was known by the Captain's name. Determination, definiteness of purpose, supreme ability in the indispensable requirements of the profession, generosity when needed, gallantry, tenacity and inflexibility of character in the face of any event even death, fairness to his fellow-Klephts, power of persuasion—such were the predominant qualities of the leader. Nevertheless rivalries among chieftains often gave opportunity to Pashas to attract them to their Palaces and treacherously to put them to death.

The following song describes such policies:

Katsoudas

"Passer-by, do you know what happened to the Sons of Katsoudas?

They no longer appear either at Patras or at Saint-Sosti:
O that proud Floros; that terrible Katsoudas,
Who set up his standard both in the vale and on the mountain-peaks;
Whose running was the eagle's flight, whose walk was the running of hares."

—"Katsoudas went to Yiannina, went to give allegiance to Ali Pasha."

"Long live my Lord."—"Be welcome Katsoudas.

Katsoudas sit down, eat, drink and come afterward, I have a question for you."

—"I was given breakfast at the house of Divitsi."

—"Katsoudas taste the sweets, have your drink."

—"My Lord, I am getting dizzy from all this eating and drinking."

—"Much news has come to me from all the Vilaets, (districts)

From Agrapha, Patras, Valto and Carpenisi:

Katsoudas, I was told that you burnt villages and made many slaves."

—"You're told the truth, Affendi, and now I come to submit. I now earned a thousand sequins, and am willing to give them to you.

And if you want the worthy Katsoudas as your help,

Let us chase away the Armatoles of Valto, and the Contoyianni."

When Ali Pasha heard this, his executioner he called in.
And while the Klepht bowed, off went his head.

Another noteworthy fact regarding the Klephtic leader was his contact with other lands than Greece. Famous chieftains, like Androutsos Veroussos, Zacharias Barbitsiotis, the Colocotronis, and others communicated with England, France, Venice, Russia, the Ionian Islands; and always they participated in the various attempts for revolution against the Ottomans, under the auspices of Russia and other European powers.

An attitude common to all Klephts was their loyalty to the Church. Under the actual circumstances of foreign domination the Church became the highest symbol of the Greek ethnic and religious aspirations. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, as historical records show, the Klephts began to manifest their claims by mottoes on their flags and by the style of their letters. They posed as "protectors of the Christians" and later, as "the defenders of the Cross, of the Christian faith, of the Church and of the honor of women." Among their ranks clergymen were found taking the lead "in the name of the country and of the faith."

Nevertheless the Klephts' loyalty to the Church did not prevent them from being hostile to certain priests and prelates whom, wrongly or rightly, they considered as political agents. This conduct, however, did not diminish the piety of the Klephts: their respect toward the churches with all objects of cult, even silver and gold was scrupulously maintained. They also participated in religious sacraments and ceremonies. Their religious recollections were vivid. They liked worship. And at Christmas or Easter time, when alone on the mountains, they celebrated singing whatever hymns they could remember.

Pari passu with their loyalty to the Church went their belief in the ethnic and religious traditions especially those connected with the Fall of Constantinople and the transformation of Saint-Sophia into a Mosque. The popular Poet expressed his impressions of these happenings in the following verses.

The Fall of Constantinople (1453)

They have taken the City, they have taken it; they have taken
Salonica.

They also have taken Saint-Sophia, the Great Monastery,

Which has three hundred *symandra* and sixty-two large bells.
 And for each bell, a priest; and for each priest, a deacon.
 Just at the moment when the Sacrament,
 When the King of the world came out (from the sanctuary)
 A voice from Heaven came down from the mouths of angels:
 "Leave off your psalmody, set down, on the altar, the Most
 Holy:

And send a message to the land of the Franks
 In order that they may come and take it;
 That they may take the golden cross, and the holy gospel;
 And the holy table, so the Turks may not soil it."
 When the Lady (Virgin Mary) heard that, her icons began
 to cry.

"Calm thyself, O Lady, do not shed tears, do not weep.
 "With years, with time, (all these things) once more will be
 thine."

Around these two fundamental events history was reconstructed in the mind of the Greek folk. Easily accepted legends led them to expect the dead Emperor of Byzantium, Constantine Paleologue XI, who "was transformed into marble" and hidden under the earth by an angel, to rise from the dead and assume leadership and chase the Turk out of Constantinople. Conjointly it was believed that the priest, who, at the fall of Constantinople, was celebrating Mass in Saint-Sophia and miraculously disappeared inside the wall of the altar when a Janissary attempted to kill him, would reappear to complete "the unfinished Mass."

As time went on without the realization of the Greek people's hopes, more traditions and legends were successively created afresh to support their expectations: "Signs" were perceived, mysterious psalmodies at Easter time were heard around Saint-Sophia, by specially gifted individuals. However, a little apocalyptic book called "Agathangelos," written in Greek by a homonymous Greek monk of the thirteenth century, translated into Italian, and retranslated into Greek in the eighteenth century, became as helpful in sustaining hopes among the Greek folk as it has been fateful and disastrous in the misinterpretations of "the coming hour." The Klephts were victims of these misinterpretations and often were exploited by political impostors who took advantage of their credulity.

With reference to the solution of problems beyond their control, the Klephts had adopted a few techniques of the Greek communities. They seriously believed in the secret power of amulets, oracles and auspices; but *scapulimancy*, or the so-called ability of

predicting future events as revealed from signs on the shoulder-blades of sheep, was even more authoritative among the Klephts.

Another way of protection and security the Klephts found in the propitiation of supernatural beings; and the offerings and sacrifices of the Klephts were proportional to the good they expected from the Saints they invoked. Their prayers were petitions dictated by the spirit of *do ut des*, logically a part of their way of religious feeling and reasoning. Thus Theodore Colocotronis prayed to the Virgin Mary in 1803: "Help us to free our country from the tyrant, and I will rebuild thy church (whose roof was wrecked) as it was before." This prayer was heard in 1822, so the petitioner tells us in his *Memoirs*, and he then kept his promise and rebuilt the church. However, the outstanding feature in the religious life of the Klephts was their firm belief and trust in God and immortality. God was for the Klephts the highest, unquestioned guarantee of trustworthiness and loyalty. This fact differentiated the Klephts, as a whole, from the other Greek folk whose religious practices dealt more frequently with Saints and Intercessors. This attitude of the Klephts was, very probably, due to the nature of their occupation: The Klephts could trust nobody completely. And psychologically speaking, *trust* was what the Klephts needed most. Thus, for them God was *someone* supreme, in whom they could *believe* without any bargaining or reservation of mind. There is no example known of a "faithless," "atheistic" Klepht.

Such, in the main, were the character and personality of the Klephts until their decimation in 1806 by the combined persecution of the Sultan and the Patriarch Callinicos V who used his terrible power of excommunication causing such a fright and consternation among the Greek people, that they refused to help the persecuted Klephts. Deprived of everything and starving, those who survived the catastrophe crossed over to the Ionian Islands. There, new contacts, as well as the growing spirit of nationalism from the French Revolution caused a permutation in their social personality. When the Greek Revolution started in 1821 many of the old chieftains, such as Marco Botsaris, Karaiskakis, Colocotronis, Niketaras, became generals and contributed greatly to important victories of the Greek armies.

Thus, at the beginning of their career, with a narrow scope aiming at self-independence, the Klepht continued his occupation imitating the Ottoman policies and applying them to the rulers. Simil-



THEODORE COLOCOTRONIS, 1770-1843
Klepht and Warrior

itude of motives, tendencies and means brought some fellow-Klephts together: Organization began. Numerically this organization was very limited. In order to counter-balance, as much as possible, the enormity of their adversary, the Klephts had to increase their own forces *qualitatively*: They succeeded supremely well. For all things they could do, or thought they could do, they relied upon themselves. Without any formal education, generally speaking, with a world-view basically the same as that of the Greek folk, the Klephts defined for themselves the meaning of good and evil according to their professional group-conscience and also to the essentials of the social code of the Greek community. Thus the ideal of the good-life of the Klephts gradually fixed itself. Its program in-

cluded a finished manhood as exacted by the needs of their occupation: a sworn hatred against the ruler and his associates: a loyal defense of the rights of religion and of the community: will to power and self-assertiveness even unto death.

From the point of view of the realization of their own unique capacities in order to fulfill the demands of their occupation, the Klephts accomplished their purpose fully: They were *good* in the Aristotelian sense. As to those things beyond their control the Klephts, following the spirit of the social environment in which they were born and grew, turned either to their religion or to magical and primitive devices in order to seek protection or anticipate future events.

The Rôle of the Klepht in the Cultural Conflict

What was the rôle, in general, that the Klepht played in this Graeco-Turkish cultural conflict?

As we look retrospectively into the nature and the results of this conflict, it is obvious that the rôle of the Klepht was social, political, moral, military, and religious.

With no formal education and with only his physical strength, his common sense, and long practical experience, the Klepht stood, as a vigilant Greek Nemesis between the strongly antagonistic Greek and Ottoman cultures. He prevented their fusion as much as possible. His haughty refusal to adhere to Islam, his proud scorn of death kept the morale of the Christians high. His duplicity with the Pashas and their auxiliaries made him penetrate more deeply into the technique and secrets of the Ottoman Government and he became a "diplomat" at its expense. His opposition to Greek Magistrates, associates of the Turk, could not help but bring to light, and restrain, their injustices.

By living the Klephtic life for so many generations, the Klepht thoroughly learned the topography of Greece and made acquaintances everywhere in a time when communication of inhabitants of different Greek villages was impracticable. Moreover, his knowledge of the Greek territory proved invaluable when he helped in the rapid spread of the Revolution for Independence in 1821, throughout the country.

With his perseverance, tenacity of purpose, and indomitable ambition the Klepht became a special expert who provided the Revolu-

tion with exceedingly capable generals, such, for example, as Theodore Colocotronis and George Karaiskakis.

During all the time of his struggle, the Klepht saved the moral dignity of the Greek people and served as a vigorous stimulation to their courage, which often began to fail under the pressure of a tyrannical régime. One important result of this invigoration was the birth and growth of the popular Klephtic Poet.

The Klepht differentiated between the functions of a politician and those of the clergy, and disapproved of the intervention of the Church in politics. This attitude often made him accuse members of the clergy of acting as political agents. As to his religion, despite his naïve credulity in many matters, and his use of magical devices and techniques, the Klepht remained freer and stronger in his religious sentiments and behavior than the masses of the folk of the Greek community.

MODERNIZING GOVERNMENT

BY T. SWANN HARDING

CERTAIN liberal thinkers about social questions seem animated by a pathetic faith in the possibility of renovating our system of government by electing the "right" men to office. They seem to overlook the point that there may be something so fundamentally wrong with this system of government itself that it can not successfully be adapted to the new, complex, mechanistic age in which we live. Thus, for example, it is quite true that the application of intelligence and foresight to the problem actually can make our obsolete county system work efficiently and well in isolated instances, but it is an open question whether we should retain this obsolete and old-fashioned portion of our system of government in view of the fact that only an unusual and extraordinary combination of intelligence and ethics in public office can enable it to function efficiently.

As a matter of fact we do not live under a functional government. Nor have we yet evolved an intelligent functional society. In his *Acquisitive Society*, R. H. Tawney thus defines functional society:

A society which aimed at making the acquisition of wealth contingent upon the discharge of social obligations; which sought to proportion remuneration to service and denied it to those by whom no service was performed, which inquired first not what men possess but what they can make or create or achieve, might be called a Functional Society, because in such a society the main subject of social emphasis would be the performance of social functions.

Such a society would have a functional government designed to serve the needs of the people. Our society could scarcely be more antithetical to this ideology than it is at present.

In our society the acquisition of wealth is usually contingent upon the discharge of antisocial duties. Remuneration is proportioned to greed and to shrewdness, not to service performed. A Faraday could live in our society and, if he adhered strictly to pure research, attain no more than the salary fit for the valet of a lord. Our banks do not loan money upon the potential ability of individuals to create or achieve, but upon tangible securities and real estate offered as collateral—in short, upon what men possess. The social emphasis in our society is not upon the performance of

social functions, but upon the acquisition of wealth and the legal protection of those who acquire wealth, regardless of their deviously ethical procedures in such acquisition. Furthermore, no purely acquisitive society living under the aegis of individualistic profit economy possesses a functional government; it quite naturally possesses a political government designed purely to serve the interests of the acquisitive. Hence it is pathetically naïve to presume that the injection of a few intelligent liberals into the machinery of such government could possibly serve any good purpose by and large.

Again, the day of native intelligence is past. It would be quite impossible today for a Socrates to govern this nation wisely unless he used his broad, profound, general intelligence for the purpose of synthesizing larger truths from the facts and smaller truths which would be brought to his attention by those experts in specialized knowledge whom we call scientists. However, if Socrates were elected President of the United States by means of the average political methods, he would find himself so impeded by politicians in his efforts to draw correct and logical conclusions from the facts offered to him by scientists that his hands would be tied completely. It thus becomes apparent that we have gone headlong, willy nilly, into an age of science while obstinately retaining a form of government so desperately archaic that it is quite unwilling to use the verifiable knowledge already accumulated, which knowledge a functional society would put into practical operation as rapidly as it accumulated.

In spite of these facts there have surreptitiously crept into the government service certain functional units. One of these that might be cited as an instance is the Food and Drug Administration which has recently been organized upon modern, scientific principles to effect the enforcement of the food and drug law. This unit originally came into being as the result of a vision on the part of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley. Precisely why a thinker so easily confused and of such relatively narrow vision should have had this ideal baffles complete explanation. Perhaps it takes a fanatic with a fanatic's zeal and overemphasis to badger the Congress of the United States into passing legislation functionally beneficial to the public at large. Certainly Dr. Wiley's administrative technique was no match for his fanatic zeal and ultimate reorganization was inevitable.

The Food and Drug Administration of today is a strangely

economical unit of government which, at a cost of about one cent per caput, perhaps offers the American public a greater return for its money than any other investment it makes in taxation. This does not mean that its administration is perfect. When one considers the wide variety of food and drug products in import or interstate commerce which constantly demand the attention of its five hundred and thirty employees one can readily understand that imperfections must exist. The point is that by very intelligent organization this unit accomplishes miracles on a pitifully small appropriation, and if the public desires better protection from fraud it should pay the piper. The policy of the Administration is squarely in line with the best modern economic and sociological theory and even with advanced criminal practice. It is educational and corrective rather than punitive in its operations, and, by acting sincerely upon these principles, it has not only reduced violations to a minimum but has built up valuable coöperative good-will among the cut-throat competitors whose business it is called upon to regulate.

This policy, opposed as it was to Dr. Wiley's more traditional notions of criminal justice—his idea being that when you see a head take a rap at it and judge the vigilance of the bureau by the convictions secured—naturally brought down his wrath upon the operations of an organization which he no longer understood. He therefore delivered himself of ill-founded attacks which, by reason of his earlier prestige, made the work of the unit more difficult. In addition it had, and has constantly, to stand the continued and unceasing assaults of a large section of the drug and patent medicine trade. Engaged as they are in an essentially unethical traffic in superfluous quackeries, these business firms find it to their advantage continually to misinterpret and contort the decisions of the Administration, and to impede its efforts in every possible way.

Basically this government unit is engaged in the strangely communistic work of making the known facts of science of immediate value to the American consumer. Backed by the results of painstaking laboratory research, the staff of the Food and Drug Administration seeks to protect the health and the pocketbook of every Tom, Dick, and Harry of us. In doing so, it will be observed, it serves no particular group. It is not seeking to make more profit for dairymen or animal husbandmen; it does not undertake to develop practices which will enable business and manufacturing con-

cerns to increase dividends by standardizing their products; it is not stocking streams with fish nor is it showing orchardists how to realize more money on their fruits. It lies directly across the current of devil-take-the-hindmost business practices and says: "That you can not do because it defrauds the general public or injures the health of the consumer; whether you make money or are driven into bankruptcy you can not continue that practice."

The result is inevitable as has been made apparent by a Senatorial investigation during 1930. In this particular instance a commercial broker of almost infinite persistence, who had a marked talent for prevarication which bordered on absolute genius, aided and abetted by four scientific men who either did not know what they were talking about, or else did not care, so befuddled the liberal intellectual editors of certain newspapers and magazines that investigation was called for with loud screams. The most prominent advocate of such investigation happened to be a leading liberal Senator whose native intelligence, unassisted, proved quite incapable of coping adequately with the problem presented. The problem itself was technical and scientific; it was intricate in the extreme and extended to the more obstruse reaches of obstetric practice, pharmacology, and pharmaceutical chemistry. Certain members of the Senate who happened to have had scientific training—as well as Senator McNary, Chairman of the Committee undertaking the investigation, who seems blessed with a sharp and very keen intelligence—began to understand the problem, realized they had to do simply with a base, commercial onslaught upon the disinterested scientific work of a functional government unit, and absolved what is probably as honest, sincere, and competent a group of officials as can be found in the government today. Those interested in details which cannot be presented here may consult the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for September 6, 1930, wherein will be found the story in full.

Our interest here is in the broader social and economic implications of the affair. Here we have a functional unit of government putting scientific knowledge disinterestedly to practical use for the benefit of the public. It deals necessarily with complex chemical and pharmaceutical problems. It not only performs research constantly, but it continually checks its decision against the laboratory work of specialists of sorts. It does not show anybody how to make money, but it does prevent certain corporations and individ-

uals from making money by fraudulent means. It is, therefore, bound to be attacked with the utmost vigor and viciousness. In such attacks it is the easiest thing in the world for a clever man so to misconstrue technical matters that the naïve intelligent liberal can become completely confused, and scent incompetence and treachery where these do not exist. Even with the best intentions in the world it is almost impossible for such liberals to comprehend the truth, so deficient are they in the most rudimentary knowledge of scientific method and the value of scientific evidence.

Add to this situation the curious ethical deflection of three or four scientists of standing, one of whom seemed commercially interested in the plot, and whose real reputation was made in a field collateral with, yet distinctly separated from, medicine, and you get the liberal intellectual still worse confused. In spite of the fact that two of these scientists withdrew from the fray and all but retracted what they had first said, the initial impression created was all to the bad. Ultimately the naïve, liberal intellectual feels quite certain that he must have been hornswoggled because he was all indignant, wasn't he, and there must surely have been something to be indignant about? Finally, there is also the somewhat pathetic squirming of the honest, sincere, and intelligent men under investigation, for they did not seem to realize fully that the very lay of the entire situation so placed them, that their work would be much more often maliciously and untruthfully attacked than appreciated at full value, and that unnecessarily discouraged them at times. Certainly the ineptitude of native intelligence in coping with such complex problems is quite obvious.

As may be seen by a consultation of Bailey's article in *The American Journal of Sociology* for July, 1930, the pure food law was fought bitterly every time it was brought up in Congress by politicians, who were determined to see that the government performed as few social functions as possible. Some of the most famous Senators resolutely stood out against the bill and did everything in their power to defeat it. They were disingenuous, of course, and usually insisted that certain other bills were so much more important that pure food legislation must yield its place on the calendar. Actually, however, they realized that the passage of the bill would materially interfere with the ill-gotten gains of many of their constituents, and they felt that remuneration should not be denied to those by whom no social service is performed.

Naturally a bureau like Chemistry and Soils, also of the Department of Agriculture, is in a far stronger position in a profit economy. It can tell ignorant commercial cake-bakers to save money by mixing all their batter together at once rather than following the traditional method of creaming the fat and sugar first, and then adding the other contents; for the traditional method actually has no advantages. It can show how millions of dollars worth of hides now spoiled by wasteful handling before they reach the tannery can be saved and sold more profitably. It can discover for the dairyman that lactose may be useful in producing hard candy in order to render it less hygroscopic. It can evolve methods for canning and preserving the culled citrus fruits so long ignorantly wasted by producers; it can show them how to ripen fruit rapidly by ethylene treatments. It can enable another industry to erect more efficient turpentine stills than it ever thought of erecting on its own initiative, and, in a moment of tremendous vision, it can actually close the naphthanthraquinone ring in the preparation of alpha-benzoyl-benzoic acid and thus increase profits on the commercial production of phthalic anhydride.

It is not argued that these services are unimportant or that they should necessarily be discontinued. In a more rationally organized economic society they are precisely the services which should be performed by functional government. The argument is that such services are quite obviously profitable to large financial interests and bring to the bureau concerned a natural increment of affection which is never paid to a governmental unit charged with the duty of preventing fraud for the sake of the individual consumer.

For years no attention has been paid to noise. Recently scientific investigation demonstrated that a reduction from forty-five to thirty-five decibels in the noise regularly surrounding a group of insurance workers improved their output twelve per cent although no other office changes were made. Moving an assembly department of a temperature-regulator from its old place next a boiler shop to a quieter room resulted in a reduction in rejections at inspection of over seventy-five per cent, while the output in the same department increased from eighty to one hundred and ten per cent. A twelve per cent increase in output occurred in another department merely by stopping the noise of a large ventilating fan, while lowering the noise in the telephone operating room of a telegraph company from fifty to thirty-five decibels resulted in a forty-two per

cent reduction in errors made and a three per cent reduction in costs per message. These things are so simple as to be almost obvious but industry has so long been hell-bent for profits that it ignores such technological problems almost entirely.

Standardization had to be suggested and taught to millionaire industrialists by a government bureau. Ways and means of utilizing waste products for profits have constantly to be called to the attention of *laissez-faire* industrialists by the communistic or socialistic government bureaus which make the facts of science freely available. These things are common everyday functions of government today, but they are social and economic, not political functions. It is discovered that one milk-bottling plant breaks two and a half pounds of bottles a day and another of the very same size seventeen pounds. Very simple rearrangements of apparatus and methods of handling bring both breakage figures down to the lower level mentioned. The milk bottler profits and pockets the profits. He does not necessarily reduce the price of his milk. He is, in fact, under no social obligation to do so according to his ethics and the ethics of individualistic competition.

Quite naturally, then, the position of a functional administrative unit of the character of the Food and Drug Administration is anomalous in a profit economy. It violates almost all the set rules of the game. Whatever Dr. Wiley may originally have had in mind, this administrative unit has developed into an organization which insists that package labels mean something; which declares that manufacturers simply can not increase profits by label declarations which are untruthful; which holds that the consumer should not be compelled to pay as much for a substitute, or a synthetic food product, as he does for the real thing unless it be plainly labeled as to weight and nature of contents and he does so of his own free will and after perusing the label. It condemns the widespread magazine and newspaper advertising of certain products in grossly unscientific terms, though a joker in the law forces it to confine its legal attention to container labels and gives it no jurisdiction over advertising distributed separately from the product. It permits the admission of imported food and drug products on a basis of label and quality, and quite regardless of port or country of origin, ownership, or the part a shipment may take in making or breaking a "corner" in some commodity.

An interesting sidelight on the scientific method followed by this

organization appeared recently when it published certain standards for food products. Thus, instead of laying down the law about such a thing as "raisin bread" it initially defined that commodity in the following terms:

Raisin bread is the product, in the form of loaves or smaller units, obtained by baking a leavened and kneaded mixture of flour, water, salt, yeast, and raisins, with or without edible fat or oil, milk or a milk product, sugar and/or other fermentable carbohydrate substance. It may contain diastasic and/or proteolytic ferments, and such minute amounts of unobjectionable salts as serve solely as yeast nutrients. The flour ingredient may include not more than 3 per cent of other edible farinaceous substance. The finished product contains not less than 3 ounces of raisins to the pound.

In view of the fact that liberal thinkers habitually settle world-problems by utilizing vague and undefined terms like "democracy," "social justice," or "social control," this basically scientific procedure is itself worthy of study.

It is for this reason a most uniquely interesting bureau and deserves the serious consideration of students intelligently interested in the proper functioning of non-political government based squarely upon verifiable scientific findings. It, indeed, offers a passing hint to the optimistic liberal intellectual with his enthusiasm for native intelligence. He should inspect this administrative unit, examine its work, explore its methods, seek to understand its functioning, and he would get some idea of the basis upon which government for service would operate. Its contentions with misguided politicians, disappointed brokers, ambitious nature-faking food and drug purveyors, and even at times with political government itself should be a lesson to him. The very enemies it has made recommend it, and it is more of a sign and a portent, perhaps, than either liberal intellectuals or its own administrative officials are aware.

AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE BOOK OF JOB

BY EDWARD ULBACK

Member of the Archaeological Institute of America

RABBI Saadia ben Josef is one of the brightest names in Hebrew literature. Born at Fayoum in Egypt in A.D. 892, he quickly displayed great aptitude for learning. Unlike most Jewish scholars, he did not confine his attention to Judaism, but studied the rival systems of Islamism and Christianity under the best masters of the day. The Jews of that period enjoyed great prosperity and consideration. A large community of them existed at Irak (the ancient Babylonia) and their chief, David ben Zakkai, under the title of "Prince of the Captivity," lived at Baghdad in a style of regal magnificence. The fame of the young Egyptian scholar spread throughout the Jewish world, and the Prince invited him to Baghdad, and made him Gaon of the Academy of Sora, almost the only instance of such an honor being conferred upon any one who had been educated in the Babylonian schools. This was in 928. Saadia occupied his new position with great credit until the beginning of the year 933, when he was deposed by the Prince of the Captivity because he refused to sanction one of the decrees of that despot. Freed from the cares of office, Saadia resumed his studies at Baghdad, which was then the center of Moslem culture; and his reputation became so great that David ben Zakkai was constrained to elevate him once more to the dignity of Gaon of Sora, which he exercised until his death in A.D. 942.

When we remember that Saadia died at the comparatively early age of forty-nine, his industry and learning seem almost incredible. He translated the whole of the Hebrew Bible into Arabic, and wrote a commentary upon each book. He also translated the Mishna, and composed many treatises upon the Jewish law and Talmudical matters. In addition to this he founded the science of Hebrew grammar, and wrote treatises upon peculiarities of the Massoretic text; beside being the author of several polemic works directed against the Karaite Jews who rejected the authority of the Talmud. In all these labors he had to rely upon himself alone, for he moved in a world of thought unknown to his predecessors; and he thus became a creator and initiator in Hebrew theology, exegesis, philosophy, and

grammar, whose influence endured for centuries, and in some places still continues. When the Arabs had conquered Egypt and Persia, they speedily absorbed the new culture with which they came into contact, and under the Abbaside Khalifs, Moslem learning made its greatest advances in all its departments. This was the atmosphere which surrounded and stimulated Rabbi Saadia ben Joseph. New ideas were suggested to him by the Arab schools of philosophy; and the researches of the Moslems into Arabic philosophy induced him to apply the same principles for the first time to the Hebrew language. In the days of Rabbi Saadia, Arabic had become the common vernacular of the Oriental Jews, and his translations were undertaken chiefly for the benefit of his co-religionists; but not exclusively so, for he always had the world of Islam in view. His own name shows that his family had close Arabian connections, and all his life he was in intimate association with the Moslem scholars of Egypt and Babylonia. Consequently he took great pains to reconcile the leading tenets of Judaism with the current ideas of Arab philosophy; and it is said that he habitually wrote his works in the Arabic character in order to recommend them to Moslem readers, though, as might have been expected, all the manuscripts which have been preserved to us are written in the Hebrew alphabet which was principally affected by the Jewish copyists.

In 1892 the French Orientalists decided to signalize the millenium of the birth of Saadia by publishing a complete edition of all his extant writings. The work of preparing this edition was entrusted to the well-known Semitic scholar, Monsieur Joseph Derenbourg, who labored at the task with great enthusiasm until his death on the 29th of July, 1895. At the time of his decease he was engaged upon Saadia's version of the Book of Job; and to his son, Monsieur Hartwig Derenbourg, fell the filial duty of completing the work which is now before us.¹ The Arabic text and Hebrew commentary have been prepared under the able editorship of Wilhelm Bacher of Budapest, who has employed for the purpose two manuscripts preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England, a manuscript in the Royal Library at Berlin, Germany, and a fourth manuscript which Monsieur Joseph Derenbourg procured from Jeru-

¹*Œuvres Complètes de R. Saadia ben Josef Al-Fayyôûmî*. Publication commencée sous la direction de Joseph Derenbourg, Membre de l'Institut. Continué sous la direction de M. M. Hartwig Derenbourg et Meyer Lambert. Volume cinquième. "Version Arabe du Livre de Job."

salem, together with some minor fragments. This accurate and excellent text will be of the greatest value to Orientalists; but the ordinary occidental reader will derive more benefit from the admirable French translation commenced by Monsieur Joseph Derenbourg, and completed by his son, Monsieur Hartwig Derenbourg. The latter explains that his endeavor throughout has been to carry out the work in the same spirit as his father; that is to say, to render the very words of Saadia into French, with the greatest possible accuracy and fidelity, quite irrespective of our present knowledge of the Hebrew original, or our notions of the Book of Job. It is needless to say that this endeavor has been crowned with complete success, and the student who reads French can now acquaint himself with the exact views held by this celebrated rabbinical scholar of the tenth century.

Saadia calls the work "The Book of Justification, which is attributed to Job." Why he gives it this title will best be explained in his own words. •

The Wise One —glorified be He— has written for us the history of Job and his friends, and has given it to us as a pattern for our instruction, to dispose us to piety; so that when sorrow and misfortune come to us we may know that they fall into one of the two following categories: Either they are because of former sins; and then they are called punishment. (In this case it behooves us to search out these sins, that we should correct our deeds, and that we should cease to be negligent; as it is said, "Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to the Lord. Lam. iii:40). Or else the misfortune is a trial, that the Wise One has sent us, to the end that we should support it with resignation, and He will recompense us for it. We must not in either case attribute any injustice to the Creator; but we must recognize the truth of the attribute which He has applied to Himself in His book, "The Lord in the midst of her is righteous; He will not do iniquity," Zeph. iii:5. For this reason the work has been called "The Book of Justification.

Saadia's constant object was to convey the sense of the Hebrew text, as he understood it. His translations, therefore, were not mere literal renderings; but were more in the nature of paraphrases. And he never hesitated to depart slightly from the letter of the original,

if by so doing he could more clearly exhibit the spirit, or show the logical connection of the various parts. Naturally, in such cases, he showed his weakness as well as his strength, for he thus constituted himself the interpreter as well as the translator of the Scriptures. Like all other oriental poetry, the Book of Job abounds in peculiar and enigmatic passages, and it may be questioned whether Saadia with all his immense erudition has invariably caught the correct sense. As an instance of his method, one may cite his rendering of the well-known passage, Job, xix:

If but my words were now written: if only they were traced in the book; if, with a stylus of iron or of lead they were graven in the rock forever, so that I might know that my friends will continue, and that a later generation shall appear after them upon the earth. After my skin shall have perished, my history shall be transmitted; and by the maladies of my body I shall show the power of God: as I see myself, and as my eyes contemplate me, not those of another, though my piercing gaze shall penetrate my breast.

Even the LXX translators were puzzled over this passage. The rendering of the English Authorised Version is derived from the Vulgate of St. Jerome; and the Revised Version only suggests "Vindicator" in the margin, instead of Redeemer. Saadia's rendering seems to be aimed chiefly at the LXX, which was, of course, the only Christian version with which he was acquainted. The LXX translates verses 25 and 26 as follows:

For I know that he is eternal who is about to deliver me,
and to raise up upon the earth my skin that endures these; for
these things have been accomplished to me of the Lord.

In the Hebrew commentary, which accompanies the Arabic translation, Saadia is careful to inform us that he understands the original word *Goel* (i.e. Redeemer or Vindicator) to refer to the children of men and not to God; his idea being that Job desired his words to be preserved as a lasting memorial, in order that Job might be justified in the eyes of the children of men who came after, and that they might know how God will establish the righteous.

The above instance of Saadia's method, however, is perhaps an extreme one, for even the best expositor may occasionally be led astray by preconceptions; and we must not forget that Saadia wrote

as an orthodox Jew, who had no desire to place weapons in the hands of adversaries. But, apart from doctrinal considerations, this Arabic version of the Book of Job is a work of exceptional ability, which may be read with profit by any one, and which gives a clear conception of the nature of the Hebrew poem. When we reflect that this translation was made in the tenth century—a period of the grossest intellectual darkness in Europe—we are lost in wonder that such a work could have been executed in so masterly a fashion with the means at the disposal of an oriental scholar. Not merely will the Semitist be indebted for this excellent edition of Rabbi Saadia, but the ordinary student will be ever grateful to Monsieur Hartwig Derenbourg for placing in our hands such a lucid, complete, and able exposition of the work of this bright particular star of Hebrew learning.

PHILOSOPHY IN THE LIGHT OF SCIENCE

Prof. G. H. Mead's "Philosophy of the Present"

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

THERE are philosophers and philosophers. The late Professor George Herbert Mead—whom, by the way, the writer knew intimately for over thirty years—was a philosopher and an effective and inspiring professor of philosophy, but he was also a metaphysician and a life-long student of the exact sciences. His position in American philosophy was quite unique, therefore, and his sudden death last year was a real tragedy in the realm of American thought and speculation.

It is fortunate, however, that Prof. Mead, who was an extremely modest man, with an overdeveloped faculty for self-criticism, was invited to deliver the third series of lectures on the Paul Carus Foundation. The volume comprising these lectures, as well as some additional essays, now published by The Open Court Publishing Company, under the title "The Philosophy of the Present" gives the public interested in philosophy, ethics and social psychology a fair and adequate summary of some fundamental and fruitful aspects of Prof. Mead's total contribution to American philosophy.

To understand and appreciate the importance of this volume, it is necessary to bear in mind the interesting fact that Mr. Mead was profoundly impressed and influenced by modern science and modern metaphysics, and felt that the moral and social implications and bearings of such revolutionary ideas as Relativity, the Quantum theory, Indeterminism, Emergent Evolution, ought to be traced and elucidated for the benefit of philosophy and progressive thought and action.

Prof. Mead did not agree with Huxley that there was an irreconcilable conflict between Nature and civilized Humanity. He was certain that any notable advance in the interpretation of nature, or reality, must find reflection in the interpretation of human phenomena.

It cannot be truthfully said that Prof. Mead succeeded in constructing a synthetic philosophical system based on modern science and modern metaphysics. He made no such claim, and perhaps the time has not yet come for so stupendous and ambitious an attempt. We must not overlook the collapse of Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy.



GEORGE HERBERT MEAD

Prof. Mead assured the writer that Spencer was right in contending that philosophy today had no function or mission other than that of co-ordinating, fusing and building up a synthesis resting on and fashioned by the established truths and generalizations of all the sciences. But Spencer was hasty and premature, and Prof. Mead profited by the mistakes, crudities and arbitrary, illogical conclusions of that thinker. What we have in "The Philosophy of the Present"—the Carus lectures and supplementary chapters or fragments—is a valuable, seminal series of propositions, hints and suggestions that challenge attention and demand further study and elaboration. In other words, Prof. Mead has left us a number of arresting, well-defined problems, together with pregnant conceptions, intimations and a definite point of view.

The subject-matter of Prof. Mead's lectures, as Prof. Murphy, in his admirable and lucid introduction to the volume, points out, is divided as follows: First, there is a theory about the nature of time and emergence; second, there is a theory about Relativity and its social implications, and, thirdly, a theory of emergence as social and of sociality as a character of emergent evolution.

It may be stated at once that Prof. Mead's work has conferred new dignity upon and considerably enhanced the philosophical prestige of Pragmatism.

Take the following passage from the chapter on "The Implications of the Self":

"The functional boundaries of the present are those of its undertaking—of what we are doing. The pasts and futures indicated by such activity belong to the present. They arise out of it and are tested and criticised by it. The undertakings belong however, with varying degrees of intimacy, within larger activities, so that we seldom have the sense of a set of isolated presents. . . .

"For instance, the present history of the sun is relevant to the undertaking of unraveling the atom and, given another analysis of the atom, the sun will have another history and the universe will be launched into a new future. The pasts and the futures are implications of what is being undertaken and carried out in our laboratories."

Other writers have emphasized the dependence of the past upon the present in the sense that our *appraisal* of past events—laws, reforms, revolutions, inventions—undergoes changes and, there-

fore, our pictures of the past vary. Prof. Mead, plows deeper and considers the "functional" boundaries of the present.

But the extension of the present into the past and the past into the present does not preclude the idea of novelty and emergence. The past does not *fully* determine the present. "Because," says Prof. Mead, "an animal is both alive and a part of a physico-chemical world, that life is an emergent and extends its influence to the environment about it. It is because the conscious individual is both an animal and is also able to look before and after that consciousness emerges with the meanings and values with which it informs the world."

Perhaps Prof. Mead's most original and daring generalization concerns sociality as a principle. Under Newtonian relativity, he shows, sociality was confined to thought, but modern science tends to prove that there is sociality in nature—in this sense, that "the emergence of novelty requires that objects be at once both in the old system and in that which arises from the new," for "relativity reveals a situation within which the object must be contemporaneously in different systems to be what it is in either." And, clearly, if we postulate, on the one hand, sociality throughout nature and, on the other, emergent evolution, the claim is not too extravagant that the highest and finest product of the whole evolutionary process is the ideal of human solidarity, human co-operation, justice and altruism.

"The appearance of mind," says Prof. Mead "is only the culmination of that sociality which is found throughout the universe, its culmination lying in the fact that the organism, by occupying the attitudes of others, can occupy its own attitude in the rôle of another."

Prof. Mead continues the argument thus:

We human beings are members of societies, or systematic orders of individuals, and our activities are differentiated—perhaps excessively differentiated—under our present civilization. But the social structure is reflected in each of us. It is because of this structure that we can take the parts of others while taking our own respective parts. There results the part "of the generalized other." Thought, ideas, communication, imply individual realization and spontaneous, as well as deliberate, manifestation of generalized otherness.

Thus, according to Prof. Mead, there is no break in evolution. The science of social psychology continues and carries on the work of individual psychology, of animal psychology, of biology and of physics, mathematics and astro-physics. True, we must not overrate our human achievements. We still have long distances to traverse. But we know our goal, and we are justified in affirming that science and philosophy countenance that goal. "If we can bring people together," writes Prof. Mead, "so that they can enter into each other's lives, they will inevitably have a common object, which will control their common conduct."

Examples of the gratifying, if limited, success of the effort to bring people together and substitute beneficial co-operation for wasteful antagonism Prof. Mead finds in the league of nations, the world court, the Geneva arms conferences, and like developments.

Thus the metaphysician and the philosopher in Prof. Mead's rich personality find themselves in harmony with the humanitarian and pragmatist. It will not do to allege that Prof. Mead reached conclusions by the process of "wishful thinking," or that he knew in advance the results he was bound to reach. Those who knew him well never doubted his intellectual integrity or his interest in pure science. If his strictly scientific studies had led him to the pessimistic conclusion that moral progress, human brotherhood, true internationalism were idle dreams and illusions, he would not have hesitated to accept the painful truth. But Einstein, Minkowski, Planck, Whitehead, Bergson, Meyerson and other thinkers whose thought challenged his attention convinced him that a correct, profound interpretation of Nature in its totality, and of the actual relations between the present, in which we live and move, and the past and future, furnish adequate support for his theory of the emergence and growth of sociality—of the certainty that the human self, which is a social self, will increasingly identify itself with larger groups and will find itself completed and fulfilled in that larger self.

It is the duty of American thought to test, verify and expand Prof. Mead's stimulating contributions to philosophy and social psychology.



By Courtesy of Mr. Lessing Rosenthal

Here Spinoza may be seen who knew of Nature and of God
And of the Cosmic Order—his face but not his spirit
Which the very skill of Zeuxis could not paint,
But which lives in the books he wrote of the sublime:
Who e're would know his spirit—let him read.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

Character in Human Relations. By Hugh Hartshorne. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932. Pp. xiv + 367. (\$2.50)

Character building is the chief objective of education and, in recent years, techniques and methods based upon results of scientific studies have begun to be used in the conscious practices of teachers. Dr. Hartshorne, in this excellent and thorough study of the nature of character and its development, offers ideas for the improvement and extension of the practices already existing. This book will be of great value not only to educators but also to all those who are interested in sharing (as individuals) the responsibility of the development of the community as a functional whole. To quote: "Education which forms character is education which includes the teacher as well as the taught—adults as well as children—society as well as the individual—in joint efforts to make life more abundant for all."

An Essay Concerning the Understanding, Knowledge, Opinion, and Assent. By John Locke, Edited with an introduction by Benjamin Rand, PH.D. LL.D. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1931. Pp. 1x + 306 (\$3.50)

This hitherto unpublished draft of Locke's famous *Essay* gives an opportunity to scholars to study the development of Locke's thought for this manuscript was dated 1671 and the *Essay* was first published in 1690. The introduction contains a comparison of the two texts with editorial and critical comments. A great addition to the source material of English philosophy, especially for students of Locke, has been made available by the publication of this book.

His Men Worship. Compiled and edited by Mabel Hill with a Preface by William Lyon Phelps. E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., New York, 1932. Pp. 134.

A compilation of excerpts from writings by distinguished scientists, philosophers, and professional men on the relation of Science and Religion setting forth their interpretation of God and the Universe.

Jesus Came Preaching. By George Buttrick. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1931. Pp. xiv + 239. (\$2.50)

This book is concerned with the preacher's approach to modern life and the content of his message. Dr. Buttrick finds the pivotal issue to be whether Christ is still the preacher's authority. After deciding this question in the affirmative he develops the theme, and closes with an appeal for a return to the preaching of the Cross.

Of the Tribe of Homer, Being an Enquiry into the Theory and Practice of English Narrative Verse Since 1833. By Willem Van Doorn. N.V. De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam, 1932.

John Stuart Mill, a leading exponent of individualism, published in 1833 an essay on poetry in which he developed the view that "all poetry is of the nature of soliloquy." Today this seems prophetic as one sees the tendency during the past century to subordinate narrative in poetry to lyricism. The poets of the century are discussed beginning with Horen, Morris, and Arnold. In Tennyson narrative is subordinated to symbolical matter. The author considers Swinburne unsuccessful as a narrative poet, "who's artificiality becomes manifest the moment one sets oneself to translate it into another language." In Browning, he finds, true narrative as well as a reconciliation between narrative and lyric. In opposition to Mill, Mr. Van Doorn sees a future to poetical narrative which is well suited to hold an unsophisticated audience.

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