

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXIII (No. 2)

FEBRUARY, 1919

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Henry Lord Brougham.	
<i>Truth and Conduct.</i> M. JAY FLANNERY	65
<i>The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.</i> JAMES CARLILE	70
<i>Savage Life and Custom.</i> Illustrated. (Continued.) EDWARD LAWRENCE.	77
<i>Was David an Aryan?</i> (Concluded.) PAUL HAUPT	85
<i>The Development of Japanese Buddhism.</i> WM. MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN..	97
<i>Jesus in the Koran.</i> BERNHARD PICK	113
<i>An Eighth-Century Anglian Account of Purgatory and Hell.</i> A. G. WITTING	123
<i>Book Reviews</i>	125

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HENRY LORD BROUGHAM (1778-1868).
After K. Bowyer.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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TRUTH AND CONDUCT.

BY M. JAY FLANNERY.

THE bulletin-board of a church which I pass every day on my way down-town has held for several months the legend, "Truth is given to us to translate into conduct." This may be the saying of some prophet or seer whose words are the commonplace knowledge of every person with any pretensions to literacy, but in me they awaken no response of literary memory or association. So far as I know they may be original with this particular pastor as the expression of his moral philosophy.

But the philosophy expressed in these words is not original; in fact, it is the philosophy of common sense, the thought of practically every man who has made any effort whatever to render explicit his vague ideas of ethics, and the implicit thought of all who have made no such effort. The idea that truth, a fixed law of ethics, is first given, and that conduct slowly brings itself into conformity with this law, is all but universally accepted. Does not the whole of history teach this lesson? Were not ethical systems, the bibles of the world, works containing the highest expressions of ethical truth couched in language the most apposite and beautiful, among the earliest productions of man? Do not the old prophets, of all nations and races, express conceptions of moral duty of a character so high that the prophets of to-day find it impossible to improve on what their predecessors of olden times have left them, and spend their time in the study and exposition of the ancient scriptures? Surely, he is a very rash man who would set himself up against what is practically the unanimous opinion of mankind. It is the order of the moral world, says the philosophy of common sense, that the principle comes first and that its application follows.

In this view, truth is something which comes to man from

some outside source; adapted, no doubt, in some way to his nature, but made *for* him and not *by* him. It is something which exists external to him, has existed without him from all eternity, and would continue to exist to all eternity were he wiped out of existence. To its making he contributes nothing, and no effort which he can put forth will affect it one iota. The kingdom of moral principles is an autocracy, in which the subject has no part in the making of laws, and in which his only function is to obey. Though we live in a political democracy, and some of us are looking forward to an industrial democracy, in our thinking on moral and religious subjects we still live in the old autocratic world of the ancient prophet. We do not realize how his ideas of God and the moral law were formed on the only model of government and law known to him, the despotisms of his time. And when we find him making *right* the will of a god, responsible in no way to the subjects of the law, a god pronouncing sentence for the infraction of a law which was the mere expression of his pleasure, we fail again to realize that the prophet has in mind the autocratic rulers of his own day. The fact is, that it was impossible for him to think otherwise in a world where civil law was, in theory at least, the expression of a despot's will. Nor do we realize how much our own thinking in morals and religion is colored by our knowledge of the records of those times and by our acceptance of them as something too sacred to be examined in the light of our moral and religious notions of to-day.

In opposition to this old and still almost universally accepted belief in the precedence of truth to conduct, it is my desire to set what modern philosophy teaches to be the true order of the moral life—that truth is the product, not the cause, of ethical conduct. In the realm of ethics, as in all other realms, truth is made by man in the workshop of his every-day life. The principles which actually direct a man's moral life are not the precepts and maxims found so often on his tongue, the teaching of parents and other instructors, whose deeds do not exemplify their words. No doubt these precepts have value when they are of the homely sort and have grown out of the actual conditions of life, and are, further, not in advance of the cultural stage reached by his family and community. Probably this last condition is involved in the preceding ones. But, however his soul may glow with the feeling that his life is being influenced by noble ideals, his conduct and his evident satisfaction with his conduct show that these maxims cannot be understood in any wide sense, but that their meaning is limited by his own moral

experience and by the moral stage which the group to which he belongs has attained.

The mistake made by all moral idealists is that because moral truths are stated in general terms (as of necessity they must be) they are understood and accepted in some general and therefore pure and noble sense. This feeling, that because one can use a general term he really understands it to some infinite limit, is common to all departments of one's mental life, and the objection urged by those who demand that all learning by children shall, wherever possible, be by contact with things and not simply from books or the *ipse dixit* of the teacher, is justified by this weakness of human intelligence. Because a man holds ever before him some high ideal which he has found expressed in beautiful language by prophet or poet, is no guarantee that, in his actual contact with the world, his conduct will be better than that of the hind who knows no poetry but does know life. In fact, the chances are that the better instructed man will be the worse practical moralist. It is one of the commonplaces of criticism that those who make noble professions do not live better lives than their non-professing neighbors. The layman will sometimes be shocked to find that the minister will be guilty of a meanness and trickery which he, though making no such profession as does his clerical friend, would not be guilty of. For some reason contact with high moral ideals does not always make the minister a happy exemplar of his own teaching. Only as he has experience in actual commerce with men is his moral life strengthened, or rather, created. This is no attack upon a great profession, for ministers themselves sorrowfully confess the surprising shortcomings of many of their brethren.

This is true of all persons who live a life of seclusion or semi-seclusion. One of the arguments often urged in favor of giving the right of suffrage to woman is that her influence on political life would be for good. Is not woman better than man? Has she not been kept pure and unspotted from the world, while man has been subjected to moral pollution in the ugly world of business and politics? Even the anti-suffragists use as their strongest argument the awful warning that woman's pure soul will be soiled by the dirty ways of the world, so that she will become as bad as man. This superstition of woman's superior morality is one of the worst stumbling-blocks in the way of her progress. In the home, which has been her peculiar sphere, woman has developed a strong sense of domestic moral values, but her inexperience of the outside world has, until recently, made her insensitive to moral distinctions in

business and in the treatment of working people which are perfectly obvious to men of a rather coarse type. It is well known how apparently refined and sympathetic women will drive hard bargains and seem utterly indifferent to the hardships of those who do their menial service or cater to their wants in shop or store. There are noble exceptions, of course, but the truth is in the statement, and it is easier, as a rule, to make a man see the harshness and injustice involved in much of our industrial system than to make a woman see them. And this not because they profess different codes, but because woman has not yet *made* her moral code for the world outside her home. And she never will, or can, make it in the seclusion of the home. Not till she has had her opportunity in the world of strife beyond the four walls which have hitherto limited her world, can she become the moral equal of her mate. The soil on his garments is not an evidence of pollution, but of the fact that he is doing his part to make a living code in actual contact with his fellows. This may be one of the unforeseen benefits of this accursed war, that through it woman may be compelled to rise to the moral heights already reached by man.

Real moral truths, those which actually affect the life of the individual, are *made* by him, not imposed from without or from above. They are made first by the atmosphere in which the child grows up; not by the preaching of his mentors, but by the life they live. With this cultural inheritance he goes out into life and there remakes it in conflict with other men. In the dirt and noise of the street and the shop practical habits and practical ideals are worked out, and these, and not the superfine sentiments of the nursery, make him the moral being he really is. It is not denied that moral ideals somewhat in advance of his present moral state are formed by every man who is growing in moral stature. But these cannot be much in advance if they are to have any real influence on his life. They are merely "working hypotheses" used to assist in taking the next step. They must be stated in general terms, and this may deceive even their makers into believing that they express very high notions of abstract goodness. But if their makers interpret them in this sense, these ideals lose their value, and their possessor becomes a dreamer and not a doer, or passes his ideal life in one world and his actual life in another.

Let us consider a general rule of conduct which comes to us from a hoary antiquity and is made weighty by the authority of a Teacher whom we all profess to reverence. It is the Golden Rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye

even so unto them." Surely, here is a principle clearly stated, and of whose meaning there can be no question. And yet there is practically no agreement among men of different generations, or among men of the same generation, as to its practical application. And it is not meant here that the difficulty is that men do not try to live up to it. Even if they did try, they would not agree as to what constitutes living up to it. But it is not certain that they do not try. It is true, of course, that most men have a feeling that they are not living the moral law as they should, but that is not because of the violation of general principle, but because there is in the mind of every person who is growing morally a vague feeling of the next step in advance. This is true in the intellectual as well as in the moral world. It is a question whether the feeling of the infinite, not the mathematical construction but the intellectual haunting, means more than that which is just beyond the intellectual grasp. At least this is certainly the case in the moral realm. One's feeling for the moral perfection apparently expressed by a principle is simply a vague apprehension of the next step.

In the days before the Civil War a slave-holder explained the Golden Rule as applied to the relation between master and slave to mean, not that the master was bound by it to set the slave free, simply because the master desired freedom for himself. To him slavery was a divine institution, and the Rule simply meant that he should treat his slave as one who served by divine decree and as he (the master) ought to wish to be treated had he had the misfortune to be born subject to that decree. In our industrial system there are many things which seem to some of us not consonant with a right interpretation of this Rule. But there seems no question that the employer, in most instances, does not see anything wrong with the relation. It is easy to accuse him of hypocrisy, but the chances are that he is not conscious of anything of the sort. His actual relations with the workers may be on a higher plane than are ours, and it is almost certain that, were we in his place, without his practical experience, our conduct toward the workers would not be as high as his. It is impossible for us to interpret a general principle in advance of our moral experience.

But it may be said that the general truth is there in advance and that we only slowly learn what it means. Truth is eternal and eternally the same, we are told, and we simply discover it. As we look back we see a gradual progress toward a higher and still higher conception of the meaning of moral precepts, and this, we are told, is simply our gradual discovery of a meaning which was there from

all eternity. But who put a meaning into them, and what purpose does it serve? If God put it there in the beginning, why did He waste this value, since it is of no use to man till he puts meaning into it for himself? Why isn't it as high a conception of God to believe that He made it possible for truth to be the final product—so far as there can be anything final in human life—of the relations of men to each other? Why isn't the belief that truth is eternally being made as good and pure a belief as its opposite?

And think of the democracy of it! We are not the subjects of any autocratic power in our moral natures, but are the makers of our own moral destiny. It seems to me a most inspiring philosophy to be able to say with William James: "There is no such thing possible as an ethical philosophy dogmatically made up in advance. We all help to determine the content of ethical philosophy so far as we contribute to the race's moral life. In other words, there can be no final truth in ethics any more than in physics, until the last man has had his say." (*The Will to Believe*, p. 184.)

Man is the measure and the maker of all things human, and without him is not anything made which hath been, or shall be made. No autocrat dictates to him what his character or ideals shall be. The world of morals is a true democracy.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

BY JAMES CARLILE.

IN the autumn of the year 1826 Henry Brougham propounded to Matthew Davenport Hill the idea of a society to be formed for the purpose of publishing works of an instructive character at cost price. Davenport Hill sought about for a publisher who would undertake the work under the auspices of the proposed society, and he bethought himself of young Charles Knight, the son of a Windsor bookseller, who had himself made a small venture in the direction of periodical literature. Hill wrote to Charles Knight to come to town, and took him one evening in November to Brougham's chambers in Lincoln's Inn.

To the end of his very long life Charles Knight retained a vivid impression of that evening's conversation. Brougham was

then in the height of his power: for some years both with pen and voice he had been doing the work of six capable men; he had taken all knowledge for his province, and he seemed to Charles Knight that evening to be nothing less than an intellectual archangel, as he expounded to the young publisher his idea that sound information in all departments of human thought should be rendered accessible to all classes of the community, even the very poorest.

The moment was really an auspicious one for such an attempt. Though, to the outward eye, England might seem entirely occupied with party politics, yet there was also considerable intellectual stirring. The London University had lately been founded: in all the larger towns literary and scientific societies were growing up; mechanics institutes were spreading in the smaller towns, and there were already the beginnings of cheap reprints in Edinburgh and the northern towns. True there was no system of primary or secondary education except in Scotland, and Brougham had so far failed in his repeated endeavors to bring his adopted country up to the level of the country of his birth. But there were many signs of a genuine thirst for knowledge, and the three men determined to embark on the task of testing the depth and extent of that desire.

Brougham drafted the prospectus of a society whose object was to be the "imparting of useful information to all classes of the community, particularly to such as are unable to avail themselves of experienced teachers or may prefer learning by themselves." To this prospectus he secured the support of the following, all of whom became active members of the Committee: William Allen, Lord Althorp, C. Bell, T. Fowell Buxton, T. Denman, Agar Ellis, Richard Forster, Olinthus Gregory, Isaac L. Goldsmid, Henry Hallam, Capt. Basil Hall, Matthew Davenport Hill, Rowland Hill, George Cornwall Lewis, George Long, J. W. Lubbock, Sir J. Mackintosh, Dean Maltby, John Herman Merivale, James Mill, Lord Nugent, Sir H. Parnell, T. Spring Rice, Lord John Russell, Lord Suffield.

There are few among the above names who are not worthy of remembrance even after the lapse of nearly a century. A more capable committee was never brought together, and when we add that it included a Quaker, a Jew, a bishop (for Maltby became bishop of Durham), and more than one agnostic, it would appear to have been fairly representative, save for the fact that it included no one who could be regarded as an opponent of reform.

The original *Prospectus* promised a number of elementary treatises explanatory of the fundamental doctrines of every department of human thought. Each "treatise" was to consist of about thirty-

two octavo pages and to be issued to the public at the price of sixpence. The Committee included in their scheme a series of volumes under each of the following headings: Natural Philosophy (including Mathematics), Intellectual Philosophy, Ethical Philosophy, Political Philosophy, History of Science, History of Nations, and Biographies of Individuals. Brougham led off with a preliminary "Discourse on the Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Science." But before the Committee had been in existence six months its work began to assume a more ambitious form, and it was resolved that the Society should aim at publishing a complete "Library of Useful Knowledge," including not merely the elements but the latest developments of every branch of knowledge; and concurrently with this the Committee decided to publish a "Library of Entertaining Knowledge" consisting of volumes, largely illustrated, relating to history, biography, antiquities, travel, and discovery. Brougham led off this series also with a pamphlet to which he gave the title which became a national catchword, "The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties."

The need of a publisher who should devote his whole time to the Society's work became pressing, and, at a meeting of the Committee in July, 1827 (James Mill in the chair), it was resolved that Charles Knight be requested to undertake the superintendence of the Society's publications. Thenceforward Charles Knight devoted himself to the work of the Society to such purpose that to all outward seeming the name "Useful Knowledge Society" was merely a title which appeared on the front page of Charles Knight's publications. This was very far from being the whole truth, for Charles Knight has himself testified to the immense amount of work, voluntary and unpaid work, which was done by the majority of the Committee; but it is certain that the most important part of the Society's publications would never have been undertaken at all if it had not been for Charles Knight's initiative and his incessant personal exertions.

Knight had, before he left Windsor, tried his hand at a little *Penny Magazine*. He now persuaded the Committee to embark on *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*. The weekly penny number consisted of eight pages, small folio, double columns. The contents of the number for October 13, 1832, will give a fair idea of the general plan of the magazine:

- Tivoli (illustrated).
- The Flemish Language.
- The Diving Bell (illustrated).

Fascination of Serpents (illustrated).
 Natural Magic.
 Two Biographies of the Week.
 The Ornithorhyncus.

At the close of the first twelve months, when the fifty-two numbers appeared in volume form, the Society was able to congratulate its subscribers on the success of the magazine. Forty years earlier Edmund Burke had estimated the number of readers in Great Britain at 80,000. The Society had now shown that a periodical containing no element of sensationalism or excitement, no gossip or abuse, no fiction and no party politics could command a weekly sale of 200,000. The financial profit was not large, for the expense of woodcuts was considerable and the Excise duty of threepence in the lb. on the paper amounted to £70 a week.

The Society had now reached a point at which it challenged the two indispensable accompaniments of success, imitation and abuse. The "Christian Knowledge Society" devoted a part of its large funds to the publication of the *Saturday Magazine*, an avowed imitation of the *Penny Magazine*, and soon afterward the same body superintended the preparation of a series of popular works on general literature and science. The publication of the first few volumes of the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge" was followed immediately by Mr. Murray's announcement of his "Family Library," and the "Library of Useful Knowledge" found an immediate competitor in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, a series of separate treatises differing in form from the Society's "Library" but identical in plan.

As to the abuse, it was plentiful. Cobbett in his *Register* attacked the "Society for the *Confusion* of Useful Knowledge" and derided its *Penny Magazine* thus:

"The *Penny Magazine* has this day a portrait of the American wood-pig-on. When I was in America, I once brought down fifteen of them at one shot, and none of them were such fools as the readers of this penny stuff who suppose they are gathering in what is called useful knowledge. If you want useful knowledge read my *Register*."

This was followed up by much more to the same effect in Cobbett's usual breezy style.

Attacks of a more spiteful nature began in the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1833. The Society's publications were described as "fraudulent pretense," "anti-Christian propaganda," "concealing under the guise of popular instruction a mere bookseller's specula-

tion bringing in thousands a year to Charles Knight," and so on. The allegation of irreligion was one which weighed seriously with many people with whom it was an article of faith that all instruction should have a direct religious purpose and that scientific teaching of any other description led straight to infidelity.

On June 30, 1832, the Committee announced in a circular to the subscribers that the success of the *Penny Magazine* had induced the Committee to undertake the publication of a *Penny Cyclopædia*, intended to be a moderate-sized book of eight volumes, adapted to the class of readers who had supported the *Magazine*. It was intended to be a compilation, not a collection of original articles, and Prof. George Long, of London University, was called in to take the editorship and to assume control of the staff of contributors. Naturally he turned for advice to his colleagues in Gower Street and especially to Alexander Ramsay and Augustus De Morgan. To these three, with Charles Knight, belongs the credit of transforming the *Cyclopædia* from the modest reference book for the newspaper reader originally designed by the Committee, into a work of the greatest value to scholars and students of that and the next generation. With a sublime disregard for the limitations of size imposed by the Society, the editors had only reached the letters *An* when the first volume was finished and the eighth volume found them still in the letter *C*. Ultimately twenty-seven volumes were issued, followed by two more supplementary volumes.

The *Penny Cyclopædia* was the *magnum opus* of the Useful Knowledge Society. It was not completed until the year 1844, by which time its cost had amounted to £42,000 for literature and illustrations, and £16,000 in Excise duties. During all the eleven years occupied in its publication, the monthly parts were never once behindhand for a single day. But after the first year it was found necessary to raise the weekly 1d. to 2d., and after three years the price was raised to threepence. The sales during the first year were 75,000 a week; when the price was doubled the sales fell off to 55,000 a week; after two years the number decreased to 44,000, and before the end of the alphabet had been reached the subscription had fallen to 20,000 a week. The copyright of the work was vested in Charles Knight who some years later reissued it in a revised and altered form under the name *The English Cyclopædia*. Charles Knight estimated that the two works had involved him in a loss of £30,788, but he had the satisfaction of having published a work which, in the departments of biography, of mathematics, and of certain portions of physical science, is of permanent value, and

which contains such original and suggestive matter as the contributions of De Morgan and such a masterpiece of exposition as G. B. Airy's article on "Gravitation."

The Society now proceeded to effect two other important reforms. The only existing maps were either incredibly bad or very costly, frequently both. The Society had an entirely fresh series of two hundred maps prepared for publication, together with a number of plans of important cities. When finished they constituted an atlas such as had not hitherto been seen, and yet it was sold at a fraction of the cost of the cheapest of its predecessors. The second new departure was the *British Almanac and Companion*, which the Society issued annually until its dissolution. This was the first really useful and trustworthy almanac published in Great Britain, and the *Companion* contained each year some articles of permanent interest and worth.

The Society's income from subscriptions never exceeded £300 a year, but from the royalties on some of its works it derived considerable sums, all of which it devoted to the publication of works of utility on which no profit could be expected. Such were a set of large astronomical maps, a tabulation of the sickness and mortality experience of Friendly Societies, tables of logarithms and of squares, cubes, etc., and a set of statistics both of Great Britain and of the British Empire.

The Society's last great enterprise was a general biographical dictionary. The scale on which it was planned may be judged from the fact that seven volumes were required to complete the letter *A*. It would thus have rivaled in extent any work of the kind ever executed or even contemplated. But the reception of the work was chilling; only 1161 copies of the first volume were sold, and only 789 of the seventh volume, and the loss involved in these volumes exceeded £5,000.

It was this loss which led to the dissolution of the Society. Lord Campbell, indeed, in his *Life* of Brougham, attributes the untimely death of the Society to the fact that it published Brougham's volumes on *Political Philosophy*. But as a matter of fact Brougham's fragment had been published six years earlier. In a dignified address to the public (the composition, largely, of Professor De Morgan) the Committee announced the reasons which led them to advise the dissolution of the Society. The Committee felt that their work had been done. "The fear of the spread of knowledge has now departed"; and they claim, fairly and justly, that "the effect of the Society's labor is proved by the extensive

adoption of the principles on which they started," and, it may be added, the principles which they unhesitatingly pursued to the end. "Its efforts have had a remarkable success in bringing before large numbers an amount of accurate knowledge which was formerly the property of a few only. The industrious student, if he required books of a high character, was obliged to content himself with those of a past age, which had gradually descended within his means as to price. If he can now commence his labors with the advantage of more modern assistance, he has to thank in great measure those who discovered for him that books of the more learned character might be successfully published on the principles of cheapness which had been so often applied in other branches of trade. The numbers of editions of the best writers on all subjects which have appeared at almost artisan's prices within the last six years, and the amount of books now obtainable by persons of very small means, may without arrogance be attributed to the example of the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge'" (1846).

The following is believed to be a complete list of the Society's publications:

1. "The Library of Useful Knowledge," comprising three hundred and sixty volumes or pamphlets.
2. "The Farmer's Series," being a library of pamphlets on agriculture.
3. "The Library of Entertaining Knowledge."
4. The *Journal of Education*, a quarterly continued during the Society's existence.
5. The *Penny Magazine*—nine volumes.
6. The *Penny Cyclopædia*—twenty-nine volumes.
7. The Society's Atlas of two hundred maps.
8. The Star Atlas.
9. The *Gallery of Portraits* with biographies, seven volumes.
10. *The British Almanac and Companion*, continued annually.
11. The *Working Man's Companion*.
12. The "Library for the Young."
13. The Statistics of Great Britain and of the Colonies.
14. *A Treatise on Friendly Societies*.
15. *A Treatise on Annuities*.
16. *A Manual for Mechanics Institutes*.
17. A series of treatises on governments (a design of Brougham's left unfinished).
18. Several sets of mathematical tables.
19. *The Pictorial Bible*.
20. *The Biographical Dictionary* (not completed).

There are also other works projected by the Society, some of which were afterward completed and published by Charles Knight.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

VIII. SUPERSTITION, MAGIC, AND RELIGION.

WE have now to consider the most difficult, yet at the same time most significant and important feature in the mental life of our savage—his belief in the supernatural and the customs which he has, in the course of time, gradually built upon that belief.

All savages believe in the existence of, and the influence exercised by, beings to which the name supernatural is applied by ourselves; but there is this profound difference: to the savage mind these things are part and parcel of the natural order of things; they exist as part of nature, not above or beyond it; in other words, they are natural and not, in our sense of the term, *super-natural*.

Everything in nature is held by the savage to be permeated by some vivifying, unseen influence, and it is his belief in this mysterious agency which shapes his course in life, from birth to the grave, and which forms the basis of his conduct and his religion.

Absurd and foolish as many practices to be detailed may appear to us, nevertheless these customs are profoundly significant, for out of them have grown the complicated codes of law and ethics of civilized communities.

Had not the conduct of primitive man been moulded by his superstition, it is a question whether any other form of influence would have been equally powerful in shaping his life and in restraining him from performing certain acts which are in themselves anti-social and which long experience proves that nature does not desire. Superstition, perhaps, has on the whole made for good.

Thus, for example, savages usually regard adultery as a most heinous crime. It is usually punished with the death of one party or the other, sometimes both offenders are killed. It is considered to be not only a crime against the person but against the community at large, for it causes bad weather and prevents rain; it mars the earth's fertility and blights the crops.

Again, if a man goes to battle he must live a continent life, otherwise his expedition will fail or calamity overtake his family.

Superstition likewise comes to the aid of sanitation. No savage, if he can prevent it, will allow any person to possess any portion

of his clothing or of his nail parings, because the possessor would be able to exert a magical influence over him and even cause his death. Hence savages take constant precautions to hide away their discarded belongings; all offal and excreta are buried or destroyed, and thus, as Basil Thomson has well pointed out, superstition creates a law of cleanliness more rigid than that enjoined by the Mosaic code itself.

In India the fear that the dead may at any time return as *choorah* or ghosts and persecute those persons who have tyrannized them during their life on earth, has to a great degree the merit of restraining would-be oppressors.

To justify his beliefs, the savage can triumphantly point to many facts which appear to coincide with his superstitions. Thus on one occasion a medicine-man in the Congo State was flogged for poisoning certain people. The following day a severe storm arose—a most unusual occurrence—consequently the natives held that the punishment of their doctor had brought about the storm!

Beccari, the Italian traveler who explored Borneo in 1865, relates that he himself was warned not to touch a certain house which was inhabited by *antus* or spirits, otherwise evil would befall him. Prompted by curiosity, he disregarded native fears and made an examination. The same evening, to the satisfaction of the offended people, he had a sharp attack of fever.

Lumholtz tells us that while traveling in Mexico, a Huichol shaman prophesied that within four days his dog would die, and die that dog did.

An African necromancer once informed Sir Harry Johnston that the steamer for which he was waiting had run aground and that another steamer would call for him, and this information turned out to be quite correct.

Travelers who relate these stories are unable to account for them or find any satisfactory explanation. But coincidences like those narrated continually occur and make one think that there must exist a side to savage superstition which requires further elucidation and which the white man has been unable to fathom.

Europeans frequently make practical use of native credulity. Uncivilized man holds that a part of anything possesses the same power as the whole. This belief was once utilized by an English overseer in the following amusing manner. He found that the gang of laborers of which he had charge constantly took a rest whenever his eyes were turned away. So he procured an artificial glass eye and placed it upon a stone where the men could see it,

with the result that during his absence the men worked as hard as if he himself had been present!

Savages do not believe in a personal omnipotent God, nor in the Devil; but they do believe in the existence of ghosts or souls, and in a multitude of good and evil spirits. While they make unto themselves images of wood and of stone and bow down to them they never worship the image itself, but the spirit which is supposed to reside therein. Savages are not such fools as some think. Many of their supposed idols or gods are really scarecrows or spirit-



Fig. 24. WOODEN FIGURE SET UP BY THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS TO SCARE AWAY EVIL SPIRITS.

British Museum. (Photo, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

frighteners, intended to drive or frighten away evil spirits (Fig. 24).

No bad spirit dare enter any dwelling upon which such an image has been fixed. In England and elsewhere, spirit-frighteners are still in use, but their original significance has been forgotten. The familiar horseshoe is an example; to the modern idea it means "good luck"; to our ancestors it meant that no evil being in shape of a witch could enter the place protected by it.

Everything in nature has its spiritual as well as its physical side. Thus the natives of Guiana consider that men and animals,

the heavenly bodies and all inanimate objects are alike composed of body and soul and differ only as to their powers.

The spiritual essence or soul of all human beings has the power of leaving the body and returning again at will. A native Australian on being asked whether his soul could leave his body replied: "It must be so; for when I sleep, I go to distant places, I see distant people, I even see and speak with them who are dead." Likewise, a man's soul can occupy the roof of his hut while he himself in bodily form remains below.

When the man dies, his spirit hovers near its old haunts, where offerings of food are made to it from time to time. Out of this custom has grown that great system known as "ancestor-worship," a worship which has reached its highest development in the religious system of the Chinese.

A clear distinction appears to be drawn between two classes of spiritual beings—between the disembodied spirits of the dead and other spiritual beings who have apparently never been men at all.

The spirit of a dead person is frequently regarded with a certain amount of fear. Unless well treated, it may return and cause a great deal of mischief. It not infrequently happens that a dying man will threaten to return as a spirit in order to take vengeance on his living enemies! At Accra, on the Gold Coast, a fetishman was put to death for murder. Before his execution he vowed that he would come back in spirit form and haunt those who were the cause of his destruction, and many natives believe that he did return.

In South Africa, women are sometimes accused of possessing a certain dangerous spirit (*iere*), which is capable of killing any person; the possessor is therefore dissected alive so that this evil spirit may escape!

On Penrhyn Atoll, in the South Seas, a certain chief died and was buried. Soon afterward, the village was troubled by his ghost. A council of head-men was held, which resolved to take the body from its "resting"-place, and reinter it face downward, in order that it may not see its way back to the village, and thus to prevent its visits!

In Uganda, East Africa, special precautions were taken to prevent the spirits' return to take vengeance on the living. When men were about to be put to death, a magical draught, consisting of beer mixed with certain medicines, was administered to them. This potion was supposed to kill their souls. It was administered from a

pot especially made for the purpose and known as the "slaughter pot" (Fig. 25). It consists of a bulb with three mouthpieces; the center one was for the use of princes, another for the use of chiefs, and the third one for the common people. After taking the draught, the victims were made to smoke a mixture of tobacco and medicine; they were then taken to the place of execution and cut into pieces, with the exception of one man who was allowed to escape. Their remains were afterward thrown upon a framework and burnt. Both the pot and the pipe are now in the British Museum.

Our first impression of these customs may be that they are very cruel ones; but second thoughts will make it obvious that they



Fig. 25. UGANDA SLAUGHTER POT FOR KILLING SOULS.
British Museum. (Photo, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

make for good order by creating a desire to live at peace with all men; for not only in this life but in the future, vengeance may in some way or other overtake any one who commits a wrong.

In many places, as in Celebes and parts of Melanesia, elaborate "ghost houses" are erected in the enclosures of secret societies (Fig. 26). No uninitiated man, nor any woman or child, is allowed to enter the sacred precincts where the spirits reside.

Witchcraft and witch-doctors—male and female—play a most important part in the life of our savage. It is they who hold an intermediate place between ordinary mortals and the spirits in the unseen world and who have intimate converse with those spirits.



Fig. 26. HOUSE OF GHOSTS, BERLIN HARBOUR, NEW GUINEA.

The spirits ruling fate live in these houses. There are carefully executed paintings on the gable ends and walls, and remarkable carvings on the balustrades.

(From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen*.)

At every death that takes place they are called in to discover the cause, it is they who track the thief and who cast the evil spirits from men, which cause disease.

As I have said, the idea of nature and natural causes is altogether foreign to the savage mind. Nature, as we understand it, is to them not physical, but spiritual in essence. Everything has a "magical" origin or cause, instead of a "natural" one. Death itself is seldom natural; man apparently would continue to live were he not



Fig. 27. LADY WITCH-DOCTOR AND HER ATTENDANT DANCING WOMEN, UPOTO, UPPER CONGO.

Note the elaborate beads and brass ornaments which show how profitable their spiritual service proves.

(Photo, by the courtesy of the Baptist Missionary Society, London.)

killed either in war or by magical means. Therefore when death occurs it must be some enemy or ill-wisher that has caused it, and the business of the witch-doctor is to discover the guilty party. To accomplish this, he works himself into a state of frenzy by whirling his body round and round on his toes; he is then seized with terrible convulsions, foams at the mouth, and finally falls down in a state of complete collapse. It is while in this state that the name of the culprit is revealed by the spirits. Nearly every tribe possesses at least one doctor.

King James I of England, in his famous book on demonology, explained to his lawful subjects that "the Devil teacheth to make pictures of wax or clay that by roasting thereof, the persons that they bear the name of may be continually melted or dried away by continual sickness." This is known to us to-day as "sympathetic magic."

Among the savage Malays of Malacca, the sorcerer takes a little wax, and muttering over it a spell, awaits his opportunity to perform his deadly work. He waits until a strong wind is blowing toward the house of his intended victim; then, taking the wax, he places before him a vessel of water, with a couple of lighted candles, mutters another incantation and then fixes his eyes intently on the water till he discerns therein the image of his intended victim; he then throws the wax into the air. Caught by the wind it is transported to the victim who immediately feels a blow, sickens, and eventually dies.

In the Upper Congo, when a Bushongo has lost anything he goes to the medicine-man, pays him a fee, and requests him to discover the thief. The doctor produces a divining instrument made of a piece of wood shaped like a crocodile. He commences to rub the back of this with a small wooden disk, repeating as he does so the names of any person likely to be suspected of the theft. When the name of the guilty is mentioned the disk refuses to move again, and the suspected person is then made to submit to the ordeal of poison.

After many years' close study of savage life, I cannot help thinking that there must be some quite unknown factor at work behind all this superstition. It not infrequently happens that the sorcerer does actually discover the thief by his methods, and instances might be readily quoted from happenings in civilized life where some such unknown factor appears to have been at work.

Captain Creagh, late of the 1st Royals, gives an instance where an Irish gentleman was fired at and mortally wounded, but who was quite unable to cast the least suspicion upon any one. Shortly before his death, however, he solemnly and formally declared, as a dying man, that a certain peasant had been the cause of his death. The man was arrested on suspicion but discharged for want of proof. Many years afterward, on his own death-bed, he actually confessed to the crime of which he had been accused.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

WAS DAVID AN ARYAN?

BY PAUL HAUPT.

II.

MY interpretation of *adóm*, the brown stuff, in Gen. xxv. 30, and *admônî*, brownish, in 1 Sam. xvi. 12; xvii. 42, which I gave in my *Biblische Liebeslieder* (1907), pp. 58, 123, has been followed by Gunkel in the third edition of his admirable commentary on Genesis (1910), p. 296. Some exegetes have revived Boysen's conjecture, made more than 150 years ago, that *adóm* in the story of Esau selling his birthright for a bowl of lentil-soup, does not mean *red* or *brown*, but corresponds to the Arab. *idâm* which denotes anything eaten with bread.⁷⁰ But Esau had no bread;⁷¹ besides, it is expressly stated (verse 29) that Jacob had cooked the dish, so it was not merely a sandwich. The layers of cottage cheese and chopped olives on a Spanish sandwich might be called *idâm*, also leek, garlic, onions,⁷² even cucumbers⁷³ and melons (see Num. xi. 5).⁷⁴ *Idâm* means originally *cover* and corresponds to the German *Belag* of a *belegtes Brötchen*. Heb. 'al, upon, however, is often used in the sense of *in addition to*: e. g. Lev. ii. 1, *He shall pour oil upon it, and put frankincense thereon*, means simply that the offerer must give with his offering of fine flour both oil and frankincense.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Relish, opsonium (Lat. *obsonium*). Greek *ὀψώνιον* refers especially to fish (cf. Mark vi. 41).

⁷¹ According to verse 34, Jacob gave to Esau bread and lentil-soup. The following words *and he ate and drank* may refer to the eating of the bread and the lentil-soup. Esau may have had water before he came home, but he had not had anything to eat. *Soup* is in modern Arabic: *shûrbah* (Turkish *chorba*), i. e., *drink*. The Latin term for *soup* is *sorbitio*, from *sorbere*, to suck in, swallow, sup up. *Soup* and *supper* are connected with *to sip* and German *saufen*. Our *sherbet*, *sorbet*, *syrup*, *shrub*, *shrab* are derived from Arab. *shâriba*, to drink. The Arabs say also *shârib dukhân*, he drank smoke, for *he smoked*. Arab. *shâriba*, to drink, means originally *to be parched*; it is identical with Assy. *sharâpu*, to burn, just as our *thirst* is connected with *torrid*.

⁷² In Bible lands leeks and onions are commonly eaten raw as a relish with bread (cf. also Iliad, 11, 630). In Bavarian beer-houses large black (or white) radishes are eaten in this way.

⁷³ Arab children in Palestine bring to school as their dinner barley-bread and cucumbers; see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 2, p. 29b.

⁷⁴ The diet of the Berbers in North Africa largely consists of onions, cucumbers, water-melons, gourds, and a small artichoke; see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 3, p. 766.

⁷⁵ See the translation of Leviticus in *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 114, p. 113, and the notes on the translation of Leviticus, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 63, line 44.

For *Please let me have some sugar with my coffee* you would say in classical Hebrew: *Give me, I pray thee, a little sugar upon it.*⁷⁶

Edom cannot mean *red-haired*; there are no red-haired races; red hair is an individual anomaly. The explanation of *Edom* as *red-skinned* or *broʻwn-complexioned* is merely a popular etymology. *Edom* seems to be a dialectic form of Heb. *adám*, man. The ancient Egyptians called themselves *rômet*, men. Also the name *Bantu* signifies *men*. Heb. *adám*, man, is connected with *adóm* or *admônî*, red or brown, and the primary connotation of the feminine form of *adám*, man, *âdamâ*, earth, is *the broʻwn one*. Humus is dark-brown or black. Sahara (Arab. *ṣaḥrâʻu*, plur. *ṣaḥârâ*) means *taʻwmy*: the intensely dry wind of the Sahara, which is known in Sicily and southern Italy as *sirocco*, brings with it immense quantities of reddish dust. The sirocco dust is called also *red fog* and may occasion *blood-rain*. The grains of the Sahara dune-sand may appear reddish-yellow, from the presence of iron, but in the mass they have a rich golden hue.⁷⁷ The ancient Egyptians called the deserts around the valley of the Nile *the red land*. But the name *red earth* for Westphalia is derived from the blood-ban (power of life and death) exercised by the Fehmic courts.

According to Gen. ii. 7 (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 47) *adám*, man, is derived from *âdamâ*, earth, so that *adám* would mean *earth born*. The most learned of all Romans, Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 B. C.), and the *Christian Cicero*, Lactantius (c. 260-340 A. D.), combined *homo* with *humus* and *χαμαί*, but if the Hebrew word for *man* were derived from *âdamâ*, earth, we should expect *admathôn* or *admôn* or *admathî* or *admî*. The popular etymologies which we find in the Genesis legends are inaccurate: as stated above, *ishâ*, woman, is not the feminine form of *ish*, man, and *Babel* signifies *Gate of God*, not *Confusion*.⁷⁸ Nor does *adám*, man, mean *the broʻwn one*; the primary connotation is *cover*, integument, skin. German sportsmen call the hide of a deer *Decke*, cover. *To hide*, to conceal, is ultimately connected with *hide*, skin and hood.

⁷⁶ *Lě-tôk haq-qahwâ* would mean that the sugar is to be put in the coffee. For Heb. *ʻal*, upon, over = *in addition to*, cf. our *over* and *above*.

⁷⁷ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 23, p. 105b; Vol. 25, pp. 21b, 175b. *Sirocco* is derived from the Arab. *sharq*, east, which we have also in *Saracen*. In Algeria, Syria, and Arabia this parching wind is known as *simoom*, Arab. *samûm*, from *samm*, poison, which is ultimately a Sumerian loanword (see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 34, p. 73; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. 30, p. 61). In Egypt it blows at intervals for about fifty days and is therefore called *khamṣîn*, fifty. The Assyrian name of the wind was *shûbu* (see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 35, p. 157).

⁷⁸ See Gen. xi. 9; cf. above, n. 65, and Haupt, *Purim* (1906), p. 2, line 38.

In Semitic, *skin* is used for *mankind*, men, persons. Arab. *báshar* signifies both *skin* and *mankind*, and the corresponding Hebrew word *basár* means *flesh* and *mankind*.⁷⁹ We have adopted this Biblical use of *flesh*, but we say also *He tried to save his bacon* or *his skin* and *He tried to get my skin* or *He did not want to risk his hide*. We use *blood* for *kindred*, family; *flesh and blood* for *progeny*. *Young blood* means *young people*, and *the blood* denotes the royal family. *Body* is used for *person* (cf. *somebody*, *nobody*; *a good old body*). In German, *Haut*, skin, is often used for *person*; the phrases *Er ist eine treue, ehrliche Haut* or *sich seiner Haut wehren* or *seine Haut teuer verkaufen* or *seine Haut zu Markte tragen* are quite common. Martial (3, 16, 4) says *de corio suo ludere*, and Horace (Ep. 1, 2, 29; Sat. 2, 5, 38): *cutem* or *pelliculam curare*. Also German *Balg*, skin, which is connected with our *bellows* and *belly*, is used for *person*, especially for a lewd woman or a naughty child.

The primary connotation of Heb. *adám*, man, is *cover*, integument, skin, and Heb. *adóm*, red, means originally *covered*, then *coated*, stained, blood-stained, blood-red. We say *White lead covers well*, and we speak of a *coat* of paint. *Color* is connected with *celare*, to conceal. In Jer. ii. 22 Heb. *niktám*, covered, signifies *blood-red* (not *marked*). In Is. i. 22 the Targum uses *kētîmîn*, covered, in the same sense. In the Talmud *kätm*, covering, denotes especially *blood-stain*. St. Augustine tells us that the Punic word for *blood* (Heb. *dam*) was *edom*. In the Turko-Tatar languages *bôt*, *bot* means *cover*, *color*, *redness*, *blood* (see Vambery's etymological dictionary, 1878, No. 220). *To color* means originally *to cover*, to coat, but it has also the special meaning *to redden*: the phrase *he colored up* means *he became red* in the face. We can say *covered with blood* or *blood-stained*, *blood-colored*, *blood-red*.

The story of David and Goliath in 1 Sam. xvii. 1-xviii. 5 represents a later tradition. According to 2 Sam. xxi. 19, the slayer of Goliath was not David, but Elhanan-ben-Jair, of Bethlehem, one of David's warriors. Afterward this exploit was transferred to David himself, but in 1 Chron. xx. 5 we have the harmonistic correction that Elhanan-ben-Jair slew Lahmi, the brother of Goliath of Gath. This *Lahmi* is merely the second part of Elhanan-ben-Jair's epithet *Bêth-hal-laḥmî*, the Bethlehemite. Elhanan, the slayer

⁷⁹ The Arabic term for *gospel* (i. e., *good spell*, glad tidings) is *bishârah* (Heb. *bēsôrâ*). The primary connotation is *skinning* in the sense of *affecting the skin*, i. e., bringing news which causes the recipient to turn white or red in the face. It denotes especially a *flush of joy*. Tennyson (*Maud*, XVII) says: *Pass and blush the news*.

of Goliath, may have been a Bethlehemite, but David was not a native of Bethlehem, nor was any descendant of David ever born there. Jesus was not a son of David, and He was born at Nazareth.⁸⁰

In the legend of the slaughter of the innocents at Bethlehem the scribes say (Matt. ii. 5) that the Christ, i. e., the Messiah, is to be born at Bethlehem in Judea. The passage in the Book of Micah, on which this answer is based, is a later addition (103-76 B. C.) to a Maccabean poem written c. 135 B. C. The Hasmonean priest-kings were not descendants of David, and some glossator, who believed that only a son of David could be the legitimate king of the Jews, added this quotation from an ancient poem written at the time of the birth of the Davidic scion Zerubbabel (c. 538 B. C.) who is glorified in Is. ix. 6, 7; xi. 1-9, and in Pss. xx, xxi. cx, cxxxii.⁸¹ This anti-Hasmonean quotation at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Book of Micah says:

And thou, O House of Ephrath,⁸²
 so young 'mong Judah's clans,
 From thee is come to us
 the ruler-to-be o'er Israel.
 He'll reign through JHVH's power,
 exalted to the bounds of his land.

Lit. *he will be great to the ends of the land* (not *earth*), i. e., he will be recognized as the legitimate king of Judah and will restore the former extent of the Davidic kingdom. Ephrath, which may have been originally the name of one of the fertile valleys about Hebron, was the name of David's clan. Similarly Saul belonged to the Benjamite clan Becher,⁸³ and Gideon to the Manassite clan Abiezer. David's sept was young among Judah's clans;⁸⁴ it may have joined the worshipers of JHVH at a comparatively late period. Nor was David of ancient lineage like Saul; in fact he was an upstart. The

⁸⁰ See my remarks on the birthplaces of David and Christ in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 12, col. 67 (February, 1909), and my paper "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus" in *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 194.

⁸¹ See my translations of these patriotic poems in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 168, and in my papers "The Coronation of Zerubbabel" and "Assyr. *dagâlu*, to look for, in the Old Testament" in Vol. 37 of that Journal; also *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Vol. 2, p. 81.

⁸² The *léhem* between *Bêth* and *Ephrâth* is a later insertion; see Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 10, 54.

⁸³ See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 509, line 4.

⁸⁴ Cf. also Judges vi. 15 and 1 Sam. ix. 21.

statement in 1 Sam. xvii. 12, that David was an elder (i. e., sheikh) among men in the days of Saul,⁸⁵ is a later addition.

Zerubbabel was an Ephrathite, just as Saul was a Becherite or Gideon an Abiezrite, not a Bethlehemite. Queen Mary, the consort of the present King of England, was a Princess of Teck, but she was not born at the ducal castle of Teck in Württemberg; her father was created Duke of Teck by the King of Württemberg in 1871, and Queen Mary was born in 1867. George V is a grandson of Queen Victoria's prince-consort Albert, duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, but both King George and his father Edward VII were born in London, not in Coburg. The present King of Italy is a scion of the House of Savoy, but he was born at Naples, and Savoy belongs now to France. There is not a single passage in the Old Testament where *Ephrathite* denotes *Bethlehemite*. In the three passages in which *Ephrathite* seems to mean *Ephraimite* we must read *Ephrâmî*. The Syriac and Ethiopic Bibles have this reading in Judges xii. 5. In Ps. cxxxii. 6 *Ephratha* denotes *cultivated land* in contradistinction to *woodland*,⁸⁶ just as in the duchy of Gotha *das Land* is distinguished from *der Wald*.⁸⁷ All passages in which Ephrath is identified with Bethlehem are post-Exilic.

In 1 Sam. xx. 8 (which may antedate 800 B. C.) *bêth-lêhem*⁸⁸ is the name of the banquet-hall where David intended to join his fellow-clansmen in celebrating the New Year's festival (about the time of the autumnal equinox). This, it may be supposed, was situated in or near Hebron which is about twenty-three miles south of Jerusalem, whereas Bethlehem is only about five miles south of Jerusalem. *Bêth-lêhem*, banquet-hall,⁸⁹ is synonymous with *lishkâ*

⁸⁵ In *zaqên bâ ba-'ânashîm*, which is supposed to mean *he went among men for an old man*, the verb *bâ* is merely an erroneous repetition of the first two letters of *ba-'ânashîm*.

⁸⁶ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 165.

⁸⁷ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 24, p. 260a.

⁸⁸ Heb. *lêhem* (or *lâhm*) means not only *bread*, but also *food*, *meal*. In Arabic, *lahm* denotes *flesh*, *meat*. Sacrifices are called *God's lêhem*; see the notes on the translation of Leviticus, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 91, line 36. In a tertiary gloss to the Book of Ecclesiastes (x. 19a) the phrase *making bread* means *feasting*; see Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (1905), p. 16, ¶¶; cf. our colloquial phrase *to make a meal*, but *meal*, *repast*, and *meal*, *flour*, are not identical. In German, *Brot* is used for *meal*, e. g., *Mittagbrot*, midday meal; *Abendbrot*, evening meal. German *Mehl*, flour, is derived from *mahlen*, to grind in a mill, whereas *Mahl*, repast, is identical with *Mal*, time (cf. *Mahlzeit*).

⁸⁹ The Assyrian name is *bît-akîti*, banquet-house; see Haupt, *Purim* (1906), p. 31, line 5. An illustrated description of Sennacherib's *bît-akîti* disinterred in the ruins of Assur, the primitive capital of Assyria on the west bank of the Tigris, is given in No. 33 (June, 1907) of the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*. Cf. Haupt, *Esther* (Chicago, 1908), p. 32 n. †.

(1 Sam. ix. 22) which has passed into Greek as λέσχη.⁹⁰ The Authorized Version renders *parlor*, while the Greek Bible has the same word (κατάλυμα) which we find in Luke ii. 7. These halls served also as inns (khans, caravanseries). The name Bethlehem may be derived from an inn near the town. Kimham's Inn⁹¹ near Bethlehem on the high road from Jerusalem to Hebron, is referred to in Jer. xli. 17. Also the edifice which Samson pulled down was not a temple of Dagon, but a *bêth-lêhem*, i. e., a hall for a banquet or sacrificial feast.⁹²

We must render in 1 Sam. xx. 28: *David urgently asked (leave) of me to feast in the banquet-house of his town.*⁹³ The interpretation *He asked for leave of absence until dinner-time* is impossible.⁹⁴ Jonathan states in the following verse that David wants to celebrate the feast with his sept; therefore he does not appear at the royal table. Jonathan could not tell his father, David asked me for leave of absence until dinner-time, to feast with his sept: Saul's feast on New Year's day and the feast of David's sept took place at the same time. If David had asked for leave of absence until dinner-time, he would have been obliged to appear at the royal table on the first day of the feast.

The misinterpretation of the term *bêth-lêhem*, banqueting-hall, in 1 Sam. xx. 28 may be responsible for the later view that David was born at Bethlehem. Nor does the statement in 2 Sam. ii. 32, that David's nephew Asahel was buried in his father's sepulcher at Bethlehem, prove that David was a Bethlehemite. Asahel, Joab, and Abishai were the sons of David's sister Zeruah. Her husband may have been a native of Bethlehem, but neither David nor any of his descendants was born at Bethlehem.

According to 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17, David longed for a drink of water from the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate, and three

⁹⁰ *Lishkâ* is a by-form of *nishkâ*, from *nashâk*, to bite. The original meaning is *bait*, i. e., a hall for refreshment or rest in the course of a journey. *To bait* means *to cause to bite*.

⁹¹ The Authorized Version renders: *the habitation of Chimham*. The Greek Bible read the same word (*gerûth*, derived from *ger*, stranger) in Ps. cxx. 5 (cf. below, n. 111). The Vulgate renders the first line of this verse: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus (= παροικία) meus prolongatus est*. This hostelry near Bethlehem may have been founded by Chimham, the son of Barzillai, the wealthy Gileadite, who followed David to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xix. 38). Bethlehem is a name like the Persian *Khawarnaq* or the German *Wormlage*; see Haupt, *Bibl. Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 119, and Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 20 (1908), p. 776a.

⁹² See the translation of Judges, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 87, line 31.

⁹³ The Hebrew text should be read as follows: *Nish'ôl nish'al Dawid me-'immedi la-'id bêth-lêhem 'îrô*.

⁹⁴ Contrast *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1020, n. 2.

of his most famous warriors invaded the camp of the Philistines and brought water from that well to David; but the king would not drink it: he poured it out as a libation for JHVH. A similar incident is related of Alexander the Great.⁹⁵ In his lectures on Hebrew poetry, delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in 1896, a distinguished Scottish Hebraist referred to this story in connection with the discussion of the Davidic authorship of the Hebrew Psalms, remarking that a man who was capable of so poetic an act was certainly capable of producing poetic compositions. This argument brought down the house, but it can hardly establish the Davidic authorship of a Psalm.

Nor does the story prove that David was a native of Bethlehem: *bêth-lêhem* in 2 Sam. xxiii. 15 denotes the *mess-hall* in the camp of the Philistines.⁹⁶ If we use the military terms of the Romans, we may say that the well was the water reservoir of the pretorium (or *principia*) near the decuman gate.⁹⁷ There are no springs in Bethlehem, but there are several in the Valley of Rephaim, the present *buqâ'îah* southwest of Jerusalem, where the Philistines were encamped,⁹⁸ and it was natural that the *bêth-lêhem* or mess-hall was erected near one of these wells.

David was not a Bethlehemite. He began his career (c. 1000 B. C.) as a captain of outlaws in southern Judea. If he was originally a shepherd, he may have been a sheep-farmer like the chiefs of the Border clans in Sir Walter Scott's ancestry who varied their peaceful occupation by rough marauding exploits. He may afterward have served in Saul's army, just as some of the Roman soldier-emperors were generals before they were placed on the throne. Galerius (305-311) was originally a Thracian herdsman, but distinguished himself as a soldier, so that he received in marriage the emperor Diocletian's daughter Valeria, just as David was given Saul's daughter Michal. Before he united Israel and Judah he was enthroned at Hebron as King of Judah, a title like the Mohammedan Commander of the Faithful, Judah being a collective name for the worshipers of JHVH. Hebron was again the capital of the heathen Edomites in the Maccabean period (1 Macc. v. 65). Not all Edom-

⁹⁵ Cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 42; Arrian 6, 26, 2; Curtius 7, 20, 12.

⁹⁶ We must read: *Mî yashqênî mâim mib-bêr bêth-lâhm hazwâth Pêlishîm, âshûr bash-shû'r.* Cf. 4 Macc. iii. 13, and for *hazwâth* (cf. Arab. *hizâ'*, plur. *âhziyah*) *Pêlishîm* see *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 23, p. 227.

⁹⁷ See the plan of a Roman camp on p. 779b of the *Century Dictionary*.

⁹⁸ The statement in verse 14b, that a post of the Philistines was then in Bethlehem, is a later addition.

ites were worshipers of JHVH, only the Edomites who had come under the influence of the solar monotheism of ancient Egyptian theology.⁹⁹ The heathen Edomites were not judaized before 128 B. C.

David was at first a vassal of the Philistines, but afterward he freed the country from the yoke of the European invaders who had come from the Ægean islands including Crete. The name of David's body-guard, Cherethites and Pelethites, means Cretans and (other) Philistines. Ittai of Gath and the Hittite Uriah served in David's army, but after David had united Israel and Judah, he tried not only to make JHVH the national god, but also to create a national army. This was the object of his attempt to number the people; his census was a registration for military purposes:¹⁰⁰ it was entrusted to Joab and the captains of the host (2 Sam. xxiv. 2). The Chronicler (1 Chr. xxi. 1) regards this registration as having been inspired by Satan.

The fact that David's body-guard consisted of Cretans and other Philistines does not prove that the first king of Judah was of European extraction. After the pretorians had been disbanded by the Roman emperor Septimius Severus (146-211) the new household troops consisted of barbarian soldiers. The German emperor Frederick II (1215-1250) had a body-guard of Saracens. The last Byzantine emperors of the Palæologian dynasty (1259-1453) had Norman household troops. The Turkish janizaries, who were abolished in 1826, were originally recruited from sons of Christians, especially Albanians, Bosnians, and Bulgarians. The senior unit of the *Gardes du Corps* of the French king Francis I (1515-1547) was the company of Scottish archers. Scott's Quentin Durward was an archer of the Scottish guard in the reign of Louis XI (1461-1483). The famous Swiss Guards died for Louis XVI on August 10, 1792. The Pope still has a small company of Swiss guards (*Guardia Svizzera*) who wear costumes of the sixteenth century.

David as well as Moses were Edomites. Moses founded the Jewish religion, David established the kingdom of Judah, i. e., the worshipers of JHVH. The men of Judah represent a blend of Asiatic,

⁹⁹ See my paper "Kir = Ur of the Chaldees" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 94; cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ One of the most eminent modern military writers, F. W. Rüstow, who escaped from Prussia to Switzerland in 1850, and who was Garibaldi's chief of staff in 1860, published military biographies of David, Xenophon, and Montluc whose admirable memoirs (Bordeaux, 1592) were called by Henri IV *la bible du soldat*. Rüstow's *Militärische Biographien* (Zürich, 1858) is inaccessible to me at present. For David as a tactician, Cheyne, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1035, refers to the monograph of the distinguished French engineer and archeologist Marcel Dieulafoy, *David the King* (1902).

African, and European elements, including not only Edomites and converted Israelites, but also Horites, Ishmaelites, Moabites, Ammonites, Canaanites, Amorites, Philistines, Hittites, Egyptians, Ethiopians, etc. Moses's wife is called in Num. xii. 1 an Ethiopian woman; David's ancestress Ruth is said to have been a Moabitess; Solomon's mother was the wife of the Hittite Uriah;¹⁰¹ Rehoboam's mother was an Ammonitess (1 Kings xiv. 1). There was no Jewish separatism before the days of Ezra (c. 450 B. C.). Ezekiel (xvi. 3) says to Jerusalem: Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite.

Judaism was introduced in Israel by David c. 1000 B. C. after he had conquered the northern confederation of Israelitish tribes,¹⁰² but after the death of Solomon (c. 930) the Israelites relapsed into their former idolatry.¹⁰³ The Israelites have vanished; they survive only, mixed with numerous foreign elements, including a considerable percentage of Aryan colonists, in the Samaritans whose number is now reduced to 170 souls. The Israelites were not in Egypt, but the Edomite ancestors of the Jews were there c. 1230 B. C. At that time the Israelites were settled in Palestine north and south of the Plain of Jezreel¹⁰⁴ and in Gilead east of the Jordan.

David is undoubtedly the greatest of all the kings of Israel and Judah: he completed the work of Moses, he created Judah, he united Israel and Judah, and made Jerusalem the center of Judaism; but he has been very much idealized by later Biblical writers. We have three types of David, represented by the Books of Samuël, the Chronicles, and the titles of the Psalms. According to the Chronicler, he was the founder of the Temple service; according to the titles of the Psalms, he was preeminently the Psalmist; but according to the Books of Samuel, he was originally an outlaw with a band of wandering companions:¹⁰⁵ he was a Judean Robin Hood or Rob

¹⁰¹ Bathsheba may have been a Hittite woman. She was the daughter of Eliam or Ammiel, and Eliam is also the name of a son of Ahitophel; but there is no evidence that these two Eliams are identical; see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 102, line 5. In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 34, p. 44, I have pointed out that Hosea's erring spouse may have been a Cimmerian woman.

¹⁰² See my paper "The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 48, No. 193, p. 358; cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 14.

¹⁰³ Cf. Josh. xxiv. 23; Gen. xxxv. 2.

¹⁰⁴ See my address on "Armageddon" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 34, p. 418.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. W. W. Guth, "The Unity of the Older Saul-David Narratives" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 25, p. 116, and his dissertation *Die ältere Schicht in den Erzählungen über Saul und David* (Berlin, 1904). See also G. Beer, *Saul, David, Salomo* (Tübingen, 1906), pp. 24, 33, 34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 54, 71.

Roy, although his hair was not red. Sir Walter Scott says in Chapter 32 of *Rob Roy* that this famous Scotch outlaw, who died in 1734, had a shock-head of red hair; that part of his limbs, from the bottom of his kilt to the top of his short hose, which the fashion of his country left bare, was covered with a fell of thick, short, red hair, especially around his knees, which resembled in this respect, as well as from their sinewy appearance of extreme strength, the limbs of a red-colored Highland bull.

The term *sweet psalmist*, which we find in the Authorized Version of the so-called Last Words of David in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, is a mistranslation: the phrase means *sung in Israel's lays* or *chanted in Israel's songs*.¹⁰⁰ The first three couplets of this late religious poem should be translated as follows:

David-ben-Jesse said,
the man who was raised on high,
The anointed of Jacob's God,
sung in Israel's lays:

JHVH's spirit spake within me,
His word is upon my tongue,
The God of Jacob¹⁰⁷ said to me,
the Rock of Israel spake:

He who rightly rules over men,
who reigns in the fear of God,
Is like a cloudless morn,
like the sheen of the earth's fresh verdure.¹⁰⁸

There are no Psalms of David.¹⁰⁹ For a long time commentators discussed the question, Are there any non-Davidic hymns in the Psalter? Then they began to ask, Are there any Davidic poems in the Psalter? The question was no longer, Are there any Psalms written after the Babylonian Captivity? but, Are there any pre-Exilic Psalms? And now the problem is not, Are there any pre-Exilic Psalms? but, Are there any pre-Maccabean Psalms?¹¹⁰ There

¹⁰⁶ See *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 32, p. 143.

¹⁰⁷ Read *Jacob* instead of *Israel*. It is possible that *of Jacob* was originally an appositional genitive, so that *the god of Jacob* meant *the god Jacob*; see *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 12, col. 212.

¹⁰⁸ For the second *môshél* read *môlêk*; the clause *boqr izrâh shamsh* is a gloss as is also *nim-matâr*; for *min-nógah* read *kē-nógah*.

¹⁰⁹ Contrast *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 18. Cornill, *History of the People of Israel* (4th ed., Chicago, 1909), p. 76, thought that the last four verses of Ps. xxiv were Davidic; but these lines must be appended to Ps. xxi which glorifies the coronation of Zerubbabel in 519; see above, n. 81; cf. also the seventh edition of Cornill's *Einleitung* (Tübingen, 1913), p. 233.

¹¹⁰ See *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 163, p. 54.

are undoubtedly pre-Maccabean Psalms, e. g., the so-called Songs of Degrees or, rather, Songs of Ascent, which refer to the time of the Return from the Captivity;¹¹¹ also Pss. xx, xxi, cx, cxxxii which glorify the grandson of the last legitimate king of Judah, the Davidic scion Zerubbabel, whom the Jews, at the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis (c. 520 B. C.) regarded as the Messiah destined to restore the national independence of Judah.¹¹² The prototypes of the songs in the Hebrew Psalter are cuneiform hymns and penitential psalms,¹¹³ just as several features of the Levitical ritual, including the Jewish method of slaughter, are derived from Babylonia.¹¹⁴

The majority of the Psalms belong to the Maccabean period (170-70 B. C.) which furnished the most inspiring themes to the national poets. This was shown sixty-five years ago by the great Hebraist Justus Olshausen, and the existence of Maccabean psalms was pointed out more than 1500 years ago, about the time of St. Jerome, by the great Biblical critic, Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia.¹¹⁵ In method he was superior to Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, and of all patristic writers this anti-allegoric exegete came nearest to the modern spirit; but he had to state his critical conclusions in a somewhat diplomatic form: he said, the Psalms were indeed all written by David, but David had prophetically predicted the destinies of his people. Theodore's opinion that the historical notices given in the titles of the Psalms do not contain genuine traditions (cf. above, n. 37) is now accepted by all competent scholars.

In Am. vi. 4, where the poet is supposed to say that the rich men of Samaria invent for themselves instruments of music, like David, we must read *millê shîr*, words of song, instead of *kêlê-shîr*, instruments of song, and *like David* is a later addition. The couplet should be rendered:

Who lie on ivory sofas
and sprawl on their dining-couches,

¹¹¹ See the translation of Pss. cxx-cxxxiv in *Hebraica*, Vol. 11, pp. 68-75; cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 27, pp. 110-119. In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 49 (October, 1918), these oldest psalms are regarded as *later lyric*.

¹¹² See above, note 81. Also the *Benedictus* in Luke i. 68-79 was originally a Hebrew poem glorifying the birth of Zerubbabel c. 538 B. C.

¹¹³ The older Sumerian dialect of the non-Semitic cuneiform penitential psalms is called *eme-sal*, lit. *language of enlargement*, i. e., *release from distress*, deliverance; see my paper on the litanic dialect of Sumerian in Vol. 31 of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

¹¹⁴ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 259.

¹¹⁵ That is the modern Missis near Adana, northwest of the Gulf of Alexandretta.

Snapping the lute o'er the sound-hole,
inditing words of song.¹¹⁶

The only poem that can possibly be ascribed to David is the beautiful dirge on the death of Saul and Jonathan, but the feeling expressed by it is purely human; the religious element is conspicuous by its absence; the name of God is not mentioned.

This elegy may be translated as follows:¹¹⁷

- 18a O Judah! list the dread news!
19a O Israel! bitterly mourn!
19b Alas! how are fallen the heroes!
25a even in stress of battle!
- 20 Proclaim it never in Gath,
nor tell it in Ashkelon's streets,
Lest Philistine damsels rejoice,
lest barbarian wenches exult!
- 23a Saul and Jonathan,
the lovèd, the cherished,
23c Swifter than eagles,
stronger than lions,
23b In life and death
never divided.
- 22a Free from blood,
from pith of heroes,
22c The sword of Saul
was sheathèd never,
22b Nor Jonathan's bow
was returnèd ever.
- 24 Ho! maidens of Israel!
wail ye for Saul!
Who clad you in scarlet
and gorgeous raiment,
And brought for your garments
golden adornments.
- 25b Thy death is anguish, O Jonathan!
26a alas for thee, O my brother!

¹¹⁶ See my address on "Armageddon" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 34, p. 420. Professor Elhorst, of Amsterdam, has recently proposed to read: *kad wa-yad hashëbû lahém*, which is supposed to mean *they have invented to themselves as instruments of music mug and hand*; he thinks that the revelers of Samaria accompanied the sound of the harp with all sorts of improvised musical instruments, so that this accompaniment would have resembled the *Bierwalzer* during the third part of which German students stamp the floor, whistle, strike the glasses with their large night-keys, etc. See *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. 35, p. 63. The German night-keys often were 4-6 inches long.

¹¹⁷ In the beginning and at the end we have two six-beat couplets, and between them three four-beat triplets. For typographical reasons the lines have been divided into hemistichs with three or two beats, respectively.

- 26c To me thy love was a wonder
 26d above the love of a woman.
- 21a No dew be on ye, nor rain,¹¹⁸
 21b for ever, ye heights of Gilboa,
 21c Where heroes cast away shields,
 27b abandoned the weapons of war.¹¹⁹

If David wrote this poem, he was undoubtedly a great poet, but not a Psalmist. He was a worshiper of JHVH and forced the Israelites to embrace the religion of Judah, but he was an Edomite, not an Israelite. He had Europeans in his army, but he was not of European extraction. His hair was not red or blond, but black, and his complexion not fair, but brownish or olive. His stature may have been somewhat low, and his frame light. The view that David was an Aryan¹²⁰ is untenable.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.

BY WILLIAM MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN.

[In introducing to our readers the Rev. Wm. M. McGovern, priest of the Nishi Hongwanji, Kyoto, Japan, we take pleasure in quoting the following from a personal letter:

"In Hinayana, one cannot become a full priest, much less obtain higher degrees or hold office, until one has spent ten years in a monastery, as of course you know. In Shin, however, promotions are made irrespective of time, and only by passing certain examinations. (In order to become full priest one has to pass examinations in ten studies, six of which are on physical sciences etc.) Accordingly, I have been enabled to obtain, by examinations, quite high posts in the Hongwanji [Shin], which as you know is the largest sect in Japan. A large portion of my time I spend in preaching in the vernacular to the various temples (of all schools) throughout the country.

Naturally I have devoted a good deal of study to all the twelve sects, but have specialized in the Kusha, Sanron, and Tendai sects, the *philosophical* sects, as well as giving special attention to the contemplative sect, Zen, and the practical sect, Shin. I have by no means confined my investigations to Buddhism, however, but have been very much interested from the historical point of view in the various folklore tales and superstitions throughout the country. . . ."—Ed.]

ONE of the interesting, and at the same time most distinctive, features of Buddhism, and especially of the Mahayana, or northern branch, is its great all-inclusive comprehensiveness. In its

¹¹⁸ Cf. No. 189 of the Hudhailian poems in Wellhausen's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Part I, p. 139 (*lâ sūqiyat Amûlu*).

¹¹⁹ The words omitted represent later additions; see my restoration of the original text (2 Sam. i. 18-27) in *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 163, p. 55.

¹²⁰ See above, note 2.

various aspects may be found sects whose doctrines include or approach practically every system of religious or philosophical thought which has ever been formulated. It has on one side its agnostic and even materialistic aspect which has caused it to receive the sympathy of like-minded persons in the Occident, and at the same time it has its dogmatic side to the satisfaction of those who delight in having some external authority which they can regard as infallible. It is difficult to say whether Mahayana comes nearer to its sister faith, Hinayana (Southern Buddhism), or to Christianity, Hinduism, or Taoism, so closely does it approach in many respects the fundamental teachings of each and all of them.

The most amazing part of it all, however,—the feature that is the most important and interesting—is that all these seemingly contradictory ideas have been reconciled, and in a very plausible manner, it must be admitted. Mahayana, when viewed as a whole, is not a jumble of conflicting theories imperfectly grouped together, but rather presents the appearance of a solid whole composed of complementary parts closely welded together. It is, in a word, the missing link in the religious and philosophical world.

In the opinion of most competent authorities Mahayana is not the work of any one man or school but a gradual development, and if such be the case it is one of the most fascinating problems of history to note how from the materialistic philosophy of Hinayana, Mahayana has gradually evolved a system which, while including all the doctrines of the former, yet has room for, in a but slightly modified form, practically every dogma held by orthodox Christianity, such crudities as eternal damnation, etc., alone excepted.

Many persons regard the difference between the two schools of Buddhism as too apparent and too great to be explained by a process of internal development, and have been forced to come to the conclusion that Mahayana has borrowed directly and wholesale from Christianity, and that, accordingly, it is not a genuine Buddhist product at all. It is my intention to show, however, that even the latest features of Northern Buddhism, such as the Shin and the Pure Land sects of salvation by faith alone, are all latent in Hinayana and that their development may be clearly traced from Hinayana itself, through systems verging on both Hinayana and Mahayana and the so-called apparent or undeveloped Mahayana, to Mahayana as we find it to-day. Though the order of the introduction of the sects into Japan by no means coincides in all cases with the order of their original establishment, yet nevertheless, a very accurate idea of the process of this doctrinal evolution may be

found in the history of Buddhism in Japan, ranging from the first Hinayana sects to be introduced down to the latest, the Shin and the Nichiren sects.

The Kusha Sect.

Taking them up more or less in their chronological order, we first come to the Kusha or the Abhidharma-kosa-sastra sect, which was one of the first Buddhist sects to be officially introduced into Japan. It first made its appearance in China in 563 A. D. and was brought over to Japan in the first half of the seventh century. It is chiefly noted as being the sect which approaches more closely than any other to the orthodox Hinayana school of the South, for except for details it may be said to agree more or less with Buddhism as it is found in Burma, Siam, and Ceylon to-day. It is more or less materialistic in tendency, and its important principles may be said to be the existence of the *dharma* (Jap. *ho*), literally "law" or "thing" but actually the "material world," and the non-existence of the ego-entity or *atman* (Jap. *ga*).¹ According to this latter doctrine, the soul, instead of being an unchanging thing in itself, is but a combination of five aggregates (Skt. *skandha*, Jap. *on* or *un*), which are form, sensation, idea, conception, and cognizance. United they form the phenomenal ego, but this ego is purely a combination and has no absolute existence. This system, though called materialistic, is not so in the usual strict sense of that word, since it acknowledges the existence of both matter and spirit, the first of the aggregates belonging to the former division, and the remaining four to the latter.

Nevertheless, one sees there is not one word about God or the Supreme, and even while admitting and affirming the reality of the external world, the sect is entirely silent regarding the nature of its origin or its end. Like most, if not all of the other Hinayana sects it assumes either an attitude of entire agnosticism in regard to the existence of the supraphenomenal, or else definitely denies its reality. What its speculations lack in breadth, however, they more than make up in depth, for this school is noted for its hair-splitting. The principal other doctrines of the sect are comprised in its conception of the twelve *ayatanas* (*sho*) or places, the eighteen *dhatu*s (*kai*)

¹ This doctrine of non-atman, which is one of the principal teachings of all the Buddhist sects, is one of the most difficult things for Western students of the subject to understand. A full explanation lies entirely outside the scope of the present article, but those unacquainted with the idea will find a more detailed account in any standard book on Hinayana, and the fourth chapter of my book on *Mahayana Buddhism*, as well as in Dr. Paul Carus's *Gospel of Buddha*.

or elements, and the seventy-five *dharmas* (*ho*, lit. "laws") or things. Everything in the universe is supposed to be the result of the interaction of these.

The Kusha sect has never had any temples or priests in Japan, nor even an independent existence, having been brought over to Japan by the founder of the Hosso sect and thereafter maintained by that school as a subsidiary system.

The Jojitsu Sect.

An even older sect is the Jojitsu, or Satya-siddhi-sastra school, which was studied by the famous Shotoku Taishi (the Constantine or Asoka of Japanese Buddhism) and the emperors of Japan when Buddhism was first introduced there in the sixth century, but which really belongs to a later stage of development.

In this system may be found the first great step which leads to the true Mahayana system, namely the denial of the real or absolute existence of the dharma. The Kusha sect, as we have observed, denied the existence of the thing but affirmed the existence of that which composed the thing. Even this last, however, the Jojitsu sect denied, chiefly through carrying to its logical extent the Buddhist idea of change and the illusoriness of time, though limitations of space prevent a full presentation of the metaphysical niceties by which this result was obtained. The real and absolute existence of matter and spirit thus being undermined, some other explanation of the nature of existence had to be given, and accordingly the idea that existence is purely mental, arose.

Buddhism was thus transformed into a sort of subjective idealism. This idea was just beginning to manifest itself in this sect, however, so that many questions as to the nature of existence and the origin of the mental action which resulted in the formation of the material world were left unanswered. In fact its very doctrine of non-existence is relative, since it says that matter *as we know it* does not exist, for in reality it is a constantly changing whole, and not a definite thing in itself (much the modern Bergsonian idea), and accordingly that the world as we think it is, is the result of our mental actions rather than actually the world itself. Like the other Hinayana sects, the Jojitsu school has never had an independent existence in Japan, having been the companion philosophy and protégé of the San Ron sect.

The Ritsu Sect.

The third and last Hinayana sect to be found in Japan is the Ritsu or Vinaya sect, which, however, is of little importance for the

purpose of studying the development of Mahayana, since the school practically shut out all metaphysical speculation. Instead, it contented itself with the arrangement and classification of the various moral laws and precepts of Buddhism, so that while it has never had any important direct influence, yet its classifications have been much studied by members of the other sects, as has been, indeed, also the case with the other two Hinayana sects.

The Hosso Sect.

We now leave the realms of Hinayana orthodoxy and come to a more definite systematization of the ideas brought forward by the Jojitsu sect. There we found the vague and general assertion that all existence is mental, but little or no attempt was made to formulate a thoroughgoing logical system based upon that conception. In the Hosso or Dharma-lakshana sect we have a step made in this direction. According to this school there are five divisions of all things, namely, (1) mind kings (*chitta raga*), (2) mental qualities (*chitta dharmas*), (3) things having form (*rupa dharmas*), (4) things separated from mind (*chitta viprayukta dharmas*), and (5) immaterial things (*asamskrita dharmas*). This school holds, however, that though five things are enumerated, yet in reality there is nothing but mind (*chitta*). The first division or "mind kings," consists of eight kinds of knowledge: eye-knowledge, ear-knowledge, nose-knowledge, tongue-knowledge, body-knowledge, mind-knowledge, "soiled mind" knowledge, and finally *alaya vignana*, literally "receptacle-knowledge." As a matter of fact, this last or *alaya vignana* is the most important feature not only of this sect but to a large extent of the other divisions of Mahayana Buddhism as well. In reality it comes very close to the Hindu or Vedanta idea of *maya* or the illusory mind-substance that is the essence and the cause of all material existence. It is, to use a very imperfect metaphor, a thick mist or vapor that arises on the universal water of mind, and which assumes various transformations. These transformations result in the formation of units of consciousness, which result, in turn, in the appearance of the material world. The Hosso school, while apparently advanced but little beyond the teachings of the Jojitsu sect, yet shows one important development inasmuch as it explicitly states for the first time that which was latent in all Hinayana sects and especially in the one just mentioned, namely that we are all but manifestations of one substance, and are thus identified with one another through identity with this One.

The San Ron Sect.

The San Ron or the Three Sastra sect,² introduced into Japan in 625 A. D., witnesses the next important evolution in Mahayana. While Hosso declared the external world to be non-existent, it taught that the phenomena which manifested themselves in it are real, and accordingly it is called the "school of being" or Madyama-yana ("apparent Mahayana"), in contradistinction to San Ron which is termed the "school of non-being." As a matter of fact, however, the difference between them is very slight and is due rather to the emphasis which the San Ron sect lays upon the absoluteness and indefinability of the original mind. In this sect there is in reality neither spirit nor matter but only a single norm of existence which transcends them both, and of which the universe is but a partial and illusory manifestation. According to this school the two greatest possible heresies are, first, to believe that the world exists, and, second, to believe that the world does not exist, since in reality it both exists and does not exist at the same time, i. e., its existence is purely relative.³ The San Ron sect also maintains the idea that the world is manifested through the agency of the *alaya vignana*, or *maya*.

But while, therefore, the actual difference between this sect and the preceding one is small, there may be said to be one especial distinction in general tendency which differentiates them, namely that one is positive and the other negative. Paradoxically enough, the San Ron sect which lays even greater emphasis on the unreality of the world than does the Hosso, is in reality the more positive and affirmative sect of the two, or in fact of all the schools thus far met with.

Up to this time the development of Buddhism has been along an entirely negative line, denying first the *atman*, then the material world, and finally the very phenomena which seem manifested in the material world. In the San Ron sect this negativity reaches its climax, and by its very destructiveness it becomes more constructive than the others, for in thus vigorously denying everything possible it is forced necessarily to formulate more explicitly the doctrine of a one underlying substance. While the other sects were obliged to more or less admit its existence, the San Ron sect was the first

² A *sastra* is a classical commentary upon the *sutras*, i. e., scriptures.

³ For a fuller explanation of the Mahayana conception of the existence or non-existence of the world see Asvaghosha's *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*, trans. by D. T. Suzuki.

to show by its denial of both spirit and matter that the ultimate must be superior to both of them—immutable, transcendent, yet immanent, infinite, and eternal. Accordingly, we have here the elements, the foundation of the doctrine of the *Supreme*, which we have seen to be one of the chief features of Mahayana, and the idea which distinguishes it most clearly from Hinayana.

The Kegon and Tendai Sects.

Even in the San Ron sect, however, the idea of the supreme transcendent Mind (Jap. *Myoshin*) is more or less in a latent form, so that the Hosso and the San Ron sects are classified together under the title of "apparent, or undeveloped Mahayana," in contradistinction to the remaining schools which have the doctrine in a more perfect and developed form.

The first sect introduced into Japan having the true Mahayana philosophy was the Kegon or Avatamsaka sect which came to Japan in 736 A. D. This sect and the following one, the Tendai, present the Mahayana philosophy in all its beauty, and in fact may be said to represent the philosophical high-water mark—the later sects all taking their fundamental principles from these two and arranging and adapting them to suit specific needs at different epochs. The theologies (if I may be pardoned that word) of both the Kegon and Tendai schools, though differing widely about details, are much the same in general outline, and may therefore be considered together.

It should be remarked that with the establishment of the Kegon sect the first period of Japanese Buddhism closes. The above six sects were all introduced while the capital of Japan was in Nara and are therefore grouped together as the Nanto (southern capital) schools. Their material prosperity lasted only as long as they were under direct imperial favor, and with the removal of the seat of government to Kyoto and the establishment of the Tendai and Shingon sects they rapidly waned in influence, until all but the Hosso and Kegon sects are entirely extinct and these between them have less than seventy-five out of a total of between fifty and a hundred thousand Japanese Buddhist temples.

The fundamental doctrine of both the Tendai and the Kegon sects is their conception of the *Bhutatahata*. While the Universal Mind had been but an abstraction in San Ron, in these two systems it received systematic and devotional treatment. Starting with the principle that there was an existence which transcended but included matter and spirit, life and death, Samsara and Nirvana, they declared that the only true way of expressing this was by the word *bhutata-*

thata ("suchness of existence") or the Japanese *shinnyo hosho* ("principle of absolute truth"). It is in Mahayana the true form, the norm of existence, the acme of being, the warp and the woof of the universe.⁴ It comes near to Hegel's conception of the Absolute inasmuch as it is not the force behind evolution only, but also the very process of evolution itself. Retaining as Kegon and Tendai do the conception that existence is mental and that it is the illusory and relative manifestation of ignorance working upon the Universal Mind, thus causing the *alaya vignana*, they declare that the *Bhutatahata* is both identical and non-identical with the material universe. It is, to use a simile of Asvaghosha, one of the great Hindu Mahayana patriarchs who lived about the time of Christ, as if the ocean (the *Bhutatahata*) were stirred up by the wind (of ignorance) and the waves (the material worlds) were produced. "The water can be said to be identical in one sense and non-identical in another sense with the waves. The waves are stirred up by the winds but the water remains the same. When the wind ceases the motions of the waves subside but the water remains the same."⁵

Preceding systems had formulated the doctrine that every Buddha has three bodies, the Dharmakaya (Jap. *Hosshin*) or body of the law; the Nirmanakaya (*Ojin* or *Keshin*), the body of transformation; and the Sambhogakaya (*Hōshin*), the body of compensation. In these two sects, however, the *Bhutatahata* is regarded as a sort of Universal Buddha; accordingly it was likewise considered to be possessed of the three bodies, and consequently we have an almost Christian idea of the Trinity. The Dharmakaya corresponds to God the Father, consciously guiding the course of evolution, the Nirmanakaya, like the Christian God the Son, is the Supreme revealed in the universe for the purpose of bringing the world nearer to enlightenment, while the Sambhogakaya takes the place of the Holy Ghost. Every Buddha, or enlightened sage, is supposed to become one in essence with the Supreme so that his appearance on earth is equivalent to an incarnation of divinity.⁶ So, too, the conception of *anatman* (*muga*) received a different interpretation, for from simply de-

⁴ I would suggest that those who are interested in the subject should read Dr. Paul Carus's *Philosophy of Form* for a more detailed account of a similar, though not identical conception to that held by Mahayana.

⁵ *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*, trans. by D. T. Suzuki.

⁶ I might mention here that, in the opinion of modern Mahayana scholars, Christ must be considered as one of the Buddhas, so that they may be said to believe in the divinity of the Christian Saviour. The only difference is that in Mahayana the divine incarnation is not confined to one individual.

claring, as in Hinayana, that there is no such thing as the soul-entity or atman. Tendai and Kegon taught that the atman does exist but that the *atman of me* is not different from the *atman of you*, nor from the essence of the Bhutatathata. Mahayana teaches us to believe, therefore, that we are all but various transformations of an infinite spirit of life which is working toward perfection manifested on earth, and that consequently I am in you and you in me and that we both are one with God.

The Shingon Sect.

The next three sects, the Shingon, the Zen, and the Nichiren, are not so much doctrinal developments as various adaptations of the foregoing philosophical foundation. They are, however, noted for several important and distinctive traits. The first and most interesting of these is the gradual transformation of Mahayana from a philosophy into a religion. This implied practically no dogmatic change, as I have said, but merely the inspiring of a devotional besides the metaphysical spirit.

This tendency was first clearly manifested in the Shingon (Skt. Mantra) or True Word sect, which was introduced into Japan by her greatest abbot, Kukai or Kobu Daishi. This celebrated priest went to China at approximately the same time as did Dengyo Daishi (in the early part of the ninth century). There the two studied the profound doctrines of Chinese Buddhism and finally returned to Japan and promulgated two new sects, the latter Tendai and the former Shingon. Shingon, while holding the same ideas about the Bhutatathata as does Tendai, prefers to give it a more personal touch and calls it by the name of Vairochana Buddha (Jap. Dai Nichi Nyorai), the Great Being of (or coming from) the Sun. The sect is by far the most mystical one in Japan and divides all the schools of Buddhism into two divisions, those teaching the exoteric and those teaching the esoteric doctrine, putting all the other sects into the former division, and itself alone into the latter.

While strictly monotheistic in the sense of acknowledging but one supreme God, Shingon has innumerable minor deities in its pantheon (most of the more important ones being personifications), and one of its chief features is its *mandalas* or pictorial symbols of various classifications of these beings, each mandala, as well as each "god," having a hidden significance of its own. The Tendai sect has much decayed in influence in recent years, but the Shingon sect still maintains a strong hold over a considerable portion of the Japanese

people, though even it is not nearly as virile as some of the more modern of the sects.

Shingon owes part of its popularity to the fact that it, first of all the sects, attempted to combine the ancient native faith of Japan (Shinto) with Buddhism. Kobu Daishi realized that as long as there was no room in the Buddhist religion for the Shinto deities, Buddhism could have no serious hold over the lower classes of Japan, so he declared that the native deities were but incarnations of the various Buddhist Buddhas and gods. The principal other features of the sect are its three secrets (which are too metaphysical and of too little importance to require detailed explanation), and its idea of the ten stages of Buddhism—itsself, of course, being the highest.

The Zen Sect.

Shingon and Tendai belong to the medieval period of Japanese Buddhism, and for two or three centuries after their establishment these two sects continued to exercise an almost undisputed sovereignty over the Japanese religious mind. At the end of that time a great spiritual wave arose, one of its manifestations being the introduction from China in 1191 of the Zen sect by Eisai. Zen in many ways holds a unique position in the history of the world's religions, its nearest approach in the West being perhaps the Quaker sect.

Practically all the other sects of Buddhism have based their doctrines on some one or two sutras (sacred books supposed to have been spoken by Buddha) or sastras, and have given them a worship which quite equaled that of the Protestant Christians for the Bible. Zen, however, cast them all aside and said that the truth was not to be found in books, but hidden in the heart of each man, and that accordingly it could be unlocked by a proper system of meditation or contemplation (Skt. *dhyana*, Jap. *zenna*, whence the name of the sect). The most that books could do was to point out the way. Nor was dependence upon sacred writings the only subject of criticism, for Zen declared it not less injurious to waste time upon the worship of personalities and vehemently decried the idolatry which was given by some believers to the historical Buddha to the detriment of an understanding of the Universal Buddha, and the reverence given by many Zen patriarchs to Gautama is little more than that given by broad-minded members of other religions. As a matter of fact, however, this iconoclasm is found latent in the other sects inasmuch as they all teach that every one is possessed

of the Buddha nature, and that we have only to purify our minds and perfectly realize this truth to reach supreme enlightenment, but Zen was the first to carry this idea to its logical extreme.

One of the most distinctive features of Zen is its system of *koan*, or hidden words or phrases which are given to each student to elucidate, as a means of training the mind. One or two instances will suffice to give a good idea of their general nature. A monk once asked one of the Zen masters named Tung Shang (Jap. Don Zan), "Who is the Buddha?" to which the master replied, "Three pounds of flax." Again a monk asked Tsui Wei (Suibi) what was the significance of the first Zen patriarch's coming over from India to China, which is considered equivalent to asking the first principle of Buddhism. Tsui Wei answered, "Wait until no one is within ear-shot and then I will tell you." They then entered the garden, whereupon the monk said, "There is no one about here, I pray you tell me." Then Tsui Wei pointed to a bamboo, saying, "That bamboo is so high and that one rather short." A similar story is told of Mu Ping (Mokyo) who, when asked what was the first principle of Buddhism, answered, "How large that melon is."

The Nichiren Sect.

The simplicity of Zen in contradistinction to the useless hair-splitting of the earlier sects, its encouragement of manliness, self-reliance, and self-discipline, gradually gained for it the allegiance of a large majority of the noble and intellectual classes of Japan. However, a system which would be more acceptable to the populace, and be more readily understood by them was still wanting, until its place was filled by the school founded by the famous Japanese priest Nichiren whose name it bears. It is worthy of note that the Nichiren sect is the only sect known by its founder's name, but its use in this case is more than justified, for the sect is inseparably bound up with its founder's personality.

Nichiren was born in 1222, the son of a poor fisherman, and he was first a priest in several of the other denominations, until finally, becoming convinced that they were all hopelessly corrupt and degenerate, he went about establishing his own sect, preaching in the market-place and at street corners the glory of his gospel, the Sutra of the Lotus of the Good Law. Ridiculed as a fool and a fanatic, persecuted as a danger to the empire, finally escaping decapitation by a hair's breadth (his followers say by a miracle), he ever went on filled with the ecstasy of proclaiming what he considered his divine mission, until by his piety, his earnestness, and his zeal he

secured the allegiance of thousands and the respect and admiration of all Japan, and this in spite of his narrowness, his bigotry, and his lack of a properly balanced mind. To-day he has practically two million followers, all of them in Japan.

In spite of his vehement denunciation of the other sects and their teaching, Nichiren added practically nothing new to Buddhist speculation, and his chief service lay in simplifying and popularizing. Formerly, while Buddhism had been nominally the religion of the whole of the Japanese Empire, in reality it was only the intellectual classes who were its true adherents, for the common people regarded it as a vast system which one could never fully understand, and at which one could only marvel. As far as the nation as a whole was concerned, Buddhism was more of an ornament than a living faith. Nichiren, however, to a large extent changed all this. By bringing forward and emphasizing the essentials of the Buddhist faith and relegating the details to the background, he managed to let the populace know what he really wanted them to believe, and then by his eloquence persuaded them that they should do it.

The Jodo Sect.

Founded several years before the Nichiren sect, the Jodo (Skt. Sukhavati) or Pure Land school belongs, nevertheless, to a later stage of development. All the other sects taught that a man continued being reborn here on earth (though between lifetimes he would stay for a time in one of the heavens or hells) until he attained Buddhahood, or supreme and perfect enlightenment.⁷ Now it must be remembered that this Buddhahood is not in itself extinction, or a sort of heaven, nor mere freedom from life and death, nor a place of eternal and happy existence. It is nothing more or less than a state of mind, a sort of spiritual ecstasy that preserves one free from sin and doubt while at the same time going about the every-day duties of life. Manifestly, then, being but a mental condition, the place of its attainment is unlimited. In other words, it is a fundamental Buddhist doctrine that it may be gained here on

⁷ It should perhaps be noted here that one of the chief differences between Hinayana and Mahayana is that the former teaches that Buddhahood can only be gained by one or two persons in the course of many thousands of years, ordinary humanity being perforce content with *Arhatship* or ordinary freedom from birth and death, while the latter holds that the supreme goal is open to all who will but earnestly endeavor to reach it. The distinction between *Arhatship* and Buddhahood is primarily one between mere salvation and supreme enlightenment, but it also involves the principle of self-sacrifice, since the *Arhat* is supposed to endeavor to reach the goal for the sake of saving himself alone, while the Buddha strives to do so in order to save the world at large. According to Mahayana, all its followers are *Bodhisattvas* or *Buddhas-to-be*.

earth or in one of the numerous heavens or even hells which Buddhism declares to exist.

We know, however, that amidst the multitudinous distractions which everywhere surround us in the material world the attainment of mental freedom is difficult, and putting together the two ideas that Buddhahood may be gained anywhere, and that it is difficult to obtain it here on earth, the Jodo sect teaches its followers to seek to be reborn at death in the Pure Land (*jodo*), where, the external conditions being more favorable, the attainment of supreme enlightenment is much easier.

How is this rebirth in the Pure Land to be obtained? According to the Jodo sect, it is by means of faith (not mere belief) in, and reliance on, the Supreme, whom they usually know as Amitabha.⁸ By opening our hearts and minds to the realization of the greatness of, and our true oneness with, the Universal Buddha, we become so filled with purity and wholeheartedness that we are supposed to become worthy to enter at death into the Pure Land, which is but a step removed from Buddhahood.

Jodo teaches that there are two ways of acquiring merit and attaining Buddhahood. One is through "self-power" (*ji-ri-ki*) and the other is by means of the "other power" (*ta-ri-ki*), and the school goes on to declare that men should forsake their self-striving after Nirvana and place their entire reliance upon the other power, or in other words gain the Pure Land solely by depending upon the merits of Amitabha. This conception will, of course, appear crude and un-Buddhistic until it is remembered that Amitabha is not a petty anthropomorphic deity but the heart of the universe and the higher self of each one of us. "It is not I that work, but the Father that worketh in me." "Give up thy self if thou wouldst live," etc. In fact, have not all the great books and all the great prophets come to bring the same message?

The Jodo sect teaches, therefore, that we must surrender our love of, and reliance upon, the petty personality, the little you and

⁸ Owing to the wide variety of the names of the Supreme, Western students of Buddhism often meet with a serious misunderstanding. Notwithstanding that Amitabha, Vairochana, Bhutatathata, and Yakushi refer to only one Being or his different aspects, they have come to regard Mahayana as an inexplicable polytheism. Accordingly, it should be strongly impressed upon the mind that Northern Buddhism, while admitting the existence of innumerable minor deities, such as Buddhas and devas (angels), is explicit in its affirmation that there is in reality, behind all differences of terminology, but one norm of existence and fount of life. In the Shingon sect, Vairochana is the Dharmakaya, the glorified Sakyamuni the Nirmanakaya, and Amitabha the Sambhogakaya. In the Jodo sect, however, Amitabha alone is the Universal Buddha, of whom all other deities are but manifestations.

I, and invoke the latent strength of the real You and I, who is the Great Buddha. We can to a certain extent make progress by depending upon, and longing after, the little separate individuality, but all Buddhism teaches, and this school lays especial emphasis upon the fact that rapid progress can only be made and the ultimate goal attained by the forgetting of self in the contemplation of the Supreme Reality, which includes but transcends all ideas.

Furthermore, Buddhism teaches, as we have already noted, that every Buddha is possessed of three bodies, and since we are, according to Mahayana, all Buddhas (only that we fail to recognize the fact), we also are supposed to have the three bodies, though of course in a decidedly latent form. The possession of the three bodies in a perfected form enables one to enter Jodo (which is also a state of mind quite as much as a place), and since the practice of tariki (other power) is supposed to develop the three bodies, it accordingly results in rebirth in the Pure Land. Manifestly, however, "the practice of the presence of God," to use a Christian expression for a typically Buddhist idea, varies with each person in intensity of earnestness, so that the degree of development also varies. Accordingly, instead of having, as Christianity, one reward for the truly devout and for the mere believer, Jodo teaches that there is an ever-varying degree of reward, but with two main divisions, the *hodo* ("true land") for the earnest, and *kwedo* ("apparent land") for those whose faith is tinctured with selfishness and doubt.

One very important feature of the Jodo theology which has often been overlooked by Western students of the subject, is that it teaches that even after being reborn in the Jodo, a man must come back repeatedly to earth for the sake of saving all creatures.⁹ Accordingly there is but very little real difference between the teachings of the salvation-by-works school and that by means of Pure Land, for, to quote a booklet written by S. Kuroda and given the imprimatur of practically all the existing important sects of Japan, "Though there are the two different passages of *shodomon* ('holy path') and *jodomon* ('Pure Land path'), *moksha* (literally, 'emancipation,' here equal to Buddhahood) can be obtained equally through both. . . . Those who follow the former division, though they obtain Buddhahood in this world, must still accomplish the excellent deeds and vows of Bodhisattvas (Buddhas-to-be) in the Pure Land, while the followers of the latter, though they are born

⁹ Called in Japanese the *genso yeko*.

in the Pure Land, must likewise cultivate and practise them, being reborn in the Impure Land (this world)."

The Shin Sect.

It is a matter of general supposition in the West that the teachings of the Pure Land sect are of comparatively recent origin, and that in reality they are not pure Mahayana at all. As a matter of fact, however, we may trace their history back as far as the documents of Mahayana go. We find mention made of them, for example, in the famous book called the *Mahayana Sraddhotpada Sastra* (Jap. *Daijo Kishinron*) or "the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana," which was written by the great patriarch Asvaghosha who lived at about the time of Christ, and Suzuki argues from his quoting one of the Jodo sutras as authoritative, that these must have been written at least one or two centuries earlier. Then again, Nagarjuna, often called the second founder of Mahayana (Gautama, of course, being considered the first), to whom no less than eight of the twelve Japanese sects trace back their direct origin, explicitly brought out the doctrine of rebirth in the Pure Land through faith in Amitabha, as did also another famous patriarch, Vasubandhu, whose Pure Land sastra I am at present translating. These three men are all of Indian origin, but in China Doshaku, Donran, and Zendo stood as prominent defenders of the idea of salvation by faith, while in Japan we have first Genshin and then Genku, the founder of the Jodo sect as we know it to-day.

Genku, while holding tenaciously to the principle of salvation by faith, retained the ancient ecclesiastical discipline, and it remained for his even greater disciple, Shinran, to carry the conception to its logical extreme by abolishing the vegetarianism, celibacy, abstention, and poverty of the priests. If we are really to be saved by faith in the Supreme and not the mere personal working out of merits, what need is there, demanded Shinran, for ascetic practices?

Accordingly, the sect which Shinran established, the Shin or True sect, while differing but little in doctrine from the parent school,¹⁰ allows its priests to marry, eat meat, etc. While the ideal of the priests of the other sects is to flee from the distraction of the world in order to gain enlightenment and salvation, the aim of the

¹⁰ The chief points of difference are, first, that the Jodo sect teaches that the constant repetition of the name of the Supreme which the believers indulge in has a merit in itself, while the Shin sect teaches that it is only an outward manifestation of a lively faith; and secondly, that according to the Shin sect, entering Jodo is equal to becoming Buddha.

TABLE REPRESENTING THE TWELVE SECTS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.¹¹

<p>Hinayana (<i>Shojo</i>).</p> <p>1. <i>Kusha</i>, Materialism: Non-existence of atman, but existence of the things which comprise the atman. (Associated with Hosso sect.)</p> <p>2. <i>Jojitsu</i>, Nihilism: Existence of neither thing nor matter (<i>Vinaya</i>): The moral precepts of Buddha.</p> <p>3. <i>Ritsu</i>, Practical Morality (<i>Vinaya</i>): The moral precepts of Buddha.</p>	<p>Madyamayana (<i>Gondaijo</i>).</p> <p>4. <i>Hosso</i>, Subjective Idealism: All existence purely mental.</p> <p>5. <i>San Ron</i>, Absolute Nihilism: Truth an inconceivable existence beyond matter and spirit.</p>
<p>Mahayana (<i>Jitsu daijo</i>).</p>	
<p>6. <i>Kegon</i> and 7. <i>Tendai</i>, Realistic Pantheism: Bhutatathata (the Absolute) the essence of being.</p>	<p>8. <i>Shingon</i>, Mysticism: Vairochana (Universal Buddha) the principle of all being.</p> <p>9. <i>Zen</i>, Contemplation: Truth not to be found in tradition but in individual realization.</p> <p>10. <i>Nichiren</i>, Realistic Pantheism: Tendai system modified and popularized.</p>
<p>Holy Path (<i>Shodomon</i>).</p>	
<p>11. <i>Jodo</i> and 12. <i>Shin</i>, Mysticism of exclusive adoration: Truth to be attained by the grace of Amida (<i>Amitabha</i>).</p>	
<p>Pure Land Path (<i>Jodomon</i>).</p>	

¹¹ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness in compiling this chart to Mr. J. Fujishima, author of *Le Bouddhisme Japonais*.

Shin school is to go into the world and endeavor to raise its standards ever higher. Its doctrine of the uselessness of ascetic works is not, of course, meant to lower the standard of morality, since, with Protestantism, the Shin sect holds that good works are an invariable accompaniment of devout faith, and that the greater faith the more unfailing the morality.

JESUS IN THE KORAN.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

THE Koran, the sacred book, the Bible of the Mohammedans, is unquestionably one of the great books of the world, and has left its impress upon the ages. It claims to be the product of divine inspiration by the archangel Gabriel, who performed the function assigned to the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures. In the fifty-third Sura¹ the Koran is thus described:

“The Koran is no other than a revelation revealed to him:
 One terrible in power [Gabriel, i. e., the strong one of God] taught
 it him,
 Endued with wisdom. With even balance stood he
 In the highest part of the horizon:
 Then came he nearer and approached,
 And was at the distance of two bows, or even closer,—
 And he revealed to his servant what he revealed.”

Gibbon calls the Koran an “endless, incoherent rhapsody of fable and precept and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds.”² Carlyle calls the Koran “the confused ferment of a great rude human soul; rude, untutored, that cannot even read, but fervent, earnest, struggling vehemently to utter itself in words,” and he speaks of its reading in English as “a toilsome task,” adding, “Nothing but a sense of duty could carry any European through the Koran. We read it, as we might in the State-Paper Office unreadable masses of lumber, that we may get some glimpses of a remarkable man.”³

Leaving aside the various estimates of the Koran as a literary production, we are concerned with the Christian elements which it

¹ Rodwell's translation, which is here followed throughout.

² *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. L.

³ “The Hero as Prophet,” in *Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, London, 1840.

contains. For as Döllinger remarked, "Islam must be considered at bottom a Christian heresy, the bastard offspring of a Christian father and a Jewish mother, and is indeed more closely allied to Christianity than Manicheism, which is reckoned a Christian sect."⁴ For this reason I have here collected the *disjecta membra* in the Koran which treat of the founder of Christianity. Wherever possible reference has been made in the notes to Apocryphal literature and in the appendix will be found the Koranic notices on John the Baptist.

In fine I wish to state that the reader must not expect to find too much in the following pages, for the Christology of the Koran is a curious mixture of facts and Apocryphal fictions, of reverence for the man Jesus and denial of his divine character.

MARY.

"Remember when the wife of Imran⁵ said, 'O my Lord! I vow to Thee what is in my womb, for Thy special service.⁶ Accept it from me for Thou hearest, knowest.' And when she had given birth to it, she said, 'O my Lord! verily I have brought forth a female,'— God knew what she had brought forth; a male is not a female—'and I have named her Mary, and I commend her and her offspring to Thy protection from Satan the stoned.'

"So with goodly acceptance did her Lord accept her, and with goodly growth did he make her grow; and Zacharias reared her. So oft as Zacharias went in to Mary at the sanctuary, he found her supplied with food.⁷ 'O Mary!' said he, 'whence hast thou this?' She said, 'It is from God; verily God supplieth whom He will, without reckoning!'"

Sura III, 31, 32.

⁴ *Lectures on the Reunion of Churches* (trans. by Oxenham, 1872), p. 7.

⁵ According to the Koran and Mohammedan tradition the parents of Mary are called Imran and Hannah or Anna.

⁶ Compare what we read in the Apocryphal Gospels. Thus in the *Prot-evangelium of James* (iv): "And Anna said 'As the Lord my God liveth, if I beget either male or female, I will bring it as a gift to the Lord my God and it shall minister to Him in holy things all the days of its life.'" In the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* (i): "They [the parents of Mary] vowed that, should the Lord happen to give them offspring, they would deliver it to the service of the Lord."

⁷ In the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* (vii) we read: "For daily was she visited by angels, daily did she enjoy a divine vision which preserved her from all evil and made her to abound in all good." In the *Prot-evangelium of James* (viii) we read: "And Mary was in the temple of the Lord, as if she were a dove that dwelt there, and she received food from the hand of an angel." In the *History of the Nativity of Mary* (vi) we read: "Every day she ate only the food which the angel brought."

JESUS.

Annunciation of His Birth.

“And when the angels said, ‘O Mary! verily hath God chosen thee and purified thee, and chosen thee above the women of the world.

“‘O Mary! be devout toward thy Lord and prostrate thyself, and bow down with those who bow.’

“This is one of the announcements of things by thee unseen: To thee, O Muhammad, do we reveal it, for thou wast not with them when they cast lots with reeds,⁸ which of them should rear Mary; nor wast thou with them when they disputed together.

“When the angel said, ‘O Mary! verily God announceth to thee the Word from Him; His name shall be, Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, illustrious in this world and in the next, and one of those who have near access to God;

“‘And he shall speak to men when in the cradle and when grown up; and he shall be of the righteous.’

“She said, ‘How, O my Lord! shall I have a son, when man hath not touched me?’ He said, ‘Thus: God createth what He will, when He hath decreed a thing then He only saith, Be, and it is.

“‘And He will teach him the Book, and the Wisdom, and the Law, and the Evangel, and he shall be an apostle to the children of Israel.’”

Sura III, 37-43a.

“And make mention in the Book, of Mary, when she went apart from her family to a place eastward,

⁸ The reference here is to an event narrated in the Apocryphal Gospels, viz., *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* (vii, viii); *Protevangelium of James* (viii-x); *History of the Nativity of Mary* (viii); *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (iii). The gist of the matter is this. When Mary was twelve (or fourteen) years of age, the high priest commanded all the virgins that were in the Temple to return to their homes and be married. But Mary refused, for she said that she had vowed virginity to the Lord. Thus the high priest was perplexed and he had recourse to God to inquire what he should do. Then a voice from the ark (or an angel) answered him; and they gathered together all the widowers in Israel (or all the marriageable men of the house of David), and desired them to bring each his rod. Among them came Joseph and brought his rod, but he hesitated to present it, because he was an old man and had children. Therefore the other rods were presented and no sign occurred. Then it was found that Joseph had not presented his rod; and behold, as soon as he had presented it, a dove came forth from the rod and flew upon the head of Joseph (or, a dove came from heaven and alighted on the rod). So Joseph, in spite of his reluctance, was compelled to betroth himself to Mary, and he returned to Bethlehem to make preparations for his marriage (or: he betook himself to his occupation of building houses), while Mary went back to her parents' home in Galilee.

"And took a veil (to shroud herself) from them. And we sent our spirit to her, and he appeared before her like a perfect man.

"She said, 'I fly for refuge from thee to the God of Mercy, if thou fearest Him!'

"He said, 'I am only a messenger of thy Lord, that I may bestow on thee a holy son.'

"She said, 'How shall I have a son, when man hath not touched me, and I am not unchaste.'

"He said, 'So shall it be. Thy Lord hath said, Easy is this with me; and we will assuredly make him a sign to mankind, and a mercy from us. For it is a thing decreed.'" Sura XIX, 16-21.

The Birth of Jesus.

"And she conceived him, and retired with him to a far-off place.

"And the throes came upon her at the trunk of a palm. She cried, 'O would that I had died ere this, and been a thing forgotten, forgotten quite!'

"And one cried to her from below her, 'Grieve not thou, thy Lord hath provided a streamlet at thy feet;

"'And shake the trunk of the palm-tree toward thee:⁹ it will drop fresh ripe dates ready gathered upon thee.

"'Eat then and drink, and be of cheerful eye, and shouldst thou see any of mankind,

"'Then say, Verily, I have vowed a fast unto the God of Mercy; to no one therefore will I speak this day.'

"Then came she with the babe to her people, bearing him. They said, 'O Mary! assuredly now hast thou done a strange thing!

"'O sister of Aaron! Thy father was not a wicked man, nor unchaste thy mother.' And she made a sign to them, pointing toward the babe. They said: 'How shall we speak with him who is in the cradle, an infant?'

"It said, 'Verily, I am the servant of God, He hath given me the Book, and He hath made me a prophet.

"'And He hath made me blessed, wherever I may be, and hath enjoined me prayer and almsgiving, so long as I shall live;

"'And to be dutious to her that bare me; and He hath not made me proud, depraved.

⁹ In the *History of the Nativity of Mary* (xx) we read of a like incident which took place on the third day of the flight into Egypt.

“And the peace of God was on me the day I was born, and will be the day I shall die, and the day I shall be raised to life.’

“This is Jesus, the son of Mary; this is a statement of the truth concerning which they doubt.

“It beseemeth not God to beget a son. Glory be to Him! When He decreeth a thing, He only saith to it, ‘Be,’ and it is.”

Sura XIX, 22-36.

“And we appointed the son of Mary, and his mother for a sign; and we prepared an abode for both in a lofty spot, secure, and watered with springs.”

Sura XXIII, 52.

Miracles of Jesus.

“[Jesus says:] ‘Now have I come to you with a sign from your Lord. Out of clay will I make for you, as it were, the figure of a bird; and I will breathe into it, and it shall become, by God’s permission, a bird.¹⁰ And I will heal the blind, and the leper; and by God’s permission will I quicken the dead,¹¹ and I will tell you what ye eat, and what ye store up in your houses! Truly in this will be a sign for you, if ye are believers.’” Sura III, 43b.

“When God shall say, ‘O Jesus! son of Mary! call to mind my favor upon thee and upon thy mother, when I strengthened thee with the Holy Spirit, that thou shouldst speak to men alike in the cradle¹² and when grown up:

“‘And when I taught thee the Scriptures and the Wisdom, and the Law, and the Evangel: and when thou didst fashion of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird, by my permission, and didst breathe into it, and by my permission it became a bird; and thou didst heal the blind and the leper, by my permission; and when, by my permission, thou didst bring forth the dead; and when I withheld the children of Israel from thee, when thou hadst come to them with clear tokens; and such of them as believed not said, This is naught but plain sorcery.’¹³

¹⁰ This bird-story is narrated in the *Gospel of Thomas* (ii) and the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (xxxvi, xlvi).

¹¹ Instances of such quickening are found in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (xliv) and the *Gospel of Thomas* (ix, x).

¹² That Jesus spoke in the cradle is also mentioned in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (i).

¹³ Precisely the same expression is applied to Jesus in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (xxxvi, at the end).

“And when I revealed unto the Apostles, Believe on me and on my Sent One, they said, We believe, and bear thou witness that we are Muslims.’

“Remember when the Apostles said, ‘O Jesus, son of Mary! is thy Lord able to send down a furnished *table* to us out of Heaven?’ He said, ‘Fear God if ye be believers.’

“They said, ‘We desire to eat therefrom, and to have our hearts assured, and to know that thou hast indeed spoken truth to us, and to become witness thereof.’

“Jesus, son of Mary, said, ‘O God, our Lord! send down a table to us out of Heaven, that it may become a recurring festival to us, to the first of us and to the last of us, and a sign from Thee; and do Thou nourish us, for Thou art the best of nourishers.’¹⁴

“God said, ‘Verily, I will cause it to descend unto you; but whoever among you after that shall disbelieve, I will surely chastise him with a chastisement, wherewith I will not chastise any other creature.’”

Sura V, 109-115.

Activity of Jesus, His Mission and His Testimony.

“And of old sent we Noah and Abraham, and on their seed conferred the gift of prophecy, and the Book; and some of them we guided aright; but many were evil-doers.

“Then we caused our apostles to follow in their footsteps, and we caused Jesus, the son of Mary, to follow them; and we gave him the Evangel, and we put into the hearts of those who followed him kindness and compassion; but as to the monastic life, they invented it themselves. The desire only of pleasing God did we prescribe to them, and this they observed not as it ought to have been observed; but to such of them as believed gave we their reward, though many of them were evil-doers.’” Sura LVII, 26, 27.

“And in the footsteps of the prophets caused we Jesus, the son of Mary, to follow, confirming the Law which was before him; and we gave him the Evangel with its guidance and light, confirmatory of the preceding Law; a guidance and warning to those who fear God.

“And that the people of the Evangel may judge according to what God hath sent down therein. And whoso will not judge by what God hath sent down, such then are the perverse.”

Sura V, 50, 51.

¹⁴ This is obviously a reference to the Eucharist.

“To Moses gave we the Book, and we caused apostles to succeed him; and to Jesus, son of Mary, gave we clear proofs of his mission and strengthened him by the Holy Spirit. So oft then as an apostle came to you with that which your souls desired not, did ye swell with pride, and treat a portion as impostors, and slay others?”
Sura II, 81.

“Some of the apostles we have endowed more highly than others: To some God hath spoken, and He hath raised others of them to the loftiest grade; and to Jesus the son of Mary we gave manifest proofs, and we strengthened him with the Holy Spirit. And if God had pleased, they who come after them would not have wrangled, after the clear proofs had reached them. But into disputes they fell; some of them believed, and some were unbelievers; yet if God had pleased, they would not have thus wrangled; but God doth what He will.”
Sura II, 254.

“And remember when Jesus the son of Mary said, ‘O children of Israel! of a truth I am God’s apostle to you to confirm the Law which was given before me, and to announce an apostle that shall come after me, whose name shall be Ahmad.’¹⁵ But when he (Ahmad) presented himself with clear proofs of his mission, they said, ‘This is manifest sorcery.’”
Sura LXI, 6.

“[Jesus will say:] ‘And I have come to attest the Law which was before me, and to allow you that which had been forbidden you; and I come to you with a sign from your Lord: fear God, then, and obey me; of a truth God is my Lord and your Lord: therefore worship Him. This is a right way.’ And when Jesus perceived unbelief on their part, he said, ‘Who will be my helpers in the cause of God?’ the Apostles said, ‘We will be God’s helpers! We believe in God, and bear thou witness that we are Muslims.’”
Sura III, 44, 45.

“O ye who believe! be helpers of God; as said Jesus the son of Mary to his Apostles, ‘Who will be my helpers in the cause of

¹⁵ A reference is here no doubt to the promise of the Holy Ghost “the other Paraclete” (John xvi. 7). This promise Mohammed applied to himself by a singular confusion of *Paracletos* with *Periclytos* (i. e., heard all around, famous) or *Ahmad* (i. e., the glorified, the illustrious), one of the prophet’s names. The Moslems also refer some other passages of Scripture to Mohammed and his religion. Thus in Deut. xxxiii. 2 Sinai is said to mean the Jewish, Seir the Christian, and Paran the Mohammedan revelation. In Matt. xx. 1-16, the “morning” means Judaism, the “noon” Christianity, and “even” Islam.

God?' 'We,' said the Apostles, 'will be helpers of God.' And a part of the children of Israel believed, and a part believed not. But to those who believed gave we the upper hand over their foes, and soon did they prove victorious." Sura LXI, 14.

"And when Jesus came with manifest proofs, he said, 'Now am I come to you with wisdom, and to clear up to you a part of those things about which ye are at variance; fear ye God, therefore, and obey me:

"'Verily, God is my Lord and your Lord; wherefore worship ye Him: this is a right way.'" Sura XLIII, 63, 64.

"They surely are infidels who say, 'God is the Messiah, son of Mary'; for the Messiah said, 'O children of Israel! I worship God, my Lord and your Lord.' Verily, those who join other gods with God, God doth exclude from Paradise, and their abode shall be the Fire; and the wicked shall have no helpers.

"They surely are infidels who say, 'God is a third of three'; for there is no God but one God;¹⁶ and if they refrain not from what they say, a grievous chastisement shall assuredly befall such of them as believe not.

"Will they not, therefore, turn unto God, and ask pardon of Him? since God is Forgiving, Merciful!

"The Messiah, son of Mary, is but an apostle; other apostles have flourished before him; and his mother was a just person; they both ate food. Behold! how we make clear to them the signs! Then behold how they turn aside!" Sura V, 76-79.

"The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is only an apostle of God, and His word which He conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Himself. Believe therefore in God and His apostles, and say not, 'Three.' Forbear—it will be better for you. God is only one God! Far be it from His glory that he should have a son."¹⁷ Sura IV, 169.

¹⁶ Comp. also the next paragraph.

¹⁷ In rude misconception or wilful perversion, Mohammed seems to have understood by the Christian doctrine the Trinity of Father, Mary, and Jesus. The designation and worship of Mary as "the mother of God" may have occasioned this strange mistake. From Epiphanius (*Haer.*, 79) we know that there was in Arabia in the fourth century a sect of fanatical women called Collyridians, who rendered divine worship to Mary.

“And when God shall say, ‘O Jesus, son of Mary, hast thou said unto mankind, Take me and my mother as two gods, beside God?’ he shall say, ‘Glory be unto Thee! It is not for me to say that which I know to be not the truth; had I said that, then verily Thou wouldst have known it. Thou knowest what is in me, but I know not what is in Thee; verily Thou knowest things unseen.

“‘I spake not to them aught but that which Thou didst bid me: Worship God, my Lord and your Lord; and I was a witness of their actions while I stayed among them; but since Thou hast taken me to Thyself, Thou hast Thyself watched them, and Thou art witness of all things.

“‘If Thou punish them, they are verily Thy servants, and if Thou forgive them, then verily art Thou the Mighty, the Wise.’”
Sura V, 116-118.

The Death of Jesus.

“[The Jews said:] ‘Verily we have slain the Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, an apostle of God.’ Yet they slew him not, and they crucified him not, but they had only his likeness (lit., *one was made to appear to them like [Jesus]*).¹⁸ And verily they who differed about him were in doubt concerning him. No sure knowledge had they about him, but followed only an opinion, and they did not really slay him, but God took him up to Himself. And God is Mighty, Wise.

“And there shall not be one of the people of the Book, but shall believe in him before his death, and in the day of resurrection, he will be a witness against them.”
Sura IV, 156, 157.

“And the Jews plotted, and God plotted: but of those who plot is God the best.

“When God said, ‘O Jesus! verily I will cause thee to die, and will take thee up to myself and deliver thee from those who believe not; and I will place those who follow thee above those who believe not, until the day of resurrection. Then, to me is your return, and wherein ye differ will I decide between you.

¹⁸ This absurd docetic idea is supposed to be the common belief of Christians, but is no doubt derived from Apocryphal sources. The Gnostic sect of Basilides supposed Simon of Cyrene (comp. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.*, I, 24, 4 [ed. Stieren, Leipsic, 1853, I, p. 244]; Epiphanius, *Hæc.*, 24, 3); the *Gospel of Barnabas* supposes that it was Judas the Betrayer; according to Leucius Charinus it was some unknown person who was crucified instead of Jesus (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, Berlin, 1824, I, p. 90); Mani (*Epist. Fund. ap. Evodium*) says that the Prince of Darkness was nailed to the cross, and wore the crown of thorns.

“‘And as to those who believe not, I will chastise them with a terrible chastisement in this world and in the next; and none shall they have to help them.’

“‘But as to those who believe, and do the things that are right, He will pay them their recompense. God loveth not the doers of evil.’
Sura III, 47-50.

The Koran knows neither a Resurrection nor an Ascension of Jesus.

APPENDIX.

John the Baptist.

“‘There did Zacharias call upon his Lord, ‘O my Lord!’ said he, ‘vouchsafe me from Thyself good descendants, for Thou art the hearer of prayer.’ Then did the angels call to him, as he stood praying in the sanctuary:¹⁹

“‘God announceth John (Yahia) to thee, who shall be a verifier of the Word from God, and a great one, chaste, and a prophet of the number of the just.’

“‘He said, ‘O my Lord! how shall I have a son, now that old age hath come upon me, and my wife is barren?’ He said, ‘Thus will God do His pleasure.’

“‘He said, ‘O Lord! give me a token.’ He said, ‘Thy token is that not for three days shalt thou speak to man but by signs; but remember thy Lord often, and praise him at even and at noon.’”

Sura III, 33-36.

“‘A recital of thy Lord’s mercy to His servant Zachariah;

“‘When he called upon his Lord with secret calling,

“‘He said, ‘O Lord, verily my bones are weakened, and the hoar hairs glisten on my head,

“‘And never, Lord, have I prayed to Thee with ill success.

“‘But now I have fears for my kindred after me; and my wife is barren.

“‘Give me, then, a successor as Thy special gift, who shall be my heir and an heir of the family of Jacob; and make him, Lord, well pleasing to Thee!’

“‘O Zachariah! verily we announce to thee a son, his name John;

“‘That name we have given to none before him.’²⁰

¹⁹ Comp. Luke i. 21.

²⁰ Comp. Luke i. 61.

“He said, ‘O my Lord! how when my wife is barren shall I have a son, and when I have now reached old age, failing in my powers?’

“He said, ‘So shall it be. Thy Lord hath said, Easy is this to me, for I created thee aforetime when thou wast nothing.’

“He said, ‘Vouchsafe me, O my Lord! a sign.’ He said, ‘Thy sign shall be that for three nights, though sound in health, thou speakest not to man.’

“And he came forth from the sanctuary to his people, and made signs to them, as though he would say, ‘Praise God at morn and even.’

“We said, ‘O John! receive the Book with purpose of heart,’ and we bestowed on him wisdom while yet a child;

“And mercifulness from ourself and purity; and pious was he, and duteous to his parents, and not proud, rebellious.

“And peace was on him the day he was born, and the day of his death, and shall be on the day when he shall be raised to life!”

Sura XIX, 1-15.

“And Zacharias, when he called upon his Lord saying, ‘O my Lord, leave me not childless: but there is no better heir than Thyself’;

“So we heard him, and gave him John, and we made his wife fit for child-bearing. Verily these vied in goodness, and called upon us with love and fear, and humbled themselves before us.”

Sura XXI, 89, 90.

“And Zachariah, John, Jesus, and Elias, all were just persons.”

Sura VI, 85.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY ANGLIAN ACCOUNT OF PURGATORY AND HELL.

BY A. G. WITTING.

In connection with Roy Temple House's "Notes on the Medieval Conception of Purgatory" in the November issue of *The Open Court* it might be of interest to recall an early English description of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, a prototype to Dante's *Comedia*. It is found in Book V, Chapter XII, of *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Beda Venerabilis, written 731 A. D.

A Northumbrian, Drithelm, "died in the beginning of the night; but in the morning early he suddenly came to life again." During the night he was con-

ducted on a truly wonderful journey by a man with "a shining countenance and a bright garment." They walked silently toward the northeast. "Walking on, we came to a vale of great breadth and depth, but of infinite length; on the left it appeared full of dreadful flames, the other side was no less horrid for violent hail and cold snow flying in all directions; both places were full of men's souls, which seemed by turns to be tossed from one side to the other, as it were by a violent storm; for when the wretches could no longer endure the excess of heat, they leaped into the middle of the cutting cold; and finding no rest there they leaped back again into the middle of the unquenchable flames. Now whereas an innumerable multitude of deformed spirits were thus alternately tormented far and near, as far as could be seen, without intermission, I began to think that this perhaps might be Hell, of whose intolerable flames I had often heard talk. My guide, who went before me, answered to my thought, saying, 'Do not believe so, for this is not the Hell you imagine.'"

Here follows now a picture of the mouth of Hell, of which more anon. Drithelm is then led by his guide in another direction and finds himself suddenly on the top of a wall "the length and height of which, in every direction, seemed to be altogether boundless. . . . Within it (the wall) was a vast and delightful field, so full of fragrant flowers that the odor of its delightful sweetness immediately dispelled the stink of the dark furnace, which had pierced me through and through. So great was the light in this place, that it seemed to exceed the brightness of the day, or the sun in its meridian height. In the field were innumerable assemblies of men in white and many companies seated together rejoicing. As he led me through the midst of these happy inhabitants, I began to think that this might, perhaps, be the Kingdom of Heaven, of which I had often heard so much. He answered to my thought, saying, 'This is not the Kingdom of Heaven, as you imagine.'"

Drithelm was permitted a fleeting glance of the light of Paradise, but was immediately led back by his guide.

"When we returned to those joyful mansions of the souls in white, he said to me, 'Do you know what all these things are which you have seen?' I answered I did not; and then he replied, 'That vale you saw so dreadful for consuming flames and cutting cold, is the place in which the souls of those are tried and punished, who, delaying to confess and amend their crimes, at length have recourse to repentance at the point of death, and so depart this life; but nevertheless because they, even at their death, confessed and repented, they shall all be received into the Kingdom of Heaven at the day of judgment; but many are relieved before the day of judgment by the prayers, alms, and fasting of the living, and more especially by masses. . . . This flowery place, in which you see these most beautiful young people, so bright and merry, is that into which the souls of those are received who depart the body in good works, but who are not so perfect as to deserve to be immediately admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven; yet they shall all, at the day of judgment, see Christ and partake of the joys of His Kingdom; for whoever are perfect in thought, word, and deed, as soon as they depart the body, immediately enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.'"

We have here a beautifully artistic treatment of the dogma of Purgatory dating as far back as to the beginning of the eighth century. It is moreover interesting to note the dualism of Greek philosophy and reminiscences of the old Germanic myths, adopting the Elysian Fields as a waiting-place for

the not quite perfect and the "vale" between Muspelheim and Niflheim for the not altogether bad.

The Venerable Bede's description of Hell will also be of interest as a supplement to Dr. Pick's article on "The Punishments in the Other World," as it appears to have inspired Milton to the verses quoted by Dr. Pick.

"When he had conducted me, much frightened with that horrid spectacle, by degrees to the farther end, on a sudden I saw the place begin to grow dusk and filled with darkness. When I came into it, the darkness, by degrees, grew so thick that I could see nothing besides it and the shape and garment of him that led me. As we went on through the shades of night, on a sudden there appeared before us frequent globes of *black flames*, rising as it were out of a great pit and falling back again into the same. When I had been conducted hither, my leader suddenly vanished and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrid vision, while those same globes of fire, without intermission, at one time flew up and at another fell back into the bottom of the abyss; and I observed that all the flames, as they ascended, were full of human souls which like sparks flying up with smoke were sometimes thrown on high, and again, when the vapor of the fire ceased, dropped down into the depth below. Moreover, an insufferable stench came forth with the vapors, and filled all those dark places.

"Having stood there a long time in much dread, not knowing what to do, which way to turn, or what end I might expect, on a sudden I heard behind me the noise of a most hideous and wretched lamentation, and at the same time a loud laughing, as of a rude multitude insulting captured enemies. When that noise, growing plainer, came up to me, I observed a gang of evil spirits dragging the howling and lamenting souls of men into the midst of the darkness, while they themselves laughed and rejoiced. Among those men, as I could discern, there was one shorn like a clergyman, a layman, and a woman. The evil spirits that dragged them went down into the midst of the burning pit; and as they went down deeper, I could no longer distinguish between the lamentation of the men and the laughing of the devils, yet I still had a confused sound in my ears. In the meantime some of the dark spirits ascended from that flaming abyss, and running forward, beset me on all sides, and much perplexed me with their glaring eyes and the stinking fire which proceeded from their mouths and nostrils. . . ."

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF PLOTINUS. Translated by *Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie*. Together with the Lives of Plotinus, Commentary by Porphyry, and Illustrations by Jamblichus and Ammonius. With Studies in Sources, Development, and Influence. Concordance of 60 pages to Subjects, Thoughts, and Words. 4 vols. 1400 pages, cloth-bound, \$12 net. Comparative Literature Press, Alpine, N. J.

Emerson, Swedenborg, St. Augustine, and many other mystics were fond of quoting stray thoughts of Plotinus, as the fount of the wisdom-religion that has come down the ages. But up to the present time this great mine of practical religious and philosophical thought has been inaccessible. Translations, of course, there were; but the French, that of Bouillet, was scarce at \$50; the German, at \$20, was as difficult to understand as the original, if not more so.

The scattered booklets translated by Thomas Taylor were of no more than dilettante value, useless to a systematic student, and at that, unreliable in rendering. This complete translation into modern English cannot therefore fail to be of inestimable value to all constructive thinkers, and students of religious and philosophical progress.

But this is not merely a translation; it has altered the status of Plotinos in the history of philosophy. Up to the present time it has been customary to call Ammonius Sakkas the Father of Neo-Platonism; and that on a mere tradition, whereas there remained, of Ammonius Sakkas, only a few trifling fragments, ascribed to him jointly with some other writer. This statement continued to pass as truth for another reason, namely that his disciple's works, those of Plotinos, were in such a confusion that almost anything could be read into them. For instance, they have been used by Augustine and others as a mine of practical mysticism, while the German Drews used them as supports for Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious.

In order to clear up the situation, two things were necessary. The first is a translation that would make the sources as a whole accessible. The length and the difficulty of the undertaking had deterred the most laborious. First as to the length, it would have proved a deterrent, except that the life-problems of a student who in his youth had attempted to throw together an outline of the philosophy of Plotinos compelled him to undergo the ordeal. As to the difficulty, his translation does not pretend to solve insoluble problems; problems which must have been present to the author; for had he analyzed his thought more clearly, he would have probably stated it unmistakably. All that the present translation pretends to do is to present in clear English the thought of the translator, as a provisional means of approaching linguistic difficulties to which centuries of research are welcome; with the advantage that doubtful passages have been interpreted in the light of parallel statements, and in harmony with the philosophical sources of the text.

But mere translation made the reigning confusion still more striking. It reminded very much of the Pentateuch in the Bible. Criticism has there unraveled the tangle, by demonstrating that some editor mixed sources in themselves coherent, in obedience to some prearranged purpose. Was there such a purpose in the mind of Plotinos's editor, Porphyry? The latter, in his Preface, explains it in detail. It was, in those days, fashionable (not even the works of Plato had entirely escaped this process) to group an author's works by subject, or length—in this case into six "enneads" of nine books each, with a fine disregard of the chronology of their origin. Porphyry claimed to have made this arrangement in order to group the works by subject; but such an idea was illusory, in view of the desultory nature of Plotinos's thought in many individual essays; and the result was such a confusion that the very first essay is practically the last one written by Plotinos.

Under such circumstances, it was no wonder that readers of Plotinos found it difficult to discover consistency, inasmuch as it is the natural course of life for thinkers to grow in power, and even fail in later years, as happened to Schlegel, to Plato, and others. Indeed, Porphyry explicitly records that of Plotinos. It was therefore necessary to unravel this tangle by both doing the work of translation, and by printing the works in their chronological order. The result was as illuminating as with the Pentateuch. It was discovered that the earlier period was Numenian, or Gnostic-Platonic, the second Por-

phyrian, or Stoic, while in later years Plotinos returned to his earlier views. The latter indeed may not be the case, if in his later years he was merely giving out early incomplete works, to put his writings together.

It will of course be asked, How could so great a thinker as Plotinos prove as changeable in his views? The answer is interesting. Plotinos was absorbed in thinking, and left writing to his secretaries; writing must to him have been laborious, especially in later years when his eye-sight was low, for neither his speech nor writing was scholarly; Porphyry mentions specific vulgarisms. He had as first secretary Amelius, the legatee of the works of Numenius, who knew them all by heart. Is it any wonder, then, that in the writings of the Amelian period a number of Numenian expressions can be demonstrated? In the second or Porphyrian period, we find the most systematic treatises, Stoic in character. When Porphyry wished to commit suicide and was persuaded as alternative to sojourn in Sicily, Plotinos was thrown back on his earlier thought; and therefore it is no wonder that he returns to Platonic opinions. Thus Plotinos's views become consistent, in each period; and therefore we will in the future, as we do with Plato, not speak of Plotinos's views, but of views of Plotinos in his first, second, and third periods.

Interesting as this rescuing of Plotinos's progress of views is, it would be no more than interesting were it not for the light that it sheds on the origin of the philosophy of Christianity. In Plotinos we find a number of Nicene formulations a century before that council; and so more than ever do we realize that just as Plato summated early Greek philosophy, so Plotinos fused the thought of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, and put this Greek heritage in a shape in which it could be used practically by a young religion as explanation of many of its mysteries.

There is still another living issue in our study of Plotinos—What is the independent value of the mystic ecstasy, the authority for which has always more or less involved Plotinos? Numenius had drunk deep at the Oriental Hermetic sources, and through Amelius this doctrine must have been found convenient to explain the epileptic attacks to which we are told Plotinos was subject. But to demonstrate a physical basis for mystic experiences does not deny the latter, nor invalidate them; but it does supply a cautious basis for more careful criticism of these experiences.

Plotinos summates Greek thought; he is the sunset of the ancient world-conception, and the dawn of the new; and this latter can never be justly evaluated without a knowledge of its source, Plotinos.

KOREAN BUDDHISM, History—Condition—Art. Three Lectures. By *Frederick Starr*. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918. Pp. xix, 104. Price, cloth, \$2.00 net.

We welcome this little volume as the first breach made in the wall of neglect and ignorance which, in Europe and America, is still surrounding Korean Buddhism. As late as 1910, Hackmann, who devoted thirteen pages to the subject in his book *Buddhism as a Religion*, had to content himself in his Bibliography with a single item referring to it, *The Korea Review*, a monthly published in Seoul from 1901 to 1906.

It is plain that, in regard to Korean Buddhism perhaps more than any other religion, it is imperative to have been on the spot, and to have seen with

one's own eyes in order to say anything worth while about it, especially on account of the new life that at last seems to be awakening in it. Professor Starr had this advantage and he made the most of it, his itinerary including trips to the most inaccessible monasteries in the mountains where Korean Buddhism has made its home practically ever since the persecution in the late Middle Ages. In fact, Dr. Starr's whole enterprise might best be termed a prospecting tour—he does not bring home the precious metal, but he tells us where and how to get it.

Of course he has to point to the enormous materials stored in the native sources, voluminous works in Chinese and Korean dealing with Korean history, the records of the monasteries—few of them printed—and innumerable inscriptions. Naturally, all this is best accessible to Orientals trained, more or less, in the scholarship of the West. That their efforts are not lagging is shown by the example of Mr. Yi Nung Hwa, who, we are informed, has prepared a history of Korean Buddhism covering the entire field. This does not mean that it will actually be published, for, in the words of the book before us (p. 38), "everything that is printed in Korea must pass under the eye of the Japanese government, and can be printed only with its permission. It makes no difference whether the material is secular or religious, social, economic, literary or political. At the time when we were speaking about his book it had been sent in to the government for examination." The chances it has of passing the censorship may perhaps be best measured in the light of another quotation (pp. 64f), incidentally furnishing quite an interesting commentary on the binding force of universal religions:

"Korean Buddhism has, perhaps, a political part to play. When the Japanese took over Korea, Buddhists came into the country in great numbers. Japanese priests and temples came with these settlers. These priests and temples are in the cities and larger towns. They do not, however, fit with the Koreans. There might be thousands of them and they would still not make Korean converts—not because the Japanese are not ready to do mission work, but because the Koreans are not ready to accept it. The Korean Buddhism of to-day is actually Korean, not Japanese.

"I can imagine nothing that would be more dangerous to Japanese control than a strong and vital Korean Buddhism that was hostile to Japan. On the other hand, I can think of nothing that would be a greater help to Japan than a Korean Buddhism developed among those people by their own priests and friendly to Japan. What Korean Buddhism is to be in the future depends upon its relation to the government now there. If Korean Buddhism accepts and cooperates with the Japanese control, it will become the mightiest factor that can be devised to make Japan's hold on the peninsula secure. If hostile to Japan, when the crisis comes, as it surely will come, when Japan will be tried out again and once for all on Korean soil, Korean Buddhism may be the decisive element in that moment of test."

The book throughout makes refreshing and stimulating reading, giving neither a dry traveler's log nor an erudite, systematic, final interpretation of the facts presented. Explanations are most amiably given wherever "the general reader" may need them. Finally we mention the plates, thirty-seven in number, which illuminate the text, of prime importance of course in the last of the three chapters, on Korean Buddhist art.

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