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# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

*Editor:* DR. PAUL CARUS.

*Associates:* { E. C. HEGELER.  
MARY CARUS.

VOL. XXIV. (No. 1.)

NO. 644.



THE RUINS OF EGYPT, A PICTURE OF THE TRANSIENCY OF LIFE.

CHICAGO

**The Open Court Publishing Company**

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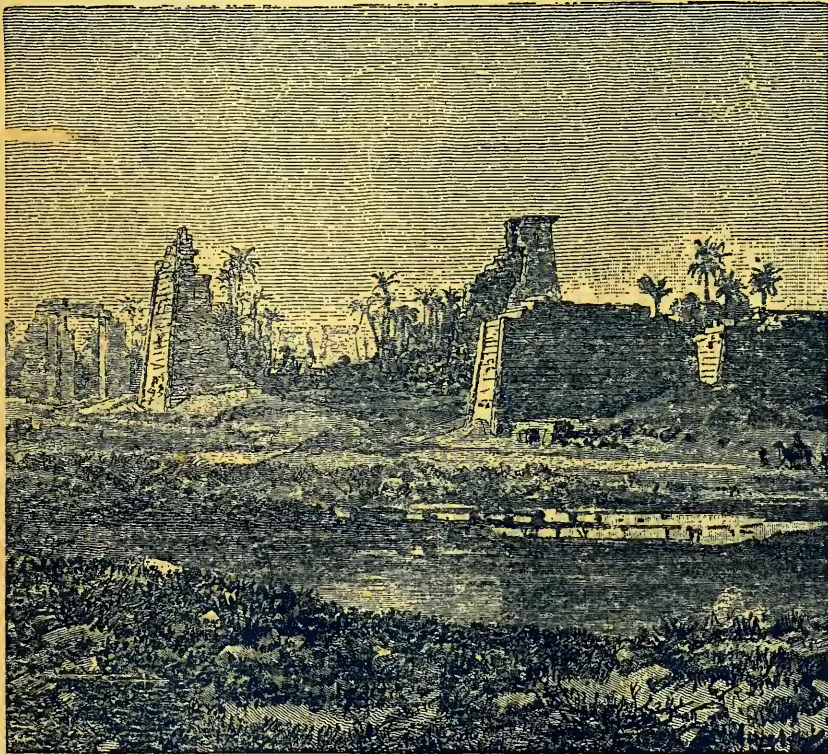
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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Lao-tze and Confucius. MURATA TANRYÔ.	
<i>The Transiency of Life</i> (Illustrated). EDITOR .....	I
<i>The Real Question of the Ancestry of Jesus.</i> WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH ..	12
<i>The Nazarene</i> (With special reference to Prof. W. B. Smith's theory of the pre-Christian Jesus). EDITOR .....	26
<i>Buddhist Relics</i> (Illustrated). EDITOR .....	31
<i>The Religious Spirit of the American Indian</i> (Illustrated). HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER .....	45
<i>Peshawur</i> (Illustrated). THOMAS P. HUGHES .....	55
<i>Mme. Emilie Hyacinthe Loyson</i> .....	59
<i>The World Cipher</i> (Poem). EDMUND NOBLE .....	61
<i>Lao-tze and Confucius</i> .....	63
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i> .....	64

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LAO-TZE AND CONFUCIUS.

By Murata Tanryô.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## THE TRANSIENCY OF LIFE.

BY THE EDITOR.

SINCE primordial times philosophers and religious teachers of mankind have dwelt on the transiency of life, and we may truly say that if death did not exist man would live unthinkingly, without thought of the morrow and without pondering on the deeper problems of existence. There would be no philosophy, no religion and none of the ideals of sacrifice and victory of life triumphant over the power of death. Transiency and with it all that results therefrom, pain and other troubles, grief for the departed and the prospect of our own death, have been the teachers in the stern school of life.

Among the oldest documents which record a contemplation of the problem of death are two Egyptian poems, "The Hymn of King In-jetef" and "The Song of the Harper." Both are like two renderings of the same original. The text of the former is preserved in two versions. A complete copy of one of them, which, however, is very carelessly written, was found on a papyrus now preserved in the British Museum under the title "Harris 500." The other copy was discovered in a tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty (which ruled about 1600-1350 B. C.), where it was inscribed on the wall. It is written in a clear hand but exists only in fragments, which have been transported to the museum at Leyden.

Maspero was the first translator of the papyrus version in *Etudes égyptologiques*, I, 164. Both texts were edited and commented upon and translated into German by W. Max Müller.<sup>1</sup> Later translations are by Adolf Erman and James Henry Breasted.

The London papyrus is somewhat later than the tomb in-

<sup>1</sup> *Die Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter.*

scription at Leyden. Its probable date is in the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, about 1300 B. C., but the song itself must antedate even the Leyden text, because kings of the name Imjetef belong to the Thirteenth Dynasty which flourished about 1700 B. C.

The singer of this ancient hymn is accompanied by a harper. His audience is gathered together for a family reunion in the an-



SINGING THE SONG OF THE HARPER.

From an Ancient Egyptian tomb inscription. (After Breasted.)

cestral temple before the statue of their patriarch Neferhotep, which is placed upon the seat of honor together with the statues of his wife, daughter and son. After the fashion of Egyptian love songs his wife is constantly addressed as his sister, a custom which also prevailed in Palestine and is adhered to in the Hebrew Song of Songs.



The festival may have been an annual celebration like the New Year's feast in China which is mainly a family feast in commemoration of ancestors.

The Harper's Song was apparently very popular all over Egypt, and its general tone may be characterized by the line, "Be cheerful evermore," where "evermore" means "in spite of all troubles of life"; and if we wish to render its meaning fully we might say, "for all that, even more so." It is a kind of *Gaudeamus igitur*.

Herodotus tells us (II, 78) that at their banquets the rich Egyptians used to have a wooden mummy carried about in the hall. It was an ell or two in length and was painted and prepared to look very natural, and as the attendant showed it to each guest he would say, "Look upon this, and drink and be merry; for when thou art dead thou wilt be like this."

The same author mentions the popular melodies of Egypt which were typically Egyptian, for they did not introduce foreign tunes. Herodotus tells of one song especially which he found also in Cyprus and elsewhere, and compares it with the Greek dirge named after Linos. He adds that it had been sung since the beginning of civilization and in Egyptian was called "Maneros." It is not improbable that the Egyptian Maneros is our Song of the Harper, and indeed we must assume that the latter was as popular and of the same antiquity as Herodotus describes the Maneros to have been. In comparing it to the Greek Lay of Linos, he apparently means only to say that it was in some way connected with funeral rituals and the dead.

Various Egyptologists have tried to find the Egyptian equivalent for Maneros. Plutarch explains it as an exclamation of good luck,<sup>2</sup> but no explanation is satisfactory, and W. Max Müller's hypothesis is still the best. He explains it to be the Egyptian *Ma-n-er-hos*, which means a place where one sings, and is used in the sense of carousing.

The redactions of the Harper's Song as we have them contain obvious contradictions, but these can easily be explained on the assumption that the original song was modified by orthodox interpolations. According to the traditions of Egypt, the body of the deceased had to be preserved and protected by magic spells, but this was possible only for the rich, and the comfort of a preservation after death was denied to the multitudes of the poor. The Harper's Song, however, exhorts to cheerfulness even those who can not afford the luxury of an orthodox funeral. When this song proved

<sup>2</sup> *De Is. et O.*, XVII.

too powerful to be suppressed, and when its spirited tone found favor even with those who would not dare to contradict the religious notions of the established faith, it suffered the fate of the Biblical Ecclesiastes, the song on the vanity of life, a very unorthodox piece of literature which is also interlarded with orthodox interpolations. In the same way we find inserted in the Song of the Harper a description of the blessed fate of him who is buried according to the proper ritual, and yet it seems to have been used originally by the large masses of the people who were impressed with the idea that after all in death all are alike.

How popular the song was in Egypt appears from the fact that quotations from it have been inserted on a stele, bearing the date of the year 10 of Cleopatra. This inscription is apparently copied from a later redaction, for it contains many verses of extraneous matter.

The original text is much mutilated and has been edited by prominent Egyptologists. Our intention here is not to recapitulate all the difficulties of its proper interpretation but to offer an approximately readable version which shall be as faithful as is possible in this popularized reproduction.

The singer first turns to the patriarch, then he comments upon the transiency of life and finally exhorts his audience. The lesson which he inculcates is to be cheerful and to have a courageous heart, but at the same time he insists on charity and righteousness so as to ensure a blessed memory among future generations and peace in the life to come.

The song of King In-jetef reads in an English version thus:<sup>3</sup>

THE HYMN OF THE SHRINE OF THE BLESSED KING IN-JETEF.<sup>4</sup>

[Written] for harp accompaniment.

Sainted indeed is this patriarch.  
The good charge has been fulfilled.

Some pass away while others remain. . .<sup>5</sup>  
Since the time of our ancestors,  
The deified kings<sup>6</sup> who lived in ancient days,  
Rest in their pyramids.

<sup>3</sup> We follow the translations of Erman, Stern, W. Max Müller and Breasted.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly this name was read "Antef" or "Entuf."

<sup>5</sup> The reading of this line and its connection with the next are doubtful.

<sup>6</sup> Literally, "the gods, or divine ones."

And the noble as well as the sainted ones  
 Lie buried in their sepulchers.  
 There<sup>7</sup> abide<sup>8</sup> those whose place is no more.  
 Behold what has become of them!

I listened to the words of Imhotep and Hardydaf  
 Who speak thus in their proverbs:  
 "Behold the places of these men!  
 Their walls crumble, there is no trace of them  
 As though they had never been!<sup>9</sup>  
 No one returneth to tell what has become of them,  
 To tell us how they fare,<sup>10</sup> to cheer our heart,  
 Until you<sup>11</sup> wend the way whither they have gone."  
 Be cheerful and let thy heart forget [its grief].<sup>12</sup>  
 Best is to give leeway to thy heart during thy lifetime.<sup>13</sup>  
 Crown thyself with myrrh and clothe thyself in fine linen;  
 Anoint thy head with wondrous oils divine.<sup>14</sup>  
 Be cheerful evermore and let not thy heart flag.  
 Give leeway to thy heart, and take joy.  
 So long as thou livest on earth  
 Let not thy heart be troubled,  
 Until cometh the day of mourning.<sup>15</sup>

The still heart<sup>16</sup> does not hear the wailing,  
 And lamentations save no one from the grave.

<sup>7</sup> Viz., in the tomb.

<sup>8</sup> Literally, "they made their homes." Erman translates, "There have they built houses"; and W. Max Müller, "Die gebaut haben Heiligthümer"; and Breasted, "As for those who built houses."

<sup>9</sup> Erman ends the quotation from the Proverbs here with the third line. The others omit quotation marks altogether.

<sup>10</sup> W. Max Müller translates: "Ihre Angelegenheiten" and adds in a footnote: "D. h. wie sie aussahen und was sie thaten"; Erman translates: "How it goes with them"; and Breasted: "Of their estate."

<sup>11</sup> The change from "us" to "you" is in the Egyptian text and seems to be intentional. Müller translates: "Uns zu führen an den Platz wo(von) sie (weg)gingen."

<sup>12</sup> The word "grief" is supplied.

<sup>13</sup> Erman and W. Max Müller say "So lange du lebst." Breasted translates the line: "Let thy heart dwell upon that which is profitable to you."

<sup>14</sup> Literally, as Erman has it: "With the true marvels of the gods"; or W. Max Müller: "Getaucht in kostbares, (in) ächtes von den Götterdingen." This means: "With the ointments used in divine worship for anointing the statues of the gods."

<sup>15</sup> Literally: "The day of the [funeral] lamentation."

<sup>16</sup> The Leyden text reads: "Osiris does not hear the wailing," but the meaning remains the same, because the transfigured dead is identified with Osiris.

Therefore, celebratè the feast, and be not disheartened!<sup>17</sup>  
 No one has been permitted to take along his possessions  
 And no one who is gone hath ever returned.

The other Egyptian hymn which treats of the same theme and is inspired by the same sentiment, was discovered in the tomb of Nefer-hotep at Abd-el-gurnah, belonging to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The text was first published by Dümichen (*Hist. Inschr.*, II, 40), then by W. Max Müller. It was first translated into German by Lauth of Munich<sup>18</sup> and into English by Ludwig Stern, who also copied and published the text.<sup>19</sup>

Ludwig Stern published his translation in the First Series of the *Records of the Past*,<sup>20</sup> and Professor Erman in his *Life in Ancient Egypt*.<sup>21</sup> The song reads thus:

*Chanted by the harper in the temple of the blessed Nefer-hotep.*

Peace is now with this patriarch!  
 His good charge has been fulfilled!

Men pass away since the time of the sun,<sup>22</sup>  
 And youths come in their stead.  
 Ra [the morning sun] riseth in the dawn  
 And Tum [the setting sun] sinks below the horizon.

Men beget, women conceive,  
 And every nostril breathes the air of morn.  
 But all who are born  
 Go to their ordained place.<sup>23</sup>

Celebrate a feast, O holy father!  
 Have ointments and perfumes for thy nostrils;  
 With lotus wreaths deck the arms  
 And bosom of thy sister  
 Who liveth in thy heart and sitteth beside thee.

<sup>17</sup> Literally: "Tire not"; which means: "Do not flag in cheerfulness while celebrating the feast."

<sup>18</sup> In his essay, *Die Musik der Aegypter*.

<sup>19</sup> In *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. VI, p. 129.

<sup>21</sup> English translation, p. 387.

<sup>22</sup> Literally: "Since the time of Ra."

<sup>23</sup> W. Max Müller translates: "Sie gebären [Kinder] zu [ihrer] Zeit, [und diese] kommen an ihren Platz."

Music and song shall charm thee ;  
 Cast away all cares and mind thee of joy  
 Until cometh the day  
 When we journey to the land which loveth silence.  
 .....<sup>24</sup>

Celebrate a feast, O blessed Nefer-hotep,  
 O Patriarch with pure hands.—  
 He has finished his life....

All this happened to our ancestors.<sup>25</sup>  
 Their walls crumble ; no trace is left of them.  
 As though they had never been ;  
 And so it is since the time of the sun.<sup>22</sup>

.....<sup>26</sup>  
 Give bread to him who has no field.<sup>27</sup>  
 And thy name will be praised by the generations to come ;  
 They will look up to thee.....  
 Those<sup>28</sup> who have seen the right [way of life,  
 Have priests clad in the skin of] panther  
 Pouring libations on the ground,  
 And their bread is of fine flour.  
 The (female) singers shall weep before [their statues].  
 Their mummies shall stand before Ra

<sup>24</sup> Here only a few words are readable: "Not...peace of heart...his loving son."

<sup>25</sup> The reading is doubtful.

<sup>26</sup> Here the lines are much mutilated. Stern translates them thus: "(They in the shades) are sitting on the bank of the river, thy soul is among them, drinking its sacred water, following thy heart, at peace..." W. Max Müller declares that the language being of a later date betrays these sentences to be an insertion.

<sup>27</sup> So Erman. Stern translates: "Whose field is barren"; W. Max Müller: "Dem ohne Flur."

<sup>28</sup> This passage presents many difficulties, and we follow mainly W. Max Müller. It contains a description of the fate of the good. Stern translates thus: "[Priests clad in the skin] of a panther will pour to the ground and bread will be given as offerings. The dying women....."

This is a description of memorial festivals with libations and distributions of charity. The panther skin is the dress of the priests of Khem, the god that restores to life.

The text continues. "Their forms [viz., of the blessed] are standing before Ra. Their persons are protected [i. e., preserved or saved]." They live in Aaru (or Aalu), the Elysium of the Egyptians, where harvests never fail and where Shu, the son of Ra, will be their protector. The text continues: "Rannu [the goddess of the crops] will come at her hour and Shu will calculate his day and thou shalt awake....."

And their people will mourn.  
 Nor shall their offerings be neglected,  
 Rannu (the goddess of harvest) comes at the appointed time  
 And Shu<sup>29</sup> (the uplifter of heaven) counts his days.  
 Thou shalt awake [in Aalu] . . .  
 . . . . .but woe to the evil doer,  
 He shall sit miserable in the heat of eternal fires.  
 Celebrate a feast, O holy Father,  
 Nefer-hotep, pure of hands.<sup>30</sup>  
 No palaces in all Egypt can avail him  
 Whose tomb is all his wealth. . . .  
 Let me know what has become of him!  
 Not the least moment could be added to the life  
 Of him who passed into the realm of eternity.  
 Those whose storehouses are filled with bread,  
 Even they must encounter a last hour;  
 And that day's hour will quell the pride of the rich,  
 . . . . .<sup>31</sup>  
 . . . Mind thee of the day when hearts are sad  
 And the house is in mourning. . . . .  
 Mind thee of the day when thou shalt start  
 For the land that is crowded.  
 [Be cheerful] evermore.<sup>32</sup>  
 None that is gone will ever return.  
 Then it will be better for thee [to have been just].  
 Art thou a witness, hate the lie.  
 He who loveth righteousness [will be blessed].  
 Neither the coward nor braggard [can escape],  
 Nor will tarry [on earth] he who is [entombed with pomp],  
 Nor he who is buried without ceremonies,  
 Neither the mummified nor he without [a shroud]<sup>33</sup>  
 Therefore let bounty prevail  
 And give as it may behoove thee.  
 [Love] the truth! Isis blesses the good;<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> W. Max Müller here translates "Destiny." He suspects these lines to be the interpolation of an orthodox redactor.

<sup>30</sup> Here and in the following lines we follow mainly Stern's translation.

<sup>31</sup> Lacuna.

<sup>32</sup> A repetition of the line exhorting to cheerfulness.

<sup>33</sup> The contrast is obvious. After death both are alike, the wealthy and mighty ones who enjoy the benefit of an orthodox funeral according to the ritual prescribed by tradition, and the poor tramp buried by the wayside.

<sup>34</sup> W. Max Müller translates: "Enjoy what Me'it (Truth), Min (Bliss), and Isis give thee."

[And mayest thou attain] after a happy old age  
To the seat of truth without [suffering and grief].

The land where the Harper's Song was composed and sung has now itself become a picture of the transiency of life, and even in its ruins it is still beautiful and exercises its charm upon the present generation.

\* · \* · \*

Compare with these old Egyptian songs the kindred sentiment expressed in Psalm xc of the Old Testament. The underlying ideas are the same, but there is missing in the Hebrew Psalm the exhortation to an enjoyment of life and also to leading a life of righteousness. In its place stands the idea of Yahveh, the God of eternity as contrasted with the transitory character of human affairs. Yahveh represents the enduring background of life. He is the god of Israel, the creator of heaven and earth, the Eternal One before whom a thousand years are as one day.

A scholarly translation of this song made by Professor J. Wellhausen with a consideration of the literal meaning of the original text and published in the Polychrome Bible, reads as follows:

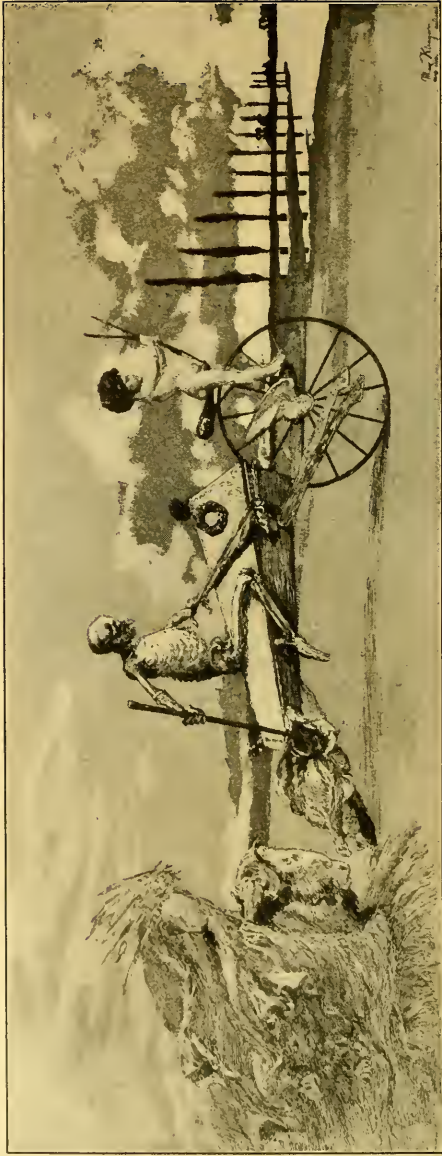
*Prayer of Moses, the Man of God.*

O Lord, Thou art our Refuge  
In all generations.  
Before mountains were born,  
Before earth and world were brought forth,  
From everlasting to everlasting Thou art God.

Thou turnest man again to dust,  
And sayest: "Return, ye children of men!"  
A thousand years are in Thy sight  
But as yesterday when it is past,  
And as an hour in the night.

The generation of men is ever shifting,  
They are like the herb which springs anew,  
Which shoots up in the morning, and thrives,  
And in the evening it fades and withers;  
Under Thy displeasure we perish,  
Under Thine anger are we benumbed.

Thou placest our sins before Thee,  
Our secretest act in the light of Thy face:



THE ADVENT OF THE NEW YEAR.



Under Thy fury all our days vanish,  
We bring our years to an end like a thought.

Our life lasts seventy years,  
Or, at the most, eighty,  
And its unrest is toil and emptiness;  
For it passes away swiftly, and we take our flight.  
Yet who apprehends the weight of Thine anger?  
Who is terrified at the power of Thy fury?  
Teach us, therefore, to number our days,  
That we may enter the gateway of wisdom.

Return, O JHVH! how long!  
Be gracious again to Thy Servants!  
Satisfy us at morn with Thy goodness,  
That we may rejoice and be glad all our days.  
Give us joy for as long as Thou hast given us affliction,  
For as many years of misfortune as we have lived through.  
Let Thy deeds be discerned by Thy Servants,  
And Thy majesty by their children!  
May the favor of JHVH, our God, be upon us!  
Support Thou the work of our hands!

This contemplation of transiency of life and the lessons which it teaches will never be antiquated and appeals to us to-day as strongly as it did at the family reunions of hoary Egypt or in the religious service of the ancient Jewish congregation.

To show our readers how a modern mind conceives of this same problem we here reproduce a picture by Max Klinger, a modern artist, who has given shape to his thought in a picturesque fantasy where the God of Love, ever childlike and ever young, leads the procession of life on the wheel of time. With him rides Death, and they leave behind those forms of life which have been condemned to extinction, represented by the American Indian and the buffalo.

The gruesome aspect of death representing transiency, is overcome and counterbalanced by the bright light of the future, which stretches out as an unlimited vista into eternity.

The past contains dead fossils, but before us lies the prospect of a constant renewal of life with its great possibilities of an advance to ever loftier heights.

## THE REAL QUESTION OF THE ANCESTRY OF JESUS.

IN FURTHER COMMENT ON PROF. PAUL HAUPT'S ARTICLE  
"THE ARYAN ANCESTRY OF JESUS."

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

HAD we confined ourselves to the strict requisitions of logic, our discussion of the Aryan ancestry of Jesus, as thus far conceived, would have ended with the December number of *The Open Court*. But there are many other matters of interest in the pregnant paper of Professor Haupt. Powerfully he has struck, as with hammer of Thor, at a single point the broad urn of Oriental science, and the strong vibration runs round and round the sonorous rim.

As already observed, the combined authority of Cheyne and Gardner assures us that Jesus was in all likelihood born in Nazareth, and this judgment seems plainly confirmed by Professor Haupt. A threefold cord holds strongest, but what is the evidence in point? So far as I can see, absolutely none at all. Certainly none worthy of the name has yet been produced.

True, it is reported that Jesus was invoked as the Galilean by the dying Julian,<sup>1</sup> and Epictetus (IV, 7) designates certain obdurates, who are presumably Christians, as Galileans. But there are many ways to account for all that. A Galilean residence would suffice, Galilean birth is by no means necessary. Matthew has his own theory of birth in Bethlehem and residence in Nazareth, Luke holds another quite contradictory. It is the fashion in certain quarters to prefer Luke's account to Matthew's, but the preference is entirely unreasonable. In every respect Matthew's story is superior in plausibility, simplicity, naturalness. It contents itself with one star and two dreams as its supernatural machinery, not an ex-

<sup>1</sup> *γενέκηναι, Γαλιλαίε!*—Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 21. The sole basis for the report seems to be the fact to which Gregory Nazianzen repeatedly adverts in both his invectives against the Emperor, that he preferred the term Galilean and would even make it the legal substitute for Christian.

tensive outfit surely; while Luke fairly riots in prodigies and miracles. Any even proximate analysis, such as the tyro may make, must expose the romantic, artistic, and thoroughly fictive nature of the Lucan narrative and relegate it to a position far below Matthew's in all but literary respects, with which the historical critic has no concern. In view of these facts, we must repeat that any preference for Luke's account is entirely unwarranted.

Professor Haupt rightly rejects the Lucan device, so zealously championed by Ramsay, of sending Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, to be enrolled for taxation. As if Missourians should go back to Kentucky or Virginia every census-year!

Recently the discovery and publication of an edict issued by Gaius Vibius Maximus, eparch of Egypt, A. D. 104, on occasion of a census (taken every 14 years), sets this matter in clear light. All are required to go back *home*, "each to his own hearthstone,"<sup>2</sup> to attend to their ordinary daily tasks of husbandry (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, III, 125, 1907). This is the plainest common sense. On census day every one should be "at his own hearth," surely not in some distant ancestral city. Deissmann, whom the student of the New Testament has to thank for so much "Light from the East," but whose syllogisms are sometimes fearfully and wonderfully made, fancies that he finds in this edict at least a partial parallel to the deliverance in Luke! "*Die Aehnlichkeit ist doch sehr gross*" (*Licht vom Osten*, p. 201, n. 6). But parallels may run in exactly opposite directions!

But Jesus is also called the Nazaree,<sup>3</sup> and does not this fix his birth at Nazareth? Assuredly not. *Nazaraïos* is not derivable from Nazareth, and Keim's preference for Nazara is not sustained by the manuscripts. Moreover there is no evidence whatever in favor of the existence of any such town "called Nazareth" B. C. 4, and much silent but eloquent testimony against it.

Neither Josephus, nor the Old Testament, nor the Talmud (for nearly a thousand years after Christ) knows anything of such a town. Yet Professor Haupt assures us that Nazareth = Hethlon = Hittalon = Hannathon = Hinnathon = Hinnatûn = Protection. Granted. But why the change of name? and when? Professor Haupt is silent. Where is the shred of evidence that the change of name was made before 4 B. C.? There seems to be none. Such

<sup>2</sup> ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἐφέστια.

<sup>3</sup> ναζωραῖος. The several forms, *Νασαραῖος*, *Ναζαραῖος*, *Ναζωραῖος*, *Ναζαρηνός*, are all used. The first, which we may transliterate into *Nazaree*, seems to be primitive and to reproduce most nearly the Syriac *Nazaryā'* and the Hebrew. N-3-R.

a change could not have taken place without some reason. Eastern conservatism would certainly retain the many-century-old name but for some compelling motive. Hethlon, Hittalon, Hinnathon, all these are fair- and rich-sounding words. Nazareth is inferior in sound and barely equal in sense. Why then the change, and when? The answer is that we do not hear of "a city called Nazareth" till it suddenly appears in Matt. ii. 23, to explain the epithet Nazaree. Admittedly the etymology is unsound. But there must be some explanation. What is it?

Fortunately we know something about Nazarees (or Nazorees). In the early days of the Propaganda they appear as a well-known sect, one of whose leaders was Paul; so at least says Tertullus (Acts xxiv. 5). I say well-known, for Tertullus deigns no word of explanation to Felix concerning this "Heresy of the Nazarees."

We turn to Epiphanius. Of all the ancients none knew more about sects or heresies. The study of them was his life-work, the discussion of them his *magnum opus*. No one has yet questioned his diligence, his painstaking, his minute and extended information. His orthodoxy shines conspicuous. His eagerness to bring down the dates of the heresies to the very latest is manifest. He holds a brief for Catholicism. His thesis is that every Christian heterodoxy is an aberration from a primitive unital orthodoxy. To establish this contention, he strains every nerve and not a few facts. What then is his witness? "The heresy of the Nazarees was before Christ and knew not Christ" (*Haer.* XXIX, 6). There! The cat is out of the bag. It is vain to say that this careful and erudite heresiograph did not know what he was talking about. If he did not, as the result of a life's study, pray, who did? It is vain to say that he is often confused and inaccurate. How could he be other when defending an indefensible thesis? The facts were dead against him. He could not jostle them into accord with his postulates. Hence his confusion and contradictions. But this merely strengthens his testimony quoted. We may justly question the asseverations of a witness that are made in his own interest and that serve his own purposes. But the admissions of the witness against himself, which overturn his own position and throw his own case out of court, these no judge of evidence thinks of questioning or of discounting; they are accepted not at par but above par, at a high premium. Until counter-testimony is adduced, and that will be a long time, we must hold firmly then to the unwilling witness of Epiphanius that "the sect of the Nazarees was before Christ and knew not Christ."

Was then the name derived from Nazareth? Certainly not! Such derivation was both philologically and topologically impossible. The Nazarees are located by Epiphanius on the other side of Jordan and the sea of Galilee. Why should such an important sect take its name from an unknown and contemptible hamlet? What other sect of that day took its name from an insignificant village or even a flourishing city? Call the roll, the answer is, None. We may be confident then that the party of the Nazarees had no more to do with the city of Nazareth than the party of the Tories with the city of Troy.

Common sense may raise its voice at this point. A sect might readily take its name from a person, or from an idea. Examples abound. The Nazarees might be so called from a person Nazarya' or from the idea of Nazar, that is, Protection, Guarding. Nazarees might be something like Conservatives. Apparently they worshiped God as Guardian, under the special aspect of Servator or Protector. Nazar-Ya' itself would appear to mean simply Guardian-Yah. The word seems nearly equivalent to Jesus, or *Soter*, or Saviour, and Jesus-Nasarya' looks like the most natural of combinations.

Accuracy of detail is perhaps not attainable at this point, but the general situation seems clear: The Nazarees were a pre-Christian sect worshiping God as Protector, Defender. They were close akin to the Iessaioi (or Jessees), who adored the same God as Saviour or Jesus, who were themselves nearly related to the more Hellenic Gnostics, who worshiped the same God as *Soter* or Saviour.

The term *Soter* was not regarded with favor by Old Catholics like Irenæus. It would appear to have smacked too unmistakably of pre-Christian Gnosticism. Hence it has been nearly quite displaced by its Hebrew translation, Jesus. It occurs in the New Testament only 24 times, and of these, 10 times in the Pastoral Letters, 5 times in 2 Peter; in fact, it is practically absent from all contexts but such as are more or less Gnostic. Irenæus substitutes Lord (*Kurios*) for it and speaks to the Gnostics ill-temperedly of "Your *Soter*."

The fusion of the Nazarees with the Jessees would appear natural and inevitable and even indicated in the combination Jesus-Nazarya. The fusion of both with the Messianists, the Christ-Servants or Christians, seems to lie just as plain before us in the immortal juxtaposition Jesus-Christ.

Not having a clear-cut subjunctive at command, I have tried hard in the foregoing to distinguish the facts from my interpretation of the facts, by the use of verbal auxiliaries, *seem*, *appear*, etc.

The facts indeed are few, but they are profoundly significant. We *must construct* them, *interrelate* them rationally. In *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (the writer may be allowed to say) will be found a conscientious attempt to utilize in such construction a maximum of facts with a minimum of hypothesis, though only about one-fourth of the material already assembled has been collocated in that volume.

It is notorious that all attempts, no matter how learned and ingenious, hitherto made to deduce the phenomena of primitive Christianity from a single personal focus, a unique and exaggerated man, whether Jew or Aryan, have issued in total and absolute failure. We may and we do entertain the highest reverence for the essayists, but their essays are all tissues of assumptions and even of contradictions. No matter how unanimous they may now be on their standpoint, that standpoint is untenable and must be definitely and permanently abandoned. "E'en in their glory comes the changing shade." This all-victorious school of criticism has passed its climacteric. Not only have all such past efforts aborted, but all future ones must abort also. A history, a movement of thought, feeling, action cannot be deduced from a character, a Human Being, when the clearest of all attestations of that history is to the total absence of any such character or Humanity as a factor in that history, as a component in that movement. The proof of this absence cannot of course be attempted in this paper, it must be reserved for at least one large volume; but the assertion is made on the basis of minute and registered examination.

To return from this conscious but apparently justifiable digression, we repeat the question, Whence the name Nazareth?

Professor Haupt assures us it was a new name for an old thing, the venerable city of Hethlon = Hittalon = Hinnathon = Hinnatûn = Protection = Nazareth. If this be true, and it is perilous to controvert the editor of the Polychrome Bible, then we may readily believe that it was named Nazareth from the Nazarees, who were "before Christ and knew not Christ." The relations have been exactly reversed in Matt. ii. 23, as so often in case of city-names. The evangelist cast his eye round over Galilee and saw Hinnaton = Defense, and ingeniously translated it into Nazareth = Protection, wherewith he had a firm enough hook on which to hang his innocent etymology, by which he effectually drew the fangs from the *fact* of pre-Christian Nazareism. Similarly in Mark vi. 3, the question is put, "Is not this the Carpenter?" Turning it back into Syriac we get, "Is not this the N-S-R?" where the scarcely perceptible difference in sound between the two sibilants

allows the beautiful pun on N-Ḫ-R and N-S-R. It seems plain that the Jesus is here called the Carpenter (N-S-R) because he was the Defender (N-Ḫ-R).\*

The identification of Nazareth with Hinnatūni is very near lying, extremely plausible and highly probable; it is moreover very welcome, as solving the queer riddle of the "city called Nazareth," which suddenly appears on the map as if it had fallen from the sky. The reader may naturally ask for the evidence of this identity. The answer is that in the El-Amarna Letters (11: 16-17) in the letter of Burrahurish, King of Karduniash, to Napkhururia, King of Egypt, we read, according to Winckler, "After Akhi-ṭābu went on his way to my brother, in the city of kHinatōn in Kinakhkhi etc." (*â lu*) *kHi-in-na-tu-ni ša (mātu) Ki-na-akh-khi* etc.), where (*mātu*) Ki-na-akh-khi is (land) *Canaan*. Again (196: 24-32), in the continuation of a letter, "But Surata took Lapaja out of Makida, and said to me, 'Upon a ship I will bring him to the King.' But Surata took him and sent him from (city) kHinatuni home" (*u-ji-tar-šir-šu-iš-tu (a lu) kHi-na-tu-na â-na biti-šu*). *Magid-da* seems to be the well-known Megiddo of the plain of Jezreel, and appears here as not far from kHinatuna.

Again, in the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III, as edited by Paul Rost, at line 232 we read:

"... [*šal-lat*] (*â lu*) *kHi-na-tu-na* 650 *šal-lat* (*â lu*) *Kana*..."

"... [captives] (city) *kHi-na-tu-na* 650 captives (city) *Kana* ....."

Here Hi-na-tu-na appears in close relation with "Kana..." apparently the Cana of Galilee, six miles north of the present Nazareth. To be sure, the reading "Kana..." is not quite certain. Layard gave instead "Ku(?)." Moreover, since the end of the line is lost, we are not sure of the name even if thus far correctly read. If one should find a piece of writing illegible after the letters *Adria*, one would not be sure, in the absence of other indications, whether *Adria* in Italy was meant, or perhaps *Adrianople* in Turkey. However, the Cana of Galilee has a strong presumption in its favor. There is in fact no other claimant for the honor of this mention.

\* The Greek is τέκτων, strictly *wood-worker*, as opposed to *metal-worker*, though also used in the latter sense. The Syriac of the passage actually presents *n-g-r*, which denotes *workman* in wood, metal, or stone, whereas the participle *M-n-s-r* is the exact term for *carpenter*, *sawyer*. It should perhaps be mentioned in passing that in the old Sinaitic Syriac palimpsest the Marcan passage is wanting (from v. 26 to vi. 5) and in the parallel passage (Matt. xiii. 55) we read simply, "Is this not the son of Joseph?" The word *carpenter* would thus appear to be a later conceit.

The identification of Hethlon or Hittalon with Hinnaton (the Hannathon of Zebulon, Josh. xix. 14), seems hardly so likely. The linguistic obstacles are not indeed insuperable, but this Hethlon is an extremely elusive and uncertain quantity. "The way of Hethlon" we come upon in the Old Testament only in Ez. xlvi. 15, and xlviii. 1, as bounding the ideal Canaan on the north and apparently starting from the Mediterranean (in neither case is Hethlon recognized as a proper name in the Septuagint, which attempts to translate it).<sup>4</sup> Hence the plausible conjecture of Schwarz (*Das heilige Land*, 171) and of Van Kasteren (*Revue biblique*, 1895, p. 24), which has found so much favor, identifying it with the modern 'Adlûn (Ornithopolis), a few miles north of the mouth of the Nahr-el-Qasîmiye, in latitude 33° 23' 30", whereas Nazareth lies in latitude 32° 42' 30", nearly 50 miles further south. Furrer would find this Hethlon in the present Heitla, still much further north, beyond Tripoli, and it would seem likely that Ezekiel would push the northern boundary of his ideal Canaan as far toward the pole as seemed possible.

Professor Haupt's extremely daring and ingenious reconstruction of this frontier depresses it much toward the south, starting it from Carmel and carrying it across to and up the Sea of Tiberias or Lake Gennesaret. It is perilous for any one to question Professor Haupt in such matters; for the most it would be temerarious; with Pindar, "I hold aloof." But one would at least be glad to see Professor Haupt's proofs in minuter detail than given in his article in Peiser's *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* and in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908). The taste is not instantly reconciled to the new wine of the doctrine that the *Way of Hammath* is the rather modest *Wady el-Hammâm*, and that the northern boundary of Palestine ran (along the western shore of the sea of Galilee?) to Bethsaida at the northeastern end of Gennesaret. It is very hard to imagine a patriotic idealist contenting himself with a border drooping so far to the south. Far more likely that he would retire it unduly to the north. Furthermore, if the northern boundary passed through Bethsaida, at the northeast end of Gennesareth (or Chinnereth), then since the eastern border "shall descend and shall reach unto the side of the Sea of Chinnereth eastward," the northern and eastern borders would seem to meet at or near Bethsaida; where then is there room left for that large part of the border, northern

<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης τῆς καταβαινούσης καὶ περισχιζούσης, and κατὰ τὸ μέρος τῆς καταβάσεως τοῦ περισχιζόντος.



and eastern, defined by Ziphron, Hazar-enan, Shepham, Riblah, Ain (Numbers xxxiv. 8-11)? Passing by the well-known text-uncertainties in connection with this northern boundary, one is nevertheless embarrassed by multiplied difficulties in contracting the bounds of Palestine so far to the south.

Another most interesting identification by Professor Haupt is that of Sepphoris (modern Saffūriye) with the Arbatta, Arbacta, or Arbana of 1 Macc. v. 23. Here again the philologic possibility certainly lies open, but the probability of such a series of transformations does not seem to be high. Perhaps Professor Haupt has evidence of the actual disappearance here of the initial S into a guttural. In any case it will seem curious that Ziphron, which he equates with Sepphoris, should be mentioned (Num. xxxiv. 9) *after* Zedad (or Bethsaida) as on the northern border of Palestine. On this point we may hope for further light. That Sepphoris, the *Çipporin* of the Talmud, is the "city set on a hill," seems uncertain when one reflects that there were many cities so set in ancient times, even in Palestine; moreover, the sentiment of the verse is not new nor startling, though the phraseology, as so often in Matthew, is particularly pleasing.

In passing it should be noticed that Professor Haupt seems to attribute to the Angel (of Luke ii. 9-12) a geographic confusion that would ill become such an accredited messenger. He says, "The shepherds were told by the angels, 'Ye will find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger,' just as Nazareth is *swathed* in a basin with a girdle of hills." But the Angel could hardly have been glancing in his phraseology at Nazareth, for he declares explicitly, "There is born to you to-day a Saviour, who is Christ-Lord, in David's city," "which is called Bethlehem." Of course, it is possible to hold that these words are not authentic, that they were added to the veridical declaration of the Angel concerning the swathing and manger. However, this does not mend matters much; for the incident of the swaddling is of itself too commonplace for record, and the sole distinguishing detail of the manger loses point and credibility except in connection with the census and the crowded state of the hotels in Bethlehem. We can hardly believe that the Child, even though a carpenter and the son of a carpenter, would have been swathed in a manger at home in Nazareth, however insistently the engirdling hills may have suggested it.

Inasmuch as H. S. Chamberlain has discussed the question, Was Jesus a Jew? with so much learning (of course, not nearly equal to Professor Haupt's) and vigor and earnestness, it would

be unjust not to notice his arguments. However, there is little to add. The general complexity of racial relations in Galilee, on which he justly insists, is not disputed. The race-Babel of the Assyrian monarchy, on which Winckler lays so much stress (*Die Völker Vorderasiens*, 1900), was even intensified in Galilee, which was a veritable witches' caldron bubbling over with varied and violent contents. Assuming for the moment the standpoint of Chamberlain, we must approve his judgment: "To what race did He belong? No answer at all can be given." But if Chamberlain rightly declines to make any affirmation, he is none the less positive in his negation. He also quotes the Maccabean passage with the added emphasis of spread-print, which however does not strengthen the argument which we have already seen collapse completely. Chamberlain thinks the Jews would not return to Galilee; but his only reason is that they refused to people Tiberias at the behest of Herod Antipas. That however was for a very specific reason, which Chamberlain forgets to state, namely, Tiberias was built on an old cemetery, as Professor Haupt remarks. This particular site therefore was "unclean" for the Jews, hence their recalcitrance; nothing is implied as to the rest of Galilee. Later, however, Tiberias became the seat of Jewish learning.

It is curious to note at this point a queer psychologic phenomenon. As must now be evident, neither Chamberlain nor any one else has any cogent reason to allege against the Jewish ancestry of Jesus. The most they can urge is that a man chosen at random from among a populace prevailing non-Jewish would be probably a non-Jew—a reason whose irrelevance has already been pointed out.<sup>5</sup> Chamberlain seems to have felt the uncertainty of his position at the outset, and hence his first statement (p. 211) is comparatively mild and innocent. "In religion and education He was undoubtedly a Jew; in race—in the narrower and proper sense of the word Jew,—He was most (*höchst*) probably not." After discussing the matter, however, he assures us (p. 214) there is "not the slightest occasion" (*nicht die geringste Veranlassung*) to assume His parents were Jews. This confidence grows with his manuscript, and on page 218 he declares that he who makes the assertion that Christ was a Jew is "either ignorant or untrue" (*entweder unwissend oder unwahr*). "The probability that Christ was no Jew, that he had not a drop of pure Jewish blood in his veins, is so great that it almost amounts to a certainty." Lastly, on page 219, it reaches this limit: "That Jesus Christ did *not* belong to it (the Jewish race) may be

<sup>5</sup> See "The Jewish Element in Galilee," *Open Court* for December.

considered as certain. Every other assertion is hypothetic." Now on page 211 Chamberlain knew all that he knew on page 219. No scintilla of new evidence, none we have not already examined. But by eight pages of eloquent declamation Chamberlain has convinced himself and doubtless many of his readers. So illusory is often the artificial illumination of rhetoric!

Chamberlain indeed, whose merit I would not for a moment underestimate, holds as is well known, a brief for the Aryan *vs.* the Jew. He will not even admit that Renan was quite honest in (*Vie de Jésus*, 1863, chapter II) declaring it impossible even to conjecture the race of Jesus, and later (1891) affirming "He was a Jew"\* (*Histoire du peuple d'Israël*) and violently attacking the gainsayers. He thinks he detects in this change of front the fine hand of the *Alliance Israélite*!

On one point, however, we must agree with Chamberlain heartily. The importance he ascribes to race and blood is not fictitious. It is genuine and abiding. A. Réville (who has been followed by Harnack) erred mightily in declaring (*Jésus de Nazareth*, I, 47) the question of the Aryan descent of Christ to be not only inadjudicable but also idle (*oisense*). The disposition so common among ethnologists and other "liberal" writers to disregard questions of race and to treat the substance of humanity as practically homogeneous, as a uniform dough out of which everywhen and everywhere equally good individual units may be made, is altogether deplorable. Jean Finot writes a big book on *Race Prejudice*; Anatole France re-echoes him and scoffs at the alleged superiority of any race; H. G. Wells swells the chorus; Prof. Thomas (says the press) calls out for miscegenation and seems to believe the millennium awaits the day when black spirits and white, blue spirits and gray, mingle, mingle, mingle, they that mingle may. We may think the Hottentots uncivilized, uncultured, disgusting, but it's only a matter of taste; they think the same of us, and apparently with equal reason! The African rice- and butter-fattened houri, who cannot rise from a sitting posture without assistance, is really just as beautiful as the Melonian Venus, her royal admirers prefer her! Jacobi's deduction of the triaxial ellipsoid of equilibrium is hardly more admirable than the Australian's calculation of his own kinship! All he needs is a little training, and the Bushman will every way equal the Anglo-Saxon! Says Réville (*loc. cit.*), "A man belongs to the nation in whose bosom he has grown up." Is the mild Mongolian

\* "Nothing but the folly of men of the world could ever have raised any doubts on this point."

grown up in New York a genuine good American?! By his earnest and vehement and well-reasoned protest against sickly sentimentality in high places, Chamberlain has earned the thanks of right-thinking men.\*

Not only are race and blood important in themselves, but in understanding a religion or a literature it makes a big difference whence it proceeds. The incapacity of the Aryan rightly to appreciate the Semite, the Hittite, and their compound the Jew, has profoundly influenced nearly 2000 years of history. The thick-strewn but thin-veiled allusions of the Song of Songs passed with Herder for the tenderest blossoms of virginal innocence, modesty, and delicacy. The English clergyman quotes Matt. v. 30 without a blush, without an inkling of what is aimed at; he regards Rom. i. 18-32 as directed against vice in general, and when he reads that Jesus went up into the Mountain he may possibly think of Tabor or Lebanon or Olivet, but hardly of Sinai, the Mount of the Law.

Once more resuming the thread of discourse, we affirm that the question of the racial ancestry of Jesus is not unimportant for such as Chamberlain and the "liberal" critics, Bousset, Wernle, Schmiedel, Haupt and the rest, who deduce Christianity from a unique human personality. But for such the question is entirely unanswerable, as Renan rightly perceived. In Galilee (*Gelil hag-gôyim*, district of the nations) was to be found unending variety of parentage. Once cut loose from the Bethlehem story of Matthew, conjecture drifts rudderless on a sea of possibilities.<sup>6</sup> For neither is there anything in any other tradition, whether of word or of deed, to give us the slightest clew. Plainly, in case of a character of whom nothing is known, nothing that he said, nothing that he did, it is absurd to talk of internal evidence. We never can tell a man's race from his birth-place, much less from his dwelling place. The greatest of Roman emperors may be a Spaniard; the most illustrious of German philosophers, a canny Scot; the profoundest of French analysts, "*la haute pyramide des sciences mathé-*

\* The great egalitarian apostle of opportunity "predicates" "intellectual equality" in "each" race "taken by itself." Ward's *Applied Sociology*, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> Professor Haupt will not indeed by any means allow that David was of Bethlehem. In a most interesting and ingenious paper in Peiser's *Or. Litztg.*, February, 1909, he dissipates the tradition of David's connection with Bethlehem as formed of misconceptions, and refers him to Hebron, as Winckler had already referred him to the Negeb. But Winckler despairs of separating "actuality from genealogic-mythologic constructions" (*Geschichte Israels*, II, 226) and footing on Stucken's *Astralmythen*, he translates so much of the Davidic legend to the skies that it becomes almost indifferent where the minstrel king was born or whether he was born at all.

*matiques*," an Italian; the chief of Russian poets may proudly boast descent from an African Arab.

Nevertheless, although, as the matter shapes itself in my mind, the question of the Aryan ancestry of Jesus Nasarya' aligns itself with that of the Semitic lineage of Zeus Xenios, the Hittite descent of Jupiter Stator, or even the Turanian genealogy of Yahveh Zebaoth, there yet remains a kindred sense in which the question may be put and may be answered with reasonable precision: The doctrine, the worship, the cult of Jesus—the *only thing in the premises that we really know anything about*—was it Jewish? was it Aryan? was it Greek? was it Semitic? was it Babylonian? was it pamphylic, a synthesis of all tribes and tongues and worships? This Way (of the Lord), which the mighty Apollos had learned orally,<sup>7</sup> which he was "accustomed to preach and to teach accurately," which he was proclaiming as an ardent missionary all round the Mediterranean, and that in utter ignorance of the Gospel story, having learned only the Baptism of John (Acts xviii. 24, 25), this cult of the Jesus,<sup>8</sup> which Paul too taught (Acts xxviii. 31), though he knew practically nothing of a "Christ fleshwise" (2 Cor. v. 16), this *Religionsanschauung* is the broadest, deepest, and highest fact of modern civilization, culture, and history, nor can we evade the question as to its genesis. The answer thus far rendered and almost universally accepted has been that this cult was Jewish, the legitimate, prophesied, inevitable fruit of the slow-flowering century-plant of Israel's history.

"Christianity," says Renan in an outburst of enthusiasm, in 1891 (*Hist. du p. d'Is.*, v. 415, ii. 539), when his style had begun to do its worst for his judgment, "Christianity is the masterwork of Judaism, its glory, the résumé of its evolution. . . . Jesus is all and entire in Isaiah." Against this prodigious error Chamberlain has done well to protest, though his critical arguments hit far wide of the mark, and Jensen's Pan-Babylonism may render some service. But however much the Gilgamesh-Epos may have unconsciously infiltrated the mythologizing of the Evangelists, whatever echoes Zimmern or Gunkel may hear of Assyria in Epistles or Apocalypse, the proximate sources of the Jesus-Cult lie much nearer at hand in time, in space, in race. For it can be proved by "minutely accurate exegesis" that the cult was at least half-Greek, whatever foreign admixtures may have been and actually were present. Born in the Diaspora, in the blending twilight of Greek philosophy and Jewish

<sup>7</sup> *κατηχημένος.*

<sup>8</sup> *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.*

theology, it was itself a *theosophy* taught primarily in secret and by mystery, even as is distinctly said (1 Cor. ii. 7): "But we speak divine wisdom in mystery."<sup>9</sup> The primitive secrecy of this cult is revealed on many pages of the New Testament, from Mark to the Pastorals (O Timothy, guard the deposit, 1 Tim. vi. 20). That the cult was largely non-Jewish is evident from a score of considerations. "Jesus came into Judea," and even "into Galilee" according to a variant of Mark i. 9, which to me appears older than our Receptus. The doctrine bloomed out almost simultaneously all around the Mediterranean. Ananias was evidently a citizen of Damascus, not a refugee from Jerusalem, yet before there had been any mission to Damascus he was a worshiper of Jesus, who appeared to him in a dream and gave him weighty instructions (Acts. ix. 10-19). Aquila and Priscilla knew it in Rome before we hear of any mission thither. Apollos knew it in Alexandria. The Twelve knew it in Ephesus before Paul preached it to them (Acts. xix. 1-7). Elymas Son-of-Jesus (most probably Disciple of Jesus) in Cyprus was a "false prophet" (that is, a more or less heterodox teacher of Christianity—the word never means anything else in the New Testament) before Paul and Barnabas came thither, and apparently long before (Acts xiii. 6-12). Moreover, when we come to examine the cult itself we find Greek elements abounding, not without some Roman. We have no space for detailed proof, which must of course be minute and painstaking. In fact, the notion of the Jesus is only an Hebraization of the Greek *Sōter*, whom<sup>10</sup> without any specification, though the reference is to Zeus, Socrates invokes in the *Philebus*, 66, D; "Zeus Soter and victory!" shouted the Greeks at Cunaxa, as their eager front rank billowed forward against the Persians.

This brings us to the part played by Judaism in the Jesus-Cult. That part has been largely misunderstood. Baur recognized a certain conflict, but quite mistook its nature, origin, and significance. With him it was a struggle between Petrine and Pauline, and he scented these two forces everywhere in early Christianity. This conflict seems to have been mainly imaginary. The supposed basis in Gal. ii. 11 ff., a mere passing incident at most, seems quite insufficient. In Acts Peter appears as liberal as Paul, and the Epistles ascribed to him are Pauline enough for the most exacting. In the Clementines Peter is not fighting Paul, but much rather his ancient self, Simon before his *conversion* (Luke xxii. 32).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ.

<sup>10</sup> τῷ σωτῆρι.

<sup>11</sup> The Revisers have here allowed their prejudices to impair their trans-

What then did Judaism for the Jesus-Cult? Precisely what by its racial nature it was bound to do: *It historized the Doctrine*, just as the Jew has always historized whatever he touched. This was not his fault, hardly even his misfortune. Equally averse to generalizations and to abstractions, he threw the cult of the Jesus into a narrative form, he gave the "new teaching" (Mark i. 27) historic form and setting, he turned a body of ideas into a body of facts; he wrote or inspired the Gospels! Such was the rôle he played, principal, poetic, dramatic, fateful, ruinous! A little leaven that has leavened the whole lump. It is the mission of criticism to disclose and identify this tremendous part played by the Jew in Greek-Christian religion. He has given that originally highly spiritual, philosophic and even theosophic religion its historical material form, a terrific investiture, a shirt of Nessus. This religion he has recognized from the start as not his own, as alien and absolutely unassimilable to his nature. Hence he has never accepted, he has steadfastly and necessarily rejected it—a fact of itself sufficient to show that this religion was not born of him, that in its origin and essence it is foreign to his being.

Doth not the ox know his owner, and the ass its master's crib? If Christianity had been the fructification of Judaism, the Jews would have adopted it with an impulse as irresistible as the rush of a planet. Herewith is said nothing against the Jew, whom all men must, at least in many regards, most reverentially admire. When we say that he is not now and never was and can never be a Greek, we institute no comparison but merely state a fact, by no means discreditable to the Jew.

It is in this sense and only in this sense that we can attach importance or even meaning to the question of the ancestry of Jesus. The paths pursued by criticism thus far in its treatment of the whole question of Christian origins are smooth and well-beaten and conduct through beautiful and interesting scenery; but they lead no whither, they are blind alleys, they are *culs-de-sac*. He who would attain to the light must turn his back resolutely upon them all. Even though he may have known the Christ fleshwise, henceforth he must know Him so no longer. That way lies hope, lies progress, lies truth.

"Wunsch um Wünsche zu erlangen,  
Schaue nach dem Glanze dort."

lation: "When once thou hast turned again"—but the word *again* is gratuitous, unrepresented in the original, which is simply *ἐπιστρέψας*—turned round.

## THE NAZARENE.

(With special reference to Prof. W. B. Smith's theory of the pre-Christian Jesus.)

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is a rare honor for an American scholar to have his book translated into German even before it has appeared in English, but it is passing strange if the translation is made and published by one of the author's ablest antagonists who in a preface declares his desire to have its propositions refuted. But such exactly is the fate of Prof. William Benjamin Smith's great work, *Der vorchristliche Jesus*. He publishes a very brief summary of his views in the current number, and we can only recommend those of our readers who are interested in the problem of the origin of Christianity to weigh his arguments and refute them if they can. We believe that much of what he has to say is true.\*

\* \* \*

All theologians possessed of a scholarly training know that the Nazarenes were a sect and that Jesus belonged to it. He was called Jesus the Nazarene, and the same designation was given to the disciples of Jesus and to St. Paul. At the same time we read that Jesus grew up at Nazareth in Galilee, and Nazareth is called his home; but the city of Nazareth is unknown to the geographers of Palestine and is first mentioned at the end of the third century A. D. by Eusebius and again at the end of the fourth century by Jerome as a small village inhabited by Jews. We need not doubt that they refer to the same place which is now called Nazareth and was called by the natives en-Natsira.

The readings of the word Nazareth vary in the New Testament. It is sometimes spelled Nazareth, Nazareth, Nazara, and Nazaret.

\* William Benjamin Smith, *Der vorchristliche Jesus, nebst weiteren Vorstudien zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Urchristentums*. Mit einem Vorwort von Paul Wilhelm Schmiedel. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906.



The last form is preferred and considered the most authoritative. It is probable that the Greeks would have transcribed either *ts* or *dz* by their own *z*, which, however, is always soft like *dz*. The ending *at* or *ath* is Phœnician. Other Phœnician city-names are Zarafat and Daberat. The Phœnician feminine ending *ath* corresponds to the Hebrew *eth*, while the ending in *a* is Canaanitic. "En-Natsira" is modern Arabic, while the form "Natsara" is Aramaic.

We repeat that all scholars agree that the identification of Nazareth with en-Natsira is extremely doubtful, and it is not impossible that the translator who rendered the Gospel into Greek may have misunderstood the term Nazarene and construed it in the sense of "a man of Nazareth."

There can be no doubt that the sect of the Nazarenes existed, and that Jesus was a Nazarene. The question is only whether he was also a Nazarethan, an inhabitant of a city called Nazareth. He is never called Nazarethan, but only "the Nazarene," or "he of Nazareth," and Nazareth is often mentioned as his country, his city and his home, though the passages are open to question and may have originally referred to Capernaum.<sup>1</sup>

What do we know of the Nazarene sect? According to the Acts of the Apostles, they were communists who held everything in common. They continued to exist in Pella and Basanitis and are described by Epiphanius and Jerome as a Jewish sect of Christians.

In former publications<sup>2</sup> of mine I have identified the Nazarenes with the Nazarites, and I have not yet retracted that view. The Nazarites<sup>3</sup> of ancient Israel were such figures as Samson, who led lives of religious devotion and who were marked externally by the fact that they never permitted their hair to be cut. In the later development of Jewish life Nazirdom became a regular institution. The word *nadzir* is derived from *nadzar* which is not used in its primary form and in the niph'al form means "to separate, to stand aloof, to abstain from, to make a vow." A *nadzir* was looked upon as a devotee, and in Gen. xlix. 26, Joseph is called a *nadzir* in the

<sup>1</sup> For details in favor of Capernaum as the home of Jesus, see *The Open Court* for December, pages 705 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For further details see *The Story of Samson*, pp. 66-72, and also *The Age of Christ*, a pamphlet written in explanation of *The Crown of Thorns*. I have modified my position in so far as in that pamphlet I still defend the possibility that Nazareth may have been the hamlet en-Natsira, and that so long as we have no definite proof to the contrary we may assume that Jesus grew up in that place. But I have come more, and more to acknowledge the improbability of the existence of Nazareth.

<sup>3</sup> נָזִיר. We transcribe the soft *z* (ז) by *dz*, and the sharp *z* (צ) by *ts*.

sense of one who is different from his brethren as being near to God. In fact the term reminds us, in this peculiar use, of the title of Messiah. Luther translates the word *Fürst*, i. e., "Prince," and the authorized version, "separate from."

The common translation of *nadzir* in English has been Nazarite, and if the Nazarenes were a sect who endeavored to continue the ancient Nazarite institution as John the Baptist appears to have done, we might say that Nazarene and Nazarite are two versions of the same original name.

Prof. W. B. Smith takes another view. He believes that there existed a sect of Natsarenes (note the difference of the sibilant) whose name is derived from *natsara*, a word which means "guardian" and is derived from the root *natsar*, "to protect, to watch." In Job xxvii. 18 we read of a watch-tower *Magdal notsrin*, "the tower of the guards." The word is used in the sense of guarding the door of one's lips, and Yahveh guards mankind. He preserves from trouble (Ps. xxxii. 7; see also Ps. xii. 7; lxiv. 2, etc.) Incidentally we may mention that the word is used as meaning to keep guard or watch over a hostile city in the sense of besieging it, and the word *notsrin* (Jer. iv. 16) means besiegers and is translated in the authorized version by "watchers." We will add that the root *natsar* has another meaning which is the same as *natsats*, which means "shine, sparkle, bloom, sprout"; and the noun derived from it, *netser*, means "sapling, sprout," and in a figurative sense "scion," in the authorized version translated "branch" (Is. lx. 2).

In Is. xi. 1, a scion of David is promised and Matthew makes a pun on the name of Nazareth when narrating that Joseph settled in that city; he adds, following his usual mode of Old Testament interpretation, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets: He shall be called a Nazarene."<sup>4</sup>

For our present conception of the origin of Christianity it appears quite indifferent whether the Nazarenes to whom Jesus belonged were a sect who took their name from the old *nedzrim* (or devotees), or from the *notsrin*, "guardians." The character of their religious ideals must in either case have been the same, and as we have stated elsewhere the term Nazarenes or Nazarites appears

<sup>4</sup> Here the author of this passage confounds two words. If he identifies Nazareth with the hamlet en-Natsira, he makes a pun on the word by taking it in the sense of a shoot or a scion, while Nazarene in the sense of "he of Nazareth" is ultimately derived from the root that means "to guard, to watch."

On account of the prophecy mentioned here we may be sure that this passage was contained in the original Aramaic manuscript of Matthew, which we may call Proto-Matthew, but it was not contained in that other source also used by him which New Testament scholars call Proto-Mark.

to have been merely another name for the Essenes repeatedly mentioned in secular literature, and also for the Ebionites, the sect of "the poor," sometimes alluded to in early Christian literature.

We are satisfied to have mentioned the distinctions between the names Nazarene, Nazarite, and "he of Nazareth"; and will indicate the difference between Professor Smith's views and our own. He points out, and successfully too, that there is a pre-Christian Jesus-conception in the sense of a saviour and draws the conclusion that there was no historical Jesus. Jesus to him is not a name but a title; it is an equivalent for Christ, Messiah, *natsara* (guardian) and *σωτήρ*. He therefore speaks of "the Jesus," and he believes that the whole life of Jesus as depicted in the Gospels is an historization of a religious idea. The Jew, he claims, has a preference for matters of fact, and following his disposition, he factualizes (*sit venia verbo*) religion.

Now in the writer's opinion, which can be substantiated by many facts of history, actual occurrences in life and mythical conceptions are closely interwoven. What is myth but a humanization of super-human phenomena? The events of solar manifestations are told in the several sun myths of Izdubar (Gilgamesh), Heracles, Samson, Siegfried, etc., as if the sun were a hero. On the other hand, if a hero appears who distinguishes himself by extraordinary feats, reminding his admirers of their mythological demi-gods, he is deified and his deeds are told and retold, and modified under the influence of the well-known myths. On the one hand the sun is viewed in the light of an actual hero; on the other hand a hero's life is viewed in the light of solar phenomena. Thus it happens that the two naturally and easily fuse together, a remarkable instance of which may be seen in the life of Napoleon.

In this connection we remind our readers of the Pérèz satire which has been republished in Mr. H. R. Evans's *Napoleon Myth*. It was originally written to refute the higher criticism of New Testament theology when it claimed that Jesus was a solar hero and a mere myth; and while it does not serve the purpose which the author of this clever satire had in view, it proves that mythical notions can easily be fitted to a hero, whose typical character originally furnished the feature for the humanization of a myth.

For these and kindred reasons we believe that though Professor Smith is right in claiming the pre-Christian idea of a Christ, a Saviour, a Jesus, we need not jump at the conclusion that the New Testament Jesus is a mere precipitate of the pre-Christian Christ ideal.

In spite of all arguments, Jesus may have existed, and the main data of his life as enumerated in the gospels, especially in Mark, may have actually occurred. We would designate as the most assured incidents in the life of Jesus all those features which a later tradition would scarcely have invented, and which may be considered as remnants of the original strata of tradition which were left in the text by mistake, perhaps because it could not be avoided without upsetting the whole traditional picture of Jesus, but which were minimized in the further history of the Church as being in contradiction to its doctrines. Such features are the life of Jesus as an exorcist, his narrow Jewish views, his notion that the general judgment day was close at hand, etc. If Jesus had been a mere precipitate of the pre-Christian Christ-conception, some of these features would certainly have been omitted, and since it is a matter of history that myth crystalizes around real personalities from whom it derives the definiteness of its individual coloring, we deem the negative phase of Professor Smith's position as hypercritical although we acknowledge that his positive assertions are irrefutable.

## BUDDHIST RELICS.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN Buddhism had taken a firm root in China, there arose among the pious Buddhists of the Celestial Empire a burning desire to visit the holy land of their faith and see with their own eyes the spots where the Bhagavat, their blessed teacher, was born, where he had found enlightenment, where he had preached and where he had passed out of this earthly life of pain and sorrow. We have reports of their travels and it is remarkable how faithful and reliable their records are. Fa-Hien visited India in the fourth and Hiuen Tsang in the sixth century of the Christian era.

Song Yun, another Chinese pilgrim and a contemporary of the latter describes in detail a most magnificent pagoda, a kind of Buddhist St. Peter's, situated in Purushapura, the capital of Emperor Kanishka, and it is stated that it contained some of the remains of Buddha. Some time after the Mohammedan invasion the pagoda and the monastery connected with it were still standing, for Alberuni, the Mohammedan historian, mentions the building as the Kanishka Chaitya.

Moslem rule was hostile to Buddhism, for Mohammedans look upon the use of Buddha statues as idolatrous, and so Buddhist sanctuaries were plundered and destroyed while the stupas fell into ruin.

Since an archeological interest was first awakened, European savants have made a systematic search for the sacred sites of early Buddhism, and the reports of the Chinese pilgrims have proved most valuable guides.

In 1898 Mr. William Peppé investigated a tumulus on the Birdpur estate belonging to the Gibbon and Peppé families, and after having dug a well in the center about 10 feet square and having broken through 18 feet of solid masonry, he came upon a large and heavy stone box, weighing about fourteen hundredweight,

chiseled from one solid piece of sandstone and covered by a closely fitting lid, which, however, was broken into four pieces. Since there is no sandstone near, it must have been carried to its place from a long distance.

Professor Rhys Davids in his article on "Recent Discoveries Concerning the Buddha" (*Century Magazine*, Vol. LXI, p. 837 ff.) briefly describes the contents of the box in these words: "Inside this massive and costly coffer were three stone urns or vases, a stone box like a jewel-casket, and a crystal bowl, all intact, together with fragments of what had been wooden vessels of the same kind.



STEATITE URNS CONTAINING BUDDHIST RELICS.

The four stone vessels were all of steatite, or soapstone, and had been carefully turned in a lathe, the marks of which were still visible. The bowl of crystal was exquisitely worked, and had a closely fitting lid of the same substance, the handle being carved to represent a fish. The lid lay separately on the floor of the coffer, possibly shaken off by the same earthquake that had broken the solid lid of the coffer itself.

"In the vases were fragments of bone, a quantity of dust and fine ash, several hundred small jewels exquisitely carved in carnelian, shell, amethyst, topaz, garnet, coral, and crystal, and quan-

ties of stars, flowers, and other minute objects in silver and gold. The jewels were as fresh and clear as on the day when they had been deposited in the coffer. The silver was tarnished and dull, the gold still bright."

One of the steatite urns bore the following inscription in Pali:

"This place of deposit for the remains of Buddha, the August One, is that of the Sâkyas, the brethren of the Distinguished One, in association with their sisters and with the wives of their sons."



CRYSTAL BOWL SURMOUNTED BY A FISH.

The Birdpur estate is situated in the Tarai, a jungle district in the level ground near the foot of the Himalaya mountains. The tumulus lies in English territory about half a mile from No. 44 of the boundary pillars.

The Shakyas, a vigorous little nation of republican institutions, were the kinsmen of Buddha, but they were overcome by the neighboring kingdoms, Kosala and Magadha, and their capital, the city Kapilavastu, was destroyed. Its site has been identified with the ruins at Tilauna Kot in Nepal, several miles north of the tope of the

Birdpur estate. It is obvious from Mr. Peppé's discovery that after their defeat the Shakyas lived on and around the present Birdpur estate, and the size of the monument as well as the art displayed in the manufacture of the several vessels and of the jewelry testify not only to a high state of civilization and wealth, but also to a great enthusiasm for their famous kinsman.

It is interesting to meet here in the Shakya tomb of Buddha with an ancient religious symbol, the fish, which has gained a renewed significance in Christianity through the strange coincidence that the Greek word  $\text{ΙΧΘΥΣ}$ , meaning "fish," was interpreted as an acrostic of the words "Jesus, Christ, God's Son, [our] Saviour."

The sandstone casket and its contents have been deposited in the Museum at Calcutta, while the bones were distributed by the British government among Buddhist monasteries in Burma, Siam, Ceylon and Japan.<sup>1</sup>

Not far from this spot, a few miles toward the northeast on Nepalese ground, hunters had noticed a curious pillar which resembled the pillars set up by Ashoka, "the Buddhist Constantine," and when Dr. Führer visited the place he was instrumental in causing the government of Nepal to have the pillar dug out. The inscription upon it reads thus:<sup>2</sup>

"Devânam Piya Piyadassi [epithets of Ashoka] came himself in his twenty-first year and paid reverence here. And he put up a stone pillar, with a stone horse<sup>3</sup> on it, on the ground that the Buddha, the Sākya sage was born here. And the village Lummini, since the Exalted One was born there, is hereby relieved of its tax of one-eighth share of the produce."

There is a shrine near by which contains a bas-relief, representing "a recumbent figure of Mahâ Mâyâ, the Buddha's mother, as just having given birth to the future teacher."<sup>4</sup>

Here accordingly is the place which was identified in the days of Emperor Ashoka with the garden Lumbini, where according to the Buddhist canon Buddha was born while his mother was on the way to visit her parents.

Buddhism has died out in the country and the shrine is now dedicated to a local deity called "Rummin Dei, the Goddess of Lummini." Rhys Davids says:

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Francis J. Payne's article in a recent number of *The Buddhist Review* (Oct., 1909, p. 303).

<sup>2</sup> We quote again from the article of Prof. Rhys Davids, pp. 840-842.

<sup>3</sup> The reading "horse" is doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from the same article, p. 842.



“There, all through the centuries, though the great teacher and his teaching have long been forgotten, the villagers, worshipping they know not what, have retained in their village shrine the evidence of the respect in which the teacher’s mother came, in the third or fourth century of Buddhism, to be held by his later followers.”

Quite recently another discovery has been made which is not less interesting than those just mentioned, for it consists in the unearthing of the famous Kanishka pagoda at Purushapura, the present Peshawur.

Archeologists had searched for the place in vain, but M. Foucher, a French scholar who visited the spot, pointed out two curious



THE TWO MOUNDS RECENTLY EXCAVATED.

mounds as the probable sites of the pagoda and the monastery. Mr. Marshall, chief of the archeological department of India, and his assistant, Dr. Spooner, took the hint, and their excavations were rewarded by a discovery of another tomb of Buddha’s remains, situated exactly on the spot where it is located by Hiuen Tsang.

We must remember that according to the “Book of the Great Decease,” Buddha died in Kusināra (Sanskrit, *Kushināgara*) and after the body had been burned eight parties claimed the remains. We are told that a war would have broken out had not the Brahmin Dona settled the dispute by a division of the relics. Accordingly

eight stupas were built in eight different countries, among which is prominently mentioned the land of the Shakyas, the countrymen of Buddha. Hiuen Tsang describes the stupa which they built over their portion of the remains, and his report, as stated above, has been verified in all its details by M. Peppé's discovery.

We may doubt the details of the division of Buddha's remains as narrated in the "Book of the Great Decease." It is not probable that a distribution would have taken place at once after the cremation of the body, but there is no reason to doubt that with the spread of Buddhism the main representatives of the Buddhist faith cherished a desire to possess the ashes and presumably demanded them, which naturally resulted in a division. If we strip the report of the distribution of the relics of its dramatic setting, we may very well accept the historicity of the event itself, especially as it tallies with the reports of the Chinese pilgrims and has been verified by these recent excavations.

We do not venture to fix the exact date of the Shakya tomb of Buddha, but we may say without fear of contradiction that it appears to be considered prior to, and can certainly not be later than, the reign of King Ashoka. Buddhism had spread soon after the great teacher's death, but under Ashoka it reached its first great ascendancy.

The history of India is a story of constantly repeated invasions. Ashoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, a foreign conqueror, reigned from 272 to 232 B. C. He became a convert to Buddhism and did much to spread this faith which was more liberal and scientific than the popular Brahmanism. The dynasty of Chandragupta decayed under the weak government of Ashoka's grandsons, and their empire broke down under the attacks of Greco-Bactrian invaders.

The Greeks were called in India Yahvanas, which is a corruption of Ionians, but the Yahvana kings also favored the Buddhist faith. One of them, Milinda (about 140-110 B. C.) has been immortalized in a Buddhist canonical book, which relates his discussion with the Buddhist saint and philosopher, Nagasena. The book is entitled *Milinda pañha*,<sup>5</sup> i. e., "Questions of King Milinda," Milinda being the Indian equivalent for Menander.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Translated by Rhys Davids in *S. B. of the E.*, Vol. XXXV.

<sup>6</sup> Milinda must have enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. He is frequently mentioned by Greek authors under his Greek name, Menander. Plutarch (*De Repub. Ger.*, p. 821) tells the same story of him which is told of Buddha, that after his death several cities wanted to have the body of this righteous king entombed in their own domain, and the dispute was adjusted by a division of the sacred ashes which resulted in the erection of several stupas in different places. Many of his coins are still extant which prove

The Yahvanas were followed by the Indo-Scythian invaders who conquered northwestern India as far as Benares. The best known among them was King Kanishka, who lived at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era. He was a contemporary of the great Buddhist philosopher and saint Ashvaghosha, and was the builder of the great pagoda at Peshawur.



COINS OF KING KANISHKA.

(British Museum.) Both coins show King Kanishka on the obverse and the Buddha on the reverse. The upper coin is of copper, the lower one of gold.\*

The religion of King Kanishka in his youth appears to have been either Greek, Persian or Greco-Brahmanic, for his first coins struck at the beginning of his reign bear the images of Greek and

that like King Kanishka he was a pagan at the beginning of his reign. They show a palace, a victory, a jumping horse, a dolphin, a two-humped camel, an elephant-goad, a boar, a wheel, a palm-branch, an elephant, an owl and a bull's head. Only one coin appears to be typically Buddhist, for the inscription reads: MAHARAJASA DHARMIKASA MENANDRASA. See Rhys Davids's introduction, *loc. cit.*, pp. xx and xxi.

\* Reproduced from *The Buddhist Review*, July, 1909. After the official catalogue of the British Museum.

Hindu deities, e. g., Helios and Selene, personifications of the sun and the moon; but later on he became a fervent supporter of the Buddhist faith, and since then his coins bear the images of Buddha.

King Kanishka belonged to the Sarvastivadin sect of the Hinayana church, and he held a council for the purpose of keeping the doctrine undefiled and drawing up commentaries on the three Pitakas which we are told were engraved on sheets of copper and buried in a stupa.

Whence and how King Kanishka obtained the relics of Buddha so as to have them preserved near his capital is not known, but we may understand that he endeavored to make his capital the center of the faith which he had espoused, and we may be sure that in his time this enormous monastery, and the pagoda standing near by, were considered the central shrines of Buddhism, and take the place of St. Peter's at Rome in Christianity.

Mr. J. H. Marshall, in an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Oct. 1909) describes the discovery of the Kanishka stupa as follows:

"The structure which Dr. Spooner has unearthed measured 285 feet from side to side, which is nearly 100 feet in excess of any other monument of this class existing in India. In plan it is square, with large projections on the four faces, and with massive circular towers at the corners—a feature that is not found in any other stupa that I know of. The walls of the structure are built of massive rough-dressed stones, diapered between with neat piles of brick instead of the usual slate found in Gandhara buildings, and are ornamented with reliefs of seated Buddha-figures, alternating with Corinthian pilasters in stucco. At some point higher up the walls, there appears to have been a band of enameled tiles, with an inscription in Kharoshthi letters boldly incised upon it. Many of the tiles belonging to this band have been found on the western side of the monument, and it is likely that more may turn up in the as yet unexcavated débris. These tiles, which are covered with a pale blue vitreous enamel, are the first of their kind, I may notice, that have yet been discovered in India.

"I was fortunate in visiting Dr. Spooner's excavations just when the plan of this great stupa had been made out, and urged him to set to work at once and search for the relics which were said to have been enshrined within it, and which Hiuen Tshang tells us, it will be remembered, were the relics of Gautama Buddha himself: for I had hopes that they might have been deposited beneath the foundations of the plinth, which was more or less still



CASKET CONTAINING RELICS FROM KANISHKA'S STUPA.  
(Reproduced from a recent number of the *London Illustrated News*.)

intact, instead of in the superstructure, as is frequently the case. Accordingly, a shaft was marked out in the center of the monument, and was laboriously sunk through the massive walls radiating from the middle of the structure, until the original relic-chamber was at length reached, at a depth of some 20 feet below the surface. Within this chamber, still standing upright in the corner where it had been placed some nineteen centuries ago, Dr. Spooner found a metal casket, and within it the relics, enclosed in a reliquary of rock-crystal. The casket itself is similar to the Greek *pyxis* in shape, with a height of some 7 inches and a diameter of nearly 5. The lid, which is slightly curved and incised to represent a full-blown lotus, supports three figures in the round; a seated Buddha in the center, and a Bodhisattva on each side. The edge of the lid is further adorned by a frieze, in low relief, of flying geese bearing wreaths in their beaks; while below, on the body of the vase, is an elaborate design, in high relief, of young Erotes bearing a continuous garland, in the undulations of which are seated Buddha figures and attendant worshipers leaning towards them out of the background. But the chief central figure on the casket is that of the Emperor Kanishka himself, standing erect with a winged celestial being bearing a wreath on either side. The figure of the Emperor is easily recognizable from his coins, but the identity is further proved by the inscriptions on the casket. These are in Kharoshti and are four in number, punctured in dots in the leaves of the lotus on the top and on the background between the geese and other figures on the sides.

"Dr. Spooner translates them as follows:

1. 'For the acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvastivadin sect.'
2. [Illegible, but the name of 'Kanishka' almost certainly occurs.]
3. 'May this pious gift be for the welfare and happiness of all beings.'
4. 'Agisala, the overseer of works at Kanishka's Vihara, in the Sangharama of Mahasena.'

"In the last line the letters forming Kanishka's name are so arranged that half fall on one side and half on the other of the Emperor's figure.

"As to the reliquary inside the metal casket, it is of plain rock-crystal, six-sided and hollowed out at one end to receive the relics, which consist of four fragments of bone packed tightly together.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently Kanishka's stupa was not erected on an altogether new site, but on a spot already hallowed by tradition, and the expression *Mahasānasa sangharamā* appears to give us the name of the earlier establishment.

The aperture was originally covered by a clay sealing, bearing the impress of what is doubtless the royal signet with the device of an elephant. This sealing had become detached owing to the infiltration of water, but it was found lying beside the reliquary and has been preserved along with the other articles, including a coin of Kanishka which was found close to the relic chamber. That Hiuen Tshang is correct when he tells us that these relics were the relics of Gautama-Buddha himself we have no reason to doubt; indeed, his testimony on this point is confirmed by the size and costly magnificence of the monument enshrining them, which we can hardly believe that Kanishka would have erected in honor of any relics but those of the greatest sanctity. Where the relics were deposited before they found their way to this spot we are not told; but it could not have been a difficult matter for Kanishka to obtain well-authenticated relics from one or other of the famous stupas within his dominions, and it was natural enough that he should wish to sanctify and enrich his capital at Purushapura by transporting them to it."

If we compare the style of art displayed on the casket of Kanishka's stupa with the Gandhara sculptures we notice at once the kinship that obtains between the two, yet the figures of the Gandhara period are purer Greek and may have been made by native Greek sculptors. Agisala, the artist of Kanishka's casket, must have been of Greek extraction, for his name is obviously the Indianized Agesilaos, but his art too has been Indianized. Mr. Marshall comments on this point:

"Although the general design and composition are good, the reliefs are manifestly inferior in point of execution to the majority of the Gandhara sculptures, and no one, I think, who examines the casket itself, can fail to perceive that this is simply the result of decadence, and is in no way connected with the difference of materials in which the artist was working. Moreover, the figures of the Buddha on the casket are of the familiar conventional types, and, if we regard the Gandhara school as responsible for these types, it follows that that school must have evolved them before the time of Kanishka; for it is not possible that the evolution and general acceptance of such types should have taken place within the short space of a single reign. My own view is that the Gandhara school is the outcome of an uninterrupted tradition of Indo-Hellenistic art that extended back to the time of the Greek kings of Panjab, and that the successive phases through which that art passed, as it be-



CASKET CONTAINING RELICS FROM KANISHKA'S STUPA.  
Side view showing Kanishka's figure below the circle of geese.  
(Reproduced from a recent number of *The Buddhist Review*.)



came more and more Indianized, are clearly distinguishable in the antiquities that have come down to us."



A BUDDHIST TOPE IN THE KHYBER PASS.

It is difficult for us to form an appropriate conception of the impressive beauty of Buddhist stupas. Rhys Davids in the above-mentioned article describes them thus:

“Placed, as they are on rising ground or on the tops of hills, they still form a striking feature in the landscape of Buddhist countries. In ancient times, covered throughout with white cement, ornamented at the base with pillars and with the well-known Buddhist tee,<sup>8</sup> rising like the cross at the summit of the dome of St. Paul’s, they must have been objects of surpassing beauty. The dome of St. Paul’s as seen from Waterloo Bridge, whence the church itself is hidden from view, and only the beautiful form of the dome is visible against the sky, gives to one who has not seen the Buddhist stupas the idea of what they must really have been like.”

It is truly remarkable how in this case ancient traditions, preserved in writing and afterwards with the downfall of a civilization lost sight of, yea absolutely forgotten, have been verified in most of their details. We have here mentioned only the three most important instances of a discovery of Buddhist relics, but there are more, and all of them aglow with the zeal and devotion of a noble faith—a faith which in spite of many differences is in its ethical maxims so much like Christianity.

<sup>8</sup> The top ornament on Buddhist stupas, called *tee*, is an umbrella which like the baldachin, is an emblem of sovereign power.

# THE RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

AS SHOWN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS RELIGIOUS RITES  
AND CUSTOMS.<sup>1</sup>

BY HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER.

1. When unaffected by European ideas, the great majority of the American Indians of both continents are unquestionably animists. Indeed, all of them must be so classed if we take the word 'animist' in the broad sense given to it by Mr. Tylor; and even after we have made—as we must make—some discrimination of the very different grades of speculative power which the term implies, it is still to be borne in mind that only in a broad way do these grades distinguish different races and peoples. While, of course, the lowest tribes are fairly uniform in their ways of thought, yet the most advanced peoples, as those of Mexico and Peru, are by no means wholly freed from primitive ideas; along with philosophic theologies they retain instinctive superstitions, and their mental attitudes (like our own) must be conceived rather as a congregation of vaguer and distincter insights than as systematic unfoldments of their clearest point of view. The human mind may be likened to a forest tree: at the summit, in the clear light of day, is the greenest and most vigorous foliage, the proper source of the tree's strength; but far down the shade are still verdant the boughs of an earlier growth; and the lower trunk is still cumbered with dying branches and marked by ancient scars.

2. Primitive or *instinctive animism* (the "zoönism" of Mr. Stuart-Glennie, the "hecastotheism" of Major Powell) is that stage where nature is simply regarded as living, in all her manifestations, without reflection, without personification; the inanimate has never

<sup>1</sup>This paper is an expansion of the article "Communion with Deity—American," written for Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

suggested itself as a possibility, and the feeling of nature's animation has never risen to the idea of personality.

Typical of such a mental state are the almost unorganized hordes of wandering savages of the South American forests. Doubtless the rivers, trees, and beasts which form their environing world seem to them endowed with the same sort of irresponsible instincts and desires as their own, but it is misleading to speak of such a consciousness as a recognition of spiritual life or as in any distinctive sense religious. Garcilasso de la Vega, describing the Indians of pre-Inca times, says<sup>2</sup> that among these tribes were Indians "little better than tamed beasts and others who were worse than the most savage animals." They adored, he says, herbs and flowers and trees, beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, huge stones and little pebbles, high mountains, caverns, deep precipices, the earth and its rivers, fire, natural prodigies. But there were some, such as the Chirihuanas on the borders of Peru, who worshiped nothing at all, unmoved to the adoration of a higher power even by fear. It is indeed difficult to discover much evidence of religious sensibility in some of the inferior peoples, though the difficulty is probably due rather to lack of conceptual power than want of motive. Thus, the Fuegian Yaligan are said to have no real notion of spirits; in the darkness they sometimes imagine themselves assailed by the Walapatu, but it is only the more lively-minded who know these as disembodied ghosts, for the rest the Walapatu are merely warriors of the neighboring tribe.

But any recognition of external powers is a beginning in the ideal definition of environment and the classification of nature. It is already an important conceptual step, following which the further step of endeavoring to appease or win over such of these powers as may be thought potent for ill or good is not long in taking. Rude forms of sacrifice develop—the exposure of food offerings (perhaps suggested by the provisioning of the dead, for this custom prevails even among the wandering Amazonians), the slaughter of prisoners (where the more primitive self-glory of killing may be the basis), and even the offering up of one's own kin and offspring in times of stress.

Human instincts are complex. It is practically impossible to tell whether the elementary feeling in sacrifice is desire to win aid by pleasuring the higher power, or desire to propitiate by depriving one's self. The two desires are at the root of very distinct religious

<sup>2</sup>*History of the Incas*, I, ix. Garcilasso was himself half Indian, and writing as he did within a generation of the Spanish conquest, his work is our most valuable single document on the Inca civilization.

developments—worship and penance, communion and atonement,—but at their source they cannot be clearly disentangled. If fear be the primal religious emotion, placation of the feared power is doubtless the fundamental rite; yet even placation may be interpreted as a form of pleasuring. Cruel himself, primitive man deems other powers to take delight in suffering, and so, in the presence of danger, inflicts loss or pain upon himself to satisfy the malevolent might which he feels to be working against him, on the principle that homœopathic application sates or deceives the enemy, and so brings immunity. The Arawaks, before shooting the rapids of a river, inflict severe punishment upon themselves by putting red pepper into their eyes to satisfy the evil waters, and it is quite possible that the Fuegians, said to have thrown their children into stormy seas to lighten their boats, did so rather as an act of propitiation of the watery demon. Before setting out on the warpath, many North American tribes were accustomed to make offerings of parts of their bodies, as bits of flesh, toes, fingers, or to subject themselves to severe tortures. The sacrifice of children by their parents or of a tribesman by the tribe in case of a calamity, such as an epidemic, occurred in both Americas. Voluntary human sacrifice is also recorded; enthusiasts among the Guanches are said to have offered their lives to the mountain they worshiped, and Garcilasso states that Indians of certain tribes worshiping the tiger (jaguar), the lion (puma), or the bear, meeting these animals, threw themselves upon the earth to be unresistingly devoured by their gods. The latter of these practices (perhaps not altogether credible) seems to point to totemic cults rather than to animistic sacrifice, primitive and unadorned; yet it should not be confused with human sacrifice or voluntary suicide at the graves of the dead, both of wide-spread occurrence, for the motive underlying these customs is one of service (“tendance,” as it has been called) rather than propitiation of malevolent powers and aversion of ill.

3. Communion with a superhuman, or an extrahuman, world is, broadly speaking, a pragmatic definition of that world. The rites and practices by means of which man seeks to influence or to come into relation with powers other than human are the surest interpreters of his conceptions of those powers. A food offering implies a deity endowed with appetite, and if the food offering must be made before the human worshipers may partake of food, there is the further implication that the deity is thoughtful of his precedence—is, in fact, a jealous god. The fear that seeks to satisfy with blood the ill-wreaking powers of nature ascribes to

those powers a ferocious delight in cruelty, and eventually personifies them under the hideous forms of bugbears and ogres, as the man-devouring monsters of the Central American pantheons.

For not only are rites and practices interpreters, they are also in large part the framers of the conceptions by which they are eventually justified to reason. Ideas as well as myths are ætiological; conception follows action, and in religion the rite is prior to the theology. Sacrifice is characteristic even in the early aniconic stage of animism; gifts are offered to rivers and trees and hills—whatever powers and patrons the animist would placate or win—in the instinctive belief that these objects are endowed with human appetites and likings. But as thought gains in clearness, conceptual deities evolve from nature; objects which have all along been treated as human in feeling are inevitably conceived and represented as human in form; anthropomorphic theology follows from animistic instinct. Thus, the Mexican *Tlaloc*, the rain-giving mountains, take form as man-headed pyramids, colored the blue of the sky above, the green of verdure below, and eventually concentrate into the god Tlaloc. Cuecaltzin, the fire, the flame, "the ancient god," worshiped in the simple hearthfire, becomes anthropomorphized as Ixcocauhqui,<sup>3</sup> "Yellow Face," and is given a manlike image. Even the sun—of all nature divinities most fixed and impressive in its natural form—becomes man-faced in Peruvian temple-images, thus outwardly symbolizing the mental iconography inevitable to animistic thought when it comes to conceptual realization.

4. The second stage in this conceptual development, treading close on the heels of primitive animism, is what may be termed "*fetishistic animism.*" Fetishism is merely highly localized animism. Experience early teaches men that certain natural objects or powers are more potent than others, and again there are natural objects impressive by reason of unusual appearance or given special significance from some chance happening. Should such objects be fixed or beyond control, as a tree, a waterfall, a mountain, the sun, the winds, they are on the way to become nature deities; but should they be portable, or at least appropriable, by the individual, they take rank as fetishes as soon as his special regard is devoted to them. But that there is no hard and fast line between deified nature powers and fetishes is shown by the intermediate examples: thus, one Ojibwa is said to have worshiped a certain boulder which he

<sup>3</sup> For the spelling of Mexican names I follow the usage in Jourdanet and Siméon's scholarly edition of Bernardino de Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle Espagne*, Paris, 1880.

saw move of itself, while another had for his special tutelary a birch tree in which he had heard an unusual sound. Schoolcraft states that the Indians propitiated "wood-dryads" at certain *consecrated spots*, with offerings of tobacco, vermilion, red cloth, or any other



ZUNI CAVE SHRINE, WITH PRAYER PLUME OFFERINGS.  
(From 23d RBEW. M. C. Stevenson.)

treasure, and he also states that the Indians adore curiously wrought boulders having the essential character of idols; these are "sometimes distinguished by the use of pigments," but are "generally oddly-shaped water-worn masses, upon which no chisel or labor of any kind has been employed."

The fetish, then, may be merely a natural object of striking appearance or associations, or it may be such an object more or less modified by human art. In any case, its use denotes a distinct advance in the systematization of ideas. It represents a concentration of religious experience, and so becomes a concrete symbol.



ZUNI CAVE SHRINE WITH IMAGES REMOVED FOR PHOTOGRAPHING.  
(From 23d RBEW. M. C. Stevenson.)

It is regarded as a powerful being, not merely for the life which is in itself, but for the vicarious function by which its possessor is able to control other powers; indeed, its only virtue is this outer control, and the savage who has lost faith in its power to bring him good



disregards it at once.<sup>4</sup> Thus the fetish already stands for experience outside itself and has in it the germ of the true symbol. It is a key to the powers of nature, by the mere holding of which the possessor believes that he is enabled to influence their action.

In strict sense the "fetish" is distinguished from the "idol" as the fact from the symbol, the living body of the god from his mere portrait. But the distinction is by no means absolute; we have seen that the fetish is already an inchoate symbol, and, on the other hand, the image of a god seldom or never entirely loses the odor of sanctity. The development of fetishism toward symbolism follows yet other paths. In the first place, it runs into the purely symbolic art



FETISH NECKLACE OF HUMAN FINGERS; CHEYENNE.  
(After Bourke.)

of magic. On the magic principle that like influences like, a fetish representing some animal is deemed to give the possessor a special control over, or success in the capture of that animal, or to give him its qualities. Characteristic contents of the Indians' "medicine bags" are skins or parts of animals or their dried bodies, and from these to painted or beaded representations is but a step. As a rule the contents of the "medicine bag," though they may be bartered, are a constant possession; the painting, of course, is a matter of repetition and is varied to suit the occasion, so that in a lacrosse game described by Dr. Eastman the runners painted themselves with

<sup>4</sup> A pathetic illustration is the case of one of the women wounded at Wounded Knee. She wore a "ghost shirt," and when told that it must be removed, said: "Yes, take it off. They told me a bullet would not go through. Now I don't want it any more."

representations of birds, of fleet animals, of the lightning—various emblems of swiftness. It should be noted, too, that, in general, as the symbolic character of the fetish gains, its special sanctity and value diminish; in the direction of magic it develops into the mere talisman.

Fetishes in general among the Indians are alienable and are often material of barter, but there is a special type of charm which is as fixed for the individual as the totem is for the clan. This is the personal tutelary sought during a period of fasting at the age of puberty—a custom common to many North American tribes. The tutelary might be a stone bearing a rude likeness to some bird or animal, in which case all creatures of that kind were regarded as having the finder under their protection, or it might be some natural object thought to have made a special sign, as with the two Ojibwas cited above, but most commonly it was some object seen in a dream or vision. In such case it was represented by an image or painting, and so came to acquire the representative character of the true symbol.

The development into symbolism takes also a mythological form. As the agent of a natural power, the fetish comes to be looked upon as the image of the essential nature of this power, which thus acquires a mythologic personality from the very concreteness of its representative. It is very difficult for man (primitive or civilized) to hold clear the distinction of symbol and symbolized, and it is only obvious that the development of symbolic expression should have peopled the world with all manner of quaint personalities. When by patent associations the Hopi represents the sky by an eagle and the earth by a spider, it is a natural confusion which presently names the sky "Eagle" and the earth "Spider" and identifies them as mythologic beings of eagle and spider character.

5. It is plain that the stage of instinctive animism is passed. The individual object is no longer animate in its own character, but as the sign or abode of a more far-reaching power. Nature is no longer regarded as a swarming of multitudinous living beings, but as the abiding place of indwelling potencies. Personification and mythology have begun to play their part.<sup>5</sup> There is a seen and an unseen world, and the latter is the world of wills. Nature is partitioned among personalities, and gods have begun to be.

<sup>5</sup> The Zuñi myth which accounts for the character of stone fetishes by a story of the transformation of living beings to this form illustrates the transition. The more primitive belief in the actual vitality of the fetish is seen to be inadequate to experience, but yet the power of the fetish must be explained; whence its life is referred to a past time.

This higher *mythologic animism* undoubtedly represents a great imaginative advance, reflecting the development of the abstractive faculty which mental symbolism implies. It is the foundation of polytheistic philosophy and the ideal basis of the complicated pantheons of Mexico and Peru.

But we should not forget that the attainment of clear personification is by no means uniform in the same race or the same experience. The older and vaguer animism, a trifle philosophized perhaps, remains still the normal attitude toward the comparatively unnoted or unspecialized mass of experience. This cannot be better illustrated than by the North American doctrine of a type of nature power variously known as *manitou* (Algonquian), *orenda* (Iroquoian), and *wakanda* (Siouan). The *manitou*, says Schoolcraft,<sup>6</sup> is "a spiritual or mysterious power. . . . Manitous, except those of the tutelary class, are believed to be generally invisible and immaterial, but can assume any form in the range of animate creation and even, when the occasion calls for it, take their place among inanimate forms." George Copway, one of the first Indians of the north to write about the Indian people, describes the conception of his own tribe, the Ojibwa:<sup>7</sup> "The skies were filled with the deities they worshiped, and the whole forest awakened with their whispers. The lakes and streams were the places of their resort, and mountains and valleys alike their abode." And while these nature spirits, headed by the Great Spirit, their general guardian, included many that might properly be ranked as deities, they dwindled to mere sprites having only a group or class character—powers rather than personalities—curiously conceived as minims in size. "During a shower of rain thousands of them are sheltered in a flower. The Ojibwa, as he reclines beneath the shade of his forest trees, imagines these gods to be about him. He detects their tiny voices in the insect's hum. With half-closed eyes he beholds them sporting by thousands on a sun-ray."

J. N. B. Hewitt, an Iroquois, has given us a more philosophical analysis of the belief.<sup>8</sup> "All things were thought to have life and to exercise will, whose behests were accomplished through *orenda*—that is, through magic power reputed to be inherent in all things. Thus all phenomena, all states, all changes, and all activity were

<sup>6</sup> *Information Respecting the History, Conditions and Prospects of the Indians of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1853.

<sup>7</sup> *The Ojibway Nation*, London, 1850.

<sup>8</sup> "Iroquoian Cosmology" in *21st Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington. Future references to the *Reports* in this article will be abbreviated "RBEW."

interpreted as the results of the exercise of magic power directed by some controlling mind....The wind was the breath of some person. The lightning was the winking of some person's eyes.... Beasts and animals, plants and trees, rocks, and streams of water, having human or other effective attributes or properties in a paramount measure, were naturally regarded as the controllers of those attributes or properties, which could be made available by orenda or magic power. And thus began the reign of the beast gods, plant gods, tree gods, and their kind. The signification of the Iroquoian word usually rendered into English by the term "god" is "disposer," or "controller." This definition supplies the reason that the reputed controllers of the operations of nature received worship and prayers. To the Iroquois god and controller are synonymous terms."

It will be seen that we have here a point of view that fluctuates between a material view of nature powers and a purely spiritual or psychological view; and in proportion as the conception lifts itself free from the material prepossessions of mere sensation, there is gain in mythical distinctness and personality. Probably the *kacinas* of the Hopis and other Pueblo Indians represent a clear advance in the direction of mythical and conceptual definiteness, while yet retaining evident traces of the more naive animism. J. W. Fewkes, the authority on this subject, describes them as follows:<sup>9</sup> "The term *kacina* was originally limited to the spirits, or personified medicine power of the ancients, personifications of a similar power in other objects have likewise come to be called *kacina*. Thus the magic power or medicine of the sun may be called *kacina*, or that of the earth may be known by the same general name. The term may also be applied to personations of these spirits or medicine potencies by men or their representation by pictures or graven objects." It is to be noted that each *kacina* has its recognized symbolic form, that it is clear personification; while the *manitou* is always a god *in pössc* and may be a god or godling *in actu*, the *kacina* is never less than the latter. The development of the Mexican rain-god *Tlaloc* from the rain-giving mountains, *tlaloque*, which has been noted above, is a further illustration of the advance from a vague and general animation of nature to concrete personification; and in the manifold applications of the Peruvian term *huaca*, broadly equivalent to the Greek *ἄγος*, we can clearly infer a pervasive, naive animism preceding the highly symbolic religion of the Incas.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

<sup>9</sup>"Hopi Kacinas," 21st RBEW.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### PESHAWUR.

Dr. Thomas Patrick Hughes, the author of the *Dictionary of Islam*, who spent twenty years at Peshawur, sends some interesting photographs of the place of his former residence, and with reference to the newly discovered Buddha relics writes from his present residence on Long Island:

"I am deeply interested in the account given in the Anglo-Indian papers of the discovery of the extensive foundations of the Stupa erected by the



THE MISSION HOUSE ERECTED ON THE OLD WALLS OF THE GURKHATRI.

Buddhist king Kaniska somewhere about the beginning of our Christian era, and which is supposed to have contained the ashes of the Lord Buddha.

"The spot is very familiar to me. It is just outside what is now called the "Lahori Darwaza" or Lahore Gate of the city, and on the Hastnagar and Michni road. In the winter of 1883 a Muslim farmer was ploughing the field close by when he turned up an earthen pot which was found to contain a number of gold coins of the reigns of Harysha and Kaniska. According to the law which governs "treasure trove" in India the British government pur-

chased these coins, and I was able to buy some of them for my friend the late Sir Henry Peck, Bart, M. P., and they are probably in the possession of his grandson Sir Wilfred Peck of Rousden in Devonshire, England.



A STREET IN PESHAWUR NEAR THE LAHORE GATE.

"The finding of this pot of coins on this spot ought to have suggested to the government very careful excavations, but the frontier was in a state of unrest at the time. There never has been the least doubt as to the existence of this stupa, for it is mentioned by many travelers of note, by the Buddhist

pilgrims Fa Hian in A. D. 400, Sun Yung in 520, and Hawen Tshung in A. D. 630. Both the emperors Baber and Akbar give some account of it in their diaries, and the Muslim historian Al Bairuni in his *Tarikh I Hind* writes of it, and so do the historians Masudi and Abul Rahan. Baber says there was a great Peepul tree, 1500 years old, standing close by and that the begging bowl of Buddha was supposed to be there besides some very important Buddhist manuscripts.

"The site of the stupa appears to be about midway between the Bala Hissar or Fort at one time occupied by the King of Kabul when he was in possession of the Koh-i-Nur diamond, and the Gurkhatri where I at one time resided and where we entertained the Ameer of Afghanistan in March



BUDDHIST REMAINS DUG OUT OF THE TOPES OF THE PESHAWUR VALLEY.

1869. The Gurkhatri is mentioned by Akbar as the monastery erected to the honor of Goraknath, a Hindu saint. It is a large quadrangle. Over the entrance is the Tahseel or revenue office, at one time occupied by General Avertable, the Sikh commander who entertained Lady Macknaughten, Lady Sale, and the other Kabul prisoners on their return to India in 1842. Over the opposite entrance is the Government guest house, and in the left-hand corner the Mission House now occupied by lady medical missionaries.

"During my residence in Peshawur I always felt that the ruins of the great stupa would be found in or near the Gurkhatri, but the place now excavated must be about a mile distant. It is on fields irrigated by a Persian



ALL SOULS CHURCH ERECTED FOR THE NATIVE CHRISTIANS BY DR. HUGHES IN PESHAWUR.



ALL SOULS CHURCH: FULL VIEW.



well and much lower than the elevated site known as the Gurkhatri. It is not far from the fort erected by the Muhammadan conquerors, and it seems unaccountable that the British Government had not carefully excavated the spot during its sixty years of occupation.

"Dr. Spooner, who discovered the ruins, was working under the directions of Mr. John Hubert Marshall, who, after taking the highest classical honors at Oxford, was engaged for some time in the excavation of the ruins of Praeosia in Crete. He was invited to India by Lord Curzon with the intention of making discoveries in Trans-Indus territory through which Lord Curzon traveled before he became viceroy of India.

"Peshawur is the ancient Gandhara of the Scythians. It contains about 70,000 souls, and outside the native city there is a cantonment of 20,000 troops. The whole valley is rich with Buddhist remains. At Shahbazghari there is Rani Ghat, "the Queen Rock" mentioned by Arrian as the fortress attacked by Alexander after a siege of four days. There is also the famous inscription of Asoka which contains the names of Antiochus and four other Greek kings. Alexander did not pass through Peshawur but came down the valley on the left bank of what is now called the Vabul river and skirted the hills of Swat and Bajour, crossing the Indus above Attock and proceeding to Taxila where he encountered Porus, the Hindu ruler of the Punjab.

"It seems to be a question whether the casket found in the stupa actually contains the bones of the Lord Buddha, but it is very probable that further excavations will unearth more hidden treasures. The Buddhist remains within the dominions of the Ameer of Afghanistan have never been excavated, and as the city of Balkh stands on the ruins of ancient Bactria, a city which is said to have been the rival of Ecbatana, Babylon, and Nineveh, Mr. Marshall under the patronage of the Government of India has a vast field of research before him."

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#### MME. EMILIE HYACINTHE LOYSON.

We are just informed of the demise of Mme. Emilie Hyacinthe Loyson. She died at her home in Paris, and the funeral services were held at the American church on the Avenue de l'Alma. Almost all denominations were represented by the foremost leaders with whom she and her husband were in personal connection.

Mme. Loyson was an American by birth, belonging to the old Puritan family of Butterfield, and her father was prominent in the educational development of the pioneer days of Ohio. She had an unusually ascetic temperament, and at a very early age showed real literary ability. At eighteen she married Captain Meriman of Ohio and lived for several years in New York and Brooklyn. She felt restless and dissatisfied with Protestantism, and a year after her husband's death in 1867 united with the Roman Catholic Church. From the time of her visit to Rome in 1863 she had been greatly impressed with the ignorance of Roman women, and now set about founding a college for their higher education. In this she had the support of women of rank and influence in England and Russia; the Italian government offered her money; the city of Rome gave her the choice of a site; the Vatican expressed its approval, and she was offered financial aid and the title of countess with the Pope's patronage, but she courteously refused on the ground of her American citizen-

ship, and her second marriage to Father Hyacinthe Loyson forced her to abandon the project.

She had marked individuality, and showed herself an extraordinary co-worker of her husband. She had, indeed, given much attention to theological reading and church reform before her marriage to Père Hyacinthe.

To Father Hyacinthe and his wife was born one son who is to-day one of the rising poets of France, and dramas that he has written have been performed on the stage with marked success, notably *Les ames ennemies*.

Mme. Loyson took a deep interest in the conciliation of all religions,



especially desiring brotherhood and mutual sympathetic appreciation among all monotheistic peoples, Jews, Moslems, and Christians. For the purpose of gaining the goodwill of the Mohammedans, Father and Madame Hyacinthe Loyson undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which Madame Loyson described in her *To Jerusalem Through the Lands of Islam*, in which she shows herself an entertaining *raconteuse*, and which is embellished with many interesting photographs.

Madame Loyson was extremely active and led a very busy life. Her endeavors were mainly devoted to the education of women in countries where there is the greatest need, first in Roman Catholic countries, and then in the

Orient. In addition, she took an interest in every movement that made for peace and social improvement. The last work of her pen, still unpublished, is her autobiography which bears the title, "The Evolution of a Soul, From the Forests of America to the Vatican Council," and it is to be hoped, in the interest of her numerous friends, that it will be published as soon as the manuscript has been revised and duly prefaced by her son, upon whom naturally devolves this duty of filial piety.

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### THE WORLD CIPHER.

BY EDMUND NOBLE.

[Curvilinear motions and forms have a perennial fascination for the student of nature. They begin in the spheres, circles, ellipses and spirals which the physicist investigates; they impress themselves upon the naturalist in the rounded shapes which are so often associated with function and efficiency in the realm of life. Still more wonderful is their relation to the esthetic sense of man, for when highly organized conscious states arise, the law of power reappears as a law of beauty in the creations of the constructive, plastic and decorative arts. Curved paths and outlines do not exhaust what are known as "intelligent adaptations," but they conspicuously reveal the working of the universe process towards that order—at once the source and anticipation of human reason—in which antagonisms find their reconciliation, and confusion its final harmony. A mystery has long brooded over these evidences of objective plan, until it has seemed to some that Nature resorts to them as her most favorite modes of self-expression. Could such manifestations of cosmic unity be adequately suggested in verse, they would remind us of the sublime astronomical theories of Kant and Laplace; the patient biological studies of Darwin and Pettigrew; but also of the loving insight of Leonardo da Vinci, and even of that poetic fancy of Novalis: "Men travel in manifold paths: whoso traces and compares these will find strange figures come to light—figures which seem as if they belonged to that great cipher-writing which one meets with everywhere, on wings of birds, shells of eggs, in clouds, in the snow, in crystals, in forms of rocks, in freezing waters, in the interior and exterior of mountains, of plants, animals, men, in the lights of the sky, in plates of glass and pitch when touched and struck on, in the filings round the magnet, and the singular conjunctures of chance."]

I'm older far than the lotus'd Nile—  
Than man with his dome and pillared aisle.

My circles spread ere the sands were sphered;  
I bridged the void ere the vault was reared.

I've paved the path for the day-beam's leap,  
And the rushing stars my orbits keep.

With the flame and fume my fingers play;  
I swirl in the magnet's hidden ray.

In the frozen snow you'll find me curled;  
Aglow I coil in the making world.

I round the tear and the joyous sun,  
And the crescent shine when the day is done.

A breath unfolds me from summer dust;  
I wheel in the cyclone's awful gust.

The ether ripples I chase along;  
I bosom the widening tides of song.

I madly dance in th' electrons' heat,  
And whirl in the maze of flying feet.

My ovals murmur in forests hoar;  
I've jeweled the sea's untrodden floor.

I dash from the cascade's sounding peak;  
Silent I lean on the sail's white cheek.

Mine is all magic of wave and wing;  
New charms to the cradled cloud I bring.

I lift the germ to the flower, and wed  
The main to the angry wrack o'erhead.

Through the bending grass I glide and gleam;  
I flow and flash with the winding stream.

My roofs are raised in the woodland glade;  
I curve in the storied colonnade.

Behold me in plume, and beak, and claw;  
The egg and the nest obey my law.

I mount the stair of the twining shell;  
In showers I ride on the rainbow's swell.

I gloom in the arch o'er beauty's eyes,  
And girdle with light the midnight skies.

Snatch me from Chaos, and who shall mould  
The protyle's clash into orbs of gold?

Sift me from Order, and what remains  
Of human hearts with their joys and pains?

Ancient of birth from the flood and storm,  
I sway in the ceaseless drift to Form.

I crown the throes of the primal strife  
With the toil-won harmonies of life.

I am the spell of color and tone—  
Lord of the dreams that blossom in stone.

Mine are all mystic symbols writ  
On the fair robe of the Infinite.

Mine is the art of Nature's vast plan,  
That flows from the Cosmos down to man,

And mine the lure of the deathless grace,  
That smiles by turns on her changing face.

Seek'st thou the rule of the bubbling foam?  
Take the unweighed ocean for thy home.

Will'st grasp the world from atom to soul?  
First span the deeps of the mighty Whole.

Would'st uncipher my riddle? Then be  
The Many, the Weaver, who weaveth me.

#### LAO-TZE AND CONFUCIUS.

China has produced two indigenous movements of thought which have been antagonistic to each other throughout the history of Chinese civilization and have left no opportunity unimproved of mutual attack and criticism. They go under the names of Taoism and Confucianism.

Taoism is presumably the original religion of ancient China. It is a belief in the Tao or reason, the right method of thought and action, a trust in the mysterious ways of heaven, and a submission to the divine will that governs the world.

Popular Taoism is full of superstition, but its recognized leader Lao-tze is one of the profoundest sages that ever lived. He preached a purity of heart in contrast to the ritualism and ceremonialism of the *literati* who fill all important positions and practically govern China. They recognize Confucius as their leader, and Confucius tried to reform the people by minute rules of propriety.

The story goes—and it is presumably historical—that Confucius once met the venerable philosopher Lao-tze in person. The latter was by almost half a century his senior and must have been an old man when Confucius was in his best years. Lao-tze was then Keeper of the Secret Archives of the state of Cho, and his fame induced Confucius to visit him in order to learn something about the ancient sages and their views of ritual, so as to regulate thereby the rules of decorum for the present generation. But Confucius had knocked at the wrong door. Lao-tze was too much of a philosopher to be guided by the traditions of the buried past, and the ostentatious behavior of the ambitious young scholar was offensive to him. Confucius left him in disappointment.

The shortest and perhaps the most authentic report of this meeting is given by Sze-Ma-Ch'ien, and has been reprinted in the original Chinese text with two English translations, one verbatim, the other in proper English style, on pages 95 and 96 in *Lao-Tze's Tao-Teh-King* (published by the Open Court Publishing Company).

Our frontispiece represents this meeting which if it is not historical is certainly *ben trovato*, for it contrasts these two lines of thought, Taoism represented by the philosophical thinker, Lao-tze, and Confucianism represented by K'ung-tze, the man who preached Ethical Culture pure and simple. Lao-tze is easily recognized by his white beard. He steps forth from the house as the host to meet his guest. Confucius is accompanied by his disciples and approaches with great ceremony. The picture was painted by Murata Tanryō, a modern Japanese painter who preserves the traditional style without being modernized to any extent through Western influence.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

HALF-SILENT FELLOWSHIPS. By *Mary Morgan* (Gowan Lea). Edinburgh: Foulis, 1909. Pp. 104.

In general effect this is the daintiest possible little volume. Though apparently a collection of fugitive thoughts gathered together in haphazard fashion the whole represents "a plea for the hours of seeming idleness." It is a plea for the beauty in every-day times and seasons, for appreciation of homely service, for the humorous point of view, for the cherishing of simple ideals, for the communion with books and works of art, for an intimacy with nature, and for the closer companionship with one's better nature and higher thoughts. It may be noted that the effect of bucolic simplicity is somewhat marred on examination by the occasional insertion of entire paragraphs of untranslated French which could better have stood an English rendering, and there is no advantage in using the French term when its English equivalent is equally original and expressive. *Chatcaux en Espagne* lacks the classical directness of "castles in Spain" as used for instance by George William Curtis, while "an embarrassment of riches" is no weaker than *embarras de richesses* and has the advantage of a simplicity consonant with that of Gowan Lea's own poetical English style.

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Miss Olga Kopetzky, the Munich artist who illustrated *The Philosopher's Martyrdom* and is now engaged in making a special study of Buddhist art, writes with reference to the article on "Foundations Laid in Human Sacrifice" in *The Open Court* of August, 1909, that she remembers similar superstitions to have obtained in her childhood in Bohemia, her native country. When her father, a citizen of Kuttenberg, was building a new house, live kittens were offered to him again and again to be used as sacrifices in the foundation stones of the walls, and when he refused to buy them, the people said that the walls would be sure to fall.

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The publishing house of Dürr at Leipsic, continues its Philosophical Library, and we note especially Paul Lorentz's *Lessing's Philosophie*, and a new German translation of de la Mettrie's *L'homme-machine*, by Max Brahm, together with Eugen Kühnemann's Schiller's Philosophical Writings and Poems. The latter is a collection of passages, which contains Schiller's opinions as to the esthetic education of man, his ideas of the sublime, on the limits of the beautiful, on naïveté and sentimental poetry, his poem "The Ideal and Life," and other philosophical poems.

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Ernest Flammarion, the publisher, (Paris: 26, rue Racine) has issued an interesting book by Alfred Binet on "The Modern Ideas Concerning the Child" (*Les idées modernes sur les enfants*, 1909, price 3 fr. 50), in which the author considers the progress made especially in Germany and America in education based upon experimental psychology and physiology. He considers appreciatively the significance of the movement and presents his own views in the present volume of 344 pages.

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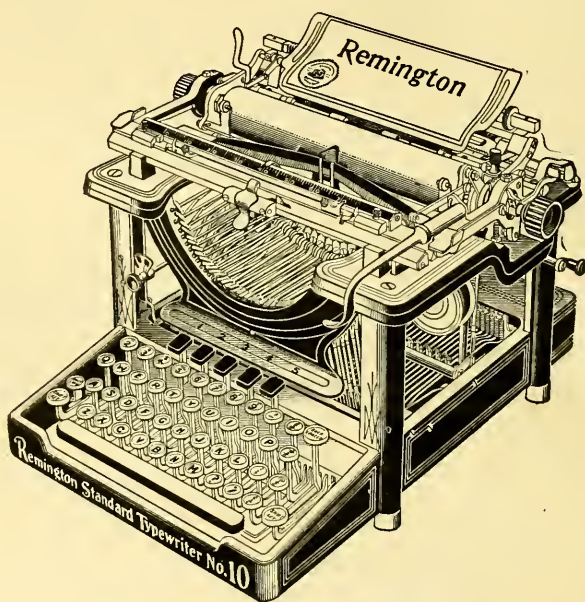
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Eight years have elapsed since “The Mutation Theory” was formally proposed and much can be said of its standing and influence. During this period De Vries has twice visited the United States and by conversation and lecture and personality has impressed himself and his views in a peculiar way upon American biologists. His influence upon scientific plant and animal breeding in this country has been very great and the general result has been an increasing conviction that his views and his examples have advanced biological science immensely.

The thesis of this first volume, as its author states, is the promulgation of the principle of unit characters. At the time of its announcement in 1900 this view was in opposition to the current belief; but the author is convinced that it has now gained almost universal acceptance. This conception that “the attributes of organism consist of distinct separate, and independent units” was derived chiefly from three sources: (1) an analysis of the processes of selection in practical plant-breeding; (2) the experimental evidence afforded by *Oenothera*; (3) and Mendelism. This means that the origin of species by mutation is only one feature connected with the more fundamental conception of unit characters, and that a wide range of problems is opened up to experimental investigation. The only important change introduced into the translation is the incorporation of Nilsson's results in the selection and improvement of cereals in Sweden. It has been unfortunate that many who are interested in evolution, even investigators, have not understood fully the *theory of mutation*, because they know of it only from condensed statements or reviews. This applies to all who do not read German or who do not read it with facility. This condition has now been remedied by the appearance of an *English translation of this great work*. It is possible now for all English-reading biologists to judge of the theory from the full presentation by its author, and to substitute knowledge for superficial familiarity. The selection of translators could not have been more happy and effective. The translation consists of two volumes, the second treating of the Origin of Varieties and also of the general problem of the Origin of New Forms. It is announced to appear during April, 1910.”—*Dr. John M. Coulter in The Botanical Gazette*.

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*Fundamental Problems, (p. 271).*

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