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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER



PAN, THE ARCADIAN GOD.
From an antique bronze lamp.

The Open Court Publishing Company
CHICAGO

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THE FAUN OF PRAXITELES.

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TAMMUZ, PAN AND CHRIST.

NOTES ON A TYPICAL CASE OF MYTH-TRANSFERENCE AND
DEVELOPMENT.

BY WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

SOME four millennia before the Christian era, there lived on the alluvial plain brought down by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, and bordering the Persian Gulf, a Turanian people, who had attained to a considerable degree of civilization, who tilled and irrigated the soil, undertook large public works, and ventured long distances by sea for the exchange of goods. They worshiped a sea-god Ea, and included in their mythology was another god, Dumuzi, or *dumu-si-abzu*, "true son of the deep water." Concerning his attributes it is not necessary to elaborate; the reader may find them fully discussed by competent authorities.¹ This same god was adopted into the pantheon of the Semitic peoples who associated with, absorbed or expelled (according to various assertions) these Turanian plain-dwellers and sea-farers; and in Semitic Babylonia the Turanian Dumuzi became Tammuz, the god of youthful joy and beauty, personifying the annual death and revival of natural life according to the sequence of winter and summer. His attributes, also, have been thoroughly studied, so that for reference one need only cite J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, of which the third edition contains two volumes, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, and *The Dying God*, wherein all this literature is marshalled. Frazer's summary follows:

¹L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1899; P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, Berlin, 1900; M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*; M. J. Lagrange, *Etudes sur les religions semitiques*, Paris, 1905.

"We first meet with Tammuz in the religious literature of Babylon. He there appears as the youthful spouse or lover of Ishtar, the great mother-goddess, the embodiment of the reproductive energies of nature. . . . Every year Tammuz was believed to die, passing away from the cheerful earth to the gloomy subterranean world, and every year his divine mistress journeyed in quest of him 'to the land from which there is no returning, to the house of darkness, where dust lies on door and bolt.' During her absence the passion of love ceased to operate; men and beasts alike forgot to reproduce their kinds; all life was threatened with extinction. So intimately bound up with the goddess were the sexual functions of the whole animal kingdom that without her presence they could not be discharged. A messenger of the great god Ea was accordingly despatched to rescue the goddess on whom so much depended. The stern queen of the infernal regions, Allatu or Eresh-kigal by name, reluctantly allowed Ishtar to be sprinkled with the Water of Life and to depart, in company probably with her lover Tammuz, that the two might return together to the upper world, and that with their return all nature might revive. Laments for the departed Tammuz are contained in several Babylonian hymns, which liken him to plants that quickly fade. His death appears to have been annually mourned, to the shrill music of flutes, by men and women about midsummer in the month named after him, the month of Tammuz. The dirges were seemingly chanted over an effigy of the dead god, which was washed with pure water, anointed with oil, and clad in a red robe, while the fumes of incense rose into the air, as if to stir his dormant senses by their pungent fragrance and wake him from the sleep of death."

These ceremonies are described in the Babylonian account of the "Descent of Ishtar into Hades,"² wherein the worshiper of Ishtar seeking to know whether the dead may return is warned how to obtain their release from Allatu:

"If she does not give to thee her release, then turn thyself to her.
Unto Tammuz, the husband of her youth.

Pour out pure water, with goodly oil anoint him,
In fine raiment clothe him, a flute of lapis lazuli let him play,
May the goddess Belili destroy her ornaments.

.....
The lament of her brother she heard, and Belili destroyed her ornaments.

.....
O my only brother, do not let me perish!

²R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 408-413. Note also the poetical version of Ishtar's descent given by Edward Gilchrist in "The Weird of Love and Death" in *The Monist*, April, 1912.

On the day of Tammuz play for me the flute of lapis lazuli,
 The samdu flute also play for me:
 At that time play for me, O male mourners and female mourners.
 On instruments let them play, let them inhale the incense."

This annual mourning of Tammuz was spread among all Semitic peoples and continued for many centuries. That it was carried by sea wherever the Phenician traders ventured is undoubted, and where they introduced the custom it was continued under various modifications by the natives themselves. The prophet Ezekiel is sufficient witness to its prevalence in monotheistic Palestine (viii. 14):

"Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north; and behold there sat the women weeping for Tammuz. Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? thou shalt again see yet greater abominations than these."

Similar rites were observed in Asia Minor for a god named Attis, and in Egypt for Osiris; with these the present inquiry is not concerned. They are fully described by Frazer in the volumes above cited.

The Babylonian Tammuz, carried to the Syrian coast and there specially localized, in the worship of the Phenicians and Syrians, was translated to Greece, given various different names, and adopted bodily into the Greek religion. His own name was soon forgotten; but around the name Adonis (Hellenized from *adoni*, lord, an appellation of Tammuz) some of the loveliest of Greek myths were gathered; while by another way, equally accidental, came a god named Linus, annually mourned to the formula *ai Awos*, a mere pun on the Semitic phrase *ai lanu*, "woe is me," appearing in the mourning for Tammuz!

"At the festivals of Adonis," says Frazer,³ which were held in Western Asia and in Greek lands, the death of the god was annually mourned, with a bitter wailing, chiefly by women; images of him dressed to resemble corpses, were carried out as to be buried and then thrown into the sea or into springs; and in some places his revival was celebrated on the following day."

And again,⁴

"In Attica, certainly, the festival fell at the height of summer. For the fleet which Athens fitted out against Syracuse, and by the destruction of which her power was permanently crippled, sailed at midsummer, and by an ominous coincidence the sombre rites of

³ *Golden Bough*, IV, 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 185.

Adonis were being celebrated at the very time. As the troops marched down to the harbor to embark, the streets through which they passed were lined with coffins and corpselike effigies, and the air was rent with the noise of women wailing for the dead Adonis. The circumstances cast a gloom over the sailing of the most splendid armament that Athens ever sent to sea. Many ages afterwards, when the Emperor Julian made his first entry into Antioch, he found in like manner the gay, the luxurious capital of the East plunged in mimic grief for the annual death of Adonis; and if he had any presentiment of coming evil, the voices of lamentation which struck upon his ear must have seemed to sound his knell."

In Greek mythology the relations of Tammuz to Ishtar and Allatu became those of Adonis to Aphrodite and Persephone. This was a matter of general knowledge among men of inquiring minds; it was explicitly stated by St. Jerome in his commentary on Ezekiel, also in his Epistles (No. 58, 3). The development of the Adonis story in Greece it is unnecessary to follow. An interesting continuance of the Babylonian story is provided by Shakespeare's poem of *Venus and Adonis*,⁵ wherein the unresponsive nature of the god is more fully outlined than was usual with the Greeks.

"'I know not love,' quoth he, 'nor will not know it,
Unless it be a boar, and then I chase it;
'Tis much to borrow, and I will not owe it;
My love to love is love but to disgrace it;
For I have heard it is a life in death,
That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath.'"

So in the Gilgamesh epic,⁶ where the fickle Ishtar woos that hero and is repulsed by him because of the fate that overtook Tammuz and her other lovers:

"Where is thy husband Tammuz, who was to be forever?
What, indeed, has become of the allallu-bird?
I will tell thee plainly the dire result of thy coquetries,
To Tammuz, the husband of thy youth,
Thou didst cause weeping and didst bring grief before him every year.
The allallu-bird, so bright of colors thou didst love;
But its wing thou didst break and crush,
So that now it sits in the woods crying, 'O my wing.'"

The Greek Adonis thus appears composite of two Babylonian heroes, Tammuz and Gilgamesh!

⁵ Lines 409-414.

⁶ Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

The story shifts now to a god of another sort entirely; to Pan, the shepherd-god of Arcadia. Pan, Πᾶν (the pasturer) was said to be the son of Hermes and one of the daughters of the oak-man Dryops; or, by another legend, of Zeus and the nymph Callisto. He was described as having the horns, beard, feet and tail of a goat, and his body was covered with hair. His abode was in the woods, caves or mountain-tops; he was a shepherd, hunter and fisher, and spent his idle hours sporting and dancing with the mountain nymphs. When one of these named Syrinx fled from his embraces, she was changed into a reed, from which, so Ovid tells us,⁷ Pan devised the shepherd's pipe:

"And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw."⁸

This Pan was an inconsiderate deity, prone to appear at unexpected times to the confusion of his devotees, whence the word "panic," fear.⁹ He was said to possess the power of inspiration and prophecy, in which he instructed Apollo; to whom the great Oracle at Delphi was consecrated. This, it will appear, is Pan's closest real connection with our present inquiry.

The original home of this jolly, if ribald, god was Arcadia. His cult found its way to Athens during the Persian War. Herodotus tells us¹⁰ that just before the battle of Marathon, certain Athenian envoys on their way to Sparta were stopped by this god and commanded to set up an altar to him, in return for which his support would be given them against the invaders. This was done, a cave being built on the Acropolis, where there were annual sacrifices and torch-races in his honor.

Later, by referring his name to a Greek word in more familiar use, or possibly by identification with the ram-headed Egyptian god Chnum, creator of the world, he was conceived as the universal god of nature, τὸ πᾶν (the *a* long instead of short), the pantheistic divinity.

In Christian legend, it will be well to recall, this horned and tailed deity supplied some of the distinctive features of the popular conception of Satan.

So much for Tammuz, Adonis and Pan. We come now to the circumstances under which they were supposed to have been destroyed—or as some would have it, absorbed—by Christ. The sole

⁷ *Metamorph.*, l. 691 *et seqq.*

⁸ Milton, *Lycidas*, 123-4.

⁹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XX, 662-3.

¹⁰ VI, 105.

authority is a passage in Plutarch's dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*; and as it has been taken bodily from its proper context, it may be well to recall the general course of that dialogue, and the character of its author.

Plutarch is known to have lived about A. D. 46-120. He was born at Chæronea in Bœotia, trained in philosophy at Athens, and spent his active days in Rome, where he lectured on philosophy and taught the youthful Hadrian. He achieved political honors, being made consul by Trajan and procurator of Greece by Hadrian. In his old age he retired to his native town of Chæronea, where he was archon and priest of the Pythian Apollo. There he compiled the great series of "Parallel Lives" which are still a universal authority for the life and activities of the ancient world, and, there, too, he composed a series of philosophical essays, remarkable for their skilful interpretation of ancient ideas rather than for original thought; which remain a necessary stepping-stone between the system of Plato and that of the Neo-Platonists. Assuredly, then, Plutarch was not the man to whom any one might correctly ascribe an admission that the gods of Greece were dead.

Now for the dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*. It begins by noting the decline of belief in oracles in Greece. "There is no reason to inquire about this matter," says Plutarch in § V, "or to discuss the decay of the oracle, but rather, as we see the extinction of them all in general, except one or two, to consider this subject—for what reason they have so decayed:" and the decay is said to have dated from the Peloponnesian War.

(This will later prove to be of importance. Plutarch notes that the decay was not of his own time, but had already progressed for nearly five centuries.)

One of the speakers in the dialogue, Didymus the Cynic, flatly charges that the oracles are silent because the gods will no longer deign to converse with corrupt mankind: "It were a wonder, when so much wickedness is spread abroad, if not merely Modesty and Shame (as Hesiod said of old) should have abandoned mankind, but if the divine Providence should not have packed up its oracles out of every quarter, and taken its departure!"

The dialogue proceeds by considering whether the oracle were the direct communication of the god, or whether it proceeded indirectly by means of lesser spirits, or "dæmons." It leans to the latter view, and suggests that these dæmons may not be immortal; citing several instances, of which the much quoted passage is one. Its conclusion (§ LI) is, that the power of the exhalation, or oracle,

“is in reality due to a god, and to a dæmon, yet it is not exempt from cessation, imperishable, undecaying, or capable of lasting to all eternity of time—by which all things between Earth and Moon are worn out, according to our theory. Some there be who hold that everything *above* that sphere do not hold out to all eternity and infinity, but are subject to violent revolutions and renewals.” And, far from reaching any final explanation, the dialogue leaves the question unanswered (§LII): “These subjects I exhort both you and myself to examine frequently; inasmuch as they present many holds for objections, and grounds for the opposite opinion; which time does not allow us to enumerate at length. So they must lie over, as also the question Philip raised about the sun and Apollo.”

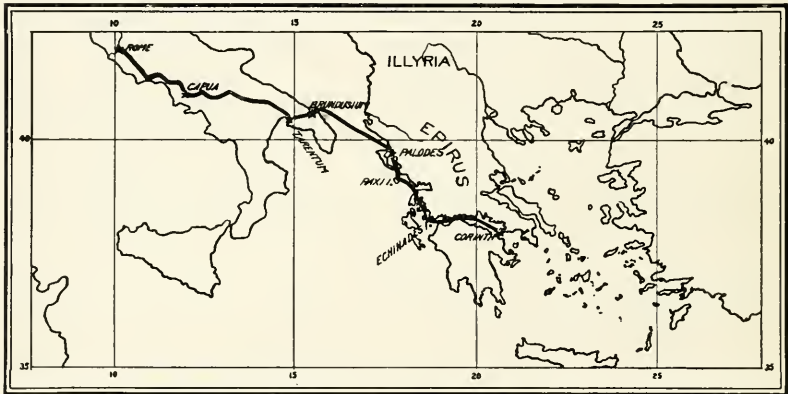
We come now to the single passage of this dialogue (§XVII) on which the whole of the ensuing discussion depends; and which is, nevertheless, a remarkable instance of misconception in news-reporting, and of impossible reasoning based on the erroneous report. The passage in question is as follows:

“With respect to the mortality of beings of the kind [dæmons] I have heard a tale from a man who is neither a fool nor an idle talker—from that Aemilian the rhetorician, whom some of you know well; Epitherses was his father, a townsman of mine, and a teacher of grammar. This man (the latter) said, that once upon a time he made a voyage to Italy and embarked on board a ship conveying merchandise and several passengers. When it was now evening, off the Echinad Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship, carried by the current was come near Paxi; most of the passengers were awake, and many were still drinking, after having had supper. All of a sudden, a voice was heard from the Isle of Paxi, of some one calling ‘*Thamus*’ with so loud a cry as to fill them with amazement. This *Thamus* was an Egyptian pilot, known by name to many of those on board. Called twice, he kept silence; but on the third summons he replied to the caller, and the latter, raising yet higher his voice, said, ‘When thou comest over against Palodes, announce that the great Pan is dead.’ All, upon hearing this, said Epitherses, were filled with consternation, and debated with themselves whether it were better to do as ordered, or not to make themselves too busy, and to let it alone. So *Thamus* decided that if there should be a wind he would sail past and hold his tongue; but should there fall a calm and smooth sea off the island, he would proclaim what he had heard. When, therefore, they were come over against Palodes, there being neither wind nor swell of sea, *Thamus*, looking out from the stern, called out to the land what he had heard, namely, ‘That

the great Pan is dead'; and hardly had he finished speaking than there was a mighty cry, not of one, but of many voices mingled together in wondrous manner. And inasmuch as many persons were then present, the story got spread about Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Cæsar; and Tiberius gave so much credence to the tale that he made inquiry and research concerning this Pan; and that the learned men about him, who were numerous, conjectured he was the one who was born from Hermes and Penelope."

This story, torn from its context, served for eighteen centuries as ground for the belief that at the crucifixion—or the birth—or by the life—of Christ, the gods of the ancient world, real and living divinities, came to their end, and a new order was instituted.

The sailing course described is the direct course from Greece to Italy, more especially from Corinth to Brundisium, the southern



port of Rome. The Echinades Islands are at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth; Paxi is just south of Corcyra, and Palodes (Pelodes Portus, the harbor of Buthrotum in Epirus) is at the northern end of the channel of Corcyra. From Echinades to Paxi is about 65 miles and from Paxi to Palodes about 30 more. Thence north of Corcyra and across to Brundisium in Italy, about 100 miles.

The passengers aboard this vessel were probably Romans, returning from sightseeing in Greece; if Greeks they were probably from Corinth or Athens; the poverty and depopulation of Greece being such that country-folk traveled but little. They were, therefore, unlikely in that age to be familiar with the folklore or ancient local beliefs of Greece. The pilot, an Egyptian, was equally a stranger to them.

What actually happened at Paxi and a few hours later at Palodes, is sufficiently evident from the text itself, and is abundantly

proved by M. Salomon Reinach. (*Bulletin des correspondances helléniques*, 1907, Vol. XXXI, pp. 5-19; also *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, III, 1-15.) It was the annual mourning of Tammuz. The effigy was cast into the sea, and the assembled throng chanted some brief ritual, including the line:

Θαμους Θαμους Θαμους πανμεγας τεθνηκε
 "Tammuz, Tammuz, Tammuz, the very great, is dead."

The pilot, an Egyptian, named Thamus or Tammuz, took the first half of the line as a call to himself. Why he did not know of the god for whom he was named, we need not inquire. Not every Jew of Munich or Vienna who bears the name Isidor could pass an examination in the mysteries of Isis. The name Tammuz being excluded from consideration, there remained only the phrase, reported inaccurately by Epitherses,

Πάν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε,
 "Pan the great is dead."

Πανμεγας is merely a superlative of *μεγας*, like, for instance, our "almighty"; but this the Roman passengers were not sufficient Hellenists to know. Gravely pondering the meaning of the announcement, they decided that the particle *παν* must refer, not to the adjective *μεγας*, but to the god Pan; they adopted Epitherses's article *ὁ* to the half line of the Greek ritual, and following the directions of those at Paxi, the pilot Thamus announced on arriving off Palodes, again altering the diction of the misunderstood half line, that

ὁ μέγας Πάν τέθνηκεν,
 "The great Pan is dead,"

supposing that they were bearers of news of terrible import, news of the death of a god; whereas to their hearers on shore, they were but announcing that the mourning was completed at Paxi, whereupon an answering cry, as of recognition of fellow worshipers, was set up by those at Palodes.

As M. Reinach puts it, this was "a nocturnal misunderstanding, due to a double confusion of a divine name with a human name, and of a superlative epithet with a divine name."

The sequel was remarkable. Imagine the grave councils at the behest of the brutal materialist Tiberius, to determine whether anything so terrifying as the death of a god had actually occurred, and the conclusion that Pan being only a demigod, hero or *dæmon*, son of a god and a mortal, no danger could accrue to mankind from his demise!

One might wonder that among the whole shipload of passengers was none to associate that mourning cry on a midsummer night,

πανμεγας τεθνηκε,

with the worship of Adonis, still prevalent in Greece, particularly in the country districts of the Peloponnesus, so near the spot where the cry was heard. Pausanias notes the practice in Argos, which possessed "a building where the Argive women bewail Adonis."¹¹

At Amathus in Cyprus he describes an ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite where the worship was still maintained,¹² and in Elis, so familiar was the story even in his day, that he refers to it specifically in describing "a sanctuary of the Graces; their images are of wood, their drapery being gilded, but the faces, hands and feet are of white marble. One of them holds a rose, the middle one a die, and the third a sprig of myrtle. The reason why they hold these things may be conjectured to be this: as the rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite, and associated with the story of Adonis, so of all deities the Graces are most akin to Aphrodite; and the die is a plaything of youths and maidens whom age has not yet robbed of youthful grace."¹³

Pausanias was an antiquarian, full of the ancient faiths of his native land, and our shipload of tourists were evidently not of his sort. Yet even they must have known their Ovid! An indifferent and yet credulous lot they must have been. It was indeed an age when the ancient gods were dead to the minds of men. Greece, for two centuries a province of Rome, impoverished and depopulated, a pleasure ground for the Roman vacationist, had adopted the fashions and the faith—or the lack thereof—of her conquerors.

Finlay sufficiently describes the indifference of the time:¹⁴

"Though ancient superstitions were still practiced, old religious feelings were extinct. The oracles, which had once formed the most remarkable of the sacred institutions of the Greeks, had fallen into decay.¹⁵ It is, however, incorrect to suppose that the Pythoness ceased to deliver her responses from the time of our Saviour's birth, for she was consulted by the Emperor long after. Many oracles continued to be in considerable repute, even after the introduction of Christianity into Greece. Pausanias mentions the oracle of Mal-

¹¹ II, 20, 6.

¹² IX, 41, 2.

¹³ VI, 24, 7.

¹⁴ *Greece under the Romans*, Sect. XII.

¹⁵ Plutarch, *De Orac. Defect.*, VII, 709.

los, in Cilicia, as the most veracious in his time.¹⁶ Claros and Didymi were famous, and much consulted in the time of Lucian; and even new oracles were commenced as a profitable speculation.¹⁷ The oracles continued to give their responses to fervent votaries, long after they had fallen into general neglect. Julian endeavored to revive their influence, and he consulted those of Delphi, Delos and Dodona, concerning the result of his Persian expedition.¹⁸ He vainly attempted to restore Delphi and Daphne, near Antioch, to their ancient splendor.¹⁹ Even so late as the reign of Theodosius the Great, those at Delphi, Didymi and Jupiter Ammon were in existence, but from that period they became utterly silent.²⁰ The reverence which had formerly been paid to them was transferred to astrologers, who were consulted by all ranks and on all occasions. Tiberius, Otho, Hadrian, and Severus, are all mentioned as votaries of this mode of searching into the secrets of futurity.²¹ Yet hidden divination, to which astrology belonged, had been prohibited by the laws of the twelve tables, and was condemned both by express law and by the spirit of the Roman state religion. It was regarded even by the Greeks, as an illicit and disgraceful practice."²²

In explaining the cry to Tammuz rather than Adonis, which would have been more natural in Greece, M. Reinach supposes the existence of Syrian colonies, and cites Bréhier as to the wide dispersion of such. But the Syrians were apt to settle where trade was attractive, and this was assuredly not the case on an islet off the rock-bound coast of Epirus. It seems likely that a hint may be borrowed from Pausanias. Illyria, he says, was settled by Phenicians in the ancient days; Cadmus after settling his kin in Bœotia and founding Thebes, "had gone away to dwell among the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleans," where "his son Polydorus succeeded to the throne."²³

Now the Illyrians were never close to the Hellenes, and the Greek culture was not widespread among them. Here the ancient Semitic ceremony might have been handed down without the corrup-

¹⁶ *Attica*, XXXIV, 2.

¹⁷ Lucian's *Alexander and Peregrinus*.

¹⁸ Theodoretus, *Hist. Eccles.*, III, 16.

¹⁹ Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, p. 304; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 12.

²⁰ Van Limburg Brouwer, *Histoire de la civilisation morale et religieuse des Grecs*, VI, 32; *Symmachus Epist.*, IV, 35.

²¹ Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 20; *Hist.*, I, 22; Spartianus, *Hadrian* 2; Severus, p. 65, ed. Paris, 1620.

²² *Cod. Just.*, 9, 8, 2.

²³ IX, 5, 3.

tion of name from Tammuz into Adonis, for which the Greeks were responsible. And later, Pausanias tells us, the Illyrians moved southward and conquered Epirus: "When the kingly government came to an end in Epirus," (that is, after the fall of Pyrrhus) "the common people grew saucy and set all authority at naught. Hence the Illyrians, who inhabit the coast of the Ionian Sea north of Epirus, overran and subdued them."²⁴

If this leads us in the right direction, we may suppose that the dwellers on Paxi were a colony, perhaps of fishermen, from the district of Buthrotum in Epirus; by race and tradition Illyrian, and versed in the ancient worship of Tammuz as taught their forefathers by the Phenician traders in the Adriatic. This gives the more probability to their request that the pilot of a passing vessel should acquaint those on the mainland with the completion of their annual ceremony. They were sending word home, and those left at home were interested in their doings. Here seems at least to be a more probable state of affairs than a chain of Syrian settlements on a rock-bound and primitive shore.

With the decision of the council of Tiberius this event might have been left to oblivion in the imperial archives but for the chance reference in a dialogue of Plutarch, whose writings were valued and preserved among those by whom they were neither appreciated, understood, nor, it would appear, even read. For upon this tale were made to rest the dealings of Christ with the shepherd-god Pan.

In the struggle of Christianity for recognition among those holding the tradition, even if no longer actively observing the worship, of the gods of Olympus, the time was not yet come to conceive that the ancient pantheon had been of man's imagining. The gods were thought to have lived, but to have been in reality evil spirits, formerly permitted to mislead mankind, but now powerless after the sacrifice of the Cross. In the philosophical statement of the case, so little was at issue between the latter-day Platonists and the teachers of the Fourth Gospel, that assent to their doctrine of dæmons might have brought the Greeks into the Christian fold. But the concession involved too much, and the dæmons of the Platonists, the beneficent influences uplifting mankind, were translated into the demons of the Christian church, the imps and devils that lay in wait for the capture of souls. And in support of this course, as well as of the new religion as a whole, the Christian Fathers drew, with more diligence and ingenuity than fairness, upon the literature

²⁴ IV, 35, 5.

of those whom they would convert. Out of their own mouths should they be convinced. One fears that they may not always have been above writing history to their own ends, as when Tertullian gravely asserts²⁵ that "Tiberius, in whose days the Christian name made its entry into the world, having himself received intelligence from Palestine of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity, brought the matter before the Senate with his own decision in favor of Christ. The Senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected this proposal."

But Christianity grew apace, and it was to a world more interested in new philosophical reasons for the faith, than in new historical proofs, that Eusebius of Cæsarea directed his ministry. Reared and trained in the well-stocked library of Pamphilus, the literature of Greece and Rome was at his disposal, and was, one might almost say, shredded to supply meat for his daily discourses. At that distance of time and place and with a mind so little appreciative of the thought of the earlier literature, it was not to be supposed that an entire work would be digested; a chapter or text snatched at random would suffice. We have already followed the plan of Plutarch's dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*, his statement that the oracles had been in decline since the Peloponnesian War, and his failure to arrive at any final conclusion concerning them. Incidentally we have noted Pausanias's interest in the oracles almost in Eusebius's own time. But behold, now, the new meaning, the Christian meaning, asserted by Eusebius for this modest and inconclusive exercise of Plutarch, the priest of Apollo. In his *Præparatio Evangelica*, Book V, he refers to the whole subject of oracles. In § 14 he quotes Porphyry on the philosophy to be derived from oracles. In § 15 he concludes that the gods "were found to be demons haunting the earth and enslaved to passions; wherefore it seems to me that I have followed sound reason in turning away from them." In § 16 he refers to Plutarch's dialogue, and in § 17 quotes the story of Epitherses entire, ending with the following:

"So far Plutarch. But it is important to observe the time at which he says that the death of the dæmon took place. For it was at the time of Tiberius, in which our Saviour, making his sojourn among men, is recorded to have been ridding human life from dæmons of every kind; so that there were some of them now kneeling before Him and beseeching Him not to deliver them over to the Tartarus that awaited them.

"You have therefore the date of the overthrow of the dæmons,

²⁵ *Apol.*, V.

of which there was no record at any other time; just as you had the abolition of human sacrifice among the Gentiles as not having occurred until after the preaching of the doctrine of the Gospel had reached all mankind. Let these refutations from recent history suffice."

One may almost infer from this statement of the case that Eusebius was not altogether convinced by his own argument, but that he put it forth believing that it might fortify some of his hearers and more of his readers at a later day. Plato himself, whose ideas were thus distorted beyond recognition, might almost reply out of his *Republic*,²⁶ "Can you suggest any device by which we can make them believe this fiction? None at all by which we could persuade the men with whom we begin. . . .but their sons, and the next generation, and all subsequent generations, might be taught to believe it."

The heathen gods *were* dead to men's minds; the Gospel of Christ *had* annihilated them; conceived as a struggle of ideas, the Christian claim was true. But to visualize the claim and fix it in minds used to dealing with material things, the lapse of an idea must be presented under the guise of the death of an earthly being; therefore these fisher-folk on the isle of Paxi, in conscious fiction weeping Tammuz, misunderstood and misreported by Plutarch as in actual fact weeping Pan, became the material witnesses for the medieval church, of the physical struggle of Christ with Antichrist, of the downfall of the demons and the liberation of man. Surely an idea so spiritually comprehensive needed no little tawdry piece of materialism such as this to bring it down to earth!

During the Middle Ages there was much grave discussion about the death of "Pan" and as to his nature. The main conclusions are stated by Abbé Anselme, cited by Reinach, as "whether the god Pan was, as some have thought, Jesus Christ himself, as if the divine Saviour had needed to borrow the name of one of his enemies; or whether the devil was forced himself to confess his total defeat by the Cross."

Another medieval explanation, quoted by Rabelais, is gravely criticized by Reinach. A reading of the whole passage will rather indicate that Rabelais was making game of it, with a great laugh thrown in. Plutarch's story is put without change into the mouth of the absurd Pantagrue, who tells of the decision of Tiberius's council, that the supposed "Pan" was the son of Mercury and Penel-

²⁶ III, 415.

ope, and who then offers the medieval explanation as his own:²⁷ "For my part, I understand it of that great Saviour of the faithful, who was shamefully put to death at Jerusalem, by the envy and wickedness of the doctors, priests and monks of the Mosaic law [Surely M. Reinach need not take umbrage at the monks!] and methinks, my interpretation is not improper; for he may lawfully be said in the Greek tongue to be *Pan* since he is our *all*. For all that we are, all that we live, all that we have, all that we hope, is him, by him, from him, and in him. He is the good Pan, the great shepherd, who, as the loving shepherd Corydon affirms, hath not only a tender love and affection for his sheep, but also for their shepherds. At his death, complaints, sighs, fears, and lamentations were spread through the whole fabric of the universe, whether heavens, land, sea, or hell. The time also concurs with this interpretation of mine; for this most good, most mighty Pan, our only Saviour, died near Jerusalem, during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar."

A noble piece of reasoning, truly, based on a cheap pun (on the Greek words *Păn* and *Pān*) identifying the crucified Saviour with the laughing shepherd-god, seducer of Syrinx; worthy of M. Reinach's contempt. But is it the reasoning of Rabelais? Observe, on the contrary, how Pantagruel's medievalism is kicked into the dust-hole: "Pantagruel, having ended this discourse, remained silent, and full of contemplation. A little while after, we saw the tears flow out of his eyes as big as ostrich's eggs. God take me presently, if I tell you one single syllable of a lie in the matter."

What Rabelais thus ridiculed, Milton carried bodily into his noble verse, but in such manner as to keep the imagery on the ideal plane rather than the material. The general idea of a struggle between Christ and the elder gods is expressed in *Paradise Lost*:²⁸

"So spake this Oracle, then verified,
When Jesus, son of Mary, second Eve,
Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heaven,
Prince of the air; then, rising from his grave,
Spoiled Principalities and Powers, triumphed
In open show, and, with ascension bright,
Captivity led captive through the air."

In this passage the allusion is rather to the Apocalypse, but in the splendid "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" the Plutarch-Pan story bears its full share.

²⁷ Pantagruel IV. xxviii.

²⁸ X, 182 *et seqq.*

"The Shepherds on the lawn,
 Or ere the point of dawn,
 Sat simply chatting in a rustic row;
 Full little thought they then,
 That the mighty Pan
 Was kindly come to live with them below;
 Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep,
 Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep."

Here we have Pantagruel's identification of Pan with Christ in all seriousness! And the hymn proceeds to Plutarch *via* Eusebius:

"The oracles are dumb,
 No voice or hideous hum
 Runs through the archèd roof in words deceiving,
 Apollo from his shrine
 Can no more divine,
 With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
 No nightly trance, or breathèd spell,
 Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

"The lonely mountains o'er
 And the resounding shore,
 A voice of weeping heard and loud lament:
 From haunted spring and dale,
 Edgèd with poplar pale,
 The parting Genius is with sighing sent;
 With flower-inwoven tresses torn
 The nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets mourn.

"In consecrated earth,
 And on the holy hearth,
 The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint:
 In urns and altars round,
 A drear and dying sound
 Affrights the Flamens at their service quaint;
 And the chill marble seems to sweat,
 While each peculiar Power foregoes his wonted seat."

The cold perspiration of the altar-stone is a touch not found in Eusebius; while in the next stanza, had he but known it, Milton carries Plutarch's story back to its true original:

"Peor and Baalim
 Forsake their temples dim,
 With that twice-battered god of Palestine
 And moonèd Ashtaroth,
 Heaven's queen and mother both,
 Now sits not girt with taper's holy shrine;
 The Lybic Hammon shrinks his horn,
 In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammut mourn."

With Milton's "solemn music" this ancient story might have rested, had not Schiller composed a poem, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, in which he mourned the general loss of the love of beauty which followed the destruction of classic mythology by the Christian world, and called for its revival. A few representative stanzas follow in Lord Lytton's translation:

"More glorious than the meeds
 To Labor choosing Virtue's path sublime,
 The grand archives of renownèd deeds
 Up to the seats of Gods themselves could climb.
 Before the dauntless Rescuer of the dead,
 Bowed down the silent and Immortal Host;
 And the twin Stars their guiding luster shed,
 On the bark tempest-tossed!

"Art thou, fair world, no more?
 Return, thou virgin-bloom, on Nature's face;
 Ah, only on the Minstrel's magic shore,
 Can we the footstep of sweet Fable trace!
 The meadows mourn for the old hallowing life;
 Vainly we search the earth of gods bereft;
 And where the image with such warmth was rife,
 A shade alone is left!

"Cold, from the North, has gone
 Over the flowers the blast that killed their May;
 And to enrich the worship of the ONE,
 A Universe of Gods must pass away.
 Mourning, I search on yonder starry steeps,
 But thee no more, Selene, there I see!
 And through the woods I call, and o'er the deeps.
 No voice replies to me."

Schiller's longing for the joy and art and beauty of the Greek civilization was hardly more than had already found such abundant expression in the European Renaissance. It was the natural reaction against the arid formalism of the Middle Ages; but it troubled the devout soul of Mrs. Browning, and she replied with the poem of "The Dead Pan," in which Plutarch's story, with Eusebius's additions, was reduced to verse, with improvements of her own, as proof that the ancient gods had lived, but that they died at the hour of Calvary.²⁹ The stanzas essential to the story are the following:

²⁹ What she might have said in reply to Swinburne's homage to one of the classic pantheon we can better leave to the imagination:

"Alas, Lord, surely thou art great and fair.
 But lo, her wonderfully woven hair!
 And thou didst heal us with thy piteous kiss;
 But see now, Lord; her mouth is lovelier."

—*Laus Veneris*, V.

“Calm, of old, the bark went onward,
 When a cry more loud than wind,
 Rose up, deepened, and swept sunward,
 From the pilèd Dark behind;
 And the sun shrank, and grew pale,
 Breathed against by the great wail—
 ‘Pan, Pan, is dead.’

“And the rowers from the benches
 Fell, each shuddering, on his face,
 While departing Influences
 Struck a cold back through the place;
 And the shadow of the ship
 Reeled along the passive deep—
 ‘Pan, Pan, is dead.’

“And that dismal cry rose slowly
 And sank slowly through the air,
 Full of spirits’ melancholy
 And eternity’s despair!
 And they heard the words it said—
 ‘*Pan is dead—Great Pan is dead—*
Pan, Pan, is dead.’

“’Twas the hour when One in Zion
 Hung for love’s sake on the cross;
 When his brow was chill with dying,
 And his soul was faint with loss;
 When his priestly blood dropped downward—
 And his kingly eyes looked throneward—
 Then Pan was dead.

“By the love he stood alone in,
 His sole Godhead rose complete,
 And the false gods fell down moaning,
 Each from off his golden seat;
 All the false gods with a cry
 Rendered up their deity—
 Pan, Pan, was dead.

“Wailing wide across the islands,
 They rent, vest-like, their Divine;
 And a darkness and a silence
 Quenched the light of every shrine;
 And Dodona’s oak swang lonely,
 Henceforth to the tempest only,
 Pan, Pan, was dead.”

Out of these stanzas the first impression is that Mrs. Browning’s thought is as free and careless as her rhymes. See now her conclusion:

“Earth outgrows the mythic fancies
 Sung beside her in her youth,
 And those debonair romances
 Sound but dull beside the truth.
 Phœbus’ chariot-course is run;
 Look up, poets, to the sun!
 Pan, Pan, is dead.

“Christ hath sent us down the angels,
 And the whole earth and the skies
 Are illumed by altar-candles
 Lit for blessed mysteries,
 And a priest’s hand through creation
 Waveth calm and consecration—
 Pan, Pan, is dead.”

Here are some notable additions to the legend, arising from the fervor of Mrs. Browning. The sun “shrank and grew pale,” at the fearsome hour of sunset; the rowers fell shuddering on their faces; the annual cry of mourning (followed next day by an orgy of celebration) voiced “eternity’s despair”! When the head of the crucified Christ fell on the Cross, “then Pan was dead”; and all the false gods yielded up their deity;²⁰ they rent their divinity as a garment; “as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed,” and from that moment disappeared the light from every shrine. Even Eusebius would have difficulty in recognizing his explanation under this restatement!

But the particular contribution of this poem lies, if one may so say, not in its stanzas but in its introduction. Here Mrs. Browning reproves Schiller for his paganism, reminding him that heathendom was no more, and citing against him “a well-known tradition mentioned in a treatise of Plutarch (*De Oraculorum Defectu*) according to which at the hour of the Saviour’s agony, a cry of ‘Great Pan is dead!’ swept across the waves in the hearing of certain mariners, and the oracles ceased.”

Did Mrs. Browning ever read Plutarch at all? Or was her knowledge of the story derived from some 18th century commentary on Milton?²¹ A more complete misquotation it would be hard

²⁰ (If false, how acquired they it?)

²¹ Followers of Swedenborg are fond of claiming Mrs. Browning as one of themselves. While the concordance to his works contains no reference to this particular legend, there are numerous passages in which he states that the demigods, demons and heroes of the pagan world were evil spirits, who were able to command human allegiance before the Advent of Christ, but were thereupon returned to the hells from which they came. It is not impossible that Mrs. Browning had in mind some passage from *Heaven and Hell*, or even the following from *Arcana Celestia*:

“6373. The Divine which transflowed through the Celestial kingdom

to imagine. Plutarch nowhere said that the oracles ceased; he noted their decline through a period of 500 years; he nowhere mentioned the Saviour's agony,—how could he have done so, being priest of the Pythian Apollo for his native town, and as procurator of Greece under the Emperor Hadrian responsible for the enforcement of the laws of the Empire against Christian assemblies whenever complaint arose? His position was exactly that of the younger Pliny,³² whom as proprætor of Pontica the Emperor Trajan instructed "in investigating the charges against the Christians who are brought before you, it is not possible to lay down any general rule. Do not go out of your way to look for them. If indeed they should be brought before you and the crime is proved, they must be punished."

And yet in spite of the laws of the Empire, which he was sworn to execute, and of his sincere Hellenism, which he was initiated to uphold, Plutarch was made the authority for one of the most absurd of all the theological misconceptions of medieval Christianity.

So the myth runs its course. Dumu-zi-abzu, demigod of the Accadians, perhaps helping their fisheries in the Persian Gulf, became Tammuz of the Babylonians, typifying the decay and revival of vegetation. Tammuz, because an Egyptian pilot happened to bear his name and a Roman grammarian misunderstood his title, was translated by Plutarch into Pan, the merry protector of the Arcadian shepherds; and the death of Tammuz, wrongly ascribed to Pan, was laid by Eusebius to the ministration of Jesus Christ. Pan himself became Christ, or Antichrist, or was killed by Christ, according to the imagination of the Christians. Ridiculed by Rabelais, used imaginatively by Milton, the story was nailed down to earth by Mrs. Browning. And had the myth been formulated by a papal council instead of an English poetess, the western world might today be expected to uphold it as an article of faith.

could not be pure. . . . and therefore at that time infernal and diabolical spirits issued from the Hells, and exercised dominion over the Souls who came from the world. . . .

"6858. Before the Advent of the Lord into the world, evil Genii and Spirits occupied all that region of Heaven to which the spiritual were afterwards elevated. . . . But after the Lord's Advent, they were all thrust down into their Hells. . . .

"6914. . . . It has been given to know what was the nature of the state of the evil Genii and Spirits, who, before the Lord's Advent, occupied the lower region of Heaven. . . ."

³² *Epist.*, XCVIII.

PAN THE RUSTIC.

BY THE EDITOR.

PAN is one of the strangest figures among the Greek gods. He is a mixture of man and goat and does not seem to justify the Greek taste for beauty. Nevertheless if archeologists are agreed on



STATUE OF PAN
Athens, 4th century.



HEAD OF PAN
Terra cotta from Tralles.



STATUE OF PAN.
Athens, 4th century.

anything concerning this strange deity, it is on the fact that he is an originally Greek god, his home being the rustic haunts of Arcadia.

The origin of his name is quite doubtful. Welcker (in his *Griechische Götterlegenden*, 451 ff.) derives the name from $\phi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$, "light," and believes that the original spelling was $\phi\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$. He regards



PAN AND DAPHNIS.

Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, 36, 29) calls this group "Pan and Olympus" and compares it to the group of Chiron instructing Achilles, mentioning that both had been put up in the Saepta Julia; but since there is no legend in which Pan is mentioned in connection with Olympus the name may be a mistake of Pliny for Daphnis.

it as significant that according to Herodotus (VI, 105) and Pausanias (VIII, 37, 8) torch races constituted a prominent feature in his worship. Another derivation from $\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (the Latin *pasco*) would characterize Pan as the herdsman, yet it is possible that the more

general meaning of Pan developed into a god of flocks in Arcadia where the inhabitants were naturally obliged to make their living by the raising of sheep and goats.

Pan was never regarded as one of the main deities. In fact it is doubtful whether we should call him a god at all; he is more of a good-natured and tricky goblin after the style of Puck (except that he is destitute of beauty), displaying a mischievous nature, a veritable demigod of pranks.



PAN AND DAPHNIS.

Marble in Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



PAN AND A MAENAD.

From Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, II, 1149.

Though Pan is one of the minor deities, he is highly respected as a prophet, and he is even reported to have been a teacher of Apollo before the great god of light and revelation established his oracle at Delphi. Though Pan's musical instrument is most modest, he is also believed to rank high as a musician.

A famous marble group, worthy of Scopas and therefore sometimes attributed to him, shows Pan instructing the beautiful young

Daphnis in the art of blowing the syrinx, a sculpture which is mainly remarkable for the contrast between the virginlike boy and the rough, rustic and coarse features of his good-natured teacher.

We are informed by Pausanias (2, 10, 2) that in the temple of Asklepios at Corinth the statues of Pan and Selene were standing together in commemoration of Pan's devotion to the goddess of the moon, and this combination is also mentioned by Nikandros, Virgil and others. This seems to corroborate the derivation of Pan from



PAN OVERCOME BY BACCHUS.

pháos as originally the god of light or the sun-god, but the legend has never gained many adherents and has certainly not affected the general conception of Selene.

Pan also excels in the art of dancing though his motions are not Terpsichorean but are marked by comic awkwardness. He is the patron of frolic, fun and grotesque capering. He leads the dances of the nymphs and the maenads, the beautiful companions of Bacchus-Dionysos.

A rustic deity of Italy called Faunus was very similar to Pan and is often identified with him.

Pan became popular after the battle of Marathon, on which occasion he is supposed to have helped the Athenians by spreading a panic among the Persians. Herodotus tells the story as follows (VI, 105):

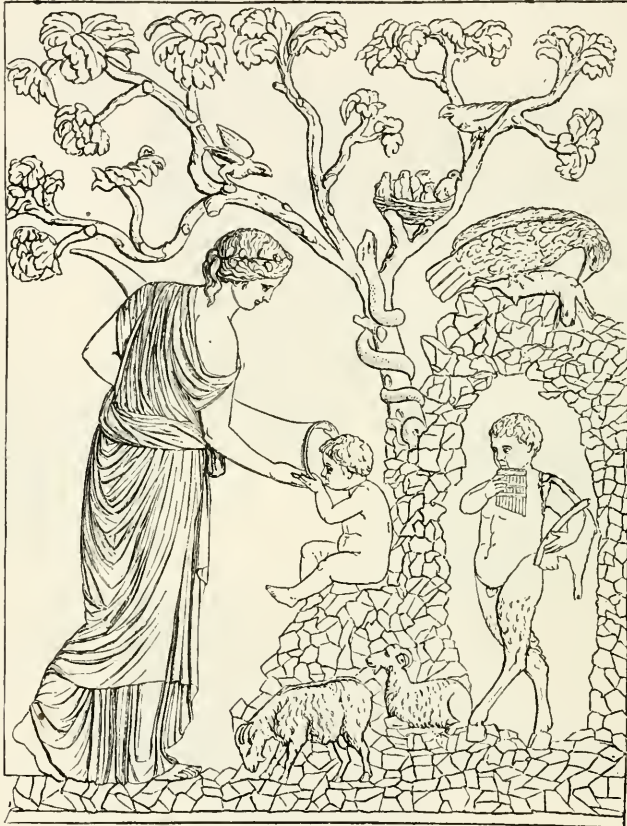


A VOTIVE RELIEF.

From the Acropolis at Athens, representing a devotee before three nymphs guided by Pan.

“And in the first place while they were still in the city, the commanders sent Pheidippides as a messenger to Sparta. He was an Athenian and it was his business to carry messages. Now as he himself related and reported to the Athenians, Pheidippides met Pan in the neighborhood of Mount Parthenion above Tegea, and he told how Pan had called him by name and said to him that he should ask the Athenians why they had altogether neglected him, since he

was well disposed toward the Athenians and had already done them much good and would continue to do so in the future. The Athenians believed that this was true and when they were again in a state of peace and quiet they built a temple to Pan under the citadel and every year they propitiate him with sacrifices and torch races."



THE AMALTHEIA RELIEF.*

Greek mythology states that Pan enjoyed terrifying the lonely wanderer in woodland solitudes, and the word "panic" is derived from the belief in these practical jokes of Pan. The Athenians honored Pan by devoting to him a grotto on the northwestern slope of the Acropolis above the spring Clepsydra, within that portion of

* This well-known marble is sometimes interpreted to represent the childhood of Zeus who is secretly raised in a cave by the nymph Amaltheia where a youthful Pan serves as the god's playfellow. Some archeologists explain the scene as representing Pan and his twin brother Arkos brought up by their mother (possibly Mara or Oinoe).

the rock that is called the Bastion of Odysseus, situated close to the left of the ascent through the Propylaea.

The parentage of Pan is related differently in different legends. He is said to be the son of Hermes and Penelope, or again of Penelope and all the suitors. This statement is made to explain the wrong etymology of his name which in defiance of the quantity of the vowels is here assumed to mean "all" (*πᾶν*). Again he is said to be the son of Hermes and Dryope, the nymph of the oak tree (*δρῦς*, *δρῦός*).

Ovid tells of Pan's love for Syrinx, a nymph of the reeds, and describes how the virgin is changed into a reed at the the moment of being captured by the enamoured demigod. The lover makes a



PAN AND SYRINX.
A coin of Thelpousa.



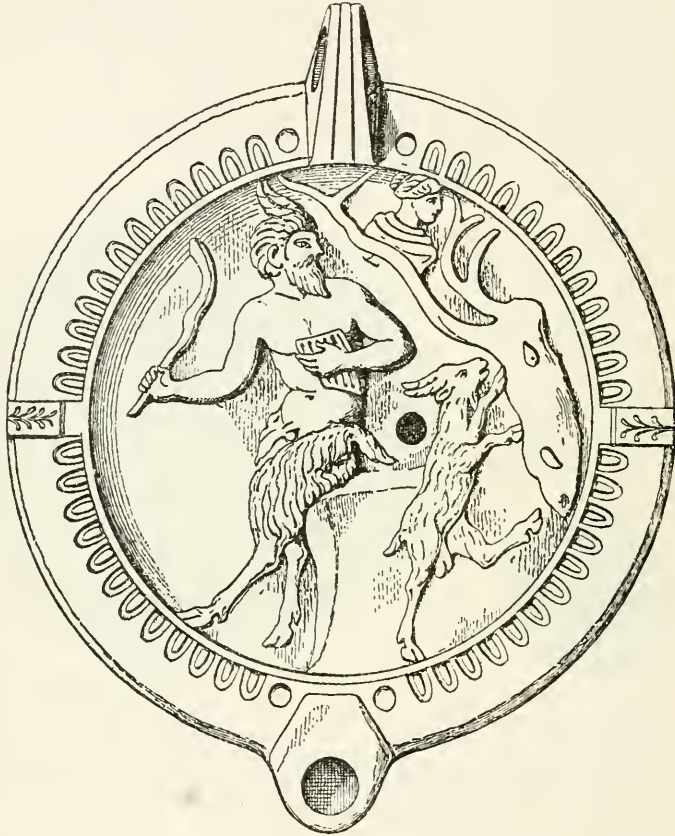
A PAN MASK.
From Baumeister, II, 1150.

pipe of the reed and expresses his disappointment in the plaintive strains of this musical instrument so frequently found in the hands of shepherds.

Another legend describes the love of Pan for Echo who leads him by her voice but never allows her clumsy suitor to find her. While Pan is ugly and mischievous he is always represented as good-natured and is claimed to be a favorite with gods and mortals. The most comprehensive description of his history and character is preserved in one of the Homeric Hymns which we here quote in full in Chapman's classical translation:

"Sing Muse, this chief of Hermes' love-got joys
Goat-footed, two-horned, amorous of noise,

That through the fair greens, all adorned with trees,
 Together goes with Nymphs, whose nimble knees
 Can every dance foot, that affect to scale
 The most inaccessible tops of all
 Uprightest rocks, and ever use to call
 On Pan, the bright-haired God of pastoral;
 Who yet is lean and loveless, and doth owe



PAN ON A LAMP.

Between the branches is seen the face of a woman sometimes interpreted as Echo and sometimes as Selene.

By lot all loftiest mountains crowned with snow;
 All tops of hills, and cliffy highnesses,
 All sylvan copses, and the fortresses
 Of thorniest queaches, here and there doth rove,
 And sometimes, by allurement of his love,
 Will wade the watery softnesses. Sometimes
 (In quite opposed *capriccios*) he climbs

The hardest rocks, and highest, every way
 Running their ridges. Often will convey
 Himself up to a watch-tower's top, where sleep
 Have their observance. Oft through hills as steep
 His goats he runs upon, and never rests.
 Then turns he head, and flies on savage beasts,
 Mad of their slaughters; so most sharp an eye
 Setting upon them, as his beams let fly
 Through all their thickest tapestries. And then
 (When Hesperus calls to fold the flocks of men)
 From the green closets of his loftiest reeds
 He rushes forth, and joy with song he feeds.
 When, under shadow of their motions set,
 He plays a verse forth so profoundly sweet,
 As not a bird that in the flowery spring,

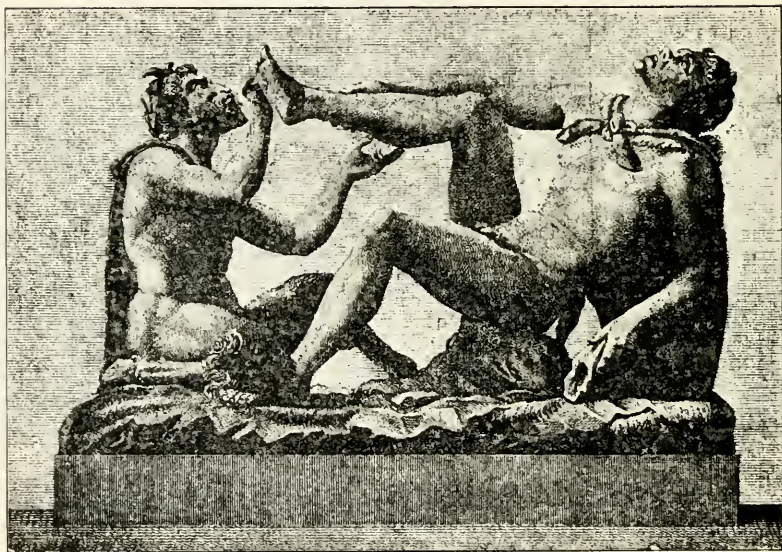


PAN OFFERING A SACRIFICE TO DIONYSOS.

Behind Pan may be seen Eros holding a large bunch of grapes in his hand. He is seated on a goat that is butting a satyr who raises an arm in defence.

Amidst the leaves set, makes the thickets ring
 Of her sour sorrows, sweetened with her song,
 Runs her divisions varied so and strong.
 And then the sweet-voiced nymphs that crown his mountains
 (Flocked round about the deep-black-watered fountains)
 Fall in with their contention of song.
 To which the echoes all the hills along
 Their repercussions add. Then here and there
 (Placed in the midst) the god the guide doth bear
 Of all their dances, winding in and out,
 A lynce's hide, besprinkled round about
 With blood, cast on his shoulders. And thus he,
 With wellmade songs, maintains th' alacrity
 Of his free mind, in silken meadows crowned
 With hyacinths and saffrons, that abound

In sweet-breathed odors, that th'unnumbered grass
 (Besides their scents) give as through all they pass.
 And these, in all their pleasures, ever raise
 The blessed gods' and long Olympus' praise:
 Like zealous Hermes, who of all I said
 Most profits up to all the gods conveyed,
 Who likewise, came into th'Arcadian state,
 (That's rich in fountains, and all celebrate
 For nurse of flocks,) where he had vowed a grove
 (Surnamed Cyllenius) to his godhead's love.
 Yet even himself (although a god he were)
 Clad in a squalid sheepskin, governed there
 A mortal's sheep. For soft love entering him



A SATYR REMOVING A THORN FROM PAN'S FOOT.

Conformed his state to his conceited trim,
 And made him long, in an extreme degree,
 T'enjoy the fair-haired virgin Dryope.
 Which ere he could, she made him consummate
 The flourishing rite of Hymen's honored state;
 And brought him such a piece of progeny
 As showed, at first sight, monstrous to the eye,
 Goat-footed, two-horned, full of noise even then,
 And (opposite quite to other children)
 Told, in sweet laughter, he owed death no tear.
 Yet straight his mother start, and fled, in fear,
 The sight of so unsatisfying a thing,
 In whose face put forth such a bristled spring.

Yet the most useful Mercury embraced,
 And took into his arms, his homely-faced,
 Beyond all measure joyful with his sight;
 And up to heaven with him made instant flight,
 Wrapped in the warm skin of a mountain hare,
 Set him by Jove, and made most merry fare
 To all the deities else with his son's sight;
 Which most of all filled Bacchus with delight;
 And Pan they called him, since he brought to all
 Of mirth so rare and full a festival.

"And thus all honor to the shepherds' kin,
 For sacrifice to thee my muse shall sing!"

We will supplement the Homeric hymn dedicated to Pan by Goethe's humorous verse. Herein the poet shows his breadth of mind, including in his benevolent interest creatures of all kinds—even the goat-footed tribe of Pan:

"In the wilderness a holy man
 To his surprise met a servant of Pan,
 A goat-footed faun, who spoke with grace:
 'Lord pray for me and for my race,
 That we in heaven find a place:
 We thirst for God's eternal bliss.'
 The holy man made answer to this:
 'How can I grant thy bold petition,
 For thou canst hardly gain admission
 For lo! thou hast a cloven foot!
 Undaunted the wild man made the plea:
 'Why should my foot offensive be?
 I've seen great numbers that went straight
 With asses' heads through heaven's gate.'"—Tr. by P. C.

In conclusion we ought to add that some features of Pan (as stated on another page by Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff) have entered Christian demonology in the shape of goat-footed imps, and even the highly cultured Mephistopheles is frequently represented in poetry and art with some features of the good-natured and mischievous god of Greek antiquity.

The identification of Pan the goat-footed deity with Pan the All, which latter is originally a purely philosophical conception, is due solely to the similarity in sound and has led to some curious combinations which need not be discussed here. It has in some respects lent dignity to the goblin of the herdsman and in other respects has made the lower features of nature rather too prominent in the dignified conception of the All. Consequently this combination is mostly ignored by the philosophers.

A strange incident narrated by Plutarch of an exclamation, "Great Pan is dead!" created a stir first at the Court of Tiberius and



PAN IN THE ZODIAC.

Here we have a combination of Pan the goatherds' god and Pan as the cosmic All.



A PAN MASK.

From Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, II, 1150.

then echoed through the Christian world from the days of Eusebius down to the present time. Its approximate coincidence in time with the death of Christ was understood as a divine revelation of extra-



PAN MASKS.

ordinary significance. Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, the translator of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* who is particularly familiar

with the interrelations of East and West at about the beginning of the Christian era, in his article "Tammuz, Pan and Christ" in the present number treats this subject in detail, and we learn from his expositions that it is one of the most curious verbal misinterpretations that has ever occurred in the history of human thought. The connections between Pan and Christ are purely accidental and yet in these different names there is a similarity which bewilders us and renders their combination mystifying.

The ancient Tammuz is one of the most important prototypes of Christ. He is a god-man, an incarnation of the deity who is born as a human being, dies in the course of time and wakes to life again. The celebration of a Tammuz Good Friday was marked by the lamentation, "Tammuz, the All-great is dead," and this lamentation, a custom still common at the time of the crucifixion of Christ, was taken up by mariners and carried to Rome where its strange sound mystified the imperial house and caused consternation among religious people. Being distorted from "the all-great" into "Pan the great" its repetition among Christians caused it to be interpreted as Pan either as the representative of a pagan pantheism or as Christ, the incarnation of God himself, who is all in all to his people.

Mr. Schoff has sketched with admirable clearness this phase in the history of the ideas, Christ, Tammuz and Pan, where accident and their intrinsic kinship have produced a most surprising and profoundly significant combination.

THE SECRET OF CHRISTIANITY.¹

BY WILHELM VON SCHNEHEN.

CRITICAL theology long ago recognized a strong symbolic element, not only in the accounts of miracles but also in other parts of the Gospels, without however observing that in each particular case the assumption of a symbolic intent unavoidably implied the surrender of the historic content. Moreover, before all else it lacked any fixed principle for distinguishing the symbolic from the supposedly historic. At all times its judgment as to what should count as "historic" has been determined only by subjective whim, caprice, or prejudice. Whatever chanced to correspond with the "Jesus-idea" (*Jesusbild*) of the critic in question or of his school or theological party, was without further ado stamped as "certain" or at least probable. Any justification of this "Idea" was not only not given, it was not even attempted, and the "Idea" was left floating in the air as an unproved presupposition of the whole scheme. Hence we cannot find fault with the learned and brilliant (*geistvollen*) American, William Benjamin Smith, author of "The Pre-Christian Jesus," when in his new work *Ecce Deus*² he parts company with this queer theological-historical "science," and in the explanation of the Gospels themselves strikes into entirely different paths.

The starting point of his investigation is found in the well-known words of Mark (iv. 33 f.): "And with many such parables he spake unto them the Word, as they were able to hear it. And without a parable spake he not unto them" (Compare Matt. xiii. 34 f.). Here, says Smith with justice, we have the sure unambigu-

¹ This extract is translated from a remarkably clear and able article entitled as above, written by the distinguished critic and man of letters, Wilhelm von Schnehen, and published in the *Volkserzieher* of Berlin, a fortnightly journal of education, June 9, 1912.

² Eugen Diederichs, Jena, 1911, pp. xvi, 315. English version (enlarged) Open Court Pub. Co., Chicago, 1912.

ous proof that the primitive form of the Christian preaching was exclusively symbolic. But why was this so? The reason is laid bare in Mark iv. 11; Matt. xiii. 34; Luke viii. 9. The doctrine was expressed in parables especially to this end, that it might not be understood by strangers, by "those without": only to the "disciples," to the initiated was it "given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God"; for to them "all was explained privately" (Mark iv. 34). Any other interpretation of these clear unmistakable words is impossible. Consequently historical theology is at a loss what to do with them, but stands here before the dilemma openly avowed by Juelicher: "Either Jesus—or the Evangelists," and must reject the combined testimony of the three Synoptic Gospels, in order to save its conception of Jesus. For any such intentional secrecy of the teaching of the kingdom of God, any such systematic concealment of meaning from the uninitiated body of the people, is consistent neither with the orthodox nor with the liberal conception of Jesus. But this conception of Jesus loses all historical basis as soon as we throw aside the testimony of the Gospels, and is then seen to be precisely what it really is, namely, a mere creature of theologic fancy, an "Idea" either arbitrarily fashioned in direct contradiction of the Gospels or else foisted upon them by violence. And Smith proceeds with perfect logic when he dismisses this "Jesus-Idea," whether orthodox or liberal, and planting himself on the clear, unequivocal, and consistent testimony of the three first Gospels, maintains that in the case of the original evangelic teaching, with its parables and accounts of miracles, we have to deal with a mystery-religion, with the dialect of a religious society, which was intentionally kept unintelligible to the uninitiated outsiders.

But what was then the inner essence, the peculiar content or leading thought of this secret primitive Christian proclamation? It was, answers Smith, simply a protest against pagan idolatry, and therefore a campaign for monotheism. And accordingly also the call to repentance, with which in the Gospels everywhere the glad tidings of the approaching kingdom of God begin, is, exactly as with the prophets of the Old Testament (Jer. xxv. 5 f.; xxxv. 15; Ezek. xiv. 6; Zech. i. 3 f., and a hundred similar passages), not to be understood ethically but religiously, as a call to conversion from the many false gods to the one true God, the Father of all men. See Rev. xiv. 6, 7; Acts xx. 21. But such a crusade against the officially recognized gods of heathendom, including the emperor himself, could not at first be conducted otherwise than in secret unless its champions wished to collide instantly and everywhere with the

Roman authorities. And by this necessary secrecy of the primitive Christian proclamation are explained at once the symbolic dialect and the preponderance of parables in the didactic portions of the Gospels. So too the previously cited and otherwise wholly unintelligible verses (Mark iv. 11, 33 etc.) are explained easily and naturally. The expulsion of demons, which plays such an important rôle in the Gospels, and which appears as the first task of the preacher of God's kingdom (Mark iii. 14 f. ; Matt. x. 1 ; Luke x. 14), is, like all the other wonders, only a part of this symbolic mode of speech. The sin of idolatry, as already was the case in the Old Testament, was represented as a disease, as possession by Demons, and the One God, who heals this malady, was worshiped as the Healer or Saviour, conceived personally, named symbolically with the appropriate name Jesus, and in accord with universal custom represented as a Man. Hence the appearance of Jesus in the flesh was originally meant only figuratively. But afterwards the figure was further elaborated and misunderstood as historic fact. Hereto was added the idea of a divine Sufferer or of a God offering up himself for mankind, an idea suggested by Isaiah, Plato, and the heathen mysteries. So the Christian drama of redemption arose.

In this way does Smith essay to reveal to us the secret of primitive Christianity, and to make its true nature intelligible. And I am certain that every one who takes his work in hand will be as much amazed at the acumen with which the author establishes his conception in detail as at the multitude of new insights that he affords us. In fact his *Ecce Deus*, no less and in truth still more than his "Pre-Christian Jesus," casts a totally new and surprisingly clear light on the New Testament and the whole history of early Christianity. We understand now the seemingly sudden and almost simultaneous appearance of the new cult in numerous different and often widely separated regions. We comprehend the swift triumphal march of the young religion through the whole world of Greek-Roman civilization. No longer do we wonder that Paul in Acts so often finds "brethren" at places he visits for the first time. We are no longer astonished that according to the same authority the learned Alexandrian, Apollos, proclaims zealously "the doctrine of the Jesus," "though knowing only the baptism of John," and therefore manifestly knowing naught of any history of Jesus. We comprehend why, aside from four or five doubtful passages in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, all the Epistles of the New Testament along with the Revelation of John, as well as all the apologists of the first centuries, make no mention of the life or the teaching of any

man Jesus. And above all we now understand correctly and for the first time the deeper sense of the Gospels themselves and many otherwise wholly unintelligible details of their narratives. In particular we no longer take offence at the miracles of Jesus, since they are only symbolically meant, are only figurative representations of purely spiritual events. We understand why the Saviour meets with demons and those possessed of demons only in half-pagan Galilee but not in Judea. We see, for instance, that the demoniac of Gerasa, with his whole "legion of unclean spirits" is nothing else than heathen humanity, which through belief in countless false gods has been robbed of sound reason and now wins it again through the cult of Jesus. We recognize that the man with the withered hand is only Jewish humanity, lamed by tradition and healed by the new teaching. We perceive it as self-evident that the rich man also, who had kept the commandments from his youth up, but is unwilling to divide his possessions with the poor, is again nothing else than the people Israel, which refuses to renounce its spiritual prerogatives and enter on like terms with the Gentiles into the kingdom of God. And we find also the same symbolic representation of the relations between Jew and Gentile in the story of the Prodigal Son, in the parable of the beggar Lazarus, in the account of Lazarus and his two sisters, and finally in the treason of Judas Iscariot.

But enough of particulars. He who seeks for deeper insight must betake himself to the works of Smith. And whoever does so will then without question agree with me in the judgment that the American may confidently match himself in learning with every theologian of our day, and that in genius (*Geist*) he overtops them—well, pretty much all. This appears especially clearly also in the Appendix to his work, where he repels with equal skill and high-bred gentility the odious attacks of Weinel upon his earlier work, "The Pre-Christian Jesus," and visits upon the hostile specialist an overthrow that is really annihilation.

THE EVEN BALANCE.

BY JOHN NEWTON LYLE.

HOW is the balance kept even? By taking as much out of one scale pan as out of the other, or by putting as much in one pan as in the other.

These two principles are so glaringly self-evident that few consider them worthy of a second thought. They are given a place, however, among the axioms of a very remarkable scientific work published at Alexandria in Egypt several centuries before the Christian Era. They were called "common notions" by their clear-headed, common sense Greek author and were stated in the following intelligible language: "If equals be taken from equals, the remainders are equal; if equals be added to equals the wholes are equal."

Has the truth of these two axioms ever been called in question? Yes, by an entire school of mathematical aeronauts who for two centuries past have been attempting aviation above the atmosphere in which alone it is possible.

This school demands "that we can take indifferently the one for the other two quantities which differ from each other only by an infinitely small quantity or (which is the same thing) that a quantity which is increased or diminished only by another quantity infinitely less than itself can be considered as remaining the same."

The demand is represented as being used to increase or diminish one member of an equation, the other member remaining untouched, while at the same time the resulting equation is said to be absolutely accurate.

Of course this procedure is in conflict with the two Euclidean axioms quoted above.

The apology offered for this discourtesy to Euclid is that the phrase "infinitely small" is used.

With deep regret the apology is herein declined for the reason

that the "infinitely small" quantities of the hypothesis are retained in the first member of the equation as dividend and divisor whilst absolutely rejected from the second member. Are the properties of quantity different in one member of an equation from what they are in the other?

Remember that we are dealing now with mathematical symbols, not with fortune telling charms; with self-evident truths, not with statements neither self-evident nor true.

Has the phrase "infinitely small" as applied to mathematical quantity magical virtue?

Remember we are mathematicians and not magicians.

Is the modern calculus a species of occultism or is it a demonstrable science? Are its professors conjurers or scientific geometers?

The two Euclidean axioms to which reference has been made are either true all of the time or false all of the time. They can not be true a part of the time and a part of the time false.

A question of far-reaching importance in mathematics and philosophy here arises.

Can the first differential coefficient be obtained by the use of finite increments only, and without antagonizing the Euclidean axioms? This question was answered in the affirmative in the volume of the *American Mathematical Monthly* for the year 1894.

The subject was discussed in two articles, the one entitled "Are Differentials Finite Quantities?" the other, "The First Differential Coefficient of the Circle."

There is unity in mathematical science. The modern should not discredit the ancient but harmonize therewith.

The hypotheses introduced by both the German and the English mathematicians to explain the processes of the modern calculus were criticised relentlessly by Bishop Berkeley, who was himself a mathematician.

The English mathematicians lost their tempers on account of Berkeley's criticisms and stormed around in genuine John Bull fashion. The phlegmatic school of Leibnitz, however, ignored what Berkeley had to say respecting their transcendental, anti-Euclidean hypotheses, and instead of meeting Berkeley's objections candidly, honestly and bravely they did not meet them at all, but contented themselves with disparaging his idealistic philosophy and tar-water remedies which had nothing on earth to do with the modern calculus. This surely is a phenomenon. A land dominated by the idealism of Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel refuses to consider the objec-

tions to the demands of De L'Hopital because of the idealistic philosophy of the objector!

What Berkeley really did in a speculative way was to carry the assumptions of the current philosophy of his day to their logical conclusion. This conclusion was absurd from the viewpoint of common sense and proves the falsity of the premises from which he argued. Berkeley, however, accepted both the false assumptions and their logical corollaries and gave to the world his idealistic philosophy. Whatever induced him to give to mankind his tar-water healing system remains an unsolved mystery. He alleges in quaint language that a patient once took an overdose—a quart of the potent stuff—and “was wrought all manner of ways.” The same objection that lies against Berkeley’s idealism applies to that of later writers. From the viewpoint of common sense, Borden P. Bowne’s conclusions are as absurd as those of Berkeley. Consequently, his premises, which are of Kantian origin, are equally in need of revision.

Abundant industry and conscientiousness must be accorded to both Berkeley and Bowne. They undoubtedly stuck to their job and laboriously evolved what was wrapped up in their initial hypotheses.

Their service to mankind was that of labor-saving machines. The duty left to their successors is that of rectifying their premises.

Lobatchevsky, also, set out from false premises, reached absurd conclusions, but whilst on the journey his premises underwent a process of evolution so that at the end of the trip they could not be recognized as the ones from which he started. The trouble with the transcendental non-Euclidean is that he does not understand the principles of even balance.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

John Newton Lyle, of Bentonville, Arkansas, protests in the name of common sense against non-Euclidean geometry, and quotes literally some of the paradoxical statements of the advocates of this theory. The problem is too complicated to discuss here, and there is no need of entering into it, because a statement of it has been made in the editor’s little book *Foundation of Mathematics*, and the gist of it has been recapitulated in his summary of the philosophy of science, entitled *Philosophy of Form*. The significance of meta-geometry does not lie in the refutation of Euclid. Euclid remains as reliable as ever before. It merely proves that Euclid is not the only possible system of geometry, and that other systems can be constructed which do not rest on the principle that parallel lines will never meet except in infinity. One of the difficulties of mathematics

is the conception of zero, and also in modern mathematics the conception of the infinitely small, which latter has been not justly identified with naught, because for practical purposes the infinitely small is a negligible factor. Our correspondent, Mr. Lyle, is quite right that no amount of reasoning or suppression of reasoning can identify the infinitely small with zero, but many paradoxes are based upon this identification.

Our correspondent is the author of a brief manual entitled "The Euclidean or Common Sense Theory of Space," and presumably because he found it hard to have a hearing, being, as he himself states, "76 years young," dares *The Open Court* by assuming that it is a shut court to him, but we gladly give him space for his article because we believe that his views are typical of large numbers of thinkers who stand up for common sense even in the face of the learned authority of such original geniuses as Lobatchevsky, Bolyai, and their host of followers.

THE FOURTH DIMENSION.

BY PAUL ROBERTS SHIPMAN.

IN the New York *Sun's* weekly column of "Questions and Answers," widely recognized as a center of curious or forgotten lore and certainly supplied by one having not only a well-trained intellect but that flavor of culture which consists in knowing where to look for what one seeks to find, I note the following question and answer.

"Kindly inform me what the fourth dimension really is. MARY C. QUINN.

"It is a property of space quite beyond the sense perception of men, an abstraction derived from the results obtained by well comprehended processes in the higher mathematics. Certain things happen in these computations which are in no way susceptible of explanation in a space restricted to the three tea chest dimensions of length, breadth and thickness. From a sufficiently considerable number of such phenomena the theory has been evolved that space has a fourth dimension. In the common progress of mathematical study the need of such transcendental dimension first arises in the specific case of that plane section of the cone designated the hyperbola. At an infinite as well as in all intermediate distances of that curve from the point of origin the line is continuous in a given direction; if now to infinity a single unit be added the curve comes into view in the diametrically opposite direction. In this elementary demonstration the fourth spatial dimension appears to suggest sphericity; but this is only the beginning. It is still under careful examination by mathematicians. Sciologists at one time seized upon the idea in explanation of thought transference, psychic phenomena and the whole hoodoo range in general."

It is perhaps allowable to accept this as the up-to-date answer to the question. It is at any rate safe to say, I think, that no answer

more intelligent or more intelligible is likely to be given by the experts who are said to have the subject under further examination. If so, the true answer would seem to be that the fourth dimension is an absolute fiction. A thing the need of which arises from adding a unit to infinity is by that fact itself impossible, since any addition to infinity presupposes a contradiction, the first of impossibilities. An impossibility no doubt can be assumed to exist and from the assumption necessary inferences be drawn, but each of these will be as impossible as the original. The process is merely a play of reasoning, ending where it begins. The stream can not rise above its source.

A property of space or anything else which is "in no way susceptible of explanation" in three-dimensional space is either an ultimate fact, calling for no explanation and admitting of none, or no fact at all. If the fourth dimension "is still under careful examination by mathematicians," plain people may be pardoned for thinking that it has not yet passed out of the hands of the "sciolists." Many of the foremost thinkers of the world have been of the opinion that in the sphere of contingent matter, comprising admittedly the most important employments of the human mind, mathematicians in general are "sciolists," and visionaries besides. "In the course of my own experience, I have never met with a mere mathematician," says Dugald Stewart, himself in the opening of his career a distinguished professor of mathematics, "who was not credulous to a fault." The question of a fourth dimension, I will venture to add, does not properly belong to mathematics anyway, but to philosophy which alone determines the scope of our faculties and inquires into the origin and nature of things within it.

PROFESSOR WILHELM WUNDT.

BY DR. J. BLUWSTEIN.

[On August 16 Prof. Wilhelm Wundt celebrated his eightieth birthday. The official oration on that occasion was delivered by Dr. Bluwstein, and we here translate it from advance proofs sent us by the author with the kind permission of Dr. Ludwig Stein, the editor of *Nord und Süd*, in the August number of which appeared Dr. Bluwstein's address.—Ed.]

IN this day of most extreme specialization—which only too often means self-imposed limitation—in this day of specialists and special departments of science, there lives a great man to whom we give only the recognition he merits when we place him in the same category with Aristotle and Leibnitz. Like them he is master of the immeasurable knowledge of his own age and at the same time has opened up new realms to the inquiring mind.

We often think of great men only in their externalities. . . . For Wundt his eightieth birthday signifies no conclusion and no cessation from his labors; for him it is only an incident of the calendar. . . . A day in which so many others would long since have survived their best efforts, in which they would have lost all comprehension of their own better selves, closes one of his most fruitful years. *Kleine Schriften, Elemente der Völkerpsychologie*, the sixth revised and enlarged edition of his *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie*, likewise revised and enlarged new editions of his *Ethik* and *Völkerpsychologie*, including with all these his tireless activity as an instructor—truly an unprecedented record!

Wundt never repeats his works. He continues his labor on them all the time and points out beyond them—this is his life. His biography is easily told because his works have provided all its important events. Born August 16, 1832, he became a physician at the age of twenty-three and afterwards instructor of physiology. He had already written a number of strictly scientific works in the domain of physics and physiological investigation of sense-impres-

sions when he set himself the task of restoring philosophy as a science. At that time he was only thirty years old. Since then half a century has passed in which he has been carrying out his program. *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie, Völkerpsychologie, Logik, Ethik, System der Philosophie*—these are his five chief works which open up as many new luminous paths of science. We have room here for only a few fleeting glimpses at them.

At the time when Wundt was entering upon his work, German philosophy had come to a period of ferment and transition. The great old systems of the philosopher-poets had lost their power over minds grown weary of speculation. There no longer existed any realization of the beauty which lies in trying to create an all-embracing artistically complete system. It is easy enough to understand the supreme calm of Hegel's alleged retort to the remark that his theory of the planets did not agree with the facts—"Then all the worse for the facts!"

As a thinker Wundt combines the universalism of the classic German philosophers with the undivided desire for certainty, for the aim of all modern inquiry. He transferred the spirit of natural science, which had its climax in the irrefragable establishment of facts, to the boundless realm of the soul. Thus he made the first attempt at a scientific philosophy. Reality betrayed its inmost secrets to the naturalist who approached it in a scientific manner by observation and experiment.

Now the magic of the unexplorable, incalculable, inaccessible phenomena of the soul, behind which preconceived opinions had so long carried on their desolate game, was henceforward to yield to the philosopher's sense of reality. Thus arose a psychology which endeavors to appropriate all conceivable modes of procedure known to scientific research. The first psychological institute was called into being by Wundt at Leipsic, and to-day it has counterparts all over the world. It afforded an unusual spectacle. Alternating current machines and all sorts of difficult mechanical apparatus were employed in the investigation of the soul. In place of that too often arbitrary self-contemplation indulged in by the early psychologists who were so fond of dwelling upon the highest and most complicated revelations of psychic life, a group of scholars established laws based on an overwhelming mass of facts in the realm where formerly the imagination had had full scope. Soul becomes nature; thought is grasped in its temporal course, in its physiological limitation. Naturally the most elementary processes of the inner life are dealt with

first—sense-impressions and reflex judgments—but more than all have we to do here with the directing of new investigation and not with the distance already covered.

The soul is not humiliated by the fact that it is comprehended in its natural relation to law, for this it does itself as the inquiring spirit. Never yet has self-knowledge injured the pride of man. Overzealous scholars may belittle the great leading thoughts of the master and may solemnly brand the means of the experiments as their only end. Wundt has more than once expressly warned against overestimating the power of psychological explanation possessed by experiments. Yet he has untiringly emphasized in his works the originally creative nature of consciousness, which cannot be reached by the current simplifying explanations of the materialistic sort.

Nature with its eternal laws must be fathomed in the realm of mental creations, and not until then will the way to their full comprehension be opened up. Thus after the experimental psychology of the individual the psychology of nations must be constructed on the basis of analogy. From those wonderful creations of society—language, art, religion, customs—Wundt seeks to derive the most original nature of the soul. A titanic work lies before us which cannot be worthily presented in such a sketch. The conceptual life of humanity has been disclosed by the comparative observation of all known languages in depths to which the psychology of the individual might never aspire. Art and religion have led to the laboratories of the ever creative imagination, of the emotion which thirsts for deliverance; customs, social organizations of every kind reveal the common will and draw us nearer to the hidden mainsprings of history. The conclusion of the whole work is still to emerge from the silent study of the indefatigable scholar.

Psychology to Wundt is the central science of the mind. The peculiarly human element appeals intelligibly only to the one who possesses the ability sympathetically to place himself within the complete reality of the experience of others. Mental life in its progress is a unique whole. In the spirit of this view, for which our whole modern age distinctly speaks, our philosopher has constructed those other mental sciences, logic and ethics.

To Wundt there is no purely abstract formal truth, no scholastic, unfeeling and mind-benumbing logic. The consciousness of truth gradually frees itself from accompanying ideas and feelings. Where then is truth? First of all it is where it has overwhelmingly shown the perfection of its power in the proud history of human inquiry, in the marvelous attainments of the modern knowledge of nature.

So Wundt's *Logik* leads us into the laboratory of the specialist where we become acquainted with the method of procedure used in seeking and groping for truths. To experience with a chemist or an economist his special results, to allow oneself to be seized by his peculiar joy in the solution of the problem—this is what is taught by the methodology of the sciences which comprises the greatest part of that work.

In order to have grown to such a task a man would have to master all the sciences which have advanced beyond the stage of mere hypotheses. Wundt was particularly fitted to perform this difficult and complicated task. After he had traveled the paths of all the several sciences and had brought their results into a magnificent artistically arranged whole he devoted himself to a cosmogony of modern philosophy. What he calls his "system of philosophy" is not a continuous system. His craving after certainty, his uprightness of purpose, forbade him to fill up the gaps by falsehoods. Every separate science arrives at hypotheses which lead to the boundaries of what is known at the time. If such hypothetical concept-formations are combined with the positive elements of science from which they logically follow to the prophetic mind, the result may not perhaps be an "exact" philosophy, but probably one which harmonizes with the scientific consciousness of the times.

But there is another realm which an almost universal judgment declares can not be purified by contact with sober science but is degraded by it—and this is the moral life. How in our eagerness for universal formulas can we become acquainted with the primeval consciousness of duty? What business has science whose ideals are mathematics and mechanics with the liberty of the free moral agent? Wundt replies to this in his *Ethik* by showing how the wonderfully beautiful flower of morality draws its vitality from roots remaining hidden in the soil of actuality, how the consciousness of duty must spring from the necessarily limited consideration of man for his fellows in social life. Too often do we hear sermons telling how men ought to live; too seldom is account taken of how they really live. "Love your enemies," was the command; war between civilized states the fact. Only after the purely natural psychological and social origin of morality has been convincingly demonstrated does the inquirer point to heights radiating with hope and the joy of struggle when the command shall have become fact,—to an actualized humanity. Human nature must prepare the way for humanity and it will do so according to all scientific anticipation. From the family, the race, the state, must be developed by historical

necessity the great unity of mankind. Wundt distinguishes most clearly his own views expressed in the *Ethik* from the guaranteed facts of his science. He himself whose thoughts are never stationary, who is constantly readjusting himself, calls forth the freedom of contradiction when he speaks to us as man to man. The thought often points beyond its originator.

The scientific consciousness of our age finds its purest expression in Wundt's unprecedented production. Certainly the desire for truth has not yet exhausted the entire man. The psychical assumption of an investigator who is sure of his results is a prudence and caution which must appear to the impatient specialist, recklessly bent upon severing Gordian knots, as feeble indecision and incompleteness. Charges have also been brought that Wundt's thought leaves unappreciated in the uniform daylight of certainty the tragedy of the deeper reality which is comparatively intelligible to the emotional artist. It is hardly necessary to remark further that such accusations lack serious import when they require of one man riches of a psychical sort which can only be revealed by the fellowship of many men.

Perhaps a remark in the preface to the second edition of his *Physiologische Psychologie* best characterizes Wundt's labors. He remarks that "unawares" to himself one volume of the first edition had become two volumes because he had kept pace with the progress of the young science he had created. "Unawares!" Thus does nature create; thus a great spirit creates in his unpretentious eminence. Fortunately for mankind nature sometimes shows that she is proud of her most worthy creation, the mind. Nature keeps the indefatigable scholar in his eightieth year in her protection far from the consequences of her inflexible laws. So may she continue to preserve him for a long series of years for his work and for humanity!

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE AS IF.

BY THE EDITOR.

A WORK bearing the above title has recently appeared in Germany.¹ It was originally prepared in the years 1875-1878, but the author considers that the present is a much more appropriate time for its appearance, and thinks the world is more ready to receive it than would have been the case a generation ago. As causes which have prepared the way for its appreciation the preface enumerates the voluntarism of Wundt, the biological epistemology of Mach and Avenarius, the philosophy of Nietzsche, and pragmatism, especially the original pragmatism of Peirce. Strangely enough the author's name is not mentioned, but the work has been carefully edited and prepared by Dr. H. Vaihinger, of Halle, the editor of *Kantstudien*, a philosophical periodical dedicated to Kant and Kantian literature. Here is set forth a species of pragmatism which is a decided improvement on the current pragmatism with its new though very hazy conception of truth, and the proposition that certain statements of truth are not exact but are to be understood allegorically is mainly true of religion. It is the more interesting to find this development of modern thought because its publication has been anticipated by the editor of *The Monist*, who used the very same term "as if" in discussions of the soul, of God, and of things, and of concrete units in mathematics as well as in the real world. The passages on this subject may be found in an article on "The Soul in Science and Religion" with special reference to Fechner. See *The Monist*, April, 1906, page 252, where Fechner's soul-conception is given thus: "His view though untenable in its literal meaning, is *as if true*; it incorporates a truth that is significant and that should not be denied." (The italics are in the original text.)

In the same way numbers are not real things. They are fic-

¹ *Die Philosophie des Als Ob*. Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1911.

titious units and in applying them to real life we can use them and they serve their purpose *as if* they were true units. The idea of a unit is a fiction. Units act as if they were real.² The same is true of God. God is not an individual being, a ruler of the world, but when the prophets speak of him in this humanized conception the idea of God as a human personality is *as if* it were true, an idea fully brought out in the writer's book, *God, an Inquiry and a Solution*.³

The same is true of Kant's idea of things-in-themselves. All things are fleeting combinations not to be separated from their surroundings of which they form parts, but when treating things as if they were things-in-themselves this idea is for certain purposes as if it were true. The author of the present work has made of this idea of the *as if* a whole system of philosophy, and places on the title page a motto by F. A. Lange, who says "I am convinced that the point urged here shall become a corner-stone of philosophical epistemology," but in this contention we fear our author goes too far. We grant, as urged in the book *The Surd of Metaphysics* (An Inquiry into the Nature of Things-in-Themselves) that even science has its mythology, or in other words that certain events in nature are first comprehended by analogies which are only imperfectly correct. We speak of electric *currents* as if electricity were a fluid which runs along like a river, whereas in truth it is the transmission of waves while the particles moved remain in place; and there are many other analogies in science which are not quite so, but they are *as if* they were so, and for the time being the allegory is sufficient to form ideas which in a limited way are correct and can serve as guides for certain practical purposes. For that reason, however, we must always bear in mind that all comprehension through analogy by statements representing half-known processes under the fiction *as if* they were like other processes better known to us, is not an ultimate, and science must not halt before the philosophy of the "as if." Important though the idea is, it should not be regarded as the corner-stone of cognition.

The book before us is anonymous; it is edited by Professor Vaihinger; but we may be pardoned when we state that the editor appears to be the author himself. Having written the book years ago, it has become to him the work of another, of his former self, and having changed his modes of thought, he felt that either he

² See Carus, *The Foundations of Mathematics*, p. 79.

³ Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1908.

had to let the book stand as written or he should rewrite it all. He preferred the former course and acted as the editor of the lucubrations of his younger years.

Dr. Vaihinger's book contains many interesting chapters, and considering its enormous bulk it may be desirable to publish an outline of the main ideas.

The first chapter is a general introduction and conceives thought as being viewed from the view-point of a teleological organic function. It is an art, and thus the author considers logic as the doctrine of an art, which however should not be confused with artifices. Here he sees the foundation of the nature of fictions of thought. The first part is the foundation of the author's principle. He distinguishes between abstract or negative fictions, schematic, paradigmatic, utopic and typic fictions, symbolic fictions (fictions by analogy) juridical fictions, personific fictions, summatory fictions, heuristic fictions, practical and ethical fictions, mathematical fictions, methods of abstract generalization, the concepts of the infinite, matter and the world of sense, the atom as a fiction, fictions of mechanics and mathematical fictions, and the Absolute.

After these preparations he propounds his logical theory of scientific fictions (pages 123 to 230). He points out the difference between fiction and hypothesis, and analyses his idea of the "as if."

In Chapter XXIII our author collects a number of synonyms for the word "fiction" which characterize the "as if." On page 169 he speaks of *Erdichtungen*, *Einbildungen*, *Hirngespinnste*, *Phantasien*, *phantastische Begriffe*, *Imagination*, *imaginäre Begriffe*. He discusses the characteristics of fictions and proposes a general theory of fictitious conceptions. Further he enters into the methods of correcting arbitrary differences by making opposite mistakes. In Chapter XXVII he formulates a law of transition of ideas and their development from hypothesis to dogma, from dogma to fiction, and other transformations in the process of thinking. In discussing the history of fictions he devotes a chapter to fictions in the scientific practice of ancient Greece and Rome, which leads him to the significance of the terminology of the Middle Ages and the application of fiction in modern times. In referring to epistemological conclusions he devotes a chapter to the epistemological problems by saying that thought falsifies reality through deductions and additions. The problem originates that while we deal with thought in a falsified reality, thought after all agrees with reality. Dogmatism which identifies the falsified nature of thought with existence itself is

logical optimism. Skepticism however is logical pessimism. The solution of the difficulty lies in the establishment of a logical criticism. The categories are fictions but there is a good purpose in these categoric fictions.

The second part (pages 328 to 612) points out that the use of natural classification is not always sufficient and must be supplanted by artificial classification. The author finds examples in Adam Smith's and Bentham's methods of national economy and also in the methods of physics and psychics. Steinthal's idea of a speechless man (*homo alalus*) is used as an instance of how the fiction develops into an hypothesis. Other instances are the fictions of energy; the fictions of matter and materialism and all other abstract conceptions; the fiction of atomism and of mathematical physics; the fiction of absolute space, of the notions of the plane, the line, the point, of the infinitesimal; the fictitious judgment, and fiction in contrast to hypothesis.

The third part is devoted to historical investigations, in which Kant takes the lead and is followed by an appreciation of the views of Forberg, F. A. Lange and Nietzsche.

THE PHILOSOPHIC STUDY OF RELIGION.

BY GEORGE A. BARROW.

THE age of the opposition of religion to philosophy has gone by; not, however, as has been sometimes said, to give place to an era of good feeling, which is virtually a triumph for the philosopher, but to be succeeded by a period of *indifference to philosophy*. The religious leader of to-day does not oppose, he disregards, philosophy. Academic circles have not recognized this to any extent, but to an outsider nothing is more marked than the weariness of even educated laymen with any form of philosophical discussion. They care less for it than they do for the old dogmatic sermons of our fathers. The movement of our religious and church life to-day is more practical, we say, and rightly. I do not, however, believe that this is due to any depreciation of philosophy on the part of the religious man, but only to the feeling that the philosopher has not considered him. The study I have undertaken in this paper is to find and set forth the explanation of this disregard.

In the modern philosophical study of religion there are three directions of advance. The interest that undoubtedly does exist on the part of the student of philosophy towards religion takes the form either of a study of theism, of the science of religion, or of the philosophy of religion. Theism exists either as the philosophic form of orthodox theology, or as the philosophic construction of monism or absolutism. In the first case we have the same attitude to religion whether we are dealing with an advocate of the idea of a divine revelation above reason, or with a man who draws his arguments for that revelation from current philosophy. In each case we are dealing with the support of an already formed system, and all that can be done is to improve the arguments for that system. Reconstructions there have been, but advance does not seem to result. This form of theism is forever on the defensive. There is, next, constructive philosophical monism or absolutism in its many forms. Progress here is continuous, so continuous that we wonder

at times if any two ages will have the same idea of God. For these men, of whom Royce may be taken as one of the best representatives, God is believed in in order to explain the universe, or at least the constitution of the universe. He is a theoretical construction of a higher order, but used much as atoms are used in science.

Different in scope and aim is the science of religion. I use this term because it is convenient, waiving the question as to how far that science may be descriptive and how far normative. The interest here is either on the individual or on the religious forms. In the first case we have men like James, Pratt,—and the Worcester school generally—, and in the second the study of comparative religions. So far as this study is purely historical and descriptive, we can not call it philosophic, but there is in each case the method of analysis and of valuation of the elements found. This valuation, however, is on the basis of effectiveness, not of belief. For instance mysticism is studied and valued for its effect on emotions, morals, etc., not for the correctness of its theological belief. As James points out, these beliefs may be exactly opposed. In the comparison of religions the question, which is the more correct, is not raised.

There remains finally the third method of what I have called the philosophy of religion. This studies the religious experience, the religious beliefs, and the religious demands and attempts to value them according to their truth. It takes mysticism, for instance, and considers it not only as a phenomenon of human life, but asks whether its method of reaching God is valid, and whether God is such a being that He can be reached in that way. I am not claiming that it is the crown of the sciences or even of philosophy. As one's metaphysics varies, so will one's philosophy of religion, and a variation in the valuation of religious truth must have its effect on one's metaphysics.

One thing is of importance, the philosophy of religion studies the religious assertions and demands as well as the religious emotions and religious forms. There have been attempts, of course, to limit the philosophy of religion either to an additional argument for theism, or to a critical account of religious phenomena. Any philosophic criticism, however, must go further than bolstering up received views, or describing and explaining phenomena. Religion as a phenomenon is the subject not of philosophy but of science. The subjective side, the tests of truth and the demand for a valuation in terms of truth are the legitimate field for a philosophic critique.

The religious consciousness always asserts that it feels or knows

the presence of a power other than itself. It is not sufficient to argue at once as theism does that this is God, then proceed to argue for God's existence, nor does it cover the whole field to study that consciousness or its expression in ritual and history. We must carefully analyze the elements in that consciousness, and ask their truth, and validity. To this task few have set themselves, and little has been done. It may be said that the way is not yet prepared, but we do not need to wait for a perfect science before constructing our philosophy. So some advance has been made in this direction, but awakens very little interest from the technical philosopher.

Of the three main lines of the study of religion which we have outlined, theism would seem to satisfy easily the religious man. It is built up on the foundation of his beliefs, and uses its energies in arguing for those beliefs. It needs, however, but little study of the history of theology to convince us that these beliefs are not deductions from the experience itself. They have been evolved in response to religious demands, but mixed in is much of ancient science and more of ancient philosophy.

The great Calvinistic system is plainly indebted to the current legal conceptions for its conception of the atonement, and the doctrine of the Trinity owes its present form mainly to the ideas and terms brought over from Greek philosophy. All this is looked at from the point of view of the religious need, but it interprets about as truly his legal or scientific need as it does the demands of his religious nature.

The theories of God as creator are a good example of this. The underlying religious demand is for a power in which the man may put absolute trust, therefore he seeks omnipotence in his God. When we study the ideas of God's omnipotence, however, we find that it involves about as much argument concerning a first cause, which is scientific, or an all knower, which is epistemological, or arguments from analogy. In no case, so far as I know, is there an inquiry into the sense in which the religious need for a firm foundation requires an omnipotent God, and then less still is there an interest on the part of theism to establish this foundation by a conclusive proof. Instead we have the effort to establish ideas of God which we have inherited from Jew and Greek. It is because orthodox theism does not study religion that men are turning away from it.

With philosophic theism the case is still plainer. One has only to glance through the current discussions in philosophical circles as to the nature of the Absolute, or as to his existence, to realize that religion is not in even the fringe of consciousness. The absolutist

and monistic systems need some one principle or idea to complete and bind together their system, and because historically that one principle has been called God, they call their One or Absolute by the religious name. It is neither based on an analysis of the religious experience or demand, nor does it aim to establish a foundation for that experience. Of course such a foundation may be laid in agreement with an absolutist system but the current discussions are not attempting to lay this foundation. The man who feels within himself something that is called the influence of God, and seeks to find whether God, the God of philosophical theism, can become known to him in such an experience, finds no answer. Such a problem is not even considered by current philosophy. It is no wonder, then, that here also, the religious man feels little concern with philosophy.

The science of religion, the second line of approach which I outlined, comes closer to the religious man. It takes account of the religious experience, and studies it. Yet, of the two, the religious consciousness is more interested in theism than in the descriptive studies which are now being made. The religious leaders may feel a certain interest in the average age of conversion, but it is more curiosity than concern. I have had certain theories as to the proper age for confirmation, but in practice that theory has been broken as often as it has been kept under pressure of other factors. This is almost, I might say, quite, universal.

The religious leader is not concerned with the average but with what is best for the individual. The study of the experience follows, but does not help, the course of that experience. We cannot go by the analogy of the natural sciences and say that the study of phenomena must react on the use of phenomena. The science of religion which is analogous to physics or chemistry is found in the experience and methods of the churches, not in the work of James or Pratt. These latter are not seeking to construct a working science, but to explain the phenomena of religion. This study may and will advance, and have some effect on the work of the religious leader, but the man who has the experience, and is concerned with it only in himself, not in inducing it in others, does not turn to the science of religion for help. He does not need a description, he knows it far better than any description can express it, nor does he care for its expression in others. What he is concerned with is, can he trust this experience? Will it lead him to right action? will it free him from the weaknesses of his character? Such work as has been done has a place, but since it does not try to answer these questions, the seeker after the truth of religion passes it by.

The study of the types or history of religion comes closer to the religious need, not as philosophy, but as history. A partial answer to the truth or the expression and forms of religion is given in history, and by the study of what other men have done and felt. This however is not philosophy. The study of other religions awakens far more interest to-day than does the philosophy of our own. This was the one thing that impressed me most at the recent missionary exposition in Boston. Doctrine, the city as a whole cared little for, but account of the ways and thoughts of men of other religions awakened a ready interest. This was not entirely, by any means, the curiosity for anything new, but was very largely a discriminating interest in other expressions of religion. Yet this could have but one result, to awaken the question which the history of religions can not solve, which is the true belief and the true expression, or is there any one truth in religion? These questions belong to philosophy, and their answer must come from philosophy.

The truth of this indifference of philosophy to the claims of religion may be admitted, and yet the whole matter be regarded as only another case of the followers of a special line of study claiming for themselves the center of the field. If we claimed, as some have done, that theology was the queen of the sciences or the crown of philosophy, this would have some truth in it. Such is not in the least my contention. In the first place I am not arguing for what should be, but only explaining what is, the indifference of the educated religious man to the philosophical study of his religious experience.

If philosophy took the stand that it was not interested in the special fields of practical human activity, but remained always abstract, then none could complain of its attitude toward religion. But it is interested in religion, as the activity put into theism and into the psychology of religion proves. Nor can it be said that the students of philosophy are pursuing the more important line of inquiry for religion. The most important, to the one professing to be religious, of the aspects of religion is its connection with morality, and to this both psychology and ethics contribute nothing. Modern ethics does consider the claims and need of the moral life, but nowhere is that which is for so many the dynamic power of morality, religion, given adequate consideration. This has not been true in the past, for the Kantian movement as a whole has taken religion into account, but the modern rush after the practical has passed by what is for many, probably without question for a majority of the world

to-day, one of the most practical concerns of life, the effort to escape from sin and its consequences.

The modern pragmatists and humanists must relearn the old lesson, that we cannot solve problems by ignoring them, and the problem that religion raises must be solved. In its outline I have already stated it: does that emotion, or feeling, or experience, which we call religion, have its roots in the world of reality; can there be an assurance of escape from what we feel and call sin; is the moral life something based on the nature of the universe, and has it the backing of the powers of the universe, or is it something passing, and not obligatory on man.

These are the practical questions which the religious man asks of philosophy, and they are not being answered, nor is an answer sought, by the bulk of the students of the philosophy or science of religion.

Finally, I wish again to make clear the relation of such a study as I have indicated, to the other work of the student of philosophy. It falls midway between ethics and metaphysics. The questions concerned with the nature of the moral life lap over into the field of ethics, but with a different purpose than to establish the nature of any particular ethical system. The question is general, as to the meaning of any ethical life. Then we have the problem of how far other forces than those of reason reinforce the impulses toward morality. Reason really plays little part in conduct, therefore if the forces that affect action are not fundamental to life, morality has little lasting power, no matter how reasonable it may be. This is not, however, a biological study of the evolution of morality. Such a study reveals no more whether morality be a permanent element in life than it does whether the instincts of the bee are the passing or permanent expression of the forces which evolved bees. The most a natural science can do is to describe and correlate. What the study of religion needs is analysis of the moral and religious life, and then the consideration of whether the principles of existence require morality and are aided by religion. When this neglected field is covered, the present indifference of religion to philosophy will disappear, and philosophy regain once more her true place in the esteem of the religious man.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

The Rev. George A. Barrow, of Chelsea, Mass., stands in the midst of practical church life, and is in direct touch with religious people. He must know what he states when he says: "The religious

leader of to-day does not oppose, he disregards, philosophy," and this sounds like a reproach to the philosopher who is blamed for not entering into the deep significance of religious sentiment. To some extent his strictures seem to us unfair for philosophers are giving more thought to religious experience and the importance of religious life than ever before; but we must recognize that most of these investigations are of a scientific nature and are disregarded by faithful believers who are neither willing nor able to investigate their own state of mind. Mr. Barrow informs us that the question of the faithful is not answered directly by psychological and philological inquiries into religious experience. The religious man wants to know: "Does that emotion, or feeling, or experience, which we call religion, have its roots in the world of reality; can there be an assurance of escape from what we feel and call sin; is the moral life something based on the nature of the universe, and has it the backing of the powers of the universe, or is it something passing and not obligatory on man?"

We would answer these questions in brief: (1) Religious experience has its roots in reality; (2) it helps man to overcome what in a religious term is called sin; (3) it is indeed backed by the cosmic constitution of the world, and (4) it refers not to anything accidental or indifferent, but conveys directions which are obligatory on man. In other words man as an individual feels the insufficiency of his nature, and as the gravity in every material principle indicates its interrelation with the totality of existence, so in the domain of sentiency every being is animated by the feeling which seeks the solution of its life problem outside of itself. This general feeling which grows from universal interrelations of everything that exists, we have characterized as a panpathy or all-feeling. From this religion grows all emotion, appearing first in those instincts which are characterized as conscious, imposing certain duties upon man's life. The development of religion accordingly depends upon the world-conception, and it naturally rises from dim and uncultured views of the powers that sway us to a pure and scientific conception of the universe.

Primitive religion is naturally mythical. It changes into a symbolical dogmatism and will finally reach the stage of a purely scientific world-conception, but we must insist that in attaining its highest phase it does not disown its prior preparatory phases, for the truths contained in myths do not become untrue by reaching a state of clearness, and before we can see truth face to face we will naturally see it as through a glass darkly.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BERGSON.

BY PHILIP BECKER GOETZ.

I have embarked on an enchanted sea
Under a midnight sky of beckoning stars;
The voice of great adventure sings to me
Above the drift and glint of warning spars.

Upon this magic deep where I descry
Of many a master soul the sunken dream,
I marvel how they tempted mystery,
How songs of triumph died in lightning's gleam.

But he has come, whose wand compels the morn,
Who scorns the chart men worshiped in their need;
Chants as the empty sail is deckward borne,
And lights in pilot reason a new creed.

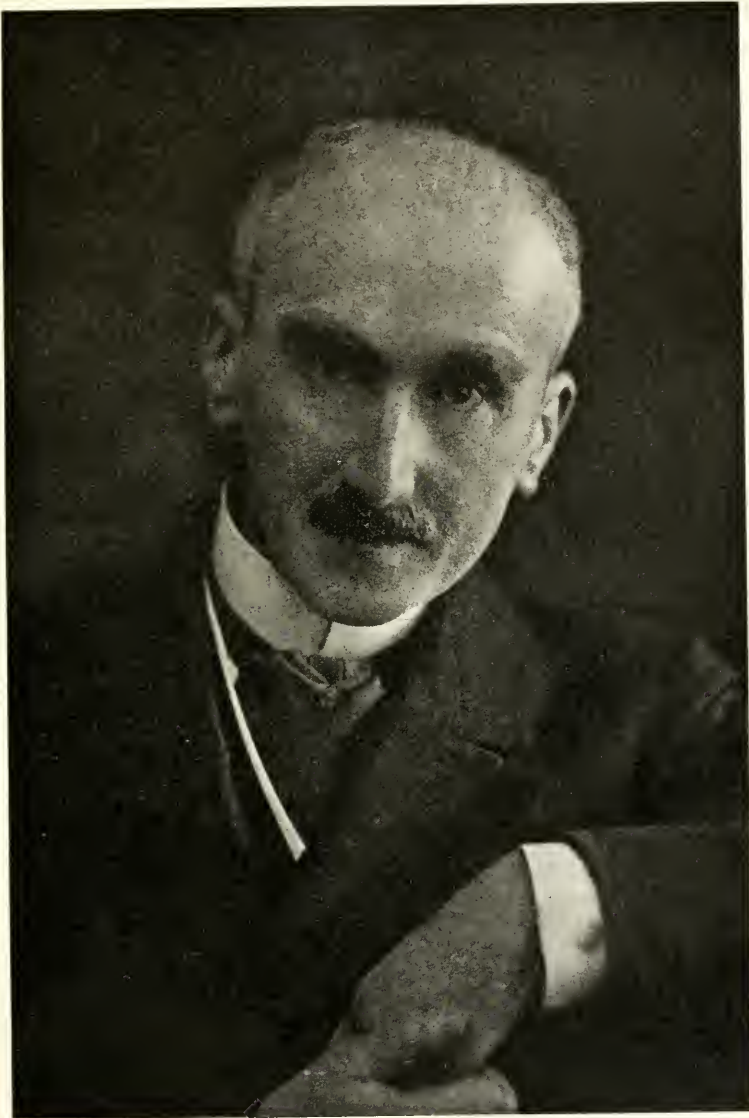
He stands, the captain of the strength of youth
When fear of wreck with winging song is shod,
The ship we board, it is the soul of truth,
The endless billows are the pulse of God.

PROFESSOR HENRI BERGSON.

On the philosophical horizon there has arisen a new star, Henri Bergson, professor of modern philosophy at the College of France at Paris. He has written a number of books which have been translated into English, and he has gained many adherents who recruit themselves mainly from the same circles as the pragmatists—enthusiasts and dilettanti. He appears not only as a rival of the late Prof. William James, but is at the same time one of his personal friends. Professor Bergson has been lecturing in England, and is now on a tour through the United States. He lectures in French, and his diction is greatly admired by all his hearers; many people go to enjoy his beautiful French. He speaks not like a philosopher, but like an inspired prophet; he appeals to the heart and stirs the emotions; he uses striking and poetic similes, and may be regarded more as a leader of a certain religious-philosophical movement than as a thinker; he is an orator and a poet.

The world-conception for which Professor Bergson stands is a kind of dualism, and may without any misgivings be characterized as a decided reac-

tion against scientific progress. His method of procedure is to extol the non-scientific phase in man's life and glory in the instinctive yearnings which he regards as superior to clear and rational thought.



HENRI BERGSON.

Bergson has been severely criticized by men who demand of a philosopher scientific precision and soundness of argument; witness for instance the scathing and most humorous description of his philosophy by Mr. Ber-

trand Russell, of Cambridge, England, published in the July number of *The Monist*, under the title of "The Philosophy of Bergson." Other articles on Professor Bergson in the same number of *The Monist* are: "Bergson and Religion" by the Rev. Dr. James G. Townsend, and "Kant and Bergson" by Dr. Bruno Jordan, of Bremen, Germany, while an article by Dr. Günther Jacoby, of Königsberg, will appear in the October number of *The Monist* and in this the author traces the influence of Schopenhauer upon Bergson.

In contrast particularly to such criticism of Professor Bergson as that of Mr. Russell, there are people who praise him with unstinted enthusiasm and an almost religious zeal, often expressed in language which betrays that there is danger lest the calm judgment of his admirers be carried away by sentiment. We take pleasure in publishing in this number of *The Open Court* a poem which we have recently received.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

DIE URGESCHICHTE UND DIE PATRIARCHEN. Von *Hermann Gunkel*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911.

This exposition of Genesis appears as the first publication of a series of new translations of "The Writings of the Old Testament" (*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*) prepared by six prominent German theologians. The same publishers formerly issued a similar treatment of the writings of the New Testament edited by Johannes Weiss with the assistance of ten theologians. Professor Gunkel's name is the only one that is found on both lists. The first division of the present series takes up the legends of the Old Testament of which the present work of Professor Gunkel is the first volume. It contains a German translation and exposition including an introduction to the Pentateuch. The book is terse and serves as a good book of reference for this most important portion of the Old Testament, as written by one of the boldest higher critics of the Bible.

The arrangement of the translation and notes, together with the reference of sources, challenges comparison with the Polychrome Bible, and makes it almost appear that this German edition is even more practical as it is less expensive.

κ

A RESTORATION OF THE DRAMA OF CANTICLES. By *William Dearness*. Cincinnati: Ebbert & Richardson, 1911.

The result of Mr. Dearness's labor is not so much a drama as it is a series of songs, the dramatic significance of which is expressed in notes of a series of days. The Canticles themselves are translated in rhythmical verse, and the booklet is supplemented by an article on "The Calf Cult of Northern Israel." The Canticles, popularly known as "The Song of Songs" and listed in King James' version as "The Song of Solomon," is a collection of impassioned love songs, as has been set forth by Budde, by Cornill and others (see Cornill's solution of the problem of the Song of Songs in *The Open Court*, XII, 371). Nevertheless it is quite justifiable to use this string of erotic poetry into a drama, the poetic value of which would naturally depend upon the poet and not upon the nature of the exegetic collections of his interpretation of this biblical book, which has been incorporated into the canon more on account of its poetry than its religious significance.

Rev. T. A. Goodwin has made an attempt to reconstruct the story of the

Song of Songs in an article published in *The Open Court* (IX, 4671 etc.) which was published in book form in 1895.

Paul Haupt with a full scholarly knowledge of the original has translated most of them in the form of modern verse, both in English and in German. The English appeared in *The Open Court*, and the German was published soon afterwards in a book with critical notes and many exegetical comments.

As a sample of the version of Mr. Dearness we will quote his translation of the most beautiful and best known passage of the Song of Songs. It runs thus:

“As on the arm the bracelet shines,
Its gems undimmed, unwearing,
My counsel love with truth combines,
The wearer’s worth declaring.

“For wilful love might lead to death,
And jealous men are cruel,
When hot as Sheol’s burning breath,
Distrust provides the fuel.

“But love that’s true is like a flame,
Lit by Jehovah’s spirit,
Nor floods can quench or drown that same,
Nor waters’ waste can wear it.”

κ

SOCIALISM AND SUCCESS. By *W. J. Ghent*. New York: John Laue, 1910. Pp. 252. Price \$1.00 net.

Mr. Ghent addresses these six “uninvited messages” in turn to “the seekers of success,” “the reformers,” “the retainers,” “some socialists,” Mr. John Smith, Workingman,” “the skeptics and doubters.” His reformers are those who would bring about the cure for existing evils without the aid of socialism. The author’s zeal in the interest of socialism is representatively illustrated in the first chapter where he very cleverly, but sometimes without sufficient warrant, reduces the individualism of the present New Thought tendency *ad absurdum*. He then sums up his position as follows: “The pursuit of material success solves nothing in this world worth solving. It is a cult which demoralizes and ruins, which blinds men to their actual situation in life and which evades or ignores the real solution of poverty. Instead of fostering cooperation, the natural tendency of social man, it foments strife. It dooms the multitudes to stumble about in privation and ignorance, led by a false light and a vain hope. By joining hands for a common purpose, you might achieve a material success in which all would share—one which would be the enduring basis of a higher success, a success of the social instincts and feelings, a success of moral and intellectual endeavor. By striving for individual material gain, you but wreck your own and others’ opportunities.” ρ

KÖNNEN WIR NOCH CHRISTEN SEIN.? Von *Rudolf Eucken*. Leipsic: Veit & Company, 1911. Pp. 236.

Professor Eucken answers the question, “Can we still be Christians?” in the affirmative. In the first 79 pages he justifies the question by discussing the nature of Christianity, what it is and what it stands for; further by pointing out what in Christianity the modern conception of life contradicts. In

answer to the counter-question why we should oppose negation of Christianity he bases his reply on the spiritual significance of Christianity. It is a religion of spirit, insisting on the spiritual and mental significance of life. In conclusion he points out that a new Christianity will be indispensable. κ

SOME FUNDAMENTAL VERITIES IN EDUCATION. By *Maximilian P. E. Groszmann*. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1911. Pp. 118. Price, \$1.00.

Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, the principal of "Watchung Crest," Plainfield, N. J., intends this volume as a companion book to a former publication, *The Career of the Child*. Dr. Groszmann is recognized as a leading authority in matters of education, and has made a specialty of the abnormal, or as he calls it the atypical, child. The trend of the book before us may be described from the following quotations: "When will parents learn that a whole ton of knowledge gained at the expense of a single ounce of health is far too dearly paid for?... Too much brain work and too little body work is the evil of our schools."....."The motor element must be recognized throughout the school course. The present standard of education is altogether false. We must learn to recognize fully the new principle of learning by doing, which is based upon an appreciation of the natural instincts, not only of childhood, but of the human race." κ

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF BEER AND BREWING. By *John P. Arnold*. Chicago: Alumni Ass'n of the Wahl-Henius Institute of Fermentology. 1911. Pp. 411.

This is an unusual subject to serve as a theme for a critical essay, but there is no reason why it should not be studied "from prehistoric times to the beginning of brewing science and technology," since science now follows every concept back to its origin. The subject is divided geographically and chronologically, treating first Asia and Africa, then prehistoric and ancient Europe, followed by Medieval and Modern Europe, and United States. It is noteworthy that in the first introductory chapter entitled "Man, Religion and Intoxicants," Mr. Arnold says that the original use of intoxicants in primitive civilization was to induce the emotions of religious ecstasy, and that their use in convivial and social practices followed as a later development. ρ

Dr. J. J. M. DeGroot, of Leyden, one of the foremost scholars of Chinese lore, has been called to Berlin as professor of sinology. He is the author of a six volumed treatise on *The Religious System of China*, an important work in its line discussing first the disposal of the dead, funeral rites, ideas of resurrection, the construction of graves, etc. The second book deals with the nature of the soul considered philosophically as well as in the popular view, and ancestral worship including demonology and sorcery. The other four books have apparently not yet appeared. They will deal with Taoism, Chinese mythology, the sacred rites of Chinese lore, and state religion with its rights and ceremonies.

Another book of especial interest is De Groot's *Secctarianism* which explains the reasons for Chinese intolerance towards Christians. It calls attention to the fact that Christianity flourished in China some time ago, but in later years it began to represent politically in the Chinese mind the views of the despised "foreign devils." κ

Books on the History And Philosophy of Religion

Four books on the Religion of Ancient Persia, by
Lawrence H. Mills, professor of Zend Philology
in the University of Oxford

- (A) **Zarathushtrian Gathas.**
in Meter and Rhythm. Cloth, \$2.00 net.
- (B) **Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achaemenids and Israel.**
A Treatise upon the Antiquity and Influence of the Avesta.
Cloth, gilt top. \$4.00 net.
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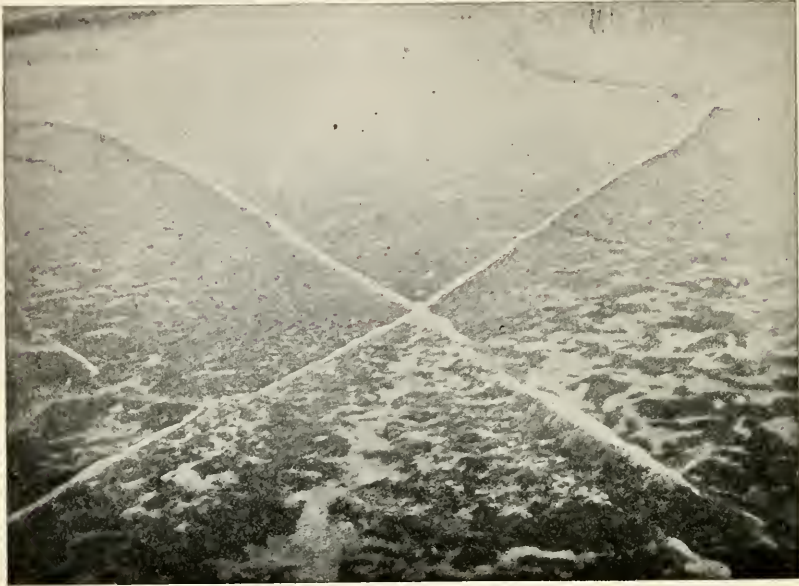
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